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BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

Biographia Dramatica,

OR THE

L I V E S

OF THE

Most eminent PERSONS

GREAT BRITAIN

BIOGRAPHIA DRAMATICA

PARTICULARS

Biographia Britannica:

OR, THE

LIVES

OF THE

Moſt eminent PERSONS

Who have flouriſhed in

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

IRELAND,

From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times:

Collected from the beſt Authorities, both Printed and Manuſcript,

And digeſted in the Manner of

Mr *BAYLE*'s HISTORICAL and CRITICAL

DICTIONARY.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

LONDON:

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M DCC XLVIII.

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THE LIVES OF THE Moſt eminent PERSONS Who have flouriſhed in *GREAT-BRITAIN*, and *IRELAND*, From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times.

B E.

BENNET or BENET (HENRY) Earl of Arlington, an eminent ſtateſman in the reign of King Charles II, and in great favour with that monarch. He was deſcended of a very ancient and honourable family, ſeated at Arlington in the county of Middleſex, being the ſecond ſon of Sir John Bennet, Knight, by Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Grofts, of Sáxham in the county of Norfolk, Knight (*a*), ſo that he came into the world with all the advantages, in point of birth, that a private gentleman could have [*A*]. He was born ſome time in the year 1618, and having received

(*a*) Pedigree of the family of Benet.

[*A*] *In point of birth that any private gentleman could have.*] The reader will hereafter ſee, that when this Gentleman came to his higheſt preferments, the Great Duke of Ormond was pleaſed to ſtile him one whom he had known a *very little* Gentleman (1). Dugdale is entirely ſilent on this head; and when he treats of him as a Peer, does not ſo much as tell us who was his father (2). It is however certain, that he was born of a very good family, and that there was not the leaſt reaſon for treating him as an up-ſtart. We find mention made of William Benet in the reign of Edward the Third (3), but whether this family is derived from him is uncertain. The higheſt we can trace them is to the year 1433 (4), when John Bennet was ſeated in the county of Berks, whoſe grandſon was Thomas Bennet, of Clapcot near Wallingford in that county, who, by his wife Anne, had iſſue Richard Bennet his ſon and heir, and Thomas Bennet who was Lord Mayor of London, and knighted by King James the Firſt, on the 26th of July, 1603, in the firſt year of his reign, which Sir Thomas Bennet left a numerous poſterity of both ſexes, who married into ſome of the beſt families in England (5). As for Richard Bennet, the eldeſt ſon and heir of Thomas Bennet before-mentioned, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Tiſdale of Deanly, in the County of Berks, Eſq; and had iſſue Ralph Bennet his ſon and heir, from whom thoſe of Moredon in Surrey derive themſelves; Sir John Bennet, Knt. ſecond ſon, anceſtor to the preſent Earl of Tankerville; Thomas, third ſon, Alderman of London, who dying *Anno* 1622, left iſſue three ſons, whereof Richard the eldeſt ſon, by his firſt wife, left only one daughter Jane, married James Scudamore, eldeſt ſon and heir of John Lord Scudamore; likewiſe by his ſecond wife, he had an only daughter Dorothy, married to Sir Henry Capel, Knight of the Bath, created Lord Capel of Tewkeſbury, but died without iſſue. Thomas the ſecond ſon was ſeated at Baberham in Cambridgeſhire, and was created a Baronet on the 22d of November, 1660, but this title is now extinct. Sir John Bennet, Knt. ſecond ſon of Sir Richard Bennet, was ſeated at Dawley in the county of Middleſex, and was created on the 6th of July, 1589, 31 Eliz. Doctor of Laws by the univerſity of Oxford (6), having been one of the Proctors there. He was afterwards Vicar-General in Spirituals to the Archbiſhop of York, and Prebendary of Langtoft in the church of York. In the 24th of Eliz. bearing the title of Doctor of Laws, he was in commiſſion with the Lord-keeper Egerton (7), the Lord-Treaſurer Buckhurſt, and ſeveral other Noblemen, for the ſuppreſſion of Hereſy. He was alſo in that reign returned to Parliament for the city of York, and was a leading member of the Houſe of Commons, as appears from ſeveral of his ſpeeches in Townſhend's Collections. He received the honour of knighthood from King James before his coronation, on the 23d of July, 1603, at Whitehall, and was made in that reign Chancellor to Queen Anne (conſort of King James), Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and Chancellor to the Archbiſhop of York. In the beginning of the year 1617, he was ſent Embaſſador to Bruſſels to queſtion the Archduke, in behalf of his maſter the King of Great Britain, concerning a libel wrote and publiſhed, as it was ſuppoſed, by Erycus Puteanus, who neither apprehended the author, nor ſuppreſſed the book, until he was ſolicited by

(1) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 552.

(2) Baronage, P. ni. p. 483.

(3) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. IV. p. 402.

(4) Fuller's Worthies, in Berkſhire.

(5) From the Pedigree of the family of *Benet*, for ſo they formerly wrote their names.

(6) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 138.

(7) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. p. 386.

received the rudiments of learning in his father's houſe, was afterwards ſent to Chriſt-church-college in Oxford, where he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the vivacity of his parts, as well as by his ſtrict application to learning. But what was chiefly remarkable in him at this time, was his turn for Engliſh poetry, ſo that there are very few of the univerſity collections upon ſolemn occaſions, while he was at college, in which there are not one or more pieces of Mr Bennet's (*b*). But upon the King's coming to Oxford, after the breaking out of the civil war, Mr Bennet was ſoon introduced to him, had the honour of kiſſing his hand, and entered in a double capacity into his ſervice; for firſt of all he entered himſelf a volunteer, and was afterwards made choice of by the famous George Lord Digby, then Secretary of State, to be at the head of his office, which was a very early as well as honourable employment, for ſo young a man (*c*). This brought him very ſoon into buſineſs, and into an intimate acquaintance with the greateſt perſons in the kingdom. His civil employment might certainly have excuſed him from any immediate ſervice in the army, if he had been ſo inclined; but he thought it a ſhame to remain ſafe at Oxford, when the King his maſter, the Prince of Wales, and the Princes Rupert and Maurice, were daily expoſing themſelves in the field, and therefore he let no opportunity ſlip of ſignalizing his courage in the royal cauſe, and was particularly in a very ſharp rencounter which happened at Andover, where he received ſeveral wounds, of which he lay ſome time ill at Oxford (*d*). Thus, at a time of life when many young gentlemen have ſcarce finiſhed the ordinary courſe of their ſtudies, he had rendered himſelf conſiderable in the different capacities of a Wit, a Soldier, and a Stateſman. While he remained in the univerſity he took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, but at what time does not appear, owing, as I conceive, to ſome omiſſion in the regiſters, in thoſe times of publick confuſion. He attended the King his maſter as long as it was poſſible, and when it was no longer in his power to ſerve the royal cauſe at home, or even to remain in England with ſafety, he retired to France, and from thence went into Italy, but whether with any private commiſſion, or purely for the ſake of travel and improvement, we have no certain information (*e*). But it was not long, before either his own inclinations, or the commands of the royal family (*f*), brought him back again to France in 1649, where he became Secretary to his Royal Highneſs James Duke of York, not by his own choice, but by the expreſs direction of his brother King Charles II, who, in the ſummer of the year 1654, recommended him to his Royal Highneſs in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible (*g*) [*B*]. It is certain that no man was in greater credit than Mr Bennet with the Queen-mother,

(*b*) Wood's Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 156.

(*c*) Memoirs of what paſſed during the King's reſidence at Oxford, p. 13.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Miſcellanea Aulica, p. 130.

(*f*) Cowley's Letters, p. 1.

(*g*) See that recommendation in the King's own words, in note [*B*].

by the King's agent there, only interdicted it, and ſuffered the author to fly out of his dominions. In 1620, being intitled Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, he was in a ſpecial commiſſion with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other Noblemen, to put in execution the laws againſt all Hereſies, great errors in matters of Faith and Religion, &c. and the ſame year bearing the title of Chancellor to the Archbiſhop of York, he was commiſſioned with the Archbiſhop of York, and others, to execute all manner of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within the province of York. He died in the pariſh of Chriſt-church in London, in the beginning of the year 1627, having had iſſue by Anne his wife, daughter of Chriſtopher Weekes of Saliſbury in the county of Wilts, Eſq; Sir John Bennet, his ſon and heir; Sir Thomas Bennet, Knt. ſecond ſon, Doctor of the Civil Law, and Maſter in Chancery; and Matthew, third ſon, who died unmarried. His eldeſt ſon, Sir John Bennet of Dawley, received the honour of knighthood in the life-time of his father, at Theobalds, on the 15th of June, 1616. He married Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Crofts, of Saxham in the county of Norfolk, Knt. by whom he had iſſue ſix ſons, John his ſon and heir; Henry, ſecond ſon, afterwards created Earl of Arlington, who is the ſubject of our preſent article (8). His eldeſt brother was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King Charles II. was advanced to be Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Penſioners, and by letters patents, dated the 24th of November, 1682, was created Baron of Oſſulſton, one of the hundreds of the county of Middleſex; and his ſon Charles Lord Oſſulſton having married the only daughter and heireſs of Ford (Grey) Earl of Tankerville; he was by King George the firſt, October 19, 1714, created Earl of Tankerville, on account of that marriage, and was father to the preſent Earl of Tankerville (9).

(8) Pedigree of the family of *Benet*.

(9) Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 133.

[*B*] *Recommended him to his Royal Highneſs in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible.*] It is not very hard to gueſs at the reaſons which made Mr Bennet ſo great a favourite with the King, he had known him as long as any man, there was a great reſemblance in their tempers, Mr Bennet had been a man of buſineſs in his father's court, and his family were then engaged in the King's ſervice in England, with great danger and expence to themſelves. Mr Bennet had been for ſome time about the Duke, as appears from ſeveral letters to him from Mr Abraham Cowley, who was Secretary to Lord Jermin, afterwards Earl of St Alban's; but now he was eſpecially appointed his Secretary, or the perſon who was to have the care of his buſineſs, on whom both himſelf and the King was to rely, as will appear from the following paper written by King Charles II. with his own hand, and ſent to him at the time Mr Bennet was to take poſſeſſion of his office, and which therefore deſerves the reader's notice (10).

(10) Miſcellanea Aulica, p. 108, 109.

Private Inſtructions for my Brother the Duke of York, July 13, 1654.

'I. You know the model of my affairs in England, 'and therefore will not employ any perſons to treat 'there. When I go myſelf for Scotland, I will tranſ'mit to you the buſineſs of England, with all particu'lars; in the mean time it muſt be managed by my'ſelf, and in the way I have put it. II. You muſt 'not employ or truſt *Bamfield* in any thing, ſince I 'am reſolved to have nothing to do with him; and to 'forbid all my friends to give credit to him in any 'thing that concerns me. III. As ſoon as I think of 'making any general officers of an army, I will adver'tiſe you of it, and I pray do not make any promiſes 'of ſuch offices to any perſon whatſoever, without firſt 'acquainting me with your thoughts. IV. Let nobody 'perſuade you to engage your own perſon in any at'tempt, or enterprize, without firſt imparting the 'whole deſign to me, which will be eaſily done whilſt 'there is no ſea between us; and when that comes to 'be the caſe, aſſure yourſelf I will deſire nothing more, 'than either to have you with me, or in action in ſome 'other place. But, to deal freely with you, 'till I 'am myſelf in action in ſome part of my dominions, 'which I will endeavour as ſoon as poſſible, I ſhould 'be very ſorry to ſee you engaged before me, and 'therefore let no man perſuade you to it under what 'pretence ſoever. V. I have told you what the Queen 'hath promiſed me concerning my brother *Harry* in 'point of religion, and I have given him charge to in'form you if any attempt ſhall be made upon him to 'the contrary; in which caſe you will take the beſt 'care you can to prevent his being wrought upon,

'ſince

Queen-mother, the King, the Duke of York, the Duke of Glouceſter, and all the royal family; he was not only truſted by them as a faithful ſervant and an able Miniſter, but careſſed alſo as an intimate friend, and a thorough favourite, which is the more extraordinary, becauſe even in thoſe difficult and dangerous times, there wanted not factions in their little court, nor was the harmony amongſt themſelves altogether ſo great, as, under ſuch circumſtances, might have been reaſonably looked for and expected. But Mr Bennet took no ſhare in any of theſe diviſions, remaining for ſeveral years in the ſame high degree of favour with all the royal perſonages beforementioned. It is however certain, that he had trouble enough in his office about the Duke of York, who was very far from being the moſt governable perſon; and therefore it is no wonder that Mr Bennet was very ſoon weary of his place, and would willingly have quitted it, if that had been conſiſtent with the King's affairs (*h*), but as it was not, and as his Majeſty ſignified this to him in the moſt obliging manner, he was content to remain where he was, 'till ſome favourable alteration happened. At laſt, in 1658, the King found that opportunity which he had long expected, of ſending him into Spain, which he propoſed very ſoon after he was reconciled to that Court, and had liberty to go and reſide in the Auſtrian Netherlands, but wanted a convenient occaſion, which offering itſelf now, his Majeſty, in the month of March, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, and ſent him very ſoon after, in quality of his Miniſter, to the Court of Madrid. This is certainly a genuine account of that matter, though it differs in ſome reſpects from what we are told by the *Noble Hiſtorian*, in reference to this matter, which ſhews that even the greateſt men may be in ſome meaſure miſtaken, as to points with which they think themſelves moſt perfectly acquainted (*i*) [C]. It is on all hands agreed, that Sir Henry Bennet conducted himſelf

(*h*) Miſcellanea Aulica, p. 109.

(*i*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 685.

'ſince you cannot but know how much you and I are 'concerned in it. VI. You muſt be very kind to 'Harry Bennet, and communicate freely with him; 'for as you are ſure he is full of duty and integrity to 'you; ſo I muſt tell you, that I ſhall truſt him more 'than any other about you, and cauſe him to be in'ſtructed at large in thoſe buſineſſes of mine, when I 'cannot particularly write to you myſelf, &c.'

CHARLES *Rex.*

Theſe inſtructions are very curious, and will appear more ſo to the reader when ſome of them are explained. The *firſt* gives us the reaſon why Mr Bennet was now appointed his Secretary by the King, after having acted in that quality to the Duke of York for ſeveral years. It appears that his Majeſty had at this time thoughts of making ſome attempt for the recovery of his dominions, and this attempt was deſigned in Scotland; in which caſe the care of Engliſh affairs was to be transferred to the Duke of York, by which means his Secretary would have been, in effect, Secretary of State, and therefore the King thought it neceſſary to make a ſpecial appointment of Mr Bennet to this office. It is neceſſary to obſerve here, that in the year 1650, when the King was before in Scotland, his Royal Highneſs acted a very ſtrange part; for being then at Paris, he was prevailed upon by Sir Edward Herbert and Sir George Ratcliff to leave that city and go to Bruſſels (11), upon a preſumption that the King was dead, and this without the knowledge of the Lord Byron his Governor, or Mr Bennet his Secretary, who were however ordered by the Queen his mother to attend him thither, which exploit made the King a little tender of truſting him ever after, eſpecially without ſome check, which, in the preſent caſe, his Secretary Bennet was intended to be. In the *ſecond* article there is mention made of one *Bamfield*, who was a ſpy of Cromwell's, and kept a conſtant correſpondence with Secretary Thurloe (12); from whence it appears, that this caution of the King's was very neceſſary. He is continually complaining in his accounts of Mr Bennet, who, he ſays, intercepted his letters, and whom he repreſents as having ſuch an intereſt at Paris, that there was no being ſafe for him, and therefore he was obliged to ſend his letters a great way round (13.) The *third* and *fourth* articles ſhew how much the King was afraid of his brother's enterprizing temper at that time, for which he had very good reaſons, as we learn from more authors than one. The *fifth* was occaſioned by the repeated endeavours of the Queen-Mother to pervert the Duke of Glouceſter to Popery, which on his ſteady refuſal had once proceeded ſo far as turning him out of doors, and leaving him in want of a dinner or a bed, if Lord Hatton had not generouſly ſupplied him, with great riſk to himſelf (14). The *laſt* article is a clear proof of the King's entire dependance upon Mr Bennet, as one he was ſure would adhere ſteadily to his duty, and contribute all he could by his advice to keep the Duke, his maſter, within the like bounds. We may therefore very well conclude from hence, that Mr Bennet needed no recommendations to, or interceſſor with, the King his maſter, who certainly confided in him (15) as much as in any man about him during his exile; and for any thing that appears from Hiſtory, had very good reaſons ſo to do, ſince nobody ſerved him better, more affectionately, or with greater fidelity.

(11) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 611.

(12) The reader may be ſatisfied of this, by conſulting Thurloe's Letters.

(13) Thurloe's Letters, Vol. V. p. 435, 510.

(14) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 663. Carte's Hiſtory of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 164, 165, 167.

(15) Miſcellanea Aulica, p. 127.

[C] *With which they think themſelves moſt perfectly acquainted.*] There is no doubt to be made that the Earl of Clarendon had great opportunity of knowing what he wrote, and that he ſet down faithfully what he knew, yet in reſpect to this tranſaction he is ſomewhat miſtaken; and there is ſo much the more reaſon to correct this miſtake, becauſe hitherto all the writers, who have mentioned this affair, have followed him implicitly. After having related the manner in which the Earl of Briſtol had contributed to the ſurpriſing St Ghiſlain, he proceeds thus (16). 'This ſervice 'was of very great importance to the Spaniards, and 'no leſs detriment to the French, and conſequently 'gave great reputation to the Earl, who then came to 'the King at Bruges, and ſaid all that he thought fit 'of Don Juan to the King; and, amongſt the reſt, 'that Don Juan adviſed his Majeſty, to ſend ſome diſ'creet perſon to Madrid to ſollicit his affairs there, but 'that he did not think the perſon he had deſigned to 'ſend thither (who was Sir Henry de Vic, that had 'been long reſident in Bruſſels) would be acceptable 'there. This was only to introduce another perſon 'who was dear to him, Sir Henry Bennet, who had 'been formerly in his office when he was Secretary of 'State, and bred by him, and was now Secretary to 'the Duke of York; but upon the factions that were 'in that family, was ſo uneaſy in his place, that he 'deſired to be in another poſt, and was about this time 'come to the King as a forerunner, to inform him of 'the Duke of York's purpoſe to be ſpeedily with him, 'being within a few days to take his leave of the 'court of France. Bennet had been long a perſon 'very acceptable to the King, and therefore his Ma'jeſty very readily conſented that he ſhould go to 'Madrid inſtead of De Vic; ſo he returned with the 'Earl to Bruſſels, that he might be preſented and made 'known to Don Juan, from whom the Earl doubted 'not to procure particular recommendation.' It is very clear from the whole of this account, that in the judgment of the noble author, Sir Henry Bennet ſtood indebted to the Earl of Briſtol for his being appointed Miniſter in Spain; but from what has been ſaid in the laſt note, it will appear very evident, that he had as good an intereſt with the King as that Earl or any body elſe. But the truth is, that he was ſent into Spain becauſe he had been all along intruſted with the ſecret of that negociation, as appears from the inſtructions given him

(16) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 685.

himself with great wisdom and discretion in this negociation, and thereby did his master so much service, with Don Lewis de Haro, then his Catholick Majesty's Prime-Minister, that he obtained from him leave to invite his master to those conferences, which were to be held between him and Cardinal Mazarine, previous to the peace between the two crowns (*k*). At the same time that he advised the King to this journey, he gave a great proof of his attachment to his service, independent of all private obligations; for he at the same time gave his Majesty a caution not to bring the Earl of Bristol with him, in which however the King declined following his advice, though, in the course of his journey, he had sufficient reason to repent his not doing it. The Earl, who thought he had a greater interest in the Spanish Ministry than he really had, first led the King out of the way, and would then have carried him to Madrid, in which, if he had prevailed, it might have been in many respects prejudicial to the King's service (*l*). Don Lewis de Haro complained loudly of this to Sir Henry Bennet, who undertook to prevent it, and though the treaty was over, promised to bring the King to that Minister, and to prevent his taking any steps in Spain but by his advice, in which he effectually succeeded, to the great satisfaction of Don Lewis de Haro, who, after several conferences with the King, advised him to return to Brussels, and made him a present of seven thousand pistoles in gold, for the expences of his journey (*m*). Sir Henry Bennet continued to manage his Majesty's affairs at the Court of Madrid, after the King his master was restored, which seems to be the true cause of his not returning so early, as might otherwise have been expected, to England (*n*). Though it is indeed reported, that he had changed his religion before this time, and therefore was afraid to return 'till he heard of Lord Colepepper's death, who had threatened him upon that head, and upon a supposition that he had been instrumental in persuading the King to turn Papist (*o*), which, though very confidently affirmed by some authors, appears however not a little uncertain [*D*]. It was not

(*k*) Memoirs of the King's Exile, p. 139.

(*l*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 709.

(*m*) Id. ibid. p. 710.

(*n*) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 156.

(*o*) Carte's History of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 254.

him two years before, when he was sent to Paris to acquaint the Queen-Mother and the Duke of York with that measure. These instructions are dated June the 20th, 1656; the last article of which will sufficiently prove, that before his going into Spain he knew as much, or more, of these transactions, than the Earl of Bristol himself did. That article is the fourth of the paper, intitled, *Instructions for* Harry Bennet (17).

(17) Miscellanea Aulica, p. 125.

'You must remember, that I formerly told you how 'much the Count of Fuenfaldagna and Don Alfonso in-'sisted, when we first entered into the treaty, upon 'the point of secrecy; and how jealous they expressed 'themselves to be, that any thing should be known in 'France which passed between us; and how they 'obliged me from any communication of that matter 'for some certain time; and this is the true reason 'why I have not been able to impart what I desired 'to the Queen of it.'

We are told on the other hand, on the authority of the Marquis, afterwards Duke, of Ormond, that before Sir Henry Bennet's being sent into Spain, there were very high differences between the Earl of Bristol and Sir Henry Bennet, the Earl alledging that Sir Henry had persuaded the King to declare himself a Papist, which himself thought would be his ruin (18). The Earl of Clarendon himself says, that Sir Henry advised the King to leave the Earl of Bristol behind him (19) when he came into Spain, which one can hardly imagine he would have done, if he had owed that employment to the Earl's recommendation. The noble Historian likewise thinks that Sir Henry acted very prudently in that negotiation, and his reason for it is, because he crossed the Earl of Bristol's proposals in every respect (20), and had so much a better interest with his master, that he engaged him to follow his and not the Earl's opinions. But what seems to put this matter out of doubt is, that before the Earl of Bristol's journey with the King into Spain, he addicted himself entirely to Don Juan, and therefore one would have thought, if Sir Henry Bennet had been promoted by him, he would have taken the same course, whereas he took the quite contrary, and applied himself wholly to Don Lewis de Haro. Upon the whole therefore, there is the greatest reason to believe that he did not owe this employment in the least to the Earl of Bristol's interest with the King, but to his own merit

(18) See that passage at large in note [*D*].

(19) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 709.

(20) Ibid. p. 710.

[*D*] *Appears however not a little uncertain.*] We have very different accounts of this matter, and such as place Sir Henry Bennet's going over to the Church of Rome at very different times. We have what follows as taken down by a Prelate (21), from the mouth of the Great Duke of Ormond, in reference both to Sir Henry's and the King's conversion. 'The Duke had 'some suspicion of it from the time that they removed 'from Cologne into Flanders; for though he never ob-'served that zeal and concern for divine things, which 'he often wished in the King, yet so much as appeared 'in him at any time looked that way. However, he 'thought it so very little, that he hoped it would soon 'wear off upon returning to his kingdoms, and was 'not fully convinced of his change, 'till about the time 'the treaty of the Pyrenees was going to be opened. 'The Duke was always a very early riser, and, being 'then at Brussels, used to amuse himself at times, when 'others were in bed, in walking about the town and see-'ing the churches. Going out one morning early, and 'seeing a church, where a great number of people were 'at their devotions, he stepped in, and, advancing near 'the altar, he saw the King on his knees at mass. He 'readily imagined that his Majesty would not be 'pleased that he should see him there, and therefore 'retired as cautiously as he could, went to a different part 'of the church near another altar where nobody was, 'kneeled down, and said his own prayers, while the 'King was gone. Some days afterwards Sir Henry 'Bennet came to him, and told his Grace, that the 'King's obstinacy, in not declaring himself a Roman 'Catholick, put them to great difficulties: That the 'Kings of France and Spain pressed him mightily to 'it, and their Embassadors solicited it daily, with as-'surances, that if he would make that publick declara-'tion, they would both assist him jointly with all their 'powers, to put him on the throne of England like a 'King: That he and others had urged this, and en-'deavoured to persuade him to declare himself, but all 'in vain: That it would ruin his affairs if he did not 'do it, and begged of the Duke of Ormond to join 'in persuading him to declare himself. The Duke 'said, he could never attempt to persuade his Majesty 'to act the hypocrite, and declare himself to be what 'he was not in reality. Sir Henry thereupon replied, 'that the King had certainly professed himself to be a 'Roman Catholick, and was a real convert, only that 'he stuck at the declaring himself so openly. The 'Duke of Ormond answered, he was very sorry for it, 'but he would not meddle in the matter; for the 'King having never made a confidence of it to him, 'would not be pleased with his knowledge of the 'change he had made, and for his own part he was 'resolved never to take any notice of it to his Majesty, 'till he himself first made him the discovery. Some 'time afterwards George Earl of Bristol came to the 'Duke, and complaining of the folly and madness of 'Bennet, and others about the King, who were labour-'ing to persuade him to what would absolutely ruin 'his affairs. The Duke asking what it was, the other 'replied, it was to get the King to declare himself a 'Roman Catholick, which, if he once did, they 'should

(21) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 254, 255.

not long however after the King's Restoration, and his affairs being settled in England, that

'should be all undone, and therefore desired his 'Grace's assistance to prevent so fatal a step. The 'Duke of Ormond said, it was very strange that any 'body should have the assurance to persuade his Ma- 'jesty to declare himself what he was not; especially 'in a point of so great consequence. Bristol an- 'swered, That was not the case, for the King was 'really a Roman Catholick, but the declaring himself 'so would ruin his affairs in England; and as for the 'mighty promises of assistance from France and Spain, 'you (my Lord) and I know very well, that there is 'no dependance or stress to be laid on them, and that 'they would give more to get one frontier-garrison 'into their hands, than to get the Catholick Religion 'established, not only in England, but all over Eu- 'rope; and then desired his Grace to join in divert- 'ing the King, from any thoughts of declaring himself 'in a point which would certainly destroy his interest 'in England for ever, and yet not do him the least 'service abroad. The Duke allowed that the Earl 'judged very right in the case, but excused himself 'from meddling in the matter, because the King had 'kept his conversion as a secret from him, and it was 'by no means proper for him to shew that he had 'made the discovery.' There is a very different detail of this given us by Bishop Kennet, who, after transcribing the Earl of Clarendon's account of the King's journey into Spain, proceeds thus (22). 'It is 'farther certain, that the Earl of Bristol, who was 'the King's companion and guide to the place of this 'treaty, and Sir Henry Bennet, who was the prime 'agent for the King, did both of them turn Papists 'about this time, as if they did it upon a compact 'then made; and there is a story to confirm all, which 'I have reason to think true. Sir Henry Bennet was soon 'after seen to wait upon the King from mass, at which 'sight the Lord Culpepper had so much indignation, 'that he went up to Bennet, and spoke to this effect. '*I see what you are at: is this the way to bring our 'master home to his three kingdoms? Well, Sir, if 'ever you and I live to see* England *together, I will 'have your head, or you shall have mine.* Which 'words struck such a terror upon Sir Henry Bennet, 'that he never dared to set foot in England, 'till after 'the death of the Lord Culpepper, who met with a 'very abrupt death within a few months after the 'King's return When he was taken out of the way 'Sir Henry Bennet came to Court, and soon rose into 'honours and preferments, and was in disguise, a meer 'creature of the Papists, and had the dying courage to 'take off that disguise (23).' This passage is confirmed, or rather copied, by another reverend Historian, in the following words. 'He was immediately 'succeeded in his place by Sir Henry Bennet, lately 'the King's Resident in Spain, a person of no mean 'ability, but one who secretly espoused the cause of 'Popery, and one who had much influenced the King 'towards embracing that religion, the year before his 'Restoration, at Fontarabia, for which he was so much 'threatened by the Lord Culpepper, that it is believed 'he durst not return into England 'till after the death 'of that Nobleman. Not only the removal of Se- 'cretary Nicholas, and the settlement and influence of 'the Queen-Mother, but likewise the absence of the 'Duke of Ormond, seemed to conspire towards the 'diminution of the Chancellor's interest. That great 'man and firm friend had been sent over into Ireland, 'where, as Lord-Lieutenant, he was received with 'greater honour and triumph, with more magnificence 'and larger presents, than was ever known in that 'kingdom.' These accounts differ very much from one another, so that it is impossible they should be all true, though it is not easy to say how far they may be all false. The first of them is said to have been taken from the mouth of the Duke of Ormond; but there are some passages in it that I cannot account for; as for instance, the Duke of Ormond took it for granted the King was a Papist, because he saw him at prayers in a church at Brussels, and to avoid being seen by the King went to another altar in the same church, kneeled down, and said his own prayers. If the King had seen him in this posture, he might have pronounced the Duke a Papist, upon as good grounds as he did him, and perhaps have been as much in the right; for the Earl of Clarendon, long after this, declares positively, that the King was a sound Protestant (24); and, if I am not mistaken, the King declared as much to all the Papists in England, in writing, by an Agent of theirs about that time (25). It is very strange that Sir Henry Bennet should urge the King to declare himself a Papist, which was so directly contrary to his own conduct, if himself was one; but it is not at all strange that the Earl of Bristol should dissuade his Majesty from that step, who, though he both lived and died in the profession of Popery, was by his own daughter, the Countess of Sunderland, thought never to have been a Papist in his heart. At the time he exhibited articles against the Earl of Clarendon in the House of Lords, he charges him, amongst other things, with insinuating that Sir Henry Bennet was a Papist, though he avers that he was a Protestant (26). So that there is great contrariety of evidence even from the same persons, but with respect to the story of Lord Culpepper, which is very largely refuted by the honourable Roger North (27), it could not be true for this plain reason, which however is not taken notice of by any writer, viz. that Lord did not attend the King in his Journey, Sir Henry Bennet never returned to Brussels; therefore it is impossible that any such discourse could pass between them, or that his Lordship should be poisoned to make way for Sir Henry Bennet's coming safely home. Bishop Burnet, who had much better opportunities of knowing passages of this nature, than either of the two last writers, gives us a very different account of the matter, and I believe the truest character of the noble person, of whom we are speaking, that is any where to be met with (28). 'Not long after the Re- 'storation, *says he,* Bennet advanced afterwards to be 'Earl of Arlington, was by the interest of the Popish 'party made Secretary of State, and was admitted 'into so particular confidence, that he began to raise 'a party in opposition to the Earl of Clarendon. He 'was a proud man; his parts were solid, but not 'quick; he had the art of observing the King's 'temper, and managing it beyond all the men of that 'time: He was believed a Papist, he had once pro- 'fessed it, and when he died he again reconciled him- 'self to that Church: Yet in the whole course of his 'ministry he seemed to have made it a maxim, that the 'King ought to shew no favour to Popery, but that 'his whole affairs would be spoiled if ever he turned 'that way; which made the Papists become his mortal 'enemies, and accuse him as an apostate and the be- 'trayer of their interests.' We will conclude this note with what is said by Mr North beforementioned, in answer to the passage already cited from Bishop Kennet, the facts mentioned in which are most certainly true. Having mentioned that Prelate's remark with respect to Bennet Earl of Arlington, that he lived a disguised Papist, and had the dying courage to take off the disguise (29), 'The sense, says Mr North, of this re- 'flection is, *That the King was a disguised Papist as 'well as he, but had not the courage, even at his death, 'to pull off the disguise.* The Lord Arlington lived as 'a Protestant, had Chaplains, and our service in his 'family, and built a very fine church at Euston, 'where the Church-Service was constantly used, and 'he, as Courtiers commonly, might have little regard 'for religion. But if he shewed any partiality that 'way it was towards the Fanatick, and so far, which 'was not a little, he appeared inclinable to Popery. 'His courage had been greater to have dismasked it 'in full health; and as for his declaring on his death- 'bed it is not strange, that one who had lived as he 'had done, coming to die, which is no Court-trick, 'should have qualms come over his conscience, and he 'desirous of some religious reconciliation; and then 'his former deliberations abroad came into his weak 'mind, and Priests still exaggerated no salvation out 'of their holy Church; as under such circumstances 'their way is to gain the fame of a feeble convert, he 'submitted to the forms which the author calls *taking 'off the disguise.*' I look on this to be the most material part of our noble person's history, if it were possible to clear it up to one's entire satisfaction; and from what has been laid down, as well as from what will hereafter appear, I persuade myself that the reader will not be much deceived, if he takes it for a truth, that Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards Lord Arlington, neither professed himself a Papist, nor did any service to the

(22) Complete History of England, Vol. III. p. 220.

(23) Echard's History of England, p. 805.

(24) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 725.

(25) Thurloe's Letters, Vol. I. p. 744.

(26) Complete History of England, Vol. III. p. 246.

(27) In his *Examen*, or an Enquiry into the Credit and Veracity of a pretended Complete History, 4to. 1740.

(28) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 39.

(29) North's *Examen*, or Enquiry, &c. p. 29.

that he recalled Sir Henry Bennet from Madrid, and ſoon after his coming home, appointed him *Privy Purſe*, 'till ſome other employment ſhould fall more worthy of his acceptance, and of the friendſhip and kindneſs with which his Majeſty had always honoured him (*p*). It was not long before an occaſion offered, or, as ſome ſay, way was made for his promotion, by Sir Edward Nicholas reſigning the office of Secretary of State, whom he ſucceeded October 2, 1662 (*q*). It is commonly ſuppoſed, this was the firſt ſtep to the forming a party againſt the Earl of Clarendon, then Lord-Chancellor, and that it was brought about by the Popiſh faction; who, at that time, favoured Sir Henry Bennet (*r*); but thoſe who are contented with plain facts, rather than the refined motives which make the chief merit of Secret Hiſtories, may meet with many other, and perhaps no leſs certain, reaſons for the King's beſtowing on him this preferment [*E*]. In the latter end of the ſucceeding year, *viz.* September 28, 1663, the univerſity conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, as a teſtimony of the reſpect due to him from Oxford (*s*). On the fourteenth of March following, he was created Baron of Arlington in the county of Middleſex (*t*), and was then looked on as a great Miniſter of State, and one of his Majeſty's moſt favoured ſervants. He had, as Secretary, almoſt the ſole management of foreign affairs, and has left us ample teſtimonies of his abilities, in his letters during this period, in relation to various points of importance (*u*). Almoſt all our hiſtorians agree, in ſetting him at the head of the party againſt the great Chancellor Clarendon, and ſay he promoted his fall; but his letters ſhew nothing of this, and that Earl himſelf, who corrected and put his Hiſtory into order at Rouen, in the time of his exile, ſpeaks very reſpectfully of him upon all occaſions. It is certain, Lord Arlington had a great ſhare in the firſt Dutch war, but he likewiſe appears to have had no ſmall concern in the negociations for peace, which he puſhed in ſuch a manner, as by no means ſhews him to have loved war, or to have adviſed the King his maſter to purſue it beyond meaſure (*w*). In this ſpace, on the recommendation of the Duke of Ormond, he brought Mr Temple, afterwards Sir William Temple, into buſineſs, and employed him in the treaty with the Biſhop of Munſter, for attacking the Dutch by land, while we did it by ſea (*x*). He afterwards fixed that famous Miniſter at Bruſſels, and we may perceive as much friendſhip and confidence on one ſide, and as much reſpect and gratitude on the other, in the letters paſſing between them, as it was poſſible for words to expreſs, or men to conceive (*y*). Whatever difference therefore grew afterwards between them,

(*p*) Hiſtory of the King's Reſtoration, p. 195.

(*q*) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 788.

(*r*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 245.

(*s*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 156.

(*t*) Dudgale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 243.

(*u*) Theſe Letters were publiſhed by Mr Bebington of Gray's-Inn, in two Volumes, 8*vo.* 1701.

(*w*) Arlington's Letters, Vol. I. p. 142.

(*x*) Temple's Works, Vol. II. p. 1.

(*y*) Arlington's Letter's, Vol. I. p. 14, 35, 78. Temple's Works, Vol. II. p. 51.

Popiſh faction during the reign of King Charles II; ſo that whatever notions he might have when worn out with years and buſineſs, his abilities were entirely Proteſtant, and, generally ſpeaking, applied as they ought to be, to the joint ſervice of the King and nation.

[*E*] *No leſs certain reaſons for the King's beſtowing on him this preferment.*] It is a very difficult thing to give an account of Court tranſactions at any diſtance of time; and it is ſtill more difficult to diſprove matters which are very poſitively aſſerted, and that too by men of great character, and who are preſumed to have been very well acquainted with the facts that they relate. But a perſon who has any ſhare in a work of this nature, is certainly under the ſtrongeſt obligation to repreſent things fairly, which muſt be my apology for differing upon this occaſion from ſome of our greateſt writers. It was natural for the Earl of Clarendon to be diſpleaſed with this promotion, for almoſt all the reaſons that a man could have to be diſpleaſed with any thing. The perſon removed was an old Miniſter, with whom the Earl had lived long in the ſtricteſt friendſhip. The perſon that was to come in was one he did not like, and who, he was thoroughly perſuaded, did not like him. There was ſtill a third reaſon, as ſtrong as any of the former, and ſtronger it could not well be. The old Secretary was entirely governed by the Earl, ſo that removing him was taking from Clarendon, as a Miniſter, ſo much power. We need not wonder therefore that he was ſo angry at it, that he conſidered it as the firſt ſtep to his fall, and that he treated it in this light in his petition to the Houſe of Lords, which was the laſt publick act he did in this kingdom (30). All our Hiſtorians are governed in this reſpect by what Lord Clarendon ſays, without ever conſidering that all he ſaid was in anger. This alone ought to put us upon enquiring what was ſaid, or might be ſaid, on the other ſide, and that I find may be reduced to theſe particulars. The King found his government weak on the ſide of foreign affairs, and upon enquiring into the cauſes of it, he found that neither of his Secretaries underſtood them; he thought it reaſonable therefore to have at leaſt one Secretary that was fit for his buſineſs; and knowing that Sir Edward Nicholas was old, infirm, and willing to retire, he was content he ſhould do ſo; and to make this the eaſier to him, as well as to afford him an eſſential mark of his eſteem for his long ſervices, he was contented to give him, by way of equivalent for what he might have acquired by remaining in his office, ten thouſand pounds. There is nothing in all this that reflects at all upon the King's judgment, or upon the tenderneſs that he ought to have had for his father's old ſervant and his own. But it may be enquired upon what authorities theſe facts are grounded, in anſwer to which I ſhall give Biſhop Burnet's character of the two Secretaries; and I preſume it cannot be objected that this Prelate was inclined to miſrepreſent men in great poſts in compliment to King Charles II. His words are theſe (31.) 'Another 'man raiſed by the Duke of Albemarle was Maurice, 'who was the perſon that had prevailed with Monk 'to declare for the King. Upon that he was made 'Secretary of State. He was very learned, but full 'of pedantry and affectation. He had no true judg'ment about foreign affairs, and the Duke of Albe'marle's judgment of them, may be meaſured by 'what he ſaid when he found the King grew weary 'of Maurice, but that in regard to him he had no 'mind to turn him out. *He did not know what was 'neceſſary for a good Secretary of State, in which he 'was defective, for he could ſpeak French and write 'Short-hand.* Nicholas was the other Secretary, who 'had been employed by King Charles I. during the 'war, and had ſerved him faithfully, but had no un'derſtanding in foreign affairs. He was a man of 'virtue, but could not fall into the King's temper, or 'become acceptable to him.' Theſe characters very clearly ſhew, that the nation did not at all ſuffer by the King's reſolution to remove one of theſe Secretaries, to make way for one he had reaſon to believe better verſed in the buſineſs of his office. As to the money which was paid to Sir Edward Nicholas, we take that on the credit of Lord Clarendon, who is not contradicted by any writer that I have met with. I look therefore upon what has been ſaid in the text to be fully made good, and that we may, with as great probability of being right, ſuppoſe that the King made this change upon very reaſonable and juſt motives, as that he did it purely to gratify the Popiſh party, who, from any thing that appears from facts, were no gainers by it, or what followed from it.

(30) See this Petition of the Earl of Clarendon's, in the firſt Volume of the valuable Collection of Pieces wrote by him, p. 297.

(31) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 99.

[*F*] *The*

them, we must allow to the honour of Lord Arlington's memory, that he distinguished the great talents of that admirable person, and first produced them to the world, by bringing him on the theatre of publick action. By the correspondence between them it very plainly appears, that though the view of uniting the crowns of Great Britain and Sweden with the States-General, in setting bounds to the ambition of France, and securing the Spanish Low-Countries, was Sir William Temple's own, yet it as plainly appears that he opened this to, and was supported therein by, Lord Arlington, who was then in the highest point of trust and favour. It was he who brought that glorious design to bear, and though he never pretended to the honour of making the TRIPLE ALLIANCE, yet the love of truth obliges one to say, that without him it never had been made. We might be able to set all these matters in a much clearer point of light, if the first part of those Memoirs were extant, in which Lord Arlington made so great a figure, the second and third parts of which do him so little honour, and perhaps the first were burnt, and the two last preserved, for that very reason (z) [F]. But however that matter may be, it

(z) See a remarkable passage from the Preface before the third part of Temple's Memoirs, in note [F].

[F] *The first was burned, and the two last preserved for that very reason*] It was certainly a very singular and a very great advantage to Mr Temple, that he came abroad and into business, recommended by the Duke of Ormond, and supported by the Earl of Clarendon and Lord Arlington (32). His first negotiation was in the year 1665 with the Bishop of Munster, and he was afterwards employed as the King's Resident at Brussels to the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and had his patent for a Baronet sent him over thither. All this was plainly the effects of Lord Arlington's kindness for him, who testified upon all occasions a very just, that is, a very high, esteem for his abilities; and there is very little reason to doubt that Sir William Temple, who was a very polite, well-bred man, made very proper returns to this Minister, though it must be confessed, that there is not much of this kind to be found in such of his letters as have been made publick: Yet, for the satisfaction of the reader in this point, I shall give him the close of a letter from Lord Arlington to Sir William Temple, when he was appointed Resident, as is before mentioned, which will shew how far he was dependant upon that noble Peer, and how sensible he was at that time of his good offices (33). This letter is dated October 26, 1665.

(32) Life of Sir William Temple, prefixed to the first Volume of his Works, p. 5.

(33) Arlington's Letters, Vol. I. p. 34, 35.

'Herewith you receive his Majesty's credentials for 'you to the Marquis Castel Rodrigo, which gives you 'possession of your Residency with him. It ought to 'be accompanied with new instructions to you, but I 'must defer them 'till my next, against which time I 'hope we shall have some other matters riper for your 'knowledge than they are now. *I will not return you 'compliments in proportion to the length and warmth of 'your's, least they should troublesomely multiply on both 'sides, contenting myself only with assuring you that I 'am*, &c.'

This affords us at once an instance of our Minister's gratitude, and of his Patron's modesty. Their friendship continued uninterrupted for about three years, during all which time he constantly corresponded with Lord Arlington, and received from him those instructions that did belong to his place to give. We must also observe, that these three years proved equally honourable for the Secretary and the Minister, they both acquired much reputation within that space, at the latter end of which Sir William Temple tells us, it was a common saying (34) among the Politicians abroad, *That there had been for nine months the greatest Ministry in the world in England*. The reader will observe, that this was before the Cabal came into play, and when foreign affairs were in a manner wholly under the management of Lord Arlington (35). It may not be amiss to confirm the truth of what is advanced here and in the text, by the testimony of the famous John de Witte, than whom a more illustrious witness cannot be produced in support of Lord Arlington's character. This letter is dated February 14, N. S. 1668, and runs thus (36).

(34) Temple's Letters in his Works, Vol. II. p. 180.

(35) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 34.

(36) Temple's Letters in his Works, Vol. II. p. 68.

'My Lord,

'As it was impossible to send a Minister of greater 'capacity, or more proper for the temper and 'genius of this nation, than Sir William Temple; so 'I believe no other person either will, or can, more 'equitably judge of the disposition wherein he has 'found the States, to answer the good intentions of the 'King of Great Britain. Sir William Temple ought 'not to be less satisfied with the readiness wherewith the 'States have passed over to the concluding and signing 'these treaties, for which he came hither, than they '(the States) are with his conduct and agreeable man-'ner of dealing in the whole course of his negotiation. 'It appears, my Lord, that *you* thoroughly understand 'men, and bestow your friendship only upon such as 'deserve it, since you cause persons to be employed 'who acquit themselves so worthily. I think myself 'happy to have negotiated with him, and that by his 'means your Lordship hath been pleased to give me a 'testimony of your good-will. For the favour you 'say his Majesty is pleased to have for me, I have no 'other ways deserved it, than by my respects for his 'Royal person, whereof I shall endeavour to give 'proofs upon all occasions his Majesty will please to af-'ford me. In the mean while I shall wait with im-'patience for some opportunity to shew how sensible I 'am of all your Lordship's civilities, which I shall 'ever acknowledge by a true esteem for your merits, 'and by a strong passion to let you see that I am with 'as much sincerity as you can desire,

'My Lord, your's, &c.

It was very decent and proper for the Grand Pensionary to pay these compliments to Sir William Temple, whose conduct in negotiating and concluding the Triple Alliance can never be enough admired or applauded, considering it was the subject of this letter; but Sir William himself, in a letter to Lord Arlington about the same time, speaks of this very matter in the following terms (37). 'I cannot but rejoice in parti-'cular with your Lordship upon the success of this af-'fair, having observed in your Lordship, as well as 'my Lord-Keeper, a constant steady bent in support-'ing his Majesty's resolution, which is here so gene-'rally applauded, as the happiest and wisest that any 'Prince ever took for himself or his neighbours. 'What in earnest I hear every hour, and from all 'hands, of that kind, is endless, and even extravagant. 'God of heaven send his Majesty to run on the same 'course, and I have nothing left to wish, since I know 'your Lordship will continue to esteem me what I am, 'with so great passion and truth, my Lord, your's, &c.' It was the just sense Sir William Temple had of the honour *this transaction* did to the King and his Ministry, that put him upon writing Memoirs (38) of all that happened in relation to it; and Dr Swift in his preface to the third part of his Memoirs, gives us a very plain and probable account of what became of them, which, when perused, will leave nothing necessary to be farther said upon this topick.

(37) Temple's Letters, as before, p. 51.

(38) The second part of Sir William Temple's Memoirs was published, by himself; and the third, by Dr Jonathan Swift.

'The subject of the first part was chiefly the Triple 'Alliance during the negotiation, of which my Lord 'Arlington was Secretary of State and chief Minister; 'Sir William Temple often assured me, he had burnt 'those Memoirs, and for that reason was content his 'letters, during his embassies at the Hague and Aix-la-'Chapelle, should be printed after his death, in some 'manner to supply that loss. What it was that moved 'Sir William Temple to burn these first Memoirs, may 'perhaps be conjectured from some passages in the se-'cond part, formerly printed. In one place the au-'thor has these words: *My Lord* Arlington, *who made 'so great a figure in the former part of them, was now 'grown out of all credit*, &c. In other parts he tells 'us, that Lord was *of the Ministry* which broke the

'Triple

it will always do honour to this noble perſon's memory, that while he was looked upon to be at the head of the miniſtry, his maſter's affairs had the moſt flouriſhing aſpect, our concerns went eaſy and harmoniouſly at home, and the nation's credit abroad was at it's greateſt height. It is indeed too true, that this fair proſpect was but of a ſhort continuance, though at the ſame time we may affirm, it laſted full as long as his abſolute intereſt, and never declined, 'till other men came to have at leaſt an equal, by degrees a ſuperior, credit with the King his maſter, who was but too apt to prefer, in his Miniſters, quick parts to ſolidity of underſtanding. There was, beſides the Duke of Bucks, another man of the ſame ſtamp, who came at this time into the King's favour, and had for ſome time afterwards, much more intereſt with the King, and with his brother the Duke of York, than he deſerved; this was Sir Thomas Clifford, a concealed, but a zealous Papiſt, a ſtaunch friend to the French, and an implacable enemy to the Dutch (*a*). Lord Arlington, who had hitherto maintained a ſtrict friendſhip with the Lord-Keeper Bridgman, and for ſome time directed abſolutely foreign affairs, found himſelf now under a neceſſity of either retiring from buſineſs, or entering into ſome degree of friendſhip with theſe new favourites; and the perſon he fixed upon was the Duke of Bucks, who profeſſed himſelf, though very falſely, a friend to moderate meaſures, and to that ſyſtem of foreign affairs, which had been both framed and eſtabliſhed by Lord Arlington. Lord Aſhley, afterwards the famous Earl of Shafteſbury, was likewiſe brought into high favour at this time; and finding that the King remembered the buſineſs at Chatham, where the Dutch burnt his fleet, when a treaty of peace was not only negociating, but on the point of ſigning at Breda; he ſtruck in with this diſpoſition of the King's, and being a man that liked ſtorms and tempeſts, as the weather that ſuited him beſt, he projected a ſecond Dutch war (*b*). It has ſince appeared, that Lord Arlington had done much better, if he had quitted his poſt when he viſibly declined in his credit, but he had been long in buſineſs, loved a Court, and the King was very unwilling to part with him; ſo that he flattered himſelf with the hopes of taking ſome favourable opportunity of bringing things about again, and by this means was drawn in to join with men, who had neither the good of the nation, the honour of their maſter, or the ſucceſs of his meaſures at heart; and though it is certain that Lord Arlington ſtruggled a long time, in ſupporting the Duke of Ormond, and in his endeavours to prevent a new war, yet he was forced to give way at laſt, and from having been at the head of a Miniſtry, that had gained the greateſt reputation of any this nation ever ſaw, came to act no very conſiderable part in an adminiſtration, which was the worſt that ever was entruſted with power ſince we were a nation [G].

(*a*) See the article of CLIFFORD, (THOMAS) in this Dictionary.

(*b*) Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

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' Triple League, adviſed the Dutch war and French ' alliance, and, in ſhort, was at the bottom of all thoſe ' ruinous meaſures which the Court of England was ' then taking; ſo that, as I have been told from a ' good hand, and as it ſeems very probable, he could ' not think that Lord a perſon fit to be celebrated for ' his part in forwarding that famous League while he ' was Secretary of State, who had made ſuch counter- ' paces to deſtroy it.' This is an unexceptionable proof of his being at the *head* of *one* Miniſtry; and in the courſe of this article the reader will have a very clear account of the *ſhare* he had in the *other*; for men of ordinary capacities think it juſtice to ſhew both ſides of a character, and not barely that which gratifies either their immediate intereſts or inclinations.

[G] *The worſt that ever was entruſted with power in this nation.*] One ſeems to be juſtified in ſaying this, becauſe hitherto no writer that I know of has ever ventured to ſay a word in their vindication. It is very juſt that it ſhould be ſo, for theſe people forced themſelves into the adminiſtration without either having, or pretending to have, any ſort of principles, my Lord Arlington only excepted, who ſeems to have complied than rather acted with them, and therefore is repreſented as a man of inferior genius to the reſt. The engine by which they raiſed themſelves, was a pretended influence over the Parliament. The King, to gratify his own inclination of being rid of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, had ſuffered a great ſpirit to be raiſed againſt him in the Houſe of Commons, and had ſeen the ſame kind of ſpirit managed under his own eye in the Houſe of Lords for the like purpoſe, and by this ſtrange conduct made way for all that followed (39). Thoſe who in this conjuncture gained themſelves credit in Parliament, made themſelves ſo formidable thereby to the King, that he was obliged to take them for his Miniſters, as being ſenſible that they had it both in their will and in their power, to diſturb and diſtreſs any others of whom he had made choice. As this was their firſt ſtep to greatneſs, ſo to make ſure of the adminiſtration, and not to leave the King at liberty to turn them out, they reſolved to change the whole ſyſtem of affairs. The Duke of Bucks had always kept fair with the Sectaries, and he inſiſted upon an indulgence for them againſt Law. Lord Aſhley, afterwards Earl of Shafteſbury, projected the circumſcribing the power of the Houſe of Commons, and was in reality the author of the war, though in that, as well as in the ſhutting up of the Exchequer, Clifford appeared to be the man (40). The Earl, afterwards Duke of Lauderdale, anſwered for Scotland, that the King might enlarge his power there, which he did to the utmoſt extent; and that nobleman uſed it with ſo much violence, that never any man was more hated and feared than his Grace. Lord Arlington ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded that theſe men meant his maſter well, and ſo he kept his poſt of Secretary, with ſome ſmall ſhare in the direction of things, and a much larger in the confidence of his maſter, which enabled him to prevent his going all the lengths theſe men would have carried him; And when Shafteſbury ſaw this, he ſtruck into the ſame path, and began to take meaſures for his own ſafe retreat. This, as far as one can judge from the hiſtories of thoſe times, was the true character of this motley Miniſtry; but it is requiſite that the reader ſhould alſo ſee what other authors have delivered upon ſo important a ſubject; and when he has done this, compared what they ſay, and conſidered their reſpective characters, he may poſſibly be the better pleaſed with that ſhort account that we have given him, without the leaſt degree of prejudice or partiality to any. Mr Echard tells us (41), that the King and his Miniſtry at this time began more and more to practiſe the arts of diſſimulation, of which they were all thought to be maſters, to enter into dark and foreign deſigns, and to purſue different meaſures from thoſe of the Parliament; and that the Miniſtry was now made up of a different ſpecies of perſons, than in the firſt and moſt happy part of the reign, conſiſting of a heterogenous body of Counſellors, a ſelect Cabinet of five noted men, *Clifford*, *Aſhley* (afterwards *Shafteſbury*), *Buckingham*, *Arlington*, and *Lauderdale*, the initial letters of whoſe titles, cauſed them to obtain that well known name of the CABAL, which was judged to have been ſo ominous to the Engliſh affairs. The projects and proceedings, ſays Mr Echard, of this remarkable ſet of men, proved manifeſtly and highly prejudicial to the main intereſt of the nation. * Father Orleans the Jeſuit, who

(39) See Kennet, Echard, Burnet.

(40) See North's *Examen*, P. I. chap. ii.

(41) Hiſtory of England, p. 864, 865.

The former ſcheme of politicks being entirely overturned, Buckingham and Shafteſbury came to have the direction of all affairs at home, and, in conjunction with Clifford, introduced a new ſyſtem with reſpect to foreign affairs, which conſiſted in a cloſe conjunction with France, in a war againſt the Dutch, wherein the Lord Arlington does not appear to have acted farther, than he was obliged to act as Secretary of State (*c*), which nevertheleſs did not protect him from the reſentment of the nation, very juſtly provoked by the conſequences with which this war was attended. Yet if any judgment can be formed from facts, he was the only perſon, that in this ſad ſcene of affairs, had it either in his thoughts, or in his power, to ſecure his maſter from being involved in a new civil war, or the nation from being oppreſſed, by the change of the conſtitution into an abſolute monarchy. The four other great Lords thought this laſt meaſure practicable, and though it is certain that two of them hated the King, and very far from being certain whether any of them loved him, yet they were ſo infatuated with the thoughts of governing all things at their own will under his name, that they preſſed him, as they had gained the Duke of York, to continue firm in his reſolutions, and to venture all in order to bring this deſperate project to bear, towards which, in their ſeveral ſtations, they went boldly as far as they could (*d*). Arlington, however, could never be brought to reliſh this meaſure, nor is he charged with it by any one writer of credit. On the contrary, there is the beſt authority to prove, that he was the firſt who ſaw the King's danger, and the only one that endeavoured to make him ſee it and ſenſible of it. In the month of April 1672, his Majeſty was pleaſed to raiſe him to the dignity of Earl of Arlington in the county of Middleſex, and Viſcount Thetford in the county of Norfolk (*e*). On the fifteenth of June following, he was elected one of the Knights Companions of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter (*f*), and was ſoon after appointed, in conjunction with the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Hallifax, Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Utrecht, where the French King then kept his Court, to treat of a peace between the Allies and the States-General (*g*); but this negociation came to nothing. But the war proving not ſo ſucceſsful, at leaſt for us, as was expected, his Majeſty began to be more inclinable to hearken to a peace, which is attributed to the influence of the Earl of Arlington, the cabal being now ſeparated, Lord Clifford having reſigned the poſt of High-Treaſurer, which was beſtowed upon Sir Thomas Oſborne, afterwards Earl of Danby, and in proceſs of time Duke of Leeds; and it was alſo known, that the King intended to take the Great-Seal from the Earl of Shafteſbury, which however was delayed 'till the meeting of the Parliament, that it might be ſeen what ſervice he could do there (*h*). The ſeſſion was accordingly opened October 20, 1673, but it very ſoon appeared that the Houſe of Commons diſliked the war, and were determined to call thoſe Miniſters to an account, who had either adviſed or promoted it, but this was prevented for the preſent by a prorogation, ſoon after which the Seal was taken from the Earl of Shafteſbury, and given to Sir Heneage Finch (*i*). On the ſeventh of January the Parliament met again, not at all in

(*c*) See the proofs of this in note [*G*].

(*d*) North's Examen, p. 453, 454.

(*e*) Bill ſign. Apr. 20, ann. 24, Car. II.

(*f*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 483.

(*g*) From a Letter of the Lord High-Treaſurer Clifford to Sir B. Gaſcoyne, dated June 28. 1672.

(*h*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 296.

(*i*) North's Examen, p. 49.

who fancied he had ſufficient information of this and other matters from the mouth of King James II. himſelf, after diſcourſing of that Prince's long concealment of his religion, mentions an extraordinary project, which gave him hopes of the liberty to diſcover it, which he tells us was as follows (42). 'That in the year 1670, 'the Court of England perceiving that the republican 'ſpirit inſenſibly creeping into the Parliament again, ſe'riouſly conſidered how to remedy that evil, which 'foreboded many more. That the managers of that 'enterprize were five Lords, who were called the '*Cabal*, as well from the ſtrict union amongſt them, 'as from the firſt letters of their names compoſing that 'word.' He tells us then, that the Earl of Arlington had the leaſt genius of the five, but that this was well ſupplied by his experience, which gained him great knowledge in foreign affairs. 'Theſe Lords, '*continues* Father Orleans, firmly bound to their ma'ſter by their high places and favours, could not with'out indignation obſerve, what advances the republi'can ſpirit, which began to revive again, had cauſed 'the Parliament to make againſt the regal authority, 'among others, the Triple Alliance, to which that '*republican Cabal* had forced the King againſt his will, 'appeared to them as an audacious incroachment upon 'the prerogative, of which the conſequences were to 'be prevented. Filled with theſe juſt reſentments, 'they perſuaded the King to be as abſolute, as he was 'intitled by the Crown and the laws of the Realm, to 'confine the Parliament to the bounds preſcribed them 'by immemorial cuſtom; and to take care that a mix'ture of commonwealth with monarchy, introduced 'by violence and ſubjects uſurpation, did not produce 'a monſtrous anarchy, which might again expoſe Eng'land to that dreadful confuſion, from which it was 'ſcarce recovered. To effect all this, it was neceſſary 'to have a war, which might furniſh the King with a 'pretence to raiſe an army, and this they had againſt 'the Dutch, and the more favourable, becauſe the 'honour of the Engliſh nation was equally concerned, 'for the old controverſy about the Flag began to be 'renewed, and the Eaſt-India merchants daily com'plained that they were unfairly treated by the Dutch. 'This, I ſay, was the pretence; but the real motive 'for pitching upon this war, rather than any other, 'was the cloſe correſpondence between the Engliſh 'republicans and thoſe of Holland, the latter inceſ'ſantly inſtilling into the minds of the former, that 'love of liberty, there ſo highly valued, to make them 'averſe to monarchy, and to excite them to throw 'off the yoke of regal dominion, being always ready 'to ſupport any faction that ſhould attack it.' This French Hiſtorian writes our Hiſtory as moſt of the French Poets do their plays, without conſidering where the ſcene is laid, or the manners proper for the characters he would repreſent; ſo that though his work may deſerve reading, yet the very ſtile in which it is penned ſhews plainly it deſerves no credit. As to what he ſays here with ſo much confidence, every man who is but indifferently ſkilled in our Hiſtory, muſt at firſt ſight perceive it to be as abſurd and fooliſh, as it is falſe and unfounded. In all King Charles the Second's reign there never was ſo able, or ſo well principled a Miniſtry, as that by whom the Triple Alliance was made; ſo that, as there was no colour for abuſing them at all, there could be no abuſe ſo glaringly groundleſs, as calling their adminiſtration *republican*. But it is poſſible Father d' Orleans, hearing King James ſay ſomething on this ſubject, miſtook the perſons he ſpoke of, and threw in the epithet *republican* in the wrong place.

(42) Revolutions of England, p. 91.

in a better temper than when they met laſt, and therefore determined to proceed againſt thoſe they eſteemed evil Miniſters. The firſt they fell upon was the Duke of Lauderdale, againſt whom they voted an addreſs for removing him from his employment, and from the King's preſence and councils (*k*). They next fell upon the Duke of Bucks, who deſired to be heard, which was complied with. The firſt day he fell into ſuch confuſion that he could not ſpeak, upon which he complained that he was ill, and the hearing was put off to the next day. He then made a very florid ſpeech, in which he hinted ſome things to the prejudice of the King and Duke, but laid the greateſt blame, in the heavieſt and moſt expreſs terms, upon the Earl of Arlington. His Grace ſubmitted afterwards to anſwer interrogatories, and in them charged the Earl ſtill more deeply (*l*). The Houſe thought fit thereupon, not only to vote an addreſs againſt the Duke, of the ſame nature with that againſt Lauderdale (*m*), but likewiſe reſolved to proceed againſt the Earl of Arlington, who thereupon deſired to be heard in his own defence as the Duke had been. When he came accordingly into the Houſe for that purpoſe, he made a very long and clear ſpeech, in which he much exceeded the hopes of his friends, and laid a foundation for defeating the deſigns of his enemies (*n*) [*H*]. But, however, he did not ſo far ſatisfy the Commons, as to prevent further proceedings, yet they did not vote an addreſs, as in the two former caſes, but choſe rather to frame articles of impeachment, which were drawn up in very ſtrong terms, though afterwards this came to nothing, and his Lordſhip was by a ſmall majority acquitted (*o*). The heads of this impeachment are curious and of great importance, for which reaſon they are inſerted in the notes [*I*]. The Earl, in the mean time, continued to preſs the King to conſent to

(*k*) See the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, Jan. 1673-4.

(*l*) See the Speech in the Journals.

(*m*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 900, 901.

(*n*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 365, 366. Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 901.

(*o*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, ubi ſupra.

[*H*] *For defeating the deſigns of his enemies.*] This was certainly a very trying conjuncture, the Earl of Shafteſbury had reconciled himſelf to the Country Party by very extraordinary ſteps, and the Duke of Buckingham viſibly followed his example, ſo that Arlington ſeemed delivered up as a victim. The Duke of Lauderdale was condemned, Buckingham and Shafteſbury were become informers, the King and Duke ſeemed not well pleaſed with this method of applying to the Houſe of Commons, yet the Earl perſiſted in his reſolution. He ſpoke very modeſtly, and with much decency, accuſing nobody, but excuſing himſelf (43). He ſaid the Eaſt-India company and the Merchants complained of the Dutch that the Flag was diſputed, the King perſonally inſulted, and therefore the war was judged abſolutely neceſſary, as the Lord Chancellor Shafteſbury told them in his ſpeech after it was begun. That believing the war neceſſary, he diſcharged the duty of his office in purſuing of it, but that *delenda eſt Carthago*, the utter ruin of the Dutch republick was no maxim of his. That he was againſt our accepting towns, becauſe he looked upon this as a war of reparation, and not of conqueſt (44). That as to the making the *Triple Alliance* it was the work of Sir William Temple, and a meaſure he ſupported and applauded, as well as the ſubſequent Treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle, but that he did not conceive thoſe tranſactions tied the King's hands from vindicating the honour of his crown, and his title to the dominion of the Britiſh ſeas, which made him jealous of his Flag. That throughout the whole war he had either done nothing but by the King's command, or with an honeſt well-meaning view towards peace. That he received new honours to give luſtre to his embaſſy; and if he failed of bringing home the Olive Branch, it was not owing to any want of endeavours in him, but to the haughtineſs of a Prince, who fancied victory muſt always attend him. That he wiſhed them to conſider he had been near twelve years Secretary of State, that in a long courſe of buſineſs he might well commit ſome miſtake, not through any error of his will, but of his judgment. That he always inclined to peace and moderate meaſures, and was a friend to Parliaments. That he hoped theſe points conſidered, and the neceſſity ſome were under to blacken others to ſecure themſelves, they would regard facts and not rumours; but that if they determined to proceed againſt him, he deſired it might be judicially, and with an opportunity of making a defence, and not by a cenſure, that would cruſh him without reply, and with his places and honour deprive him of the means of enjoying the remainder of his days in peace, which he could never taſte while under their diſpleaſure. The King was very well pleaſed at his making ſo well timed and ſo well managed a defence; but the Duke was not of the ſame opinion. He looked upon all compliances as mean, and imputed the Earl's behaviour to a want of firmneſs, and thenceforward they proceeded very different ways in their political journey, as the reader will ſee in the text. Yet in this caſe the Duke's reſentment did him no hurt, for the Houſe of Commons thought it a ſign he ſpoke truth, and was the man he profeſſed himſelf, which ſaved him.

(43) Copied from a MS. Journal, formerly in the hands of Auditor *Done*.

(44) See the Duke of Buck's Speech, in Echard's Hiſtory, p. 901.

[*I*] *For which reaſon they are in the notes:*] The charge againſt him was digeſted under the following title, *Articles of treaſonable and other crimes of high miſdemeanor againſt the Earl of* Arlington, *Principal Secretary of State*; in which they accuſe him, I. 'That he had been a conſtant and vehement promoter 'of Popery and Popiſh councils; 1. By procuring 'commiſſions for all the Papiſts lately in command, 'who made their application to him only as a known 'favourer of that faction, there being not one com-'miſſion ſigned by the other Secretary, many of which 'commiſſions were procured and ſigned by him ſince 'the ſeveral addreſſes of the two Houſes of Parliament 'to his Majeſty, and the paſſing of the late Act againſt 'Popery. 2. By procuring his Majeſty's letter, com-'manding Iriſh Papiſts and rebels to be let into corpo-'rations, and to be admitted into the commiſſions of 'the peace, and other offices of truſt, military and 'civil, contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws and conſtitutions 'of that realm, to the great terror of the King's Pro-'teſtant ſubjects there. 3. By not only ſetting up 'and ſupporting the aforeſaid Papiſts there, but bring-'ing the moſt violent and fierceſt of them to command 'companies and regiments of the King's Engliſh ſub-'jects here, to the great diſhonour and danger of this 'kingdom. 4. By openly and avowedly entertaining 'and lodging in his family a Popiſh Prieſt, contrary to 'the known laws of the land, which ſaid Prieſt was a 'noted ſollicitor of the Popiſh faction, and hath ſince 'fled out of this Kingdom. 5. By procuring pen-'ſions in other mens names for Popiſh officers, con-'trary to and in illuſion of the late Act of Parliament. '6. By obtaining grants of conſiderable ſums of money 'to be charged upon the revenues of Ireland, for the 'moſt violent and pernicious Papiſts there, particularly 'two thouſand pounds for one Colonel Fitz-Patrick, a 'notorious Iriſh rebel, whoſe mother was hanged in 'the late wars for murdering ſeveral Engliſh, and 'making candles of their fat; this grant being pro-'cured for the ſaid Fitz-Patrick, at a time when he 'was accuſed to the ſaid Lord Arlington of high 'crimes by the now Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. 7. 'By procuring his Majeſty to releaſe to ſeveral of the 'Iriſh Papiſts, ſome whereof were deeply engaged in 'the rebellion of that kingdom, the chieferies or 'head-rents reſerved to the Crown out of the afore-'ſaid eſtates of the Papiſts there, being a principal 'part of his Majeſty's revenues in that kingdom. II. 'That the ſaid Earl hath been guilty of ſeveral undue 'practices to promote his own greatneſs, and hath 'imbezzled and waſted the treaſure of this nation; '1. By procuring vaſt and exorbitant grants for him-'ſelf, both in England and Ireland, breaking into

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to a ſeparate peace with the Dutch, and when he had brought this about, procured Sir William Temple to be charged with that negociation, and it was intended that he ſhould have gone to the Hague (*p*) for that purpoſe, but the States-General, in the mean time, having ſent full powers to the Marquis del Freſno, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador Extraordinary, it was agreed to treat with him, and in three conferences the treaty was concluded and ſigned, chiefly by the interpoſition of this noble Lord, and his great intereſt with the King, as even thoſe writers agree, who cannot be ſuſpected of an intention to flatter him (*q*) [*K*]. This great point being over, and the Earl of Arlington being

(*p*) Temple's Memoirs, ſecond part, in his Works, Vol. I. p. 376, 377.

(*q*) Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

' the ſettlement of that kingdom, and diſpoſſeſſing ſe-
' veral of the Engliſh adventurers and ſoldiers, of the
' properties and freeholds in which they were legally and
' freely ſtated, without any colour of reaſon or ſug-
' geſtion of right. 2. By charging exceſſive and almoſt
' exorbitant ſums for falſe and deceitful intelligence.
' 3. By procuring his Majeſty's hand for the giving
' away, from his firſt entrance into his office, the value
' of three millions of ſterling money at the leaſt, the
' ſeveral grants whereof are extant counterſigned by
' him, and by him only. 4. That the ſaid Earl pre-
' ſuming to trample on all eſtates and degrees of the
' ſubjects of this realm, the better to ſubdue them to
' his will and pleaſure, he cauſeleſsly and illegally im-
' priſoned many of his Majeſty's ſubjects. 5. That he
' did procure a principal Peer of the realm to be un-
' juſtly impriſoned, and to be proclaimed a traytor,
' without any legal proceeding or trial, and did ma-
' liciouſly ſuborn falſe witneſſes with money to take
' away his life, upon pretence of treaſonable words.
' III. That the ſaid Earl hath falſely and traiterouſly
' betrayed the great truſt repoſed in him by his Ma-
' jeſty, as a Counſellor and Principal Secretary of
' State; 1. By entertaining a more than uſual inti-
' macy with the French Embaſſador, not only lodging
' him in his houſe, but letting him into the King's
' moſt ſecret councils. 2. By altering in private, and
' ſingly by himſelf, ſeveral ſolemn determinations of
' his Majeſty's council. 3. By procuring a ſtranger to
' have the chief command of the late raiſed army,
' and for the invaſion of Holland, to the great diſ-
' honour and diſcouragements of all the legal nobility
' and gentry of this nation. 4. By adviſing his Ma-
' jeſty to admit of a ſquadron of French ſhips to be
' joined with our Engliſh fleet (the ſad conſequence
' whereof we have ſince felt), notwithſtanding the King
' of France had agreed to ſend a ſupply of men, in or-
' der to have the fleet wholly Engliſh. 5. Whereas the
' King was adviſed by ſeveral of the counſellors, to preſs
' the French King to deſiſt from making any farther pro-
' greſs in the conqueſt of the inland towns in Holland,
' whereof England was to have no benefit, and to turn
' his army upon thoſe maritime towns that were by the
' treaty to be ours; his Lordſhip gave the King coun-
' ſel to deſiſt, whereby that part of our expedition was
' wholly fruſtrated. 6. Whereas the King was ad-
' viſed by ſeveral of his council, not to enter into this
' war 'till his Majeſty was out of debt, and had ad-
' viſed with his Parliament, his Lordſhip was of opi-
' nion to the contrary, and gave his advice accordingly.
' 7. When the French ſhips were diſperſed after the
' late fight at ſea, and had loſt all their anchors and
' cables by reaſon of the foul weather that then en-
' ſued, he perſuaded his Majeſty to ſend them eighty
' cables and anchors, although it was then objected,
' that his Majeſty had not at that time any more in his
' ſtores to ſupply his own ſhips, in caſe of the like ne-
' ceſſity. 8. He hath traitcrouſly correſponded with
' the King's enemies beyond the ſeas, and, contrary
' to the truſt repoſed in him, hath given intelligence
' to them.'

Theſe articles appear to be of a very high and heinous nature, but then, like thoſe againſt the Earl of Clarendon, they were in all probability difficult to be proved, otherwiſe his Lordſhip had hardly eſcaped. The charge of his being popiſhly affected was a thing of courſe, and the circumſtances alledged in ſupport of it from grants, &c. counterſigned by him, is grounded on what he did of courſe in his office, but the grants were procured by the Lord-Treaſurer Clifford. The reaſon there were none ſigned by the other Secretary was, becauſe they were not in his province. In the many years that he held his office, he muſt have ſigned abundance of warrants for money as any other Secretary would have done; and he alſo ſigned in the like capacity warrants for commitments, that of the Lord abovementioned was the Duke of Bucks, who was as forward as any of the Miniſters in the Cabal, though now to ſave himſelf the moſt bitter enemy the Earl of Arlington had in the world. The French Miniſter he was ſo intimate with was M. Rouvigny, a Proteſtant, whoſe ſon was created Earl of Galway by King William, and commanded the Britiſh forces in Portugal in the reign of Queen Anne. The foreign General he brought over was M. Schombergh, afterwards the famous Marſhal of that time, and created an Iriſh Duke by King William. He was for a French fleet's fighting, that they might not be bare ſpectators of the war between the Maritime Powers, and maintain their naval force entire, while we were waſting ours. He was againſt obtaining the Dutch maritime towns, as not aiming at the deſtruction of the Republick, as the Earl of Shafteſbury and Lord Clifford did at the beginning of the war. By giving intelligence to the King's enemies, no more is to be underſtood than his correſponding with his wife's relations, (for he had married a Dutch Lady) in order to the bringing about a peace, to which he was the only one of the Cabal that ever was inclined. This was the ſubſtance of what was ſaid for him by his friends, when theſe articles were read in the Houſe, but there is not the leaſt notice of them in any of our hiſtories, wherein to ſay the truth, this whole affair is very ſtrangely hurried over, and many of it's moſt important particulars omitted (45). Biſhop Burnet very juſtly obſerves, that his coming off was the more extraordinary, conſidering the many orders and warrants he had ſigned as Secretary, and aſcribed his acquittal to his ſpeech entirely, in which he ſays *he excuſed himſelf without blaming the King*; but it is not eaſy to underſtand the conſequence he draws, 'That the care he took of himſelf, and his 'ſucceſs in it, loſt him his high favour with the King, 'and as the Duke was, out of meaſure, offended at 'him, he quitted his poſt, &c. (46).' —— We ſhall ſhew that this was really a favour, and conſequently no foundation for ſuch a reflection. Yet, after all, it was neither his ſpeech nor his cauſe that brought him off, but the perſonal friendſhip of a noble perſon nearly allied to him, *viz.* the Earl of Oſſory, eldeſt ſon to the Duke of Ormond, and then the moſt popular man of his quality in England, who ſtood for five days that the debate laſted in the lobby of the Houſe of Commons (47), and ſollicited the Members in his favour as they entered the Houſe: This brought over ſome of the moſt violent men on the other ſide, and induced others to attend who might probably have declined it (48).

(45) See Echard's Hiſtory, p. 902.

(46) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 366.

(47) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 505.

(48) Hiſtory of the reign of Charles II. p. 197.

[*K*] *Suſpected of an intention to flatter him.*] The great points to be ſettled here is, whether the Engliſh nation were gainers by this treaty of London beyond what they were by that of Breda; and, if they were, to whom they owed the obligation of bringing the King to conclude this peace. Biſhop Burnet gives us his ſentiments on both heads, thus (49). 'The Prince 'of Orange brought the States to make application to 'the King in the ſtile of thoſe who begged a peace, 'though it was viſible they could have forced it. In 'concluſion, a project of peace with England was 'formed, or rather the peace of Breda was writ over 'again, with the offer of two or three hundred thou-'ſand pounds for the expence of the war, and the 'King ſigned it at the Lord Arlington's office. He 'came up immediately into the drawing-room, where, 'ſeeing Rouvigny, he took him aſide, and told him 'he had been doing a thing that went more againſt his 'heart than loſing his right hand. He had ſigned a 'peace with the Dutch, the project being brought him 'by the Spaniſh Embaſſador. He ſaw nothing could 'content the Houſe of Commons, or draw money 'from them; and Lord Arlington had preſſed him ſo 'hard, that he had ſtood out 'till he was weary of his 'life. He ſaw it was impoſſible for him to carry on

(49) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 367.

'the

being unwilling to run any more ſuch hazards, determined to retire from the poſt of Secretary of State, which he had the King's leave to ſell, and accordingly treated with Sir William Temple for that purpoſe, to whom he offered it for ſix thouſand pounds, and on his refuſal, bargained with Sir Joſeph Williamſon for that employment (*r*). At the ſame time, however, the Earl of St Albans being inclined to reſign the office of Lord-Chamberlain (probably for a valuable conſideration) the Earl of Arlington was appointed to ſucceed him, and September 11, 1674, the White-Staff was delivered him with this publick declaration from the King his maſter, That it was in conſideration of his long and faithful ſervice, particularly in the execution of his office of Principal Secretary of State, for the ſpace of twelve years, to his great ſatisfaction (*s*). He was ſoon after this ſent over, with his brother-in-law the Earl of Oſſory, and the Lord-Treaſurer Danby's eldeſt ſon, into Holland, on a commiſſion of very high importance to the Prince of Orange, ſome parts of which were of a nature not to be well received, and therefore could be undertaken from no motive of ambition, but purely for his maſter's ſervice, and of this journey we have two accounts from great men, who valued themſelves upon being in the Prince of Orange's confidence, and ſpeaking from his own mouth. Their relations are very curious and entertaining, and give us an excellent picture of courts and courtiers, and in that reſpect deſerve very well the reader's notice (*t*) [*L*]. But

(*r*) See the Life of Sir W. Temple.

(*s*) Dudgale's Baronage, Tom. III. p. 483.

(*t*) Temple's Memoirs in his Works, Vol. I. p. 337, 338.

'the war without ſupplies, of which it was plain he 'could have no hopes (50).' After this account of the peace, the ſame Prelate tells us what effect it had upon all parties, cloſing the whole with this remark. 'But Lord Arlington, who had brought all this about, 'was ſo entirely loſt by it, that tho' he knew too much 'of the ſecret to be ill uſed, yet he could never re-'cover the ground he had loſt.' There is no queſtion the Biſhop ſpoke as he thought, and took it for granted that the money prevailed on the King to ſign the Breda treaty over again; but he was miſinformed in theſe particulars. The King had little or none of the money; it went to the Prince of Orange, who perſuaded the States to beg a peace, as they really did. The treaty of London was ſo far from being like the peace of Breda, that it was the moſt honourable and advantageous we ever made with the States General, as appears by the inconteſtible evidence of Sir William Temple (51). 'The articles, ſays he, being pub-'lick, need no place here. The two points of greateſt 'difficulty were that of the Flag, and the recalling all 'Engliſh troops out of the French ſervice. This laſt 'was compoſed by private engagements, to ſuffer thoſe 'that were there to wear out without any recruits, and 'to permit no new ones to go over; but at the ſame 'time to give leave for ſuch levies as the States ſhould 'think fit to make in his Majeſty's dominions, both of 'Engliſh and Scotch regiments. The other of the Flag 'was carried to all the height his Majeſty could wiſh, 'and thereby a claim of the Crown, the acknowledg-'ments of it's dominions in the narrow ſeas, allowed 'by treaty from moſt powerful neighbours at ſea, which 'had never yet been yielded to by the weakeſt of 'them that I remember in the whole courſe of our 'pretence, and had ſerved hitherto but for an occaſion 'of quarrel, whenever we or they had a mind to it, 'upon other reaſons or conjectures. Nothing I con-'feſs, had ever given me a greater pleaſure, in the 'greateſt publick affairs I had run through, than this 'ſucceſs, as having been a point I ever had at heart, 'and in my endeavours to gain upon my firſt nego-'ciations in Holland; but I found Monſieur de Wit 'even inflexible, though he agreed with me that it 'would be a rock upon which our firmeſt alliances 'would be in danger to ſtrike and to ſplit, whenever 'other circumſtances fell in to make either of the par-'ties content to alter the meaſures we had entered into 'upon the Triple Alliance. The ſum of money given 'his Majeſty by the States, though it was not con-'ſiderable in itſelf, and leſs ſo to the King, by the 'greateſt part of it being applied to the Prince of 'Orange's ſatisfaction for his mother's portion that had 'never been paid; yet it gave the King the whole ho-'nour of the peace, as the ſum given by the Parlia-'ment upon it, and the general ſatisfaction of his 'people made the eaſe of it; and thus happily ended 'our part of a war, ſo fatal to the reſt of Chriſtendom.' There were very few people in that age more capable of judging of what concerned the general ſyſtem of affairs than Sir William Temple; none was more likely to ſpeak his mind freely upon them; and as to this matter he knew it more thoroughly than any man, as appears from the language in which he ſpeaks of it. Here indeed he ſays nothing of the Earl of Arlington (for he never mentions him but where it is neceſſary) but in his letters he owns his bringing about this peace, and approves his notions with reſpect to the Dutch after he was again ſettled in his embaſſy at the Hague (52). Upon the whole therefore, nothing can be clearer, than that, ſetting our ſyſtem of foreign affairs right again, was the work of this noble perſon, and was what chiefly drew on him the hatred of the popiſh faction.

(50) Id. ibid. p. 368.

(51) Temple's Memoirs, Part ii. p. 377, 378.

(52) Temple's Works, Vol. II. p. 327.

[*L*] *Deſerve very well the reader's notice.*] Amongſt all the tranſactions of King Charles's reign, there is not one of more importance than this journey of the Earl of Arlington's to Holland, and the commiſſion with which he was intruſted to the Prince; but the great difficulty is to come at the truth of this, and to ſee the whole tranſaction in it's natural light, and as it really happened (53). Sir William Temple thought he was the moſt capable man in the world of ſhewing it, and it was chiefly to draw up the hiſtory of this journey, that he penned the ſecond part of his ingenious Memoirs, in which he tells us (54), that the Earl of Arlington found himſelf a ſufferer by having ſo deeply engaged in the Cabal, and that his country was againſt him, and that the King was diſpleaſed at his ill ſucceſs. However, he ſtill thought himſelf out of danger with the Parliament, and therefore appeared zealous for their ſitting, and to increaſe his reputation with them, and to become a favourite, he ſet himſelf all he could to proſecute the Roman Catholicks, and to oppoſe the French intereſt. To ſhew his zeal againſt the firſt, he revived ſome old dormant orders for prohibiting Papiſts to appear about the King, and put them in execution at his firſt coming into his office of Lord Chamberlain: and he had gone ſo far, as to join with the Duke of Ormond and Secretary Coventry, to perſuade the King to remove his brother wholly from Court and publick buſineſs, as a means to appeaſe the diſcontents of the Parliament, occaſioned by the late conduct of affairs. By this counſel he had very much offended the Duke, and finding himſelf ill both with his Royal Highneſs and the people, and daily declining in credit with the King, he thought that there was no way of retrieving his intereſt, but by making himſelf the inſtrument of ſome ſecret and cloſe meaſures, that might be taken between the King and the Prince of Orange abroad; he firſt infuſed into his Majeſty the neceſſity and advantage of ſuch a negociation, and then that of his being employed in it, from the intereſt which his Lady's friends and kindred in Holland would be able to give him, as well as from the credit of having been ſo long in the ſecret of the King's affairs, and ſo beſt able to give them ſuch colours as might render the late conduct of them leſs diſagreeable to the Prince. The reader will obſerve, that all this time Sir William Temple was himſelf in Holland, and ſo could no way gain an abſolute certainty of theſe circumſtances which attended the Earl of Arlington's voyage, but muſt have truſted to his intelligence from London, and his own ſagacity in making the moſt of it. But with regard to the progreſs of this negotiation, as it fell more immediately under his own notice and obſervation, and he had ſo great a ſhare in it himſelf, that he could not but know every particular, we may

(53) See Kennet, Echard, &c.

(54) Temple's Works, Vol. I. p. 396.

this

But with reſpect to fact, moſt certainly there are ſome miſtakes or miſrepreſentations in both,

the better depend upon it, eſpecially conſidering the writer's ſincerity. Though he profeſſed a great friendſhip for Sir William Temple, then at the Hague, yet he repreſented him as unlikely to be truſted with ſuch confidence from the Prince, as was requiſite in this critical affair, for having been ſo intimate with De Wit in his former embaſſy. His ſuggeſtions prevailed upon the King, who could not refuſe an old ſervant, into whoſe family he had married a ſon, and ſo he went over with all the auxiliaries that ſeemed uſeful in this expedition, carrying not only his own Lady, ſiſter of the Dutch embaſſador Odyke, but her ſiſter, Madam Beverwaert, married to the Lord Oſſory, which Lady's converſation was agreeable to the Prince; Sir Gabriel Sylvius, who pretended a great intimacy with Monſieur Bentinck; Dr Durrel, a man proper to deal with Monſieur de Mareſt, a French Miniſter, in credit with the Prince and the Lord Oſſory, who had a great ſhare in the Prince's eſteem and kindneſs, as well from his marriage in the Beverwaert family, as from his bravery, ſo much applauded in all the actions where he had been, which was a quality loved by the Prince, though employed againſt him. All this was concerted without the knowledge of the Lord-Treaſurer Danby, who had been made to believe that a letter from the Prince to Monſieur Odyke had given occaſion to this journey, as if the Prince had deſired ſome perſon at the Hague from the King, with whom he might enter into the laſt confidence. But his Highneſs aſſured Sir William Temple, who gives the whole account of this affair, that there was no ſuch thing, and that therefore Monſieur de Rouvigni, the French Embaſſador at London, had more part in the journey than he, and perhaps any man elſe, and that all the endeavours uſed towards a general peace came from that ſide. However inſtructed, at leaſt thus accompanied, the Lord Arlington went to the Hague, and told Sir William Temple at their firſt meeting, that he came over to ſet things right between the King and the Prince, which he doubted were amiſs, and ſettle a perfect kindneſs and confidence between them, to effect which, he muſt go to the bottom of the ſore, and rake into things paſt, which was an unpleaſant taſk, and which Sir William could not do, as having no part in the King's buſineſs during that time, wherein the Prince took his offence at the councils of England, that his Majeſty had choſen him for this office, becauſe he could beſt juſtify his Maſter's intentions to his Highneſs in the whole courſe of that affair. That as for the intended peace, though his Majeſty deſired it, yet he would not meddle in it, unleſs the Prince of himſelf made any overtures about it, but would only endeavour to give the Prince what light he could, as to the ſtate of things in general, and what he might hope from his allies, as well as from France. That if the Prince had made no advances to him upon it, he would let it fall, and leave it in Sir William Temple's hands. He ſaid beſides, that having fought the King's battle with the Prince, he muſt fight another of his own, who did not deſerve the coldneſs which his Highneſs had of late expreſſed to him, and when that was done all his buſineſs was ended; he therefore deſired Sir William to introduce him and the Lord Oſſory the firſt time to the Prince, and after that he would give his Excellency no more trouble. Sir William told his Lordſhip, that he was glad to ſee him let his buſineſs be what it would. That he ſhould be gladder yet, that the King's buſineſs ſhould be done let it be by whom it would, but much more that it might be done by him. That for ſetting matters right between the King and the Prince, he thought it the beſt office which could be done them both. That for the way which he mentioned of raking into the ſore, and fighting battles in defence or juſtification of what was paſt, he knew not what to ſay to it, but would leave it to his own prudence; but from what he knew in particular as to the Prince's humour and thoughts, whatever he did of that ſort he believed ſhould be very gentle, and not go too deep, being of opinion, *that expoſtulations were very apt to end well between lovers, but ill between friends.* Sir William Temple was told by the Lord Arlington what he thought fit of all that paſſed between the Prince and him; and his Highneſs told him not only the thing but the manner of it, which was more important than the matter itſelf, for this had no effect, but the other a great deal, and that laſted long. His Lordſhip told him much of his expoſtulations, and with what good turns of wit he had juſtified both the King's part in the late war and his own, but that upon all he found the Prince very dry and ſullen, or at the beſt uneaſy, and as if he wiſhed it ended. That upon diſcourſe of the ſtate of Chriſtendom, and what related to the war, which he was engaged in, he made no overture at all, nor entered further, than that the King might bring him out of it with honour if he pleaſed, and with ſafety to Europe, if not, it muſt go on 'till the fortunes of the parties changing, made way for other thoughts than he believed either of them had at that time. That this might happen after another campaign, which none but his Majeſty could prevent, by inducing France to yield to ſuch terms as he thought juſt and ſafe for the reſt of Chriſtendom. On the other ſide, the Prince told Sir William Temple with what arrogance and inſolence the Lord Arlington had entered upon all his expoſtulations with him, ſhewing not only in his diſcourſe as if he pretended to deal with a child, whom he could by his wit make believe what he pleaſed, but in the manner of it, as if he had taken himſelf for the Prince of Orange and him for the Lord Arlington. That all he ſaid was ſo artificial, and giving ſuch falſe colour to things which every body knew, that he who was a plain man could not bear it, and was never ſo weary of any converſation in his life. In ſhort, ſays Sir William Temple, all the Prince told me of it looked ſpighted at my Lord Arlington, and not very well ſatisfied with the King's intentions upon this errand, though he ſaid he was ſure his Majeſty never intended he ſhould treat it in the manner he had, if he remembered that he was his nephew, though nothing elſe. After the firſt converſations, Lord Arlington ſtaid near ſix weeks in Holland, either upon contrary winds to return his diſpatches, or to carry him away, often at dinner with the Prince at Court, or at Count Waldeck's, or Monſieur Odyke's, or with Sir William Temple, putting on the beſt humour and countenance, affecting the figure of one who had nothing of buſineſs in his head, or in the deſign of his journey, but at heart weary of his ſtay in Holland, and unwilling to return with no better account of his errand; and, as it proved, he had reaſon for both. The Penſionary and Count Waldeck perceived that his bent was to draw the Prince into ſuch meaſures of a peace as France then ſo much deſired, into a diſcovery of thoſe perſons who had made advances to the Prince, or the States, of raiſing commotions in England during the late war, into ſecret meaſures with the King, of aſſiſting him againſt any rebels at home, as well as enemies abroad, and into hopes or deſigns of a match with the Duke's eldeſt daughter. Though they ſaid that the Earl found the Prince would not enter at all into the firſt, was obſtinate againſt the ſecond, treated the third as diſreſpect to the King, to think that he ſhould be ſo ill beloved, or ſo imprudent, to need it; and upon mention made by Lord Oſſory of the laſt, he took no further hold of it, than ſaying that his fortunes were not in a condition for him to think of a wife. Thus ended this myſtical journey, which, ſays Sir William Temple, *I have the rather unveiled, becauſe perhaps no other could do it; nor I without ſo many ſeveral lights from ſo many ſeveral hands; and becauſe though it brought forth no preſent fruits, yet ſeeds were then ſcattered, out of which ſprung afterwards ſome great events.* 'The Lord 'Arlington after his return was received but coldly by 'the King, and ill by the Duke, who was angry that 'any mention ſhould be made of his daughter the Lady 'Mary, though it was only done by the Lord Oſſory, 'and whether with order from the King or not, was 'not known; ſo that never any ſtrain of Court ſkill 'and contrivance ſucceeded ſo unfortunately as this 'had done, and ſo contrary to all the ends which the 'author of it propoſed to himſelf. Inſtead of advancing the peace, he left it deſperate; inſtead of 'eſtabliſhing a friendſhip between the King and the 'Prince, he left all colder than he found it; inſtead 'of entering into great perſonal confidence and friendſhip with the Prince, he left an unkindneſs which 'laſted ever after; inſtead of retrieving his own credit 'at Court, which he found waining by the increaſe of 'Lord

both, which it is very fit, ſhould, for the ſake of truth, and the ſatisfaction of poſterity, be ſet in a clear light (*u*) [*M*]. At this diſtance of time, there can be no juſt cauſe, why we

(*u*) See the note [*M*], where this fact is impartially examined.

'Lord Danby's, he made an end of all that he had left 'with the King, who never afterwards uſed him with 'any confidence further than the forms of his place, 'and found alſo the Lord Treaſurer's credit with the 'King more advanced in ſix weeks, which he had 'been away, than it had in many months before.' We have another account of this extraordinary affair from Biſhop Burnet, which is a good deal ſhorter, but I think full as curious as the former. He takes notice of ſome correſpondence there was between the Malecontents in Holland and the Prince of Orange; and that one Caſtairs, who had been employed between them, had been ſeized; then he proceeds thus (55). 'The 'alarm that thoſe diſcoveries from Holland gave our 'Court, made Lord Arlington offer at one Tryal more 'for recovering the King's confidence; he offered to 'go over to Holland with the Earl of Oſſory, for they 'fancied they had a great intereſt with the Prince by 'their having married two of Beverwardt's daughters, 'and the Prince had always a particular affection for 'Lord Oſſory. Lord Arlington ſaid he would go to the 'bottom of every thing with the Prince, and did not 'doubt but he would bring him into an entire depen-'dance on his uncle, and particularly diſpoſe him to 'a general peace, on which the King was much ſet, it 'being earneſtly deſired by the French. It was like-'wiſe believed, that he had leave to give the Prince 'the hope of marrying her, whom he afterwards mar-'ried. The Duke told me he knew nothing of the 'matter. He had heard Lord Arlington had talked 'as if the managing of that was his chief errand; and 'upon that he had aſked the King, who aſſured him, 'that he had poſitive order not ſo much as to ſpeak of 'that matter. Whether notwithſtanding this he had 'a ſecret order, or whether he did it without order, 'he certainly talked a great deal of it to the Prince, 'as a thing which he might depend on, if he would 'in all other things be governed by the King.' It is plain enough, that in various circumſtances theſe accounts do not very well agree, though in the main they do, and may be taken together for one way of telling the ſtory.

(55) Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 377.

[*M*] *For the ſake of truth, and the ſatisfaction of poſterity, be ſet in a clear light.*] According to the beſt lights that at this diſtance of time are to be had concerning this matter, from private memoirs and letters of perſons then living, and deeply engaged in publick affairs, the Earl of Arlington was neither the principal perſon in, nor the contriver of, this affair. The King was deſirous of paſſing the remainder of his reign in peace, and, if poſſible, ſecuring quiet to his ſubjects after his demiſe, in order to which he judged it neceſſary to come to a right underſtanding with the Prince of Orange; and to ſecure him to his brother's intereſts, reſolved to give him the Lady Mary, his Royal Highneſs's eldeſt daughter, being very ſenſible this match would prove very acceptable to the nation in general, to whom he was now endeavouring to give as much content as it was poſſible. When his Majeſty had digeſted this project in his own mind, he began to conſider of proper perſons to be intruſted with this delicate negociation, for he reſolved to employ one perſon to expoſtulate with his Highneſs as from himſelf, and that another ſhould be charged with the compliments of the Duke, and none of the diſagreeable part of the commiſſion. For this he ſoon caſt his eyes upon the Earl of Oſſory as the fitteſt perſon in his dominions, for many reaſons, as he was a man of very high quality, great parts, and unblemiſhed reputation; as having married a Lady who was very near in blood to the Prince of Orange, and as being known to ſtand higher in his Highneſs's favour than any other Engliſhman whatever. In making choice of the Lord Chamberlain for his own part of the negociation, his Majeſty wanted not many reaſonable motives, for he was beſt acquainted with the grounds of his maſter's conduct, as having been a Miniſter conſtantly employed during his reign; he had married alſo a Dutch Lady (ſiſter to the Counteſs of Oſſory), had great correſpondencies in Holland, had always expreſſed much zeal for his Highneſs's ſervice, and been thanked for it by him. Beſides, he was conſidered in Holland as the Miniſter who had made the peace, and his relation to and intimacy with the Earl of Oſſory, made him the propereſt perſon in the world to accompany him, who was to act not for the King but the Duke. They ſet out from London, Nov. 10, 1674, and return'd Jan. 6, 1674-5, and in their own opinion were neither ill received by the Prince abroad, or by the King and Duke upon their coming home. It falls out very happily that the Earl of Oſſory gave an account of this tranſaction to the Duke of Ormond his father (who did not love Arlington) in a private letter, dated Jan. 15, 1674-5, which is ſtill preſerved, and ſo far as it regards this matter runs thus (56). 'When I have given you 'an account of my late commiſſion, you will judge 'who and what influences affairs at preſent. The 'King judged an alliance by the Duke's daughter to 'the Prince of Orange to ſuit moſt with his occaſions, 'as alſo a right underſtanding between them. My 'Lord Chamberlain was commiſſioned to handle the 'ecclairciſſement on the King's ſide, and my part was 'that relating to the Duke. The objection that the 'King made was, that the Prince of Orange, during 'and ſince the war, had endeavoured to raiſe up ſe-'dition at home. His anſwer was, that before the 'peace he uſed his beſt endeavours to obtain, if not 'conſtrain, the King to it, but not by any thing tend-'ing to a rebellion. That afterwards he would own 'himſelf a villain, if ever he had done any thing 'that might give any ſuſpicion thereof. My Lord 'Lauderdale had one Caſtaires ſeized upon and exa-'mined, who ſaid that the Prince of Orange bid him 'compliment Duke Hamilton. This he owned, for 'it was not unlawful (he thought) after wars to be 'civil to perſons of worth and honour. This was all 'the quarrel on our ſide. Upon the King's deſiring 'to know who he had treated with, and the King's 'promiſe that the perſons named ſhould not ſuffer, he 'deſired to be excuſed, with this promiſe, that if for 'the future any thing came to his knowledge that 'might diſturb the quiet of the kingdoms, he would 'give notice of it in time. The Prince of Orange's 'complaints were, that the King, inſtead of helping 'him in his greateſt diſtreſs, had ſent over Ambaſſadors, 'who made a ſtricter league with France, but that 'he forgot all things paſt which could not be helped. 'He ſaid, that it was inſinuated to him that ſomething 'was intended for the Duke of Monmouth to his pre-'judice. To this we gave him ſatisfaction by the 'King's reiterated commands. That which moſt 'touched was, the King's conniving at levies for 'France, and his ſtrictneſs againſt ſuch as deſired to 'ſerve under him; upon which he preſſed extremely 'that thoſe troops might be recalled, or that he might 'have leave to raiſe ſome for the ſervice of the States. 'To this he received not the ſatisfaction he wiſhed; 'upon which he ſeveral times ſaid, that he was to ex-'pect little from us, during our partiality and fear of 'diſpleaſing France, and that whilſt thoſe of my Lord 'Lauderdale's principles had ſo much credit, the 'French intereſt would over-balance his. At our part-'ing he bid us not only thank the King, but aſſure 'him, that if occaſion were, he would venture for his 'ſervice his life and fortune. I come now to my part. 'The King told me, his nephew and his neice's mar-'riage was the only thing capable of helping the Duke, 'and that for that, as well as other reaſons, he had 'ſpoke to the Duke of it, who conſented that, upon 'the Prince of Orange's deſiring it, I ſhould under-'take the propoſition would be accepted. This com-'miſſion I had from both, and upon it's being moved 'to me by the Prince of Orange, I declared to him 'ſo much, and ſhewed him the account I gave of it 'to the Duke, from which letter, by my making a 'comma inſtead of a full ſtop, the criticks would in-'fer that I had made the offer firſt. Upon this the 'Duke expreſſed all the anger imaginable, but the 'Prince's letter by me fully juſtified the contrary. 'The Duke will have the whole letter to be a civil de-'nial, to which I have nothing to ſay, but that I am 'ſure the Prince thought it otherwiſe, for I ſhewed it 'him, who approved thereof. During our abſence, 'the King's mind had been wrought upon in this af-'fair ſo much, as I believe thoſe, who wiſh not a good 'underſtanding between him and his nephew, will have 'their

(56) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II, p. 448.

we ſhould give any preference to the Lord-Treaſurer's, or the Lord-Chamberlain's, party. It is certain that the former got the better of the latter in the King's confidence, and that the Earl loſt alſo the affection of the Duke of York, for adviſing his being ſent from Court, which however is allowed to have been a very right meaſure for King Charles's ſervice (*w*) It is alſo ſaid, that the King, by degrees, loſt all eſteem for the Earl of Arlington to ſuch a height, as to ſuffer ſome to mimick him in his preſence, on the ſcore of his pretending zeal againſt Popery, and, whether true or not, the ſtory is worth the hearing [*N*]. But however that Monarch might behave on ſome occaſions, moſt certainly he gave all outward teſtimonies of eſteem and favour to the Earl of Arlington, even to the laſt moment of his life (*x*). He not only continued him in his office of Lord-Chamberlain, but in his Privy-Council in all the changes it ſuffered, and thoſe were not a few, and he married his favourite ſon, the Duke of Grafton, into his family, and truſted him in all his buſineſs, when thoſe who had ſupplanted him were no longer ſeen at Court. So that, at the King's death, except the Duke of Ormond, he left not an older ſervant behind him than his Chamberlain the Earl of Arlington. It was, perhaps, owing to this, that King James, though he did not love him, continued his Lordſhip in that office to the day of his death, which happened July 28, 1685, early in the morning, at the age of ſixty-ſeven. His corps was afterwards conveyed to Euſton in Suffolk, and interred in a vault under the church there, which was of his own erecting. On his death-bed, as ſome writers ſay, he was reconciled to the Church of Rome (*y*), but it is moſt certain that he profeſſed himſelf, and educated his only daughter, a Proteſtant. As to his character, the reader will meet with it in the notes [*O*]. He

(*w*) See Temple's Memoirs.

(*x*) North's Examen, p. 29.

(*y*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 220.

'their aim. I almoſt forgot to tell you, that the 'Duke, before our going, ſaid, he would not have his 'daughter marry before a peace was made. But this 'the King oppoſed, believing, that when we had no-'thing to ſay upon that account, it would give a 'jealouſy that other ends were ſought under this nego-'ciation, which he would not have any way clogged. 'The Duke's expoſtulation was mingled with much 'kindneſs, but avowing that he liked not the thing 'from the firſt, and accuſing me of too much haſte. 'His carriage ſince to me is very fair and open. I 'find the Duke of Monmouth much of the ſame 'mind, there being beſides croſſneſs of intereſts, ſome 'private piques between the Prince and him. I fear 'I have been too tedious in my narratives as to publick 'concerns.' By comparing theſe accounts, and conſidering the views, the characters, and the diſpoſitions of their reſpective authors, the reader will be able to diſcover much of the truth; whereas, by reading them ſeparately, he can only learn what another perſon would have him take for truth, which may be quite another thing.

[*N*] *Whether true or not, the ſtory is certainly worth the hearing.*] We have this tale from Mr Archdeacon Echard, who aſſures us he had it from an unqueſtionable hand; as he does not name his authority, however, we can take it on his credit only. It runs thus (57). 'As the credit of this Earl declined, ſo 'ſeveral perſons at Court took the liberty to act and 'mimick his perſon and behaviour, as had been for-'merly done againſt the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon*, 'and it became a common jeſt for ſome Courtier to 'put a black patch upon his noſe, and ſtrut about with 'a white ſtaff in his hand, in order to make the King 'merry. Yet he held his Lord Chamberlain's place to 'the day of his death. The reaſon of the King's cold-'neſs, or perhaps diſpleaſure, is believed to proceed 'from his late turning towards the popular ſtream, and 'more eſpecially his outward proceedings againſt the 'Papiſts, when the Court believed him to be one in-'wardly himſelf. Concerning this I have received an 'unqueſtionable ſtory from an unqueſtionable hand; 'namely, that Colonel *Richard Talbot*, afterwards 'Earl of *Tyrconnel*, having been ſome time abſent 'from the Court, upon his return found the Earl of '*Arlington*'s credit in a low condition, and ſeeing him 'one day acted by a perſon with a patch and ſtaff, he 'took occaſion to expoſtulate this matter with the 'King, with whom he was very familiar, remonſtrating '*how very hard it was, that poor Harry Bennet ſhould 'be thus uſed, after he had ſo long and faithfully 'ſerved his Majeſty, and followed him every where 'in his exile.* The King hereupon began to complain 'too, declaring what cauſe he had to be diſſatisfied with '*Harry Bennet*'s conduct, *who had of late behaved 'himſelf after a ſtrange manner; for not content to 'come to prayers as others did, he muſt be conſtant at 'ſacraments too.* *Why*, ſaid *Talbot*, interrupting him, '*Does not your Majeſty do the very ſame thing?* *God's 'fiſh*, replied the King with ſome heat, *I hope there is 'a difference between* Harry Bennet *and* me.' This very ſtory, if true, very fully proves that the Earl of Arlington was conſidered at Court as a perſon concerned in a ſtrict and ſteady oppoſition to the Popiſh faction, and as a perſon of great gravity and circumſpection, which his enemies ſtudied to repreſent as meer pride and grimace. But we have a much ſtronger and better proof of this in Coleman's Letters (58); wherein it is expreſsly ſaid, that there was a time, when all the King's Miniſters were willing to have come into and proſecuted the Duke of York's meaſures, the Earl of Arlington only excepted; and upon this information it was, that the French court entered into ſuch ſuſpicion of his Lordſhip, as to direct their Embaſſadors to live no longer in ſtrict correſpondency with him, as being a man capable of making them believe the execution of their inſtructions was in many points impracticable, and ſo diſcouraging them from attempting it.

(57) Hiſtory of England, p. 911.

(58) Ibid. p. 918.

[*O*] *The reader will meet with it in the notes.*] It fares with the characters as with the pictures of great men, we ſee many drawn for them, but few like them. The circumſtances of the Earl of Arlington's life and fortunes bring him into general Hiſtories and private Memoirs, ſo that accounts of him are frequent, and yet none of them do him ſtrict juſtice. He entered the world very early, as appears by a copy of verſes of his, printed in a univerſity collection, when he was but nineteen (59), and thenceforward he compoſed either in Engliſh or Latin on all ſuch occaſions. He was but three and twenty at the time he entered into the ſervice of King Charles I. at Oxford, and he continued in a very uniform conduct in reſpect to loyalty from his firſt coming into buſineſs, to his going out of this world. He was Secretary to the Duke of York long, but never a favourite; he was in that capacity truſted by the King, and ſerved him faithfully. In the buſineſs of the Duke's excurſion, and in his embaſſy to the Court of Spain, we find Bennet's conduct irreproachable by ſuch as loved him leaſt (60). His becoming Secretary of State, Privy-Counſellor, and Miniſter, was the pure effects of his capacity, and that it was every way equal to his poſts, Sir William Temple confeſſes, even when he was leaſt pleaſed with him (61). He ſhewed his genius moſt when in the zenith of his power, and leaſt when he conſented to ſhare that power by making one in the Cabal. It was with difficulty he recovered himſelf, but he ſcorned to do it by laying any load upon his maſter. He ruined himſelf with the Duke, by adviſing what he thought neceſſary to prevent the ruin of the King. His journey to Holland was another proof of his being determined to ſerve but one maſter. He had ſo much good ſenſe to put little in the power of his enemies, and ſo much ſincerity, that he never wanted friends. He remained a Courtier from his birth to his grave, came into place before he could well write man, and through all ſtorms, tempeſts, and changes, held it 'till he was an old man, ſometimes in danger, often in a ſtate of coolneſs, but never in diſgrace.

(59) Coronæ Carolinæ Quadratura, Oxoniæ 1636, 4to.

(60) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 388, 389, 613.

(61) Temple's Letters in his Works, Vol. II. p. 749.

He married Iſabella, daughter to Lewis de Naſſau, Lord Beverwaert, ſon to Maurice, Prince of Orange and Count Naſſau, by whom he had his only daughter Iſabella, who married, Auguſt 1, 1672, Henry Earl of Euſton, ſon to King Charles II, by Barbara, Ducheſs of Cleveland, created afterwards Duke of Grafton. Her father's honours being limited to her, ſhe aſſiſted, after the death of the Duke her huſband, at the ceremony of King George the Firſt's coronation, as Counteſs of Arlington, &c. in her own right, and, on her deceaſe, Feb. 7, 1722-3, thoſe titles deſcended to her only ſon Charles, the preſent Duke of Grafton (z).

(z) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 64.

grace. ——— In many things however he might ſeem unhappy, as in being oppoſite to the Earl of Clarendon, and thereby drawing on himſelf an angry reflection fatal to his peace, his credit, and his memory. In his difference with Sir William Temple, who had the better of him as a writer, though not as a Statſman; yet Biſhop Burnet has done ſevere juſtice, in giving the grounds of their quarrel (62): Arlington *had thrown him off, and* Temple *was too proud to bear contempt, or forget ſuch an injury ſoon.* In falling in with Buckingham and Shafteſbury, Clifford and Lauderdale, all men of flame and violence, who had no great kindeſs for him, and who meant nothing but their own advantage. His view, on the other hand, was to keep ſome ſhare of power, and be within reach of the King. In bringing himſelf under the imputation of Popery, though he defended the King from Papiſts. In having the Prince of Orange prejudiced againſt him, becauſe he would have deterred him from correſponding with the malecontents againſt his uncle's government. In bringing upon himſelf the Duke's reſentment, by adviſing what he diſliked, and yet was obliged to obey. In provoking the Papiſts, by preventing their approaching the Royal perſon, which he thought neceſſary for the King's ſafety, and they reſented as the higheſt inſolence of office. In cauſing a ſuſpicion amongſt the friends of the Church, that he courted the Fanaticks. And, finally, in having the misfortune to ſuffer by men of all religions, while either he had none, or diſſembled what he had.——— But notwithſtanding theſe abatements, few Stateſmens accounts have appeared fairer when balanced. He was perfectly uniform in his political conduct; he was affectionate to his Prince, and thought this beſt expreſſed by loving his people. No engagements ever came into competition with theſe; he diſliked Papiſts, not perſonally, but as a party; he married a Dutch woman, without ſacrificing the principles of an Engliſh Stateſman: he durſt venture any thing for the King, as appears evidently by his courting neither the Duke of York nor the Prince of Orange. While ſole Miniſter he made the Triple Allianee. He ſaved the King or the nation by diſſolving the Cabal. The current of common opinion, and parliamentary reſentment, never ran ſo ſtrong againſt any man without bearing him down, and yet in ſaving himſelf he never ſacrificed his maſter. He ſerved his friends not only without boaſting, but without mentioning his ſervices; but then he expected to be conſidered and treated as one that could ſerve them. On this head the Duke of Ormond, who had high notions of his own quality, made a ſtrange excuſe (63). *That Lord,* ſaid he *expects to be treated as if he had been born with a blue ribband, and forgets* Harry Bennet *that was but a very little gentleman.* He formed very true judgments of men, things, and circumſtances, and expreſſed himſelf on them freely to his maſter, whoſe affairs went always beſt when Lord Arlington was moſt in favour. His life was diverſified with a vaſt variety of ſcenes, but it muſt be allowed, that all of them are very properly diſpoſed. His younger years ſpent in travel, not idly, but in buſineſs; his middle age in the moſt arduous employment in the ſtate, in which he executed all that was proper for him to execute himſelf; his decline of life in an honourable retirement. In a word, his parts recommended him to the Royal favour, his fidelity preſerved it, and his engaging the King to ſign the treaty of London, ſecured his throne and the honour of the FLAG to this nation. His honours were many, becauſe his ſervices were great; and having raiſed, in the ſpace of twenty-five years employment, a moderate, not a miniſterial, fortune, he beſtowed the heireſs of it on the ſon of him from whom it came, by the Lady to whom he had the higheſt obligations, and left behind him various teſtimonies, that a man may be an exeellent Courtier, and at the ſame time a friend to the people. Many more glittering characters than his, appear in Britiſh hiſtory, more amiable, but few. E

(62) Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 378.

(63) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 552.

BENNET (Christopher), an eminent Phyſician of the XVIIth century, and author of ſome pieces mentioned below [*A*], was the ſon of John Bennet of Raynton in Somerſetſhire, and became a Commoner of Lincoln-college in Oxford, in Michaelmas term 1632, being then fifteen years of age. After he had taken the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, he entered upon the Phyſic Line, but was created Doctor in that faculty elſewhere. He was afterwards choſen a Fellow of the College of Phyſicians in London, where he practiſed with great ſucceſs. Dr Bennet died in April 1655, and was buried, on the ſecond of May, in St Gregory's church, near St Paul's in London (*a*).

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 191.

[*A*] *His writings.*] He gave the public a Treatiſe on *Conſumptions*, intitled, *Theatri Tabidorum Veſtibulum*, &c. Lond. 1654, in 8vo. Alſo *Exercitationes Diagnoſticæ, cum hiſtoriis demonſtrativis, quibus alimentorum et ſanguinis vitia deteguntur in pleriſque morbis*, &c. Our author corrected and enlarged a book written originally by Dr Thomas Mouſet, and intitled *Health's Improvement; or, Rules comprizing or diſcovering the nature, method, and manner of preparing all ſorts of food uſed in this nation.* Lond. 1655, in 4to. Dr Bennet had one or two more pieces ready for the preſs at the time of his death (1). T

(1) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 191.

BENNET (Dr Thomas) an eminent Divine in the XVIIIth century, was born in the city of Saliſbury in Wiltſhire, on the ſeventh of May 1673, and educated in the free-ſchool there: where he made ſo great a progreſs in learning, that he was ſent to St John's college in the univerſity of Cambridge, in the beginning of the year 1688, before he was full fifteen years of age (*a*). He regularly took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts; the latter in 1694, when but twenty-one years old: And was choſen Fellow of his college. In 1695, he wrote a copy of Hebrew verſes on the death of Queen Mary, printed in the collection of poems of the univerſity of Cambridge upon that occaſion. As he was moſtly conſiderable as a writer, this article will chiefly conſiſt of an account of the ſeveral things he publiſhed. The firſt was, 'An Anſwer to 'the Diſſenters Pleas for Separation, or an Abridgment of the London Caſes; wherein 'the Subſtance of thoſe books is digeſted into one ſhort and plain Diſcourſe.' Lond. 1699,

(*a*) General Dictionary, under the article BENNET (Dr Thomas).

1699, 8vo. [*A*]. About the end of the year 1700, he took a journey to Colchester, to visit his friend Mr John Rayne, Rector of St James's in Colchester; and finding him dead when he came, he undertook the office of preaching his funeral sermon, which was so highly approved of by the parishioners, that their recommendation was no small inducement to Dr Compton then Bishop of London (*b*), to present him to that living (*c*). He had institution to it January the 15th, 1700-1 (*d*). In this large place he applied himself with great diligence and success to the several duties of his function; and being a person of great learning, of a strong voice, and good elocution, he was extremely followed and admired; and the more, as most of the other livings were but indifferently provided for: so that he became Minister, not only of his own two parishes (*e*), but in a manner of that whole noble, and then flourishing town. And the subscriptions and many presents he had from all parts, raised his income to near three hundred pounds a year. But that afterwards was very much reduced, as will appear in the sequel. In the beginning of the year 1701, he published 'A Confutation of Popery, in III parts. 'Wherein, 1. The Controversy concerning the Rule of Faith is determined. 2. The 'particular Doctrines of the Church of Rome are confuted. 3. The Popish Objections 'against the Church of England are answered.' *Cambr.* 8vo [*B*]. About the same time, he was engaged in a controversy with some Dissenters, which produced the following book of his, 'A Discourse of Schism: Shewing, 1. What is meant by Schism. 2. That 'Schism is a damnable Sin. 3. That there is a Schism between the established Church 'of England, and the Dissenters. 4. That this Schism is to be charged on the Dissenters 'side. 5. That the modern pretences of Toleration, Agreement in Fundamentals, &c. 'will not excuse the Dissenters from being guilty of Schism. Written by way of letter to 'three Dissenting Ministers in Essex, *viz.* Mr Gilson and Mr Gledhill of Colchester, and 'Mr Shepherd of Braintree. To which is annexed, An Answer to a Book intitled, '*Thomas against Bennet, or the Protestant Dissenters vindicated from the Charge of Schism.*' Cambr. 1702, 8vo [*C*]. This book being animadverted upon by Mr Shepherd, our author

(*b*) The Bishop had lately purchased that living, with several others, from Mr Audley of Beerchurch.

(*c*) General Dict. ut supra.

(*d*) Newcourt's Repertorium Eccles. Vol. II. edit. 1710. p. 170.

(*e*) With St James's he held St Nicolas by sequestration.

[*A*] *An Answer to the Dissenters Pleas for Separation*, &c.] In the preface Mr Bennet observes, that the 'Collection of Cases and other Discourses, written 'by the most eminent of the Conforming Clergy, to 'recover Dissenters to the Communion of the Church 'of England, had met with such an universal approbation, that he needed not speak any thing in commendation of it.' —— But the Collection itself being large and dear (1), he thought it convenient to reduce it to a less bulk and smaller price, that those persons who had not either money to buy, or time to peruse, so big a volume, might reap the benefit of it upon easier terms. He next informs us, that he had used his best endeavours to avoid obscurity, and all other faults commonly charged upon Abridgments; and had omitted nothing material, though the number of sheets in his Abridgment is not the *Sixth Part* of those contained in the original. The 11th and 12th chapters, he tells us, received the corrections of Dr Sharpe, then Archbishop of York, author of the Discourses therein epitomized; and other parts were submitted to the censure of other worthy persons. Archbishop Tillotson's Discourse of *Frequent Communion* is omitted, as wholly foreign to the design of the Collection. This preface is dated from St John's-college in Cambridge, October 2, 1699. —— As for the several Tracts contained in *the Abridgment of the London Cases*, they are as follow, according to the method they are disposed in by our author. I. 'Archbishop *Tenison*'s 'Argument for Union, taken from the true interest of 'those Dissenters in England, who profess and call 'themselves Protestants (2).' II. Bishop *Williams*'s Case of Lay-Communion with the Church of England. III. Dr *Sherlock*'s Resolution of some Cases of Conscience, with respect to Church-Communion. IV. His Letter to Anonymus, in answer to his Three Letters to Dr Sherlock about Church-Communion (3.) V. Bishop *Williams*'s Case of indifferent things used in the worship of God. VI. His Vindication of the Case of indifferent things, &c (4). VII. Dr *Scott*'s Cases of Conscience resolved, concerning the lawfulness of joining with Forms of Prayer in publick Worship. In two parts (5). VIII. Dr *Claggett*'s Answer to the Dissenters Objections against the Common-Prayers, and some other parts of Divine service prescribed in the Liturgy of the Church of England (6). IX. Dr *Hickes*'s Case of Infant-Baptism (7). X. Dr *Rosbury*'s Case of the Cross in Baptism (8). XI. Mr *Evans*'s Case of kneeling at the Holy Sacrament (9). XII. Bishop *Fowler*'s Resolution of this Case of Conscience, Whether the Church of England's symbolizing, so far as it doth, with the Church of Rome, makes it unlawful to hold Communion with the Church of England. XIII. His Defence of the Resolution, &c. XIV. Dr *Hooper*'s Church of England free from the imputation of Popery (10). XV. Dr *Freeman*'s Case of Mixt Communion (11). XVI. Dr *Hastard*'s Discourse about Edification. XVII. Bishop *Patrick*'s Discourse of profiting by Sermons (12). XVIII. Archbishop *Sharpe*'s Discourse concerning Conscience. In two parts (13). XIX. Dr *Calamy*'s Discourse about a scrupulous Conscience (14). XX. His Considerations about the Case of Scandal, or giving offence to weak brethren (15). XXI. Dr *Cave*'s Serious Exhortation, with some important advices relating to the late Cases about Conformity. XXII. Bishop *Grove*'s Persuasive to Communion with the Church of England (16). The *Abridgment* of these several Tracts is comprized in fourteen chapters, besides the Introduction and Conclusion.

(1) It was published at first in several Tracts, 4to, commonly bound in three Volumes; afterwards in one Volume, *fol.* 1698, and in three Volumes, 8vo, 1718.

(2) This is the *Introduction*, in the Abridgment.

(3) Chap. I. of the Abridgment.

(4) Chap. II.

(5) Chap. III.

(6) Chap. IV.

(7) Chap. V.

(8) Chap. VI.

(9) Chap. VII.

(10) Chap. VIII.

(11) Chap. IX.

(12) Chap. X.

(13) Chap. XI. XII.

(14) Chap. XIII.

(15) Chap. XIV.

(16) Conclusion.

[*B*] *A Confutation of Popery*, &c.] The author observes in his Preface, That though the nation is plentifully furnished with books against Popery in our own language, yet some treating only of one or more particular disputes, and being full of learning, and likewise very numerous, so that a good collection is scarcely to be found, and not to be purchased but at a great price; and others being too short and unsatisfactory, he had therefore thought it advisable to publish this Confutation of it; which, he was persuaded, would give the reader a full view of all the material branches of the Popish Controversy. This preface is dated from Colchester, Feb. 13, 1700-1. In the first part of the book he overthrows *Tradition*, and proves, That the Scriptures are the only rule of Faith. In the second he shews, That Transubstantiation is absolutely false, as are also the other particular doctrines of the Church of Rome, viz. Adoration of the Host, Communion in one kind, Purgatory, &c. In the third he answers the Popish objections against the Church of England; namely, 1. The Charge of Schism. 2. The Pretence of our many Divisions. 3. The pretended Novelty of our Religion. 4. The Invalidity of our Orders.

[*C*] *A Discourse of Schism*, &c.] In the Preface, dated Colchester, Feb. 21, 1701-2, he tells us, That he had endeavoured in that Discourse to make our tedious and intricate disputes concerning *Schism*, both short and clear, and level to the understandings of the most unlearned persons. To that end he had been obliged to explain the nature of Schism, and manage the charge of it against the Dissenters, in a *Manner* somewhat different from that of our best authors, who have formerly writ upon the same subject. However, that his *Principles* and *Notions* are the very same, which have been constantly received and maintained by

author published, 'A Defence of the Discourse of Schism: in answer to those Objections, 'which Mr Shepherd has made in his *three Sermons of Separation*, &c.' Cambr. 1703, 8*vo* [*D*]. And, towards the end of the same year, 'An Answer to Mr Shepherd's Con-'siderations on the Defence of the Discourse of Schism.' Cambr. 8*vo* [*E*]. As also a treatise intitled, 'Devotions, *viz.* Confessions, Petitions, Intercessions, and Thanks-'givings, for every day in the week: and also before, at, and after, the Sacrament; 'with occasional prayers for all persons whatsoever.' 8*vo*. In 1705, he published 'A Confutation of Quakerism; or a plain proof of the falshood of what the principal 'Quaker writers (especially Mr *R. Barclay* in his *Apology*, and other works) do teach con-'cerning the necessity of *Immediate* Revelation in order to a saving Christian Faith; the 'being, nature, and operation of the pretended *Universal Light within*; it's striving with 'men, moving them to prayer, and calling them to the Ministry; Regeneration, Sancti-'fication, Justification, Salvation, and Union with God; the nature of a Church; the 'Rule of Faith; Water-Baptism, and the Lord's-Supper. Diverse Questions also con-'cerning Perfection, Christ's Satisfaction, the Judge of Controversies, &c. are briefly 'stated and resolved.' Cambr. 8*vo* [*F*]. In 1707, he caused to be printed in a small pamphlet,

the Conforming Divines. 'The whole Controversy '(as he goes on) turns upon the determination of this 'single question, *Whether the Established Church does 'impose any one unlawful Term of Lay-Communion, or 'no.* If the Established Church does impose any one 'unlawful Term of Lay-Communion with her, doubt-'less she is schismatical, and the separation of the 'Dissenters is not only lawful, but necessary. But if 'the Established Church does not impose any one un-'lawful Term of Lay-Communion with her, then '*tis* utterly impossible for the Dissenters to justify their 'separation from her, &c.' To confirm his sentiments, he quotes several passages out of Mr Mead's *Two Sticks made one*; Dr Bryan's *Dwelling with God*; Mr R. Baxter, and other eminent Dissenters. —— The annexed Answer to *Thomas against Bennet*, was occasioned by a book so intitled, written by a Dissenter; wherein the author endeavoured to shew, that Mr Bennet's *Confutation of Popery* was inconsistent with his *Abridgement of the London Cases*, and will vindicate the Dissenters from the charge of Schism.

[*D*] *A Defence of the Discourse of Schism*, &c.] Mr Shepherd having, among other things, intimated (17), That the Dissenters *out-preach the Clergy of the Established Church*; our author inquires, in one part of this *Defence* (18), 'Whether the Sermons of the 'Dissenters are preferable to those of the Established 'Church.' Which gives him occasion to quote passages out of the sermons of Ni. Lockyer, Provost of Eaton in Oliver's time, and of R. Gouge's, Teacher at Coggeshall, abounding with glaring absurdities, and most egregious nonsense; equal to any thing mentioned by Dr Echard in his Contempt of the Clergy.

(17) Page 74.

(18) Chap. XV. p. 80.

[*E*] *An Answer to Mr* Shepherd's *Considerations*, &c.] In the preface he complains, That it was his great misfortune to be engaged with an adversary, who was neither able nor willing to make the Controversy depending between them two useful to the reader. Then he adds, 'Were not *He* my neighbour, and had 'not Providence placed me in a very great town full 'of all sorts of Dissenters and Enthusiasts; I should 'have thought it unlawful for me to misemploy the 'smallest portion of my time in answering such a writer, 'as does neither understand the matter he treats of, 'nor know when he is confuted, &c.' And indeed he was a most sorry and incoherent writer. This Preface is dated March 24, 1702-3.

[*F*] *A Confutation of Quakerism*, &c.] In the Preface, dated March 10, 1704-5, he observes, That he cannot but think *Quakerism* one of the vilest and most pernicious Herefies that our unhappy nation has ever been infected with. And therefore he was heartily grieved that the Clergy of the Established Church, who have written with great learning and accuracy upon most other points, should almost wholly neglect the Quaker Controversies. 'Tis possible, adds he, some of those 'great men, who have so frequently triumphed over 'other adversaries, are of opinion, that the Quakers 'are below their notice. ——'Tis true this Sect, when 'it first appeared in the world, distinguished themselves 'by such an incredible variety of *Enthusiastick Freaks*, 'as made their persons utterly ridiculous. Their books 'also were then stuffed with such prodigious quantities 'of *Ribaldry and Jargon*, of *Bitterness*, most *un-'christian Language*, and even *Blasphemy* itself; as 'inclined all sober persons to believe, that they ought 'rather to be burnt than confuted. —— At length Mr '*William Penn*, Mr *George Keith*, and Mr *Robert 'Barclay*, arose. These dressed up their religion to 'the best advantage. The two last especially en-'deavoured to refine Quakerism.' —— Afterwards he observes, that 'Mr *Barclay*'s *Apology* is certainly the 'exactest piece that ever was written in defence of '*Quakerism*.' And This is what our author hath undertaken to confute in this book now before us. In the first nine chapters he proves, That there is no necessity of *immediate* Revelation in order to a *Saving* Christian Faith; and explains several texts that have been perverted by the Quakers, to serve their purpose. In the Xth, XIth, XIIth and XIIIth chapters, he shews, That there is no such *Universal Light* within as the Quakers pretend; and reflects upon several of their doctrines that depend thereon. The XIVth, &c. contain reflections upon divers others of their doctrines. And, from the XVIIIth to the end, he treats of Baptism. —— This book was answered by Benjamin Lindley, in two volumes, 4to, 1710 and 1713, under the title of 'The Necessity of Immediate Revelation 'toward the Foundation and Ground of true Faith 'proved, &c.' And a passage in the Xth chapter of it (19) was severely animadverted upon by one Richard Claridge, formerly Rector of Peopleton in Worcestershire, who turned afterwards Independent and Quaker (20). Mr Bennet's words were, —— 'Whereas we 'affirm, that the Nature of the Messiah, or Man Christ, '*is compounded of the Godhead and the Manhood imme-'diately united*; our adversaries affirm, that the Na-'ture of the Messiah, or Man Christ, is compounded, '1. Of the Godhead. 2 The Light. 3. The Man-'hood, viz. Human Soul and Body; which two last, 'viz. the Light and the Manhood, they affirm to be 'immediately united to the Godhead.' —— This, Claridge calls 'An assertion so grossly erroneous, that 'to use our author's own phrase (21), *it threatens de-'struction to the Gospel of our Lord, by sapping the very foundations of it*; since it lays the axe to the root of Christianity, and sets up a new and another Christ than the holy Scriptures testify of. For, 1. If the Messiah, or Man Christ, is compounded of the Godhead and Manhood, then he is, as the Socinians falsely say, a mere creature. For, composition plainly implies something made out of other things, which it was not before. And if Christ be a mere creature, then he is not God blessed for ever. And if so, what is become of the foundation of the Christian Religion? 2. If the Messiah is compounded of the Godhead and the Manhood, then he had no existence antecedent to this composition; for the thing compounded has no existence as such, before it is compounded. 3. This composition renders Christ neither perfect God nor perfect man; for if he is compounded of both, he cannot be truly either. 4. It destroys the distinction of the Godhead and Manhood in Christ, and of the essential properties of both natures; for, if they are compounded, they cannot remain distinct the one from the other, as the common opinion is. ——— Such a Christ as this, says R. Claridge, is 'T. Bennet's Christ, one not of two compleat and distinct Natures, but of two Natures compounded; out of which composition he fancies arises a certain third thing, which he affirms to be the Messiah or Man Christ (22).

(19) Page 113.

(20) See Wood Athenæ, edit. 1721, Vol. II col. 945.

(21) Preface to the Confutation of Quakerism, p. 3.

(22) J. Whiting's *Rector corrected*, &c. Lond. 1708, 8vo. p. 129.

[*G*] *A*

pamphlet, 12*mo*, 'A Diſcourſe of the Neceſſity of being baptized with water, and 'receiving the Lord's-Supper; taken out of the Confutation of Quakeriſm.' *Cambr.* for the ſake of thoſe, who wanted either money to purchaſe, or time to peruſe, the Confutation of Quakeriſm. The year following he publiſhed, 'A brief Hiſtory of the joint 'uſe of precompoſed ſet forms of prayer; ſhewing, 1. That the antient Jews, our Saviour, 'his Apoſtles, and the primitive Chriſtians, never joined in any prayers, but precompos'd 'ſet forms only. 2. That thoſe precompos'd ſet forms in which they join'd, were ſuch 'as the reſpective congregations were accuſtomed to, and throughly acquainted with. '3. That their practice warrants the impoſition of a National precompos'd Liturgy. 'To which is annexed, A Diſcourſe of the Gift of Prayer, ſhewing, That what the Diſ'ſenters mean by the Gift of Prayer, *viz.* a Faculty of conceiving Prayers *extempore*, is 'not promis'd in Scripture.' *Cambr.* 8*vo*. The ſame year he publiſhed likewiſe, 'A Diſcourſe of joint Prayer; ſhewing, 1. What is meant by joint Prayer. 2. That the joint 'uſe of Prayers conceiv'd *extempore* hinders Devotion, and conſequently diſpleaſes God: 'whereas the joint uſe of ſuch precompos'd ſet Forms, as the Congregation is accuſtomed 'to, and throughly acquainted with, does moſt effectually promote Devotion, and conſe'quently is commanded by God. 3. That the Lay Diſſenters are obliged, upon their 'own Principles, to abhor the Prayers offered in their ſeparate Aſſemblies, and to join 'in Communion with the Eſtabliſh'd Church.' *Cambr.* 8*vo*. *(f)* [*G*]. Towards the end of the ſame year he publiſhed, 'A Paraphraſe with Annotations upon the Book of 'Common Prayer, wherein the Text is explained, Objections are anſwered, and Advice 'is humbly offer'd, both to the Clergy and Laity, for promoting true Devotion in the 'uſe of it.' *Lond.* 8*vo* [*H*]. The next thing he put out was, 'Charity Schools 'recommended;

(f) The Preface to theſe two books, is dated from Colcheſter, Octob. 27. 1707.

[G] *A brief Hiſtory of the joint Uſe of precompoſed ſet Forms of Prayer*, &c. —— *A Diſcourſe of joint Prayer*, &c.] Several anſwers were returned to theſe books; namely, 1. 'A brief Reply to the Scrip'tural and argumentative part of Mr *Bennet's Brief* '*Hiſtory of the joint Uſe of precompoſed ſet Forms of* '*Prayer*, &c' by John Horſeley. 2. 'A direct and 'full Reply to Mr Bennet's *Diſcourſe of joint Prayer*, 'with a Preface, containing a ſhort Vindication of the '*Brief Reply to Mr Bennet's brief Hiſtory*, from the 'unjuſt and ſcurrilous cenſures of the *Cenſura Tempo*'*rum* for the month of March 1709.' By the ſame author. Lond. 1710. 8vo. 3. 'Brief Remarks upon 'Mr Bennet's Brief Hiſtory, &c.' By Dr. Wainewright. 4. 'Some Reflections on Mr Bennet's Diſ'courſe of joint Prayer, by a Preſbyter of the Church 'of England.' Suppoſed to be Mr Ollyffe; who aſ(23) Page 24. ſerts (23), that Mr Bennet's notion, which he ſo warmly eſpouſes, is contrary to the general ſenſe not only of Diſſenters, but of all that have been acquainted with it, and ſeems to be a ſtock upon the reaſon of mankind. 5. Dr John Edwards, formerly our author's fellow-collegian, and a rigid Calviniſt, doth alſo ſe(24) Preacher, third Part, p. 4, 5, 6, 145, 146, 152, &c. verely reflect, in the third part of his *Preacher*, on theſe books; and ſome others written by Dr Bennet (24).

[H] *A Paraphraſe, with Annotations, upon the Book of Common-Prayer*, &c.] As for the occaſion of this work, the author himſelf gives it us in the following (25) Preface, p. 2. This Preface is dated from Colcheſter, April 16, 1708. words (25). 'Tis too notorious, that the Book of 'Common Prayer is very little underſtood by ſome, 'and very negligently uſed by others, even of our own 'Communion; and that the Diſſenters have raiſed al'moſt innumerable objections againſt it, hoping there'by to juſtify their Separation from us. The con'ſideration of theſe great evils has conſtrained me to 'publiſh the following *Paraphraſe*, &c. wherein the 'Text is explained, Objections are anſwered, and Ad'vice is humbly offered, both to the Clergy and the 'Laity, for promoting true devotion in the uſe of it.' —— His method is this. He hath printed the Morning and Evening Service, Litany, Collects, Communion, Public Baptiſm, and other occaſional Offices, with a Paraphraſe interwoven into the Text. And at the bottom of the page, Notes to explain the Text, to clear Difficulties, anſwer Objections, &c. ——— He (26) Page 27, note 22. is of opinion (26), That a mere Deacon may pronounce the Abſolution; and obſerves, That the Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Communion Service, were intended and uſed as diſtinct Offices in former times; though they are now generally uſed at one and the ſame time, in one continued order, contrary to (27) Page 156. the firſt intention of our Church (27). At the end, there is an Appendix, containing Five Diſcourſes. No. I. 'A Diſcourſe of the Original of the Book of 'Common-Prayer; ſhewing, that 'tis not taken out of 'the Maſs-Book, and other Popiſh Liturgies.' In this he divides the matter of the Book of Common-Prayer into four parts. 1. Such particulars as are not at all to be found in any of the Popiſh Liturgies. 2. Such as, though they be found in the Popiſh Liturgies, are notwithſtanding borrowed out of the Scriptures. 3. Such as, though they be found in the Popiſh Liturgies, are notwithſtanding borrowed by them out of the Apocryphal writings, or the antient Fathers of the four firſt centuries. 4. Such as muſt be acknowledged to be found in the Popiſh Liturgies, and in no other book written before the year of Chriſt 400 (28). (28) Page 246. ——— Now, if we ſet aſide the three firſt ſorts of particulars, there remains in the whole Morning Prayer but about one *Fourteenth* part. All the reſt is either new made, as the Confeſſion, &c. or taken from either the Scriptures, as, *O come let us*, &c. the Verſicles and Reſponſes, &c. or the Apocryphal writings, as, *O all ye works*, &c. or the writings of the four firſt centuries, as the Apoſtles Creed, and, *We praiſe thee, O God*, &c. or the Greek Church, as the prayer aſcribed to St Chryſoſtom. ——— Of the Evening Prayer about one *Eleventh* part is taken from the Popiſh Liturgies —— About one *Tenth* part of our Litany, and the laſt and ſhorteſt prayer of the eleven ſubjoined to the Litany; and not one of the eight Thankſgivings following thoſe prayers, are taken out of the Popiſh Liturgies. —— Of the Collects for the day, many were taken out of the Popiſh Liturgies, but ſeveral amended and corrected, and a great number new made. ——— Of the Communion-Office about one *Eleventh* part, and of all the following Offices, even to the end of the Commination, almoſt nothing is taken out of the Popiſh Liturgies. —— After which he adds, 'If ſuch 'an inconſiderable quantity is all that we owe to the 'Papiſts, how can it be ſaid that we had our Offices 'from them? It may with vaſtly greater reaſon be 'ſaid, that they were taken out of the Scriptures, or 'wholly made new. For, if one part muſt give a de'nomination to the whole, certainly the far greater 'part ought to do it (29).' To proceed, No. II. Of (29) Page 248, 249, 250. the Appendix is 'A Diſcourſe of the Church's uſing 'Apocryphal Leſſons.' No. III. 'A Diſcourſe of 'our Church's uſing that which is commonly called 'the Athanaſian Creed.' No. IV. 'A Diſcourſe of 'praying againſt Sudden Death.' No. V. 'Of kneel'ing at the Holy Communion.' Under this laſt head he ſhews (30), 'that the Chriſtians of the firſt ages, (30) Page 311. 'long before the monſtrous doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation was heard of, received in an adoring poſture; 'which was either kneeling or ſtanding, according to the difference of circumſtances. And whereas it is pretended, that Kneeling at the Sacrament was introduced by Pope Honorius III, it is a miſtake; for what that Pope introduced, was only a bow at the elevation of the Hoſt, and at the carrying it to ſick perſons.'

[I] *The*

'recommended, in a Sermon preached at St James's Church in Colchester, on Sunday 'March 26, 1710. Published at the request of the Trustees.' 8vo. The same year he wrote, 'A Letter to Mr B. Robinson, occasioned by his *Review of the Case of Liturgies, and their Imposition.*' And, 'A second Letter to Mr B. Robinson, *&c.* on the same Subject.' Both printed at London 1710, 8vo. In 1711, he published 'The Rights 'of the Clergy of the Christian Church: or, A Discourse shewing, that God has given 'and appropriated to the Clergy, Authority to Ordain, Baptize, Preach, Preside in 'Church-Prayer, and consecrate the Lord's Supper. Wherein also the pretended Divine 'Right of the Laity to elect either the persons to be ordained, or their own particular 'Pastors, is examined and disproved.' Lond. 1711, 8vo [*I*]. He had begun a second part of this work, but it was never published. Therein, he intended to shew, that the Clergy are, under Christ, the sole spiritual Governors of the Christian Church; and that God has given and appropriated to them, authority to enact laws, determine controversies, inflict censures, and absolve from them. The pretended divine institution of lay Elders was also disproved, and the succession of the present Clergy of the Established Church vindicated. And thereto was annexed a Discourse of the Independency of the Church on the State, with an account of the sense of our English Laws, and the judgment of Archbishop Cranmer touching that point (*g*). About this time he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity. In 1714, he published 'Directions for studying I. A general 'System or Body of Divinity; II. The Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. To which is 'added St Jerom's Epistle to Nepotianus.' Lond. 8vo [*K*]. The year following was published his 'Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, agreed on in 1562, and 'revised in 1571; wherein (the text being first exhibited in *Latin* and *English*, and the 'minutest variations of eighteen the most antient and authentic copies carefully noted) 'an Account is given of the Proceedings of Convocation in framing and settling the text 'of the Articles; the controverted clause of the Twentieth Article is demonstrated to be 'genuine; and the case of Subscription to the Articles is consider'd in point of Law, History, 'and Conscience. With a Prefatory Epistle to *Anthony Collins*, Esq; Wherein the egre- 'gious Falshoods and Calumnies of the author of *Priestcraft in Perfection*, are exposed.' Lond. 1713, 8vo [*L*]. Before the publication of this book, he found it necessary to leave Colchester.

(*g*) It was never finished, though about four chapters of it were actually printed off.

[*I*] *The Rights of Clergy of the Christian Church*, &c.] The Preface to this book is dated from Colchester, Jan. 13, 1710-11. And the chief Heads of it are, That the Catholick Church is one, holy, spiritual, and perpetual Society, of which Christ is the Head, which was instituted by God, and of which also 'tis necessary for every person to whom the Gospel is preached, to become and continue a member That Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Church Prayer, and preaching in Christian Assemblies, are perpetual Ordinances in the Church. That from the beginning of Christianity down to our own times, there have always been certain Officers in the Church, whose business it was to administer the Ordinances aforesaid. That from the beginning of Christianity there have been Deacons in the Church. That from the beginning of Christianity down to our own times, the Clergy have been authorized to exercise their functions by Almighty God, either immediately or mediately. That Church-authority is not derived from the people. Then, after examining the pretended instances of Lay-Ordination, he shews, That the power of ordaining is appropriate to the Clergy by Divine Right. That the Laity have no Divine Right to elect the Clergy, —— nor to chuse their own particular Pastors. Next, he examines the Scripture, and other pretences, for Lay-Baptism, and Lay-Preaching; and enquires into the validity of Lay-Baptism.

[*K*] *Directions for studying*, I. *A General System of Divinity*, &c.] In the Preface, dated from Colchester, Jan. 16, 1713-14, he informs us, That this 'Letter, wherein he hath given directions for studying a general System or Body of Divinity, was written in the year 1705, at the request of a young Gentleman, to whom, as the beginning shews, he had made a promise of it. Whilst it lay by him, he bestowed some leisure hours in correcting it; and at length determined to make it public, because he conceived that something of this was much wanted. —— He adds, That he hath subjoined such Directions for studying the XXXIX Articles of Religion, as will, if he mistakes not, set them in a different light, and give a more distinct and particular view of them, than may be found elsewhere.' And indeed he hath laboured to give a rational explication of them, and to render them as consistent with Scripture and truth as possible. He was 'forced to add St Jerom's Epistle to Nepotianus, because 'tis not to be met with otherwise than amongst his works, or in some collection of his epistles, which all persons can't command the use of.'

[*L*] *An Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion*, &c.] 'This was written by way of Answer to a Pamphlet, published in London in 1709, 8vo, and intitled, 'Priestcraft in perfection; or, A Detection of 'the Fraud of inserting and continuing this clause '(*The Church hath Power to Decree Rites and Ceremo- 'nies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith*) in the 'Twentieth Article of the Articles of the Church of 'England.' Supposed to be written by Anthony Collins, Esq; who made it his chief business and delight to invent what he thought would vex or distress the Clergy. That pamphlet began in the following manner. 'The Articles of the Church of England were 'agreed to and subscribed by the Archbishops and 'Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, 'in a Convocation held at London, in the year of 'our Lord, 1562, and the fifth of Queen Elizabeth. 'They were afterwards reviewed by another Convoca- 'tion of the Province of Canterbury, held at London 'in the year 1571, and in the beginning of that year '(which was the 13th of the Queen) they were ratified 'in Parliament under the Title of *Articles of Religion 'which only concern the Confession of the true Christian 'Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, comprized 'in a book imprinted, intitled*, " Articles whereupon " it was agreed, &c. 'From which Act alone arises 'their Legal Authority. These being the Authorities 'upon which the Articles of our Church stand, we 'have no other way of knowing what, and how many 'these Articles are, but from the *Records of the Pro- 'ceedings of the before-mentioned Convocations*, and 'from the *imprinted Book*, referred to in the Act of 'Parliament. And if we are to be governed by these, 'it will be evident that the first clause of the 20th Article, viz. (*The Church hath a power to decree Rites 'and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of 'Faith*) printed in all our modern editions of the 'Articles since the year 1617, is a perfect Forgery, 'and never passed either the Convocation of 1562, or 'the Convocation of 1571; nor was it contained in 'the *imprinted Book* that was ratified by Parliament. 'For, 1st, We have the *Original Manuscript* of the 'Articles which passed the Convocation of 1562, of 'which my Lord of Sarum (31) gives the following 'account, That this manuscript is without doubt an 'Original; that the hands of the Subscribers are well 'known

(31) The late Bishop Burnet, Exposition of the XXXIX Articles, p. 16.

Colchester. For, the other livings being filled up with persons of good reputation and learning, his large congregation and subscriptions fell off, so that his income did not amount to threescore pounds a year [*M*]. Wherefore, by the advice of his friends, he accepted of the place of Deputy-Chaplain to Chelsey-Hospital, under Dr Cannon. Soon after, preaching the funeral sermon of his friend Mr Erington, Lecturer of St Olave's in Southwark, it was so highly approved of by that parish, that he was unanimously chosen Lecturer in the next vestry, without the least canvassing (*h*). Upon that, he entirely left Colchester, in January 1715-16, and fixed himself in London (*i*): Where he was likewise appointed Morning-Preacher at St Lawrence-Jewry, under Dr Mapletoft. In 1716, he published a pamphlet intitled, 'The Nonjurors Separation from the publick Assemblies of the Church of England examined, and proved to be schismatical upon their own Principles.' Lond. 8vo [*N*]. And, 'The Case of the Reformed Episcopal Churches, 'in

(*h*) General Dictionary, as above.

(*i*) See Preface to his *Discourse of the ever-blessed Trinity in Unity*, &c, p. 2.

'known; that it belonged to Archbishop Parker (who 'was President of that Assembly, and that it was left 'by him to Corpus-Christi-college in Cambridge, and 'is signed with a particular care; for at the end of it 'there is not only a sum of the number of pages, but 'of the lines in every page. And though this was 'the work of the Province of Canterbury, yet the 'Archbishop of York, with the Bishops of Durham 'and Chester, subscribed it likewise; and it is also 'subscribed by the whole Lower House. And, 2dly, 'We have an original manuscript of the Articles that 'were reviewed in the Convocation of 1571, left to 'the same college by Archbishop Parker (who was 'President likewise of that Convocation) but that is 'only subscribed by the Archbishop, and ten Bishops 'of his Province; whereas those of 1562 are sub'scribed by both Houses of the Province of Canter'bury, and some Bishops of the Province of York. 'Now that the clause of the Church's power is not in 'the beginning of the 20th Article of either of these 'manuscripts, appears from several collations that have 'lately been made of our modern printed editions 'with them. 3dly, As to the *imprinted book of Ar'ticles* that was ratified by Parliament, either it was 'never tacked to the original Record of the Act, or 'else it has been since purloined from it; for upon 'examination in the Office where the Records are 'kept, the imprinted book referred to in the Act of 'Parliament is not to be found.' This is the substance of the pamphlet before us: Let us now see what Dr Bennet's Answer thereto contains. —— After a very smart Prefatory Epistle to Anthony Collins, Esq; dated *Chelsea, April* 20, 1715, the Doctor exhibits a collation of *all the antient copies* of the Articles, both printed and manuscript, both in Latin and English; and sets down under the text of the Articles, in English on one side, and Latin on the other, the minutest variations in those antient Copies, being eighteen in number. The *printed Latin Copy* he puts the highest value upon, is that of Reginald Wolf in 8vo, 1563, which hath the controverted clause in the 20th Article (*). —— In chap. II. he gives a transcript from the Records produced by Archbishop Laud in the Star-chamber in 1637; and of the Register of the Upper House of Convocation in 1562, published by Bishop Gibson in his *Synodus Anglicana*, &c. wherein that clause was recorded. [The original Records of the Convocation were destroyed in the great fire at London, 1666.] In chap. VII. he proves, That when the Articles were passed by the Clergy in Convocation, they were recorded in the Registry of the Archbishop of Canterbury. But this Record of the Articles in the Registry of the See of Canterbury was not subscribed, nor had the Broad Seal affixed to it (32). The author supposes therefore, that a Copy of the Articles was engrossed, in a Text hand, and after the Broad Seal was affixed thereto, that instrument of them was deposited in some of the Royal offices (33). He shews in chap. XI. that the Articles were passed, recorded, and ratified in 1562, *in Latin* only. After having given, in chap. IV. An exact and very particular account of the Latin MS. in Bennet-college library, which was signed by the Bishops on Jan. 29, 1562. (and on which A. Collins lays so much stress) he proves, in Chap. VIII. that That MS. is no Record. And of this he alledges the following proofs. 1. 'Because Archbishop Parker had no more right or power 'to dispose of the Records of Convocation by will, 'than the Lord Chancellor has to dispose of the Re'cords of Parliament after the same manner. 2. He 'appeals to any man of common sense, whether a

(*) See also, p. 232.

(32) Chap. IX.

(33) Chap. X.

'MS. so frequently and so oddly corrected, sometimes 'with red lead, at other times with black ink; in 'which so many portions, great and small are struck 'out, and so many particulars inserted, nay in which 'English and Latin are mixed together, &c. could 'ever be intended for a Record in a matter of so high 'concern.' —— Next, as to the other Bennet-college MS of 1571, our author says, 'tis no wonder it has not *the Clause*, considering it was grounded on the old unauthorized English translation, in which the Clause was first omitted. And, besides, after the 11th of May, when this MS was signed, many alterations were made in the translation, which are not in the MS. And consequently this controverted Clause might at the same time be restored to the place it had in the Record of 1562. He shews likewise, That those English Copies of the Articles printed in 1571, which have *the Clause* above-mentioned, are genuine, and those which want it are spurious (34). —— In answer to what A. Collins had said, concerning the *imprinted Book being tacked to the Record*, the Doctor observes, that the very form of the Rolls is such, that any man who has seen them would as soon expect to find, that an imprinted book had been tacked to our author's nose, as to any of the Rolls of Parliament (35).

(34) Page 336, &c.

(35) Prefatory Epistle, p. vi.

[*M*] *So that his income did not amount to threescore pounds a year.*] The one being but about forty, and the other fifteen pounds *per annum*. And yet he declared to his friend the rev. Mr Sherlock, that he would have even been contented with them, if he could have made threescore pounds a year of them two together. Bishop Compton had indeed given him the small vicarage of Mark's Tay near Colchester, but it was no more than enough to pay for a Curate (36); and accordingly he let his Curate enjoy it.

(36) From the Gen. Dictionary, and private information.

[*N*] *In* 1716 *he published a pamphlet, intitled,* The Nonjurors Separation, &c.] It was occasioned by 'A 'Collection of Papers written by the late rev. George 'Hickes, D. D.' and published in 1716, wherein the Church of England was charged with Heresy, Schism, Perjury, and Treason. Dr Bennet, in the 1st chapter his book, defines *Schism* to be 'a breach of that 'union which ought to be maintained in the Christian 'Church or Society.' In the 2d chapter he shews, That Dr Compton continued rightful Bishop of London to the day of his death; since he did not cease to be Bishop of London by resignation, or deprivation, or forfeiture; nor forfeit his diocese, by maintaining communion with those Bishops, who were placed in Sees of the deprived ones; and therefore that all separation from him was a Schism. In the 8th chapter he endeavours to prove, that the Nonjurors separation from the communion of Bishop Robinson [successor to Bishop Compton] is schismatical, because they have no diocesan Bishops; and therefore those Bishops who are now possessed of the dioceses of England, are the only true and rightful Bishops, there being no other claim against them. —— But this Tract proving unsatisfactory to many persons, several Answers were given to it; namely, 1. 'The Layman's Vindication of the Church 'of England, as well against Mr Howell's Charge of 'Schism, as against Dr Bennet's pretended Answer to 'it.' Lond. 1716, 8vo. 2. Another intitled, 'Dr 'Bennet's Concessions to the Nonjurors proved to be 'destructive to the Cause, which he endeavours to de'fend, as they make the Nonjurors to be the Catho'licks, and his own Communion to be Schismatical; 'in a Letter to a Friend.' Dated October 22, 1716. Lond. 1717, 8vo. 3. Mr James Pierce, an eminent Dissenting Minister, wrote likewise 'A Letter to Dr 'Bennet, occasioned by his late Treatise concerning

'in Great Poland, and Poliſh Pruſſia, conſidered, in a Sermon preach'd on Sunday, 'November 18, 1716, at St Lawrence-Jewry, London, in the morning, and St Olave's 'Southwark, in the afternoon.' Lond. 8vo [O]. Soon after, he was preſented by the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's, to the vicarage of St Giles's Cripplegate, London, which afforded him a plentiful income of near five hundred pounds a year [P]. But he had little, or at leaſt no quiet, enjoyment of it. For, endeavouring to recover ſome dues that unqueſtionably belonged to that church, he came thereby to be engaged in tedious law-ſuits; which, beſides the immenſe charges they were attended withal, gave him a great deal of vexation and uneaſineſs, and very much imbittered his ſpirits: However, he recovered a hundred and fifty pounds a year to that living. After he was ſettled in it, (namely in the year 1717) he married Mrs Elizabeth Hunt of Saliſbury, a gentlewoman of great merit; and by her he had three daughters. The ſame year he publiſhed, 'A Spital 'Sermon preach'd before the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, &c. of London, in St Bridget's 'Church, on April 24, 1717.' Lond. 8vo. And in 1718, 'A Diſcourſe of the ever 'bleſſed Trinity in Unity, with an Examination of Dr Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of 'the Trinity.' Lond. 8vo [Q]. But, from this time, the care of his large pariſh, and

'the Nonjurors Separation, &c.' Dated at Exeter, November 13, 1716, and printed at London, 1717, 8vo.

[O] *The caſe of the Reformed Epiſcopal Churches in Great Poland*, &c.] This ſermon was occaſioned by a Brief for the relief of thoſe Churches. Our author obſerves in his ſermon (37), 'That theſe Proteſtants are deſcended from thoſe perſons, who forſook the corruptions of the Church of Rome, by the influence principally of thoſe eminent ſaints and martyrs, John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, who received their doctrine in a good meaſure from our truly famous countryman John Wicleff, to whom we are obliged for the firſt dawnings of the Reformation.' —— After that, he anſwers ſeveral objections that had been made againſt relieving them, particularly, that they have no true Epiſcopacy amongſt them. In oppoſition to which he ſhews, that they regularly derive their ſucceſſion from three perſons who were conſecrated Biſhops by certain Biſhops of the Vaudois (38); and that each of their Biſhops is truly and properly a Dioceſan, having a determinate number of Paſtors with the reſpective congregations, over whom he exerciſes eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; and they have not only Biſhops, but alſo Prieſts and Deacons, which are three diſtinct orders with them as they are with us (39).

(37) Page 8, ſecond edition, 1716.

(38) Vide *Regenvolſcii* Hiſtoria Eccleſ. Slavon. Provin. edit. Trajectiad Rhenum, 1652, p. 314, &c.

(39) Sermon, as above, p. 14, &c.

[P] *Which afforded him a plentiful income of near five hundred pounds a year.*] It cannot well be imagined what the author of his life (40) means, when he makes this *wiſe* remark upon that occaſion — 'Which 'was the utmoſt of his preferment, tho' the whole of 'it, when the ſalary of Curates and other charges 'were paid, was not full four hundred pounds a year 'clear.' But ſurely near four hundred pounds a year clear is very noble preferment; and ſo Dr Bennet thought it, as appears from the Dedication to his *Diſcourſe of the ever Bleſſed Trinity in Unity*; in which he 'returns his humbleſt thanks to his moſt honoured Patrons for ſo remarkable an inſtance of their favour, as he wanted words to expreſs; namely, Their conferring upon him, in the moſt generous and obliging manner, one of the moſt principal parochial benefices in the kingdom; in which (ſays he) 'as I have oppor-'tunity of doing a large ſhare of our Great Maſter's 'work, and thereby earning everlaſting wages (which 'is the moſt valuable conſideration), ſo I reap the ad-'vantage of a *plentiful income*, which affords me even 'a temporal reward for the labours of my preſent ſta-'tion.' —— It ſeems Dr Hoadley, the preſent Biſhop of Wincheſter, was very helpful to him, though privately, in obtaining that preferment.

(40) In the General Dictionary.

[Q] *A Diſcourſe of the ever Bleſſed Trinity in Unity*, &c.] This he dedicated 'To his moſt honoured patrons (41) the Rev. Dr Henry Godolphin, Dean of St Paul's, London, and Provoſt of Eton college; the Rev. Dr William Stanley, Dean of St Aſaph; the Rev. Dr John Younger, Dean of Sarum; and the Rev. Dr Francis Hare, Dean of Worceſter; the Reſidentiaries of St Paul's, London.' It is the only book of his that has a Dedication. 'Tis dated, as well as the Preface, from Cripplegate, London, October 23, 1717. The occaſion of this work he gives us in the following words (42). 'Every body knows, that many 'writers, of different ſpirits and abilities, attacked 'the Doctor [Dr Sam. Clarke, author of *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*] in different manners, as 'their inclinations or judgments led them. But not-'withſtanding this variety of oppoſition, I heartily 'wiſh I could not ſay, that what to me ſeemed in ſuch 'a caſe the moſt deſirable, or rather abſolutely neceſ-'ſary, was totally neglected. For though much com-'mendable zeal was ſpent againſt the book *in general*, 'and *divers parcels* of it were particularly queſtioned 'and taken to pieces; yet none of the Doctor's ad-'verſaries attempted a confutation of *his whole ſcheme*, 'and a thorough examination of every branch of his 'doctrine.' This, as he ſays, a little lower, determined him to write *a full Reply* to that celebrated Treatiſe of his learned friend. ——— He ſpends the greater part of his Diſcourſe, in proving *the Divinity of the Son*, or Second Perſon; as being the principal point in the whole controverſy concerning the Trinity, and that which has been the moſt largely and warmly debated (43). After having given the occaſion and deſign of his work, he treats, in chap. II. of the Paternity of God; and ſhews, That the very God is the Father of all mankind by a *general* Paternity, of all Chriſtians by a *particular* or *fœderal* Paternity, and of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt by a *ſpecial* Paternity. And in chap. IV. that God was *ſpecially the Father* of the man Jeſus Chriſt in theſe two reſpects, becauſe he was to him inſtead of an human Father, and becauſe he raiſed him from the dead. See *Rom.* i. 4. Chap. III. is concerning the Union of the Divine and Human Natures in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; in which he delivers it as his opinion, That Jeſus Chriſt conſiſts of the λόγος, or *Word* of God; of an human body, and an human ſoul; and concludes, That our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was, and is, very man, conſiſting of an human Body, and an human Soul; and that to this Man the *Word* was, and is ſtill united (44). In chap. V. he lays down the ſtate of the Controverſy between Dr Clarke and himſelf, in the following words. 'Tis 'confeſſed on both ſides, 1. That the bleſſed Jeſus, 'has a Divine Nature, viz. the Word. 2. That 'the Word, or Divine Nature of the bleſſed Jeſus, 'is called God.' But the queſtion is, *Whether the Word, or Divine Nature of the bleſſed Jeſus, be the very God*, i. e. *the One ſelf-exiſtent Being.* 'I affirm 'that he is; and you deny it, making him a Being 'diſtinct from, and inferior to, the one ſelf-exiſtent, 'or very God.' Before he comes to produce texts of Scripture to eſtabliſh his opinion, he examines, in chapters VI. and VII. thoſe ſeveral texts which ſpeak of Chriſt's Humiliation, or Exaltation (particularly *Philipp.* ii. 5—11); in a word, all thoſe that ſeem to intimate that Jeſus Chriſt is inferior to the Father. And, in chap. VIII. endeavours to prove, *That during the time of our Saviour's miniſtry, the Diſciples did not believe that he was any thing more than a mere Man, conducted and aſſiſted by the Spirit of God.* As alſo, in chap. IX. *That during the time of our Saviour's miniſtry, the Word was quieſcent in the Man Chriſt Jeſus.* Next, he examines ſeveral other texts (45), particularly *Mark* xiii. 32. *John* xiv. 28, &c. and then concludes, that there is not one text which ſpeaks of our Bleſſed Saviour, in ſuch a manner as implies his being inferior to the very God, but what either neceſſarily muſt, or moſt fairly may, be underſtood of the Man Chriſt Jeſus, or our Saviour's Human nature only. ——— Having thus cleared the way, he ſhews in chap. XII. 'That the Holy Scriptures do teach, that the Word

(41) Patrons of St Giles Cripplegate, and by whom it was given him.

(42) Preface, p. 1.

(43) Preface, p. 3.

(44) Page 15.

(45) Chap. X. XI.

'or

and other affairs, ſo engroſſed his thoughts, that he had no time to undertake any new work; except an Hebrew Grammer [*R*], which was publiſhed at London in 1716, 8vo, and is reckoned one of the beſt of the kind. He mentions indeed in one of his books (*k*), written about the year 1716, that he had then 'ſeveral taſks' in his hands, 'which 'would find him full employment for many years;' but whatever they might be, none of them were ever finiſhed, or made publick. He died of an apoplexy at London, October the 9th, 1728, aged fifty-five years, five months, and two days; and was buried in his own church. As to his perſon, Dr Bennet was tall, and of a ſtrong and robuſt conſtitution. He was a man of ſtrong paſſions, and not without haughtineſs, but of very great integrity. With regard to his learning, he was a perfect maſter of the Eaſtern, and other learned, languages; well ſkilled in controverſy, and a valiant champion for the Church of England. We are moreover informed (*l*), that we have had few ſcholars, who have equalled him as an exact reaſoner, and an accurate textuary; and that though he had an uncommon ſhare of knowledge in various kinds of learning, he wiſely gave himſelf up to the improvement of thoſe talents, in which his chief excellence lay. One of his antagoniſts does not ſcruple to own (*m*), that he could truly eſteem and reſpect him for his valuable abilities, for his induſtrious application of mind to an examination and enquiry into the important matters of our Chriſtian religion, and for divers other worthy qualities; particularly for his candour and civility; and for his reſolute contempt of thoſe falſe topicks of perſuaſion, by which ignorant and degenerate minds are led captive into error, or loſe the praiſe of it, if it ſhould be into truth, *viz.* all human deciſions, by Councils, or Churches authority, when their judgment is not agreeable to the Holy Scriptures: in which caſe, he ſpeaks as if he had the courage and honeſty to oppoſe the moſt triumphant errors of the age. Finally, he declares he eſteemed him, for his zealous profeſſion of integrity, and exciting others to act honeſtly and openly according to their judgments, and not to uſe arts of diſguiſe and hypocriſy in ſacred matters.

(*k*) Diſcourſe of the ever bleſſed Trinity, &c. p. 3.

(*l*) See Weekly Miſcellany, No. 113.

(*m*) T. Emlyn, in the Preface to his book mentioned below, note [*Q*].

'or Divine Nature of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is the 'very God.' And in chap. XIII. 'That the Holy 'Ghoſt is the very God.' Chap. XIV. 'is concerning 'the Trinity in Unity.' Wherein, among other things, (46) Page 218. he affirms (46), that 'the word *Perſon*, when applied 'to the Son and Holy Ghoſt, does not ſignify a di- 'ſtinct intelligent Being ſeparate from the Father. 'For though we can't exactly define what a Divine 'Perſon is, yet we can ſay what 'tis not.' He ſums (47) Ibid. up the whole in theſe words (47), 'Briefly therefore, 'the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, are one and 'the ſame Being with each other: That is, though 'they are diſtinct in, yet they are co-eſſential to, and 'neceſſarily conſtitutive of, one and the ſame Being. 'Even as the Soul and the Body are diſtinct in, though 'co-eſſential to, and neceſſarily conſtitutive of, the 'ſame being, Man.' —— He hath one particular no- tion, beſides what hath been already mentioned, and that is, He ſuppoſes that the *Human Soul* of Chriſt (48) Page 70. *pre-exiſted* before his Incarnation (48), and was the Shechinah or habitation of the Glory of God the Father. But, at the Incarnation, this pre-exiſting Human Soul of Chriſt emptied himſelf of the Glory he had with God before the world was; and in that ſtate of humiliation Chriſt did ſuffer and die for the ſins of the (49) Page 260. whole world (49). At the end of the book there is a ſhort 'Examination of Dr Clarke's Scripture Doctrine 'of the Trinity.' —— Several Anſwers were returned to this Diſcourſe: The 1ſt by Mr Thomas Emlyn, intitled, '*Dr Bennet*'s New Theory of the Trinity examined, or ſome Conſiderations on his *Diſcourſe of 'the ever Bleſſed Trinity in Unity*, and his *Examination 'of Dr Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity.*' Lond. 1718, 8vo. The 2d was by Mr John Jackſon, Rector of Roſſington in Yorkſhire, under this title; 'A modeſt Plea for the Baptiſmal and Scripture notion 'of the Trinity. Wherein the ſchemes of the Rev. 'Dr Bennet and Dr Clarke are compared.' Lond. 1719. 8vo. The 3d was by William Stephens, M. A. one of the Vicars of Bampton, thus intitled, 'The 'Catholick Doctrine concerning the Union of the two 'Natures in the One Perſon of Chriſt ſtated and vin- 'dicated; a Sermon preached at the Triennial Viſi- 'tation of the Right Reverend Father in God, John 'Lord Biſhop of Oxford; held at Witney on Tueſday, 'July 21, 1719. In which alſo Dr Bennet's late no- 'tion of the total Quieſcence of the Divine Nature in 'our Saviour during his Miniſtry, is conſidered and 'examined.' Oxford, 1719, 8vo.

[*R*] *Except an Hebrew Grammar*, &c.] It was intitled, Thomæ Bennet, S. T. P. *Grammatica* Hebræa *cum uberrimâ Praxi in uſum tironum, qui Linguam Hebræam abſque Præceptoris vivâ voce (idque in breviſſimo temporis compendio) ediſcere cupiunt. Accedit Conſilium de ſtudio præcipuarum Linguarum Orientalium, Hebrææ, ſcil. Chaldææ, Syriæ, Samaritanæ, & Arabicæ, inſtituendo, & perficiendo.* This Grammar was deſigned by the author for the uſe of ſuch as want to learn Hebrew without the aſſiſtance of a maſter. C

BENTHAM (Thomas) a learned and pious Engliſh Divine, who was Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry in the XVIth century, was born about the year 1513 (if about forty-ſix years of age when made a Biſhop (*a*) in 1559) at Shirebourne in Yorkſhire (*b*), and educated at Magdalen-college in Oxford (*c*). He took his Bachelor's degree in Arts, Feb. 20, 1543 (*d*), and was admitted Perpetual Fellow of that college, November 16, 1546, and took his Maſter's degree in Arts the year following (*e*), about which time he applied himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of Divinity and the Hebrew language, in which he was extremely well ſkilled, as well as in the Latin and Greek tongues (*f*). A certain author tells us, he was converted from Popery in the firſt year of Queen Mary (*g*), but we find him very zealous againſt the Popiſh religion during the reign of King Edward VI, upon which account, and his aſſiſting one Henry Bull of the ſame college, in wreſting the cenſer out of the hands of the Choriſters, as they were about to offer their ſuperſtitious incenſe, he was ejected from his fellowſhip, by the Viſitors appointed by Queen Mary to regulate the univerſity (*h*) [*A*]; ſoon after which he retired to Zurich, and afterwards to Baſil

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 192. p. 704.

(*b*) Bale de Script. ſui Temporis, p. 113. Whitlocus.

(*c*) Brown Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, p. 293.

(*d*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 67.

(*e*) Wood's Faſti, p. 71.

(*f*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ut ſupra. Whitlocus. See note [*D*].

(*g*) Anglorum Spec. in Yorkſhire, p. 889.

(*h*) Laur. Humfred. in Vita & Morte J. Juelli, edit. 1573, p 72, 73.

[*A*] *He was ejected from his fellowſhip by the viſitors, appointed by Queen Mary to regulate the univerſity.*] Mr Wood informs us, that he was particularly obnoxious on account of his behaviour, for in Henry the

Basil in Switzerland, and became Preacher to the English Exiles there, and expounded to them the entire book of the Acts of the Apostles (*i*), a proper subject and portion of Scripture this, as Fuller observes (*k*), to recommend patience to his banished countrymen; as the Apostle's sufferings so far exceeded theirs: this exposition was left by him at the time of his death, very fairly written, and fit for the press, but Mr Wood knew not whether it was ever printed. In exile, as at home and in college, he led a praise-worthy, honest, and laborious life, with little or no preferment. Afterwards, being recalled by some of his brethren, he returned to London under the same Queen's reign, where he lived privately and in disguise, and was made Superintendant of a Protestant congregation in that city (*l*) [*B*], whom Bentham, by his pious discipline, diligent care and tuition, and bold and resolute behaviour in the Protestant cause [*C*], greatly confirmed in their faith and religion, so that they assembled with the greatest constancy to divine worship, at which there often appeared an hundred, sometimes two hundred persons; no inconsiderable congregation this to meet by stealth, notwithstanding the danger of the times, daily, together at London, under the nose of the vigilant and cruel Bonner (*m*). At length, when Queen Elizabeth came to the throne, he was soon provided for, and was, in the second year of her reign, nominated for the See of Lichfield and Coventry (*n*), upon the deprivation of Dr Ralph Bayne, a violent persecuting Papist, and had the temporalities of that See restored to him, Feb. 20, 1559 (*o*), being then about forty-six years of age. On the thirtieth of October 1556, he was created, with some others, Professor of Divinity at London, by Laurence Humfrey, S. T. P. and John Kenal, L.L.D. who were deputed by the university of Oxford for that purpose (*); and in the latter end of October, 1568, he was actually created Doctor of Divinity (*p*), being then highly esteemed on account of his distinguished learning. He published a Sermon on *Matth.* iv. 1—11. printed at London, 8*vo*. Bishop Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, tells us, that our author translated into English the Book of Psalms, at the command of Queen Elizabeth, when an English version of the Bible was to be made, and that he likewise translated Ezekiel and Daniel (*q*). He died at Eccleshal in Staffordshire (*r*), the seat belonging to the See, Feb. 19, 1578, aged sixty-five years, and was buried under the south wall of the chancel of that church, being succeeded in his bishoprick of Lichfield and Coventry, by Dr William Overton (*s*). He left a widow named Matilda, but we do not expressly find that he left any children; Brown Willis, however, mentions one Thomas Bentham, that was promoted to be Prebendary of Lichfield and Coventry, about two months after the decease of the Bishop (*t*), who might probably be his own son, as we find he had several children: see the description of his tomb in note [*D*].

(*i*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ut supra.

(*k*) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkshire, p. 198.

(*l*) Being, says Wood and Heylyn, the only church that the Protestants had in those times.

(*m*) Heylyn's History of the Reformation. History of Queen Mary, p. 79, 80.

(*n*) Brown Willis says, his Congé D'Elire was dated Dec. 26, 1559; his election, Jan. 15; and consecration, March 24; in Bishops of Lichfield and Coventry, Vol. I. p. 392.

(*o*) Pat. 2 Eliz. Godwin. de Præsul. p. 325, edit. 1743.

(*) Regist. K. K. f. 36. 6. MS. Wood.

(*p*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 704.

(*q*) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 376, 377, anno 1559.

(*r*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 704.

(*s*) Brown Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, p. 392.

(*t*) Brown Willis, ubi supra, in the Prebendaries of Lichfield and Coventry, p. 454. April 24, 1578.

BENTINCK.

the Eighth's time he was only a complier with, no promoter of, Popery; but in the first year of Queen Mary, repenting his former compliance, he refused not only to say Mass, but to correct the scholars of the university for their absence from divine service. Wood's words are these (1). *Cum Thomæ autem Benthamo Decano præciperet antedictus Readus ut Juniores propter absentiam a sacris castigaret, respondet ille se quidem simulati sub Henrico VIII, cum Pontificiis consensus pœnitentiam egisse, neque ad repudiatum denuo cultum redire statuisse; iniquum vero. ducens in illos animadvertere, quorum facta sciens ac volens imitaretur. Sodalitio itaque ejectus*, &c. That when the aforesaid Sir Richard Read, one of the Visitors, commanded Thomas Bentham, *as Dean of the college*, to correct the junior scholars for their absence from divine service, he made answer, He had indeed but too much already repented his ever having given a feigned compliance to the Popish religion in the reign of Henry the VIIIth, and was resolved never to return to that forsaken worship; and that he esteemed it unjust to punish that in others, which he himself would willingly and knowingly do; which *(with his other behaviour)* was the cause of his being deprived of his fellowship, &c. To this purpose also see Laurence Humfrey in the Life of Bishop Jewell (2).

(1) Historia & Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis, lib. i. p. 275.

(2) L. Humfred. in Vita, &c. J. Juelli, ut supra.

[*B*] *Made Superintendant of a Protestant congregation of that city.*] Dr Heylyn informs us of this in his History of the Reformation (3), where he tells us also, that this *Mr Bentham continued Minister of the Protestant congregation in London 'till Queen Mary died; and that by the encouragement and constant preaching of this pious man, the Protestant party did not only stand to their former principle, but were resolved to suffer whatsoever could be laid on them, rather than forfeit a good conscience.*

(3) Dr Heylyn's Hist. of Reformation, p. 80. History of Queen Mary.

[*C*] *By his bold and resolute behaviour in the Protestant cause.*] For when it was strictly charged and commanded, *that no man should either pray for, or speak to, or once say, God bless them* (that is, persons condemned, or about to suffer for their religion), notwithstanding this rigid proclamation, Bentham seeing the fire set to some of them, turning his eyes to the people, said, *We know they are people of God, and therefore we cannot chuse but wish them well, and say, God strengthen them*; and so he boldly cried out, *Almighty God, for Christ's sake, strengthen them*; upon which all the people with one accord, cried, *Amen, Amen.* The noise whereof was so great, and the cryers so many, that the officers knew not whom they were to seize on, or with whom they were to begin their accusation (4).

(4) Heylyn's History of the Reformation. History of Queen Mary, p. 79, 80.

[*D*] *And was buried in the chancel of the church there.*] Having over his grave a stone of alabaster, with the effigies of himself, his wife and four children, inscribed with the two following verses.

Hâc jacet in Tumbâ Benthamus Episcopus ille
Doctus, Divinus, Largus, pascens, pius, Almus.
Obiit 19 Feb: 1578: (5)

Bentham the Prelate good these stones enshrine,
A pious Pastor, and a learn'd Divine.

(5) Brown Willis has it Doctor in Lichfield and Coventry, p. 392.

But the three last words, and the date of his death, is torn off. Some authors make the date of his death the 21st of February, 1578, and give us nevertheless this his epitaph, with the date annexed, as above.

To these verses on his tomb we may likewise add the following distich, which Laurence Humfrey, in his Life of Bishop Jewell, tells us was made by a nobleman, a scholar of his, upon Bentham's being constituted Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (6).

Clarus Doctrinâ, Clarus pietate, fideque
Benthamus Christi præsul et exul erat.

Religion, learning, faith, are Bentham's fame,
Prelate and exile, Christian still the same.

(6) Laurence Humfred, in Vita & Morte.

To these verses we shall add another small character of him, which though repeated already in the text, may not be improperly inserted here from the original. *De Thomâ nostro sic scribit* Whitlocus, *vir fuit in omni generi doctrinæ feliciter educatus infra academiam Oxoniensem, itique theologiam professus, inque Transmarinis*

marinis academiis per certos annos feliciter in ſtudiis verſatus, Linguæ ſanctæ callentiſſimus, Græci non minus quam Latini Sermone peritus, &c (7). Of our Thomas thus writes Whitlock. — 'He was a man 'happily educated in all kind of learning at the uni- 'verſity of Oxford, where he profeſſedly ſtudied 'Theology, and in foreign academies for ſeveral years, 'being no leſs ſtudious and diligent, made a great 'progreſs in all parts of Literature, he was excellently 'well ſkilled in the Hebrew language, as well as the 'Greek and Latin tongues, &c.' R

(7) Godwin, de Præſulibus, p. 325, edit. 1743.

BENTINCK, or BENTHINCK (WILLIAM) Earl of Portland, *&c.* one of the greateſt Stateſmen of his time; and the firſt that advanced his family to the dignity of the Engliſh peerage. M. Bentinck was a native of Holland, being deſcended of an antient and noble family of that name in the province of Guelderland (*a*) [*A*]. After a liberal education, he was, by the intereſt of his friends, promoted to be Page of Honour to William, then Prince of Orange, (afterwards King William III. of England) in which ſtation, his good behaviour and addreſs ſo recommended him to the favour of his maſter, that he preferred him to the more honourable poſt of Gentleman of his Bed-chamber. In this capacity he accompanied the Prince into England, in the year 1670; where, going to viſit the univerſity of Oxford, he was, along with the Prince, created Doctor of Civil Law (*b*). In 1672, the Prince of Orange being made Captain-General of the Dutch forces, and ſoon after Stadtholder, M. Bentinck was promoted, and had a ſhare in his good fortune, being made Colonel and Captain of the Dutch regiment of guards, afterwards eſteemed one of the fineſt in King's William's ſervice, and which behaved with the greateſt gallantry in the wars both in Flanders and Ireland. In 1675, the Prince falling ill of the ſmall-pox, M. Bentinck had an opportunity of ſignalizing his love and affection for his maſter, in an extraordinary manner, and thereby of obtaining his eſteem, and friendſhip, by one of the moſt generous actions imaginable; for the ſmall-pox not riſing kindly upon the Prince, his Phyſicians judged it neceſſary, that ſome young perſon ſhould lie in the ſame bed with him, imagining that the natural heat of another, would drive out the diſeaſe, and expel it from the nobler parts (*c*): no body of quality could be found in all the Court to make this experiment; at laſt, M. Bentinck, though he had never had the ſmall-pox, reſolved to run the riſque, and accordingly attended the Prince during the whole courſe of his illneſs, both day and night; nothing was given him, nor was he ever removed in his bed by any other hand; and his Highneſs ſaid afterwards, that he believed M. Bentinck never ſlept, for ſixteen days and nights, he never called once, that he was not anſwered by him as if he had been awake (*d*). It is from this time we may date that intimacy, and particular affection, which his Highneſs ever after ſhewed to M. Bentinck, who, upon the Prince's recovery, was immediately ſeized with the ſame diſtemper, and attended with a great deal of danger, but however recovered, juſt ſoon enough to attend his Highneſs into the field, where he was always next his perſon; and his courage and abilities equally anſwered the great opinion his Highneſs had of him, who ever found him an excellent counſellor and faithful ſervant, and from hence forward employed him in his moſt ſecret and important affairs (*). In the year 1677, M. Bentinck was ſent by the Prince of Orange into England, to ſollicit a match with the Princeſs Mary, eldeſt daughter of James, at that time Duke of York (afterwards King James II.) which was ſoon after concluded [*B*]. And in 1685, upon the Duke of Monmouth's invaſion of this kingdom, he was ſent over to King James to offer him his maſter's aſſiſtance, both of his troops and perſon, to head them againſt the rebels (†). But, through a miſconſtruction put on his meſſage, his Highneſs's offer was rejected by the King [*C*]. In the year

(*a*) Hiſtory of Europe, anno 1709.

(*b*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. p. 857.

(*c*) Political Remarks on the Life and Reign of King William III.

(*d*) Life of King William, p. 55, 56. 12*mo*.

(*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 309.

(†) Rapin's Hiſt. of England. Echard, Kennet, *&c.*

[*A*] *Deſcended of an antient and noble family of that name*, &c.] He was the ſon of Henry Bentinck, *Heer van Diepin*, whoſe father *Bentinck* had alſo iſſue, *Joſeph Bentinck*, a General Officer in the ſervice of the States of Holland; and four daughters, *Eleanor*, married to the Baron of *Nienuren Huiſhen* in *Overyſſel*; *Anne*, married to the Baron *Van Zandenburgh* in *Utrecht*; *Sophia*, wife to the Baron *Van Engelenburgh*; and *Joanna-Maria van Bentinck*, who died unmarried, anno 1705 (1).

(1) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 309.

[*B*] *To ſollicit a match with the Princeſs Mary, which was ſoon after concluded.*] The Prince of Orange had unboſomed himſelf on this delicate affair of his marriage to Sir William Temple, when his Highneſs was upon the point of opening the campaign the preceding year (2). Lord Danby, however aſſures us (3), that it was not 'till May, 1677, that this project was ripe enough to be communicated to King Charles, nor 'till at leaſt two months after that his Majeſty gave any hopes of his allowing any treaty about it; and though the Prince ſent M. Bentinck over into England about the beginning of June, to deſire leave to make a journey thither as ſoon as the campaign was over, his Majeſty civilly diſcouraged it, by expreſſing his wiſhes that he would firſt think of making a peace, and rather defer his journey 'till that was concluded. M. Bentinck was nevertheleſs moſt graciouſly received by the King (4), and moſt cordially by the Lord Treaſurer, and returned home with a promiſe, that his Majeſty would enter into a confidence with the Prince, and would ſend over to him a perſon he could rely upon to carry on the correſpondence between them (5). Accordingly the Prince came over to England in October following, and in leſs than a month after his marriage with the Princeſs Mary was ſolemnized

(2) Temple's Memoirs, p. 11.

(3) Danby's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 256.

(4) Danby's Memoirs.

(5) Sir William Temple's Letters, *&c.* p. 45.

[*C*] *But through a miſconſtruction put on his meſſage, his Highneſs's offer was rejected by the King.*] The affair was this: The Prince of Orange, we are told by Biſhop Kennet (6), ſent over his favourite, M. Bentinck, to acquaint King James, that though he looked upon the Duke of Monmouth to be a man of no great parts, yet that he had a warlike genius, and was better ſkilled in the military art than any the King had to employ againſt him, and therefore if his Majeſty pleaſed, he would not only lend him his troops, but come in perſon to head his army. The ſame offer had been before communicated to Skelton the King's Miniſter at the Hague, who was either ſo jealous of the Prince, or ſo malicious to him, that he gave the King notice of it with a wrong turn of ſuſpicion and fear; ſo that the King put off M Bentinck with deſiring him to acquaint his Maſter, that their common intereſt required the Prince's ſtaying in Holland; and farther opened his mind to him in ſuch terms, as ſufficiently

(6) Compleat History of Engla. Vol. III. p. 4.

year 1688, when the Prince of Orange intended an expedition into England, he ſent M. Bentinck, on the Elector of Brandenburgh's death, with his compliments to the new Elector, and alſo to lay before him the ſtate of affairs, to communicate to him his deſign upon England, and to ſollicit his aſſiſtance to put it in execution, *&c.* In this negociation M. Bentinck was ſo ſucceſsful, that he carried to his maſter a more favourable and ſatisfactory anſwer than the Prince had expected; the Elector having generouſly granted even more than was aſked of him (*e*). M. Bentinck had alſo a great ſhare in the glorious Revolution, on which our preſent happy eſtabliſhment is founded; in which difficult and important affair, he ſhewed all the prudence and ſagacity of the moſt conſummate and able Stateſman. It was he that was applied to, as the perſon in the greateſt confidence with the Prince, to manage the negociations that were ſet on foot, betwixt his Highneſs and the Engliſh nobility and gentry, who had recourſe to him, to reſcue them from the danger they were in [*D*]. And he was two months conſtantly at the Hague, giving the neceſſary orders for the Prince's expedition, which was managed by him with ſuch ſecrecy, that nothing was ſuſpected all the time; and never was ſo great a deſign executed in ſo ſhort a time, a tranſport fleet of 500 veſſels having been hired in three days (*f*). M. Bentinck accompanied the Prince in his expedition to England; and after King James's abdication, during the interregnum, he held the firſt place among thoſe who compoſed the Prince's cabinet at that critical time, and that, in ſuch a degree of ſuper-eminence, as ſcarce left room for a ſecond; and we may be ſure he was not wanting, as far as his ſervices could avail, in endeavouring to procure the Crown for the Prince his maſter [*E*], who, when he had

(*e*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 757.

(*f*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times.

ficiently diſcovered that he did not take his Highneſs's zeal for his ſervice to be at that time ſeaſonable. Mr Echard (7) follows the Biſhop ſtep by ſtep in this account, but with ſome additional bitterneſs; for, according to him, Skelton looked on the Prince as one of thoſe Politicians whoſe ſteps are always ſuſpicious. Both copy after Father Orleans (8), who imputes his Highneſs's zeal on this occaſion to his rage againſt the Duke of Monmouth for aſſuming the title of King, as he had juſt done, and which he would have us believe was contrary to the agreement between them. However this be, M. Bentinck unfortunately had his audience at Whitehall on the very day that Monmouth was proclaimed at Tauton, which to be ſure gave a diſreliſh to his embaſſy, though he had alſo orders from the States of Holland, as well as from the Prince of Orange, to make a tender of whatever forces his Majeſty ſhould have occaſion for; and it is but reaſonable to think that both were ſincere, for it was the real intereſt of the States to ſecure the friendſhip of the King; and whatever diſtant views the Prince had entertained, it was notoriouſly his immediate concern to cruſh as ſoon as poſſible ſo dangerous a rival as the Duke of Monmouth. Orleans, as Dr Burnet tells the ſtory (9), would have us believe that King James had formed a deſign to get the Duke ſeized at the Hague, which the Prince having notice of, ſent M. Bentinck to make his Grace acquainted with it, as alſo to furniſh him with money, and that Skelton actually ſeized certain papers at the Duke's houſe, after he was withdrawn, which contained poſitive proofs of the correſpondence which had been kept up between his Grace and M. Bentinck. He further inſinuates, that there was a ſort of contract between the Prince and the Duke, by which the latter ſtood engaged to make a transfer of whatever conqueſts he ſhould make to his Highneſs; and that how little ſoever there was of the Politician in his Grace, he made ſuch counter profeſſions to the Prince and his republican followers, with no other view than to deceive both. Others are of opinion (10), that the Prince was not the man impoſed on, but that under his ſhew of kindneſs to Monmouth there was nothing real; that he looked upon him as one who ſtood in his way to the Crown he had ſo long aimed at, and was willing to be rid of him; and accordingly took his meaſures for the ruin of the man he pretended to aid. But this, as well as the pretended correſpondence between the Duke and M. Bentinck, is all to be looked upon as the blaſt of a malevolent faction. The whole courſe of the Duke of Monmouth's expedition contains a ſeries of proofs that he was a meer adventurer, (and a very unfortunate one) without any alliance of any kind to ſupport him.

(7) Echard's Hiſtory of England.

(8) Orleans's Hiſt. of the Revolution.

(9) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II.

(10) Caveat againſt the Whigs, P. ii. p. 14.

[*D*] *Who had recourſe to him to reſcue them from the danger they were in.*] In the State Tracts of thoſe times, there is a piece intitled, 'A Memorial of the Engliſh Proteſtants to their Royal Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, concerning their grievances, and the birth of the pretended Prince of Wales.' Which was ſent by expreſs to M. Bentinck, and addreſſed to him to be communicated to the Prince and Princeſs. It is without name or date, and thoſe who ſent it conclude their billet to M. Bentinck, with a compliment upon his fidelity to the Prince, and a hint, *that he might hereafter know who they were.* It is calculated to prove, that the people of England had a right to call upon their Higneſſes for aſſiſtance, and that their Highneſſes had an equal right to grant it.

[*E*] *He was not wanting, as far as his endeavours could avail, in endeavouring to procure the Crown for the Prince his maſter.*] After the throne was declared vacant upon King James's abdication, and the queſtion aroſe who ſhould fill it, ſeveral conſultations were held thereupon by many who formed themſelves into parties, and, among the reſt, we find M. Bentinck labouring to procure the Crown for the Prince of Orange alone, as we learn from Biſhop Burnet, who, ſpeaking of Lord Halliſax's project to compliment the Prince with the Throne at the expence of the two Princeſſes, who were not to enjoy it 'till after the Prince's death, ſays thus (11). 'How far the Prince himſelf entertained this, I cannot tell; but I ſaw it made a great impreſſion upon Bentinck. He ſpoke of it to me, as aſking my opinion about it, but ſo that I plainly ſaw what was his own; for he gave me all the arguments that were offered for it, as that it was moſt natural that the ſovereign power ſhould be only in one perſon; that a man's wife ought only to be his wife; that it was a ſuitable return to the Prince for what he had done for the nation; that a divided Sovereignty was liable to great inconveniencies; and though there was leſs to be apprehended from the Princeſs of any thing of that kind, than from any woman alive, yet all mortals are frail, and might at ſome time or other of their lives be wrought on.' The Biſhop ſays, he oppoſed this very warmly, and uſed many arguments againſt it; and adds, 'We talked over the whole thing for many hours, 'till it was pretty far in the morning. I ſaw he was well inſtructed in the argument, and he himſelf was poſſeſſed with it: So next morning I came to him, and deſired my *Congé*. I would oppoſe nothing in which the Prince ſeemed to be concerned, as long as I was his ſervant, and therefore I deſired to be diſengaged, that I might be free to oppoſe this propoſition with all the ſtrength and credit I had (12).' To this M. Bentinck replied, 'that it was time enough for me to do that when any ſtep was taken, but 'till then, he wiſhed I would ſtay where I was.'

(11) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I.

(12) Burnet, ibid.

As M. Bentinck was at this time, as it were, the Prince's ſecond ſelf, we may conclude that his Highneſs was the prompter in this diſcourſe; and indeed by what follows, it appears pretty plainly he was ſo; for we are told (13), that among other conſultations held in ſeveral places about theſe matters, there was one appointed at Mr William Herbert's lodgings at St James's, who

(13) Burnet, Vol. II.

had obtained it, was as forward on his part, in rewarding the faithful and ſignal ſervices of M. Bentinck, as the ſequel of his life will demonſtrate. Immediately upon the Prince's acceſſion to the Britiſh crown, M. Bentinck was made Groom of the Stole, Privy-Purſe, firſt Gentleman of the Royal Bedchamber, and was the firſt commoner upon the liſt of Privy-Counſellors; and, to fit him for greater honours, was ſoon after naturalized by act of Parliament (*g*); and by letters patent bearing date the ninth day of April 1689, two days before the King and Queen's coronation, he was created Baron of Cirenceſter, Viſcount Woodſtock, and Earl of Portland [*F*]. In the year 1690, the Earl of Portland, with many others of the Engliſh nobility, attended King William to Holland, where the Earl acted as Envoy for his Majeſty, at the Grand Congreſs held at the Hague the ſame year (*h*); an aſſembly the moſt honourable to the Engliſh nation, that is any where to be read of [*G*]. In the year 1695, King William made this nobleman a grant of the lordſhips of Denbigh, Bromfield, Yale, and other lands, containing many thouſand acres, in the principality of Wales, which being part of the Demeſne thereof, the grant was oppoſed, and the Houſe of Commons addreſſed the King to put a ſtop to the paſſing it, which his Majeſty accordingly complied with, and recalled the grant, promiſing, however, to find ſome other way of ſhewing his favour to Lord Portland, who, he ſaid, had deſerved it by long and faithful ſervices, and this promiſe the King ſoon after made good. There was ſcarce any thing that came under the conſideration of Parliament during the reign of King William, that made ſo great a ſtir and noiſe, as this affair of the grant to the Earl of Portland, and we have therefore given a more particular account of it in the notes [*H*]. It

(*g*) Hiſt. of Europe, anno 1709. Peerage of England. Continuation of the Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 58, 71. Complete Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 612.

(*h*) Prior's Hiſt. of his own Time, p. 10.

who was then ill of the Gout, and ſo concerned at the great *Favourite's* urging it was beſt to make the Princeſs no Sovereign, and only a Queen-Conſort, that, riſing out of bed with earneſtneſs, he proteſted againſt ever drawing a ſword on the Prince's ſide, if he could have imagined him capable of ſuch uſage to his wife. This ſo alarmed and convinced M. Bentinck of the impoſſibility of obtaining a point, which even ſo intereſted a Courtier as Herbert refuſed comply in, that in half an hour's time he brought them aſſurance from the Prince of his not inſiſting on it, and of his being content with a conjunctive Sovereignty, on condition he might have the ſole adminiſtration; which laſt they conſented to, becauſe the Princeſs deſired it.

[*F*] *Was created Earl of Portland.*] The iſle of Portland was firſt dignified with the title of an Earldom in the perſon of Richard Weſton, created Earl of Portland by King Charles I, 1632 (14); in which family the title became extinct at the death of his ſon Thomas, and was not revived again 'till now in the perſon of M. Bentinck.

(14) Collier's great Hiſtorical Dictionary, Vol. II.

[*G*] *An aſſembly the moſt honourable to the Engliſh nation, that is any where to be read of.*] King William's favourite project, during his whole government both in Holland and England, was to humble the French King, who had rendered himſelf formidable not only to Proteſtants, but even to all the Catholic Princes in Chriſtendom. On this principle was formed the Grand Alliance, at the head of which was King William, who had the pleaſure to ſee half Europe unite under his conduct, and a Senate of Princes meet to aſſiſt his councils and ſecond his wiſhes. We need but mention the number of illuſtrious perſons who met at the Hague upon this occaſion, to form an idea of the ſplendor of this aſſembly. Beſides two Electors of the Empire, there were near ſixty foreign Princes, Landgraves, Dukes, Counts, Generals, &c. near twenty of the Engliſh nobility, and Envoys from moſt of the Kings and foreign Princes of Europe; the whole forming a more glorious conſtellation than any age can parallel (15).

(15) Prior's Negociations, p. 6. *& ſeq.*

[*H*] *We have therefore given a more particular account of it in the notes.*] In order to be acquainted with the nature of this Grant, and the reaſons that occaſioned it's oppoſition, we muſt attend to the arguments made uſe of by the Gentlemen who oppoſed it. Theſe were collected together, and printed in a pamphlet, under the title in the margin (16). According to our Hiſtorians (17), the Earl of Portland had begged of his Majeſty the grant of theſe Lordſhips, which he readily obtained, to him and his heirs for ever. The warrant for this Grant coming to the Lords of the Treaſury, the Gentlemen of the county had notice of it, that they might be heard if they had any thing to object againſt it. Accordingly ſeveral of them attended, and were heard before the Lord Godolphin, Sir William Trumbull, Sir Stephen Fox, and John Smith, Eſq; Chancellor of the Exchequer; when Sir William Williams, ſon of a Divine of that country, alledged, 'that theſe Lordſhips were the antient Demeſnes of the Prince of Wales; that the Welſh were 'never ſubject to any but God and the King; that 'in the Statute for granting fee-farm rents, there was 'an exception of the rents belonging to the Principality of Wales, which imported that the Parliament 'took thoſe revenues to be unalienable; that upon 'creation of a Prince of Wales, there were many acknowledgments payable out of thoſe Lordſhips; and 'though there was at preſent no Prince of Wales, yet 'he hoped to ſee one of the King's own body, &c.' Sir Roger Puleſton argued, 'That the revenues of 'thoſe Lordſhips ſupported the government of Wales, 'by paying the Judges and other officers, their ſtated 'ſalaries, and, if given away, there would be a failure 'of juſtice.' Mr Price, a Lawyer of Herefordſhire, afterwards made a Baron of the Exchequer, made a long and very warm ſpeech againſt the Grant. 'He 'ſaid, it was of a large extent, being five parts in ſix 'of a whole county, which was too great a power 'for any foreign ſubject to have; that the people of 'the country were too great to be ſubject to any 'Foreigner; that there are fifty mean Lordſhips held 'under thoſe manors, and above fifteen hundred Freeholders; that Courts were kept in all thoſe Lordſhips in the King's name; that all or moſt of the 'Gentry of that county were tenants to the King, and 'ſuitors to his Court, and thereby obliged to the 'King by a double allegiance, their general allegiance 'as ſubjects, and their particular allegiance as tenants; 'and if the King gave away one, it was to be feared 'it would leſſen the bounds of the other, ſince it is 'obſervable that intereſt and property have an aſcendant over duty; that this revenue belongs to the 'Prince of Wales, in failure of whom it veſteth in the 'Crown, rather as an uſufracture than a property, 'till a Prince be created; that the King having only 'an eſtate for life in poſſeſſion, in the Crown, by 'the Act of Settlement, how can he grant away the 'inheritance and abſolute fee of the Principality of 'Wales? that it was not for the King's honour or 'intereſt that he daily gave away the revenues of 'the Crown, and, what is more, the perpetuity of 'them to his foreign ſubjects, &c.' When he had done ſpeaking, the Lord Godolphin aſked, If the Earl of Leiceſter had not thoſe Lordſhips in grant to him in Queen Elizabeth's time? To which Sir Robert Cotton anſwered, 'That the Earl of Lei'ceſter had but one of thoſe Grants, which was Den'bigh; that he was ſo oppreſſive to the Gentry of the 'county, that he occaſioned them to take up arms 'and oppoſe him, for which three or four of his '(Sir Robert Cotton's) relations were hanged; but it 'ended not there, for the quarrel was ſtill kept on 'foot, and the Earl, glad to be in peace, granted it 'back to the Queen, ſince which it had always been 'in the Crown.' Lord Godolphin then ſaid, they had offered many weighty reaſons, which ſhould be repreſented to his Majeſty. —— From the Treaſury the

(16) Speech of an antient Briton in Parliament, againſt an exorbitant Grant, *&c.* London, 1708.

(17) Kennet, and Oldmixon.

It was to this nobleman, that the horrid plot for aſſaſſinating King William, in the year 1695,

the Gentlemen of Wales attended the Grant to the Privy-Seal, where their reaſons and complaints were heard, and received with great candour and impartiality, and the Grant was ſuperſeded; but this did not content them, they muſt have it recalled, and ſo brought the affair into the Houſe of Commons, by a petition ſigned by Sir Thomas Groſvenor, Sir Richard Middleton, Sir John Conway, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Roger Puleſton, Edward Vaughan, Eſq; Edward Brereton, Eſq; and Robert Price, Eſq; the Gentleman beforementioned, who ſpoke to it in Parliament, where he was a Member, in the ſame ſtile as he had before in the Treaſury. It cannot be amiſs to give the reader the ſubſtance of this memorable ſpeech, which was much taken notice of for ſome very ſevere reflections upon the Grant and Grantee. We ſhall do this in as few words as poſſible. Among many other things, ſays he, 'If I could conceive how the glory or grandeur 'of England was, or could be, upheld by a poor land-'leſs crown, and a miſerable, neceſſitous people, I 'could then be eaſily perſuaded to believe that his 'Majeſty was well adviſed to grant away all the re-'venues of the Crown, and that his Government 'would be thereby well ſecured, and his people beſt 'protected when they had little or nothing left; but 'I am ſure they were not Engliſh, but foreign Poli-'ticians, who might revere the King, and yet hate his 'people. That the Kings of England always reigned 'beſt when they had the affections of their ſubjects, 'of which they were ſecure, when the people were 'ſenſible the King was entirely in their intereſt, and 'loved the Engliſh ſoil as well as the people's money, '&c.

'The great Lordſhips of Denbigh, Bromfield, and 'Yale, in the county of Denbigh, for ſome centuries 'have been the revenues of the Kings of England 'and Princes of Wales, and contain thirty miles in ex-'tent; the preſent rents to the Crown are but 1000 l. '*per annum*, beſides reliefs, miſes, waſtes, eſtreats, 'perquiſites of Courts, and other contingent profits; 'there are alſo great profitable waſtes of ſeveral thou-'ſand acres of rich and valuable mines, beſides other 'great advantages a mighty favourite and great Cour-'tier might make. That they had found, that not 'only the three Lordſhips, but near 3000 *l. per annum* 'of their antient inheritance was expreſsly granted; ſo 'that if all had been preſented that was comprized in 'the Grant, it had been a very noble Royal gift, 'worth at leaſt 100,000 *l.* nor was that Grant for any 'ſhort time to this noble Lord, but to him and his 'heirs for ever; and yet not much to the advantage 'of the Crown, having only a reſervation of ſix ſhil-'lings and eight-pence a year, to the King and his 'ſucceſſors.

'Theſe Royal dominions in moſt reigns have been 'attacked by great and powerful favourites; for in 'the reign of Queen Elizabeth, ſome of them were 'granted to ſome of her creatures, but attended with 'ſo many law-ſuits and general diſtractions, that the 'Queen interpoſed, and the Freeholders gave large 'compoſitions for their peace, the Queen confirming 'their eſtates by a Charter. In the fourth year of 'King James the Firſt, theſe Lordſhips were ſettled 'on his heirs, Kings of England, but his ſervants got 'ſome Grants of moſt part of that revenue, which 'proved ſo vexatious and troubleſome to the country, 'that the Freeholders came to another compoſition, 'and gave 10,000 *l.* for their peace, and had another 'Charter of confirmation of their rights, and for 'ſettling of their eſtates, tenures, &c. which was con-'firmed in Parliament in the fifth of King Charles the 'Firſt. In the late reign *(however calumniated)* 'there were many and great applications made for 'Grants of ſome lands of theſe Lordſhips, which were 'always rejected, as too powerful for a ſubject. If 'part were ſo, what would the whole be?

'Hiſtory and Records tell us, that the Grants of 'theſe Lordſhips have ever been fatal either to the 'Prince or Potentate: the one either loſing his Crown, 'or the other his head: 'Tis therefore dangerous med-'dling with ſuch ominous bounties.

'There is a great duty lies upon the Freeholders 'of theſe Lordſhips on the creation of the Prince of 'Wales; they pay a fine of 800 *l.* for miſes, which 'is ſuch a duty, ſervice or tenure, that is not to be 'ſever'd from the Prince of Wales; and it will be 'very difficult to find how this tenure can be made 'reconcileable to this noble Lord's Grant. If we are 'to pay theſe miſes to this noble Lord, then he is '*quaſi* a Prince of Wales, for this duty was never 'paid to any other; but if it is to be paid to the 'Prince of Wales, and to this noble Lord too, then 'are we doubly charged; but if it be to the Prince of 'Wales, when he has no Royalty left in that domini-'on, and not to this noble Lord, (who by this Grant 'is to have the whole Lordſhips) it relates a repug-'nancy in the tenure of our eſtates.

'Far be it from me to ſpeak any thing in derogation 'of his Majeſty's honour, or care for us. It cannot be 'expected he ſhould know our laws, who is a ſtranger 'to us, and we to him, any more than we do his 'councils, (which I wiſh we did) I mean thoſe of his 'now immediate adviſers and Miniſters, through whoſe 'hands this Grant did paſs, by adviſing the King to 'grant what by law he could not. Theſe Counſellors 'and Miniſters are guilty of the higheſt violation of the 'laws and liberties of England, and ſtrike at the very 'foundation of ſucceſſion, and tear up the Bill of rights 'and privileges by the root. It was their province 'and duty to have acquainted the King of his power 'and intereſt, that the antient revenues of the Crown 'are ſacred, and unalienable in the time of war and 'peoples neceſſities.

'The Commons of England always entertained an 'honourable jealouſy of their Prince, when they per-'ceived their expences at home or abroad, or their 'gifts or boons to favourites, to be too large and ex-'orbitant. When our Princes entertained Foreigners 'of their council and chief adviſers, the people of 'England were reſtleſs and uneaſy, 'till they were re-'moved out of the King's preſence, nay out of the 'nation; and in Hiſtory and Parliament are many in-'ſtances of this, where great men (favourites) pro-'cured to themſelves too large a proportion of the 'Royal revenues. How can we hope for happy days 'in England, when this great Lord and the other 'Foreigners, though naturalized, are in the Engliſh, 'and alſo in the Dutch councils: If theſe ſtrangers, 'thou now confederates, ſhould be of different intereſts, 'to which is it to be ſuppoſed theſe great foreign coun-'ſellors and favourites would adhere? I ſhall make 'no ſevere remarks upon this great man, for his great-'neſs makes us little, and will make the Crown both 'poor and precarious. I deſire redreſs rather than 'puniſhment; therefore I ſhall neither move for an 'impeachment againſt this noble Lord, nor for the 'baniſhment of him, but ſhall only beg, that he may 'have no power over us, nor we any dependance upon 'him. I therefore move, that an addreſs be made to 'his Majeſty to ſtop the Grant that is paſſing to the 'Earl of Portland, of the Lordſhips of Denbigh, 'Bromfield, and Yale, and other lands in the Princi-'pality of Wales, and that the ſame be not granted 'but by conſent of Parliament.'

This bold ſpeech made ſo great an impreſſion, that Mr Price's motion was carried by unanimous conſent, and on January the 22d the following addreſs (which ſhews the juſt ſenſe the Commons had of the vaſt importance of theſe Grants to the Crown, and the ill conſequences of ſeparating them therefrom) was preſented to the King by the Speaker, attended by the whole Houſe.

'May it pleaſe your Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

'WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal 'ſubjects, the Knights, Citizens, und Bur-'geſſes in Parliament aſſembled, humbly lay before 'your Majeſty, that whereas there is a Grant paſſing 'to William Earl of Portland and his heirs, of the 'manors of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale, and di-'vers other lands in the Principality of Wales, together 'with ſeveral eſtates of inheritance, enjoyed by many 'of your Majeſty's ſubjects by virtue of antient Grants 'from the Crown.

'That the ſaid manors, with the large and ex-'tenſive regalities, powers, and juriſdictions to the 'ſame belonging, are of great concern to your

'Majeſty

1695, was first discovered; and his Lordship, by his wise counsel and indefatigable zeal, was very instrumental in bringing to light the whole of that execrable scheme [*I*]. The same

'Majesty and the Crown of this realm; and that the 'same have been usually annexed to the Principality 'of Wales, and settled on the Princes of Wales for 'their support; and that a great number of your Ma'jesty's subjects in those parts hold their estates by 'Royal tenure, under great and valuable compositions, 'rents, Royal payments, and services to the Crown 'and Princes of Wales; and have by such tenure great 'dependance on your Majesty and the Crown of Eng'land; and have enjoyed great privileges and advan'tages with their estates under such tenure.

'We therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty, 'to put a stop to the passing this Grant to the Earl of 'Portland, of the said manors and lands; and that the 'same may not be disposed from the Crown, but by 'consent of Parliament; for that such Grant is in di'minution of the honour and interest of the Crown, 'by placing in a subject such large and extensive roy'alties, powers, and jurisdictions, which ought only 'to be in the Crown, and will sever that dependance 'which so great a number of your Majesty's subjects 'in those parts have on your Majesty and the Crown, 'by reason of their tenure, and may be to their great 'oppression in those rights which they have purchased, 'and hitherto enjoyed with their estates; and also an 'occasion of great vexation to many of your Majesty's 'subjects, who have long had the absolute inheritance 'of several lands (comprehended in the said Grant to 'the Earl of Portland) by antient Grants from the 'Crown.'

To which his Majesty was pleased to return this answer.

GENTLEMEN,

'I Have a kindness for my Lord Portland, which 'he has deserved of me by long and faithful ser'vices; but I should not have given him these lands, 'if I had imagined the House of Commons could have 'been concerned; I will therefore re-call the Grant, 'and find some other way of shewing my favour to 'him.'

It must be owned, that the Grant of these parcels of the Principality of Wales was unadvisedly, or ill advisedly, done; and the Lord Portland was blamed by the King's friends for procuring it of his Majesty; the disaffected called him in derision our new Prince of Wales; and hence the opposition made thereto was extremely just and noble, in those whose only views were the saving those lands from alienation; yet, if it had been carried on with more temper and moderation, (we might say decency) it had gained a more general applause; but Mr Price's great zeal for his country transported him beyond the bounds of decency, and his angry speech favours much of party-pique and discontent, and shews him to have been no hearty friend to the Revolution.

It was not long after King William re-called these Grants, before his Majesty found means to make Lord Portland others, in recompence for the revenues of the Principality of Wales, *viz.* a Grant of certain buildings in Whitehall for forty-five years, at the rent of six shillings and eight-pence; a Grant of the manor of Grantham in the county of Lincoln, Honour of Penrith in the county of Cumberland, manor of Dracklow and Rudneth in Cheshire, manor of Torrington in Norfolk, manors of Partington, Bristol-Garth, Homsey, Thwing, Burnisley, and Leven, in the county of York, all parcel of the antient revenue of the Crown of England; the manor of Pevensey in the county of Sussex, parcel of the duchy of Lancaster, and all the lands and tenements, *&c.* thereunto belonging, to hold to his Lordship and his heirs; and also his majesty's manor of East-Greenwich in the county of Kent, under the rent of 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year. There was also granted to his Lordship all the little remainder of the fee-farm rents, worth to be sold above 24000*l.* which last Grant was afterwards vacated by the said Earl (18).

(18) Debates in Parliament, by Chandler, anno 1696.

Though Lord Portland was suffered to possess these Grants quietly during King William's reign, yet there was an attempt in the next reign to have them, and other Grants of King William, re-called, in a pamphlet published in 1703, intitled, 'The Exorbitant 'Grants of William the Third examined and que'stioned; shewing the nature of Grants in successive 'and elective Monarchies; and proving by Law 'and History, that Crown-lands are inalienable, that 'resumptions were common all the world over, and 'that where a Prince hath no hereditary title, he can 'make no hereditary right; and that Kings set up by 'Parliament can dispose of no lands but with consent 'of Parliament, which renders William the Third's 'Grants totally void.' This pamphlet is addressed to Queen Anne, and is declared in the Dedication to her Majesty, that it is intended to bring back those valuable branches of the revenue, which her predecessor had lopt from the Crown. It is a very bold piece, and makes very free with King William, falling foul on his miscarriages, even in the dedication. How it was received we know not, but the attempt proved vain and fruitless.

[*I*] *And his Lordship by his wise counsel and indefatigable zeal, was very instrumental in bringing to light the whole of that execrable scheme.*] The person who first discovered the conspiracy to Lord Portland, was one Captain Fisher (19), one of the conspirators. His first opening of the plot to his Lordship was only five days before it was to have been executed. He gave the Earl an account not only of the design itself, but also of the manner in which it was to have been executed, but peremptorily refused to tell the names of the actors, which made the King, when Lord Portland told him of it, conclude that it was only a story invented to affright him with a false alarm; and so his Majesty, notwithstanding Fisher's story, gave orders for huoting on the very day appointed by the conspirators for the execution of their bloody design, and he could not have avoided the blow had it not been for a special act of providence; for the very next day before it was to have been committed, February the 14th, Lord Portland, as he was returning, from visiting his daughter the Countess of Essex, to Kensiogton, where the Court then was, very luckily recollected, that he had appointed a person to come to him upon business that evening in town, so he turoed back agaio to his lodgings at Whitehall, where, besides the person he expected, he found a stranger waiting for him, who told him he had an affair of very great importance to communicate to his Lordship, and going close up to him, withoot further ceremony, thus bluntly accosted him. 'Pray, my Lord, persuade the King to stay at 'home to-morrow, for if he goes to hunt, he will be 'murdered.' He then confirmed Fisher's account of the plot, but iosisted, as a condition of his further discovery, that he should not be made use of as an evidence. He added, that his name was Pendergrass, and that as his business required all possible dispatch, he thought he could not make his address to a person that would be more careful than his Lordship, who left no means unattempted to persuade Pendergrass to name the conspirators, which he resisted with an invincible constancy. When the Earl came to Kensington, which, notwithstanding all the haste he could make, was very late, he found the King was retired, and had given the necessary orders for hunting the next day, and even the fresh confirmation he received of the conspiracy to murder him, could scarce alter his resolution; and it was with great difficulty that his Majesty was at last overcome by Lord Portland's repeated importunities. At length the number of discoverers increasing, and their accounts all agreeing, his Majesty began to take some care of his safety, and he desired Lord Portland and Sir William Trumbull, Secretary of State, who likewise had some discoveries made to him, to enquire strictly into the progress and circumstances of the design. But this did not succeed, the two principal discoverers, Pendergrass and La Rue, still peremptorily refusing to name the conspirators, which might have been of fatal consequence if Lord Portland had not found out the happy expedient to prevent it, by persuading his Majesty to give himself the trouble of examining them separately in his closet, but before witnesses, that if they should be brought to enter into particulars, it might serve to convict the

(19) Blackmore's Hist. of the Assassination Plot, 8vo.

ſame year another affair happened, in which this noble Lord gave ſo ſhining a proof of the ſtricteſt honour and integrity, as has done immortal honour to his memory. The Parliament having taken into conſideration the affairs of the Eaſt-India company, who, through miſmanagement and corrupt dealings, were in danger of loſing their charter; ſtrong intereſt was made with the members of both Houſes, and large ſums properly diſtributed, to procure a new eſtabliſhment of the company by Act of Parliament (*i*): among thoſe noblemen whoſe intereſt was neceſſary to bring about this affair, Lord Portland's was particularly courted, and an extraordinary value put upon it, much beyond that of any other Peer, for he was offered no leſs than the ſum of 50,000 pounds for his vote, and to uſe his endeavours with the King to favour the deſign. But his Lordſhip, poſſeſſed of a greatneſs of ſoul that placed him above corruption, treated this injurious offer with all the contempt and indignation it deſerved, telling the perſon employed in it, that if he ever ſo much as mentioned ſuch a thing to him again, he would for ever be the company's enemy, and give them all the oppoſition in his power. This is an inſtance of publick ſpirit not often met with, and did not paſs unregarded; for we find it recorded in an eloquent ſpeech of a worthy member of Parliament, who took occaſion to relate this noble action to the Houſe of Commons, much to the honour of Lord Portland (*k*). It was owing to this nobleman, that the Banquetting-Houſe at White-Hall was ſaved, when the reſt of the Palace was deſtroyed by fire (*). Going on thus in a courſe of honour and proſperity, his Lordſhip, in February 1696, was created a Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, at a chapter held at Kenſington, the Sovereign and ten Knights being preſent, and was inſtalled at Windſor on the 25th of March 1697, at which time he was alſo Lieutenant-General of his Majeſty's forces (*l*); for his Lordſhip's ſervices were not confined to the cabinet, he likewiſe diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the field on ſeveral occaſions, particularly at the battle of the Boyne, battle of Landen, where he was wounded (*m*), ſiege of Limerick, Namur, &c. As his Lordſhip thus attended his royal maſter in his wars both in Ireland and Flanders, and bore a principal command there, ſo he was honoured by his Majeſty with the chief management of the famous peace of Ryſwick; having, in ſome conferences with the Marſhal Boufflers, ſettled the moſt difficult and tender point, and which might greatly have retarded the concluſion of the peace [*K*]: this was concerning he diſpoſal of King James;

(*i*) Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 680. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of England, Vol. II.

(*k*) Speeches and Debates in Parliament, anno 1695.

(*) Boyer's Account of famous Men, at the end of his Life of Queen Anne.

(*l*) Peerage of England, by Collins, edit. 1735, Vol. I. p. 310.

(*m*) Journey thro' the Auſtrian Netherlands, 8vo. p. 47.

criminals when they ſhould be brought to trial (20). This good advice the King followed, and having examined Pendergraſs before the Earl of Portland and Lord Cutts, and La Rue before the ſame Earl and Brigadier Leviſon, ſucceeded ſo well, that the informers being no longer able to reſiſt the awful but perſuaſive eloquence of injured Majeſty, gave a very particular and circumſtantial account of the whole affair, and diſcovered the names of all the conſpirators, which entirely fruſtrated their helliſh intrigues and deſigns.

(20) Compleat Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 704.

[*K*] *Having, in ſome conferences with M. Boufflers, ſettled the moſt tender point*, &c.] King William wiſely conſidering, that the uſual formalities of ſolemn negotiations were no ſmall hindrance to their progreſs, and finding that more time was likely to be loſt in this treaty than was conſiſtent with the urgency of the affair, his Majeſty reſolved to ſhorten as much of it as related to himſelf, by a quicker way of negotiating, and to commit his perſonal intereſts, and thoſe of his dominions, to the arbitration and management of the Earl of Portland on his Majeſty's part, and M. Boufflers on the part of the French King. Accordingly the confederate army being encamped at Cocklebergh near Bruſſels, and the French not far from thence, the Earl of Portland having received the King's commands and inſtructions, demanded as from himſelf, according to Biſhop Kennet (21), a private interview with M. Boufflers, which being readily granted, though other accounts make M. Boufflers the firſt mover in this interview (22), the two Generals met, June 10, 1697, N. S. at an equal diſtance from their reſpective camps, attended each by the ſame number of guards, and accompanied by ſeveral officers of note. This preliminary conference was ſoon after followed by three others, at the laſt of which, July 26, the two Negotiators, after they had been ſome time together in the open field, retired into a houſe in the ſuburb of Halle, and in an hour adjuſted ſeveral points that the Plenipotentiaries at Ryſwick would not perhaps have agreed upon in a year. The Earl of Portland told Dr Burnet himſelf (23), that the ſubject of theſe conferences was concerning King James, that King William deſired to know how the King of France intended to diſpoſe of him, and how he could own King William, and yet ſupport the other; and it was ſaid, that the Earl of Portland inſiſted that King James and his family ſhould be ſent out of France, which M. Boufflers would not yield to, nor would the King of France renounce the protecting him by any article of the treaty; ſo it was at laſt agreed between them, that the King of France ſhould give him no aſſiſtance, nor give King William any diſturbance on his account, and that he ſhould retire from the Court of France, either to Avignon or Italy; that his Queen ſhould have 50,000*l.* a year, which was her jointure ſettled after King James's death, and that it ſhould now be paid her, he being reckoned as dead to the nation; and in this the King very readily acquieſced. Theſe differences being adjuſted, the treaty went on with much greater diſpatch. On the 2d of Auguſt, Lord Portland and M. Boufflers ſigned the paper they had drawn up ſome few days before, whereupon his Majeſty left the army, and diſpatched the Earl of Portland to the Hague, to acquaint the Congreſs, 'that as for what concerned his Majeſty 'and his kingdoms, all things were ſo adjuſted with 'France, as would occaſion no delay in the general 'peace; and therefore he earneſtly preſſed the other 'allies, and particularly the Emperor, to contribute 'all that in them lay, towards concluding ſo great a 'work.'

(21) Compleat Hiſtory, p. 737.

(22) Hiſt. Europe, 1709. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 200.

(23) Burnet, ibid.

The French were ſo little pleaſed with this treaty, that they made very ſevere reflections on their Plenipotentiaries, and lampooned them publickly all over the kingdom, whilſt the reſolution and wiſdom of King William were univerſally celebrated and admired. One of the beſt writers at that time in France ſaid, 'The towns delivered up at the treaty of Ryſwick, 'the enemy would not have taken in twenty years 'time (*les ennemis n'euſſent pas repriſes en vingt ans de 'tems*).' The ſame author, ſpeaking of King William's chuſing the Earl of Portland to confer with M. Boufflers, ſays, 'King William, who knew how to take advan-'tage of every thing, knew well that the Earl of Port-'land had at leaſt as good a head as M. Boufflers.' And indeed the French themſelves had a much higher opinion of his Lordſhip than of their own miniſter; for the account publiſhed in France of the negotiations between thoſe two Miniſters, ſays, that Lord Portland having ſent a trumpeter to M. Boufflers to deſire a private interview, without any mention of buſineſs, it was conſented to; and that the Earl having propoſed to him to remove ſome differences there, which would require too long a time at Ryſwick, the Marſhal ſent to know the King of France's pleaſure, whoſe great deſire for peace made him approve of the Earl's propoſal, 'without conſidering what advantage that 'Lord might have over the Marſhal in a ſuperior ge-'nius.' The account then ſhews the inconveniency of putting the Earl of Portland upon a level with a Marſhal of France. That it was true, indeed, that the

King

James; the King of France having ſolemnly promiſed, in an open declaration to all Europe, that he would never lay down his arms 'till he had reſtored the abdicated King to his throne, and conſequently could not own King William, without abandoning him. Not long after the concluſion of the peace, King William nominated the Earl of Portland to be his Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of France; which honour, though it raiſed the envy of thoſe who were jealous of the extraordinary favour and affection ſhewed to this nobleman, yet was juſtly due to him, for the ſhare he had in bringing about the late glorious treaty of Ryſwick; and the King could not have fixed upon a perſon better qualified to ſupport the high character he had given him, with the greateſt dignity and magnificence: beſides, that the French in general had a great opinion of his Lordſhip's capacity and merit, and no Ambaſſador was ever ſo reſpected and careſſed in France as his Lordſhip was, who, on his part, filled his employment with equal honour to the King, the Britiſh nation and himſelf, the magnificence of his publick entry into Paris, outſhining what had ever been beheld at that gaudy Court ſince the Duke of Buckingham's entry, when he went to demand the Princeſs Maria Henrietta in marriage for King Charles I (*n*). A more particular account and deſcription of this moſt ſplendid and famous embaſſy of Lord Portland's, may perhaps be worthy the reader's notice, and we have therefore given it in the note [*L*]. According to the Hiſtorian cited in the margin (*o*), the

(*n*) Compleat Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 753.

(*o*) Prior's Negociations, p. 39.

King had raiſed Boufflers from a Cadet of Picardy to the dignity of a Duke, Peer, Marſhal of France, and Knight of his Order; and ſo King William had raiſed Lord Portland from a Gentleman of Guelderland to an Earl and Peer of England, and Knight of the Order of the Garter. But then there was this difference ſtill, that the one commanded an army, which the other never did; beſides, there was alſo that to be ſaid, that the French King had never owned King William. Be this as it will, the Marſhal de Boufflers valued himſelf not a little upon his negotiations with Lord Portland; and the writer of his Life pays a great compliment to that Lord, when he ſays (24), 'two things 'had helped to ſpoil Boufflers, namely, the Marſhal's 'ſtaff, and his conferences with the Lord Portland; 'for ſince his negotiations with that great Miniſter, he 'thought himſelf capable even of the moſt important 'employments, and believed that the peace had been 'more advantageous for France, if it had been left 'ſolely to his management.'

(24) Vie de Boufflers.

[*L*] *And we have therefore given it in the note.*] The Earl of Portland ſet out on his embaſſy the 10th of January, and in eleven days reached Paris, having in his way thither been received with moſt extraordinary marks of reſpect (25). The guns were every where fired, companies of ſoldiers drawn up in ſeveral places through which he paſſed, and others were appointed for his guard; the officers waited upon his Lordſhip, and the Magiſtrates made him their compliments, and brought him preſents. Three days after his Lordſhip's arrival at Paris, he was magnificently entertained at ſupper by the Duke de Grammont, with the Marſhals de Villeroy and Boufflers, the Dukes of Valentinois, Clerembault, and Roquelaure, Count Tallard, (whom the French King had named to the embaſſy in England) and ſeveral other perſons of the firſt rank and quality in France; and the next day he was admitted to a private audience of the King, Dauphin, Dukes of Burgundy, Anjou, and Berry, and the reſt of the Royal Family, by all of whom he was received with ſingular marks of kindneſs and diſtinction, and afterwards entertained at dinner by the Marquis de Torcy, Secretary of State for foreign affairs. The 9th of March, N. S. being the day appointed for his Lordſhip's publick entry (26), he went privately in one of his own coaches to Rambouillet, the place from whence Ambaſſadors uſually make their entry, as did all the Engliſh gentlemen in theirs. Upon his arrival there, the Princes of the Blood ſent their coaches, and a Gentleman in each, to compliment his Excellency; as did likewiſe the foreign Miniſters and Envoys then in France, and at three in the afternoon came the Marſhal de Boufflers, who was appointed by the King to receive and accompany the Lord Ambaſſador in his publick entry, to the grandeur of which the Marſhal contributed all he could, being himſelf extremely fond of pomp and pageantry, and conſequently omitted nothing upon this occaſion that might heighten his own grandeur, and do honour to the King his maſter, of which his Majeſty was very ſenſible, and well knew he could not have choſe any one ſo properly qualified for that purpoſe. If the reader will pardon the digreſſion of a few lines, we would relate a very ſingular inſtance of the Marſhal's vaſt profuſeneſs and prodigality, and which perhaps is not eaſily parallelled (27). The King, this preſent year 1698, having ordered a camp to be formed at Compeigne, as was pretended, in honour of his grandſon the Duke of Burgundy, he appointed the Marſhal de Boufflers to command it under that young Prince; and as his Majeſty knew he was a perſon that would even ruin himſelf to maintain the dignity conferred on him, made him a preſent of 50,000 crowns before he marched, though the camp was to continue only three weeks, which ſum the King thought pretty reaſonable for ſo ſhort a time. But the Marſhal, who affected to appear like the great Turenne, in regarding nothing but his glory, and deſpiſing wealth, lived after ſuch a prodigious rate in the camp, that twice that large ſum ſcarce excuſed him. He kept five tables, noon and night, all equally ſerved, and abounding with the greateſt rarieties and niceties in the kingdom. He had above an hundred principal cooks, beſides great numbers of others who ſerved under them; thoſe who worked in the morning taking their reſt in the afternoon. He had an infinite number of carriages in the field to bring his proviſions, and two for ice only, which was brought from Paris every day. He had purveyors not only in that city, but in all the great towns within twenty-five leagues of the camp.

(25) Life of King William, Vol. III. p. 336.

(26) Hiſt. of Europe, 1709.

(27) Life of Boufflers.

But to return to our embaſſy. His Excellency the Earl of Portland, accompanied by the Earl of Weſtmoreland, the Lords Cavendiſh, Haſtings, Paſton, Woodſtock (his Excellency's ſon), Lord Raby, Mr Prior, Secretary of the embaſſy, Mr Fielding, Mr Boyle, and ſeveral other gentlemen, proceeded to make his publick entry in the following order; the Marſhal Bouffler's coach, with his Pages on horſeback, and his Gentleman of the Horſe before it, his ſervants in rich liveries went about thirty paces before the reſt; then came one of the King's meſſengers, his Excellency's ſecond Gentleman of the Horſe, twelve ſumpter horſes very richly capariſoned, and led by twelve Grooms on horſeback; his Excellency's firſt Gentleman of the Horſe, followed by twelve Pages on horſeback, and fifty-ſix Footmen, all cloathed in exceeding rich liveries; the King's coach, in which were the Lord Ambaſſador, the Marſhal de Boufflers, Monſieur Bonneville, Introductor of Ambaſſadors, and the Earl of Weſtmoreland; the Ducheſs of Burgundy's, Duke of Orleans's, and Madame's coaches, and thoſe of the reſt of the Princes and Princeſſes of the Blood in their order, in which were their own Gentlemen of the Horſe, and the Engliſh Noblemen and Gentlemen, their Footmen all in his Excellency's rich liveries, walking by the coaches; then came his Excellency's magnificent body coach empty, drawn by eight horſes, before it two Swiſſers on horſeback, and at the portals two ſervants on foot in his Lordſhip's livery, and two Gentlemen on horſeback; the ſecond and third coach with eight horſes, his Excellency's chariot with ſix, another coach with eight, another chariot with ſix; in theſe coaches were Gentlemen who immediately belonged to his Excellency's family. The whole proceſſion was cloſed by the coaches of M. de Torcy, Secretary of State, and M. Bonneville. Thus did this ſplendid cavalcade proceed to the Hôtel, a houſe reſerved for the entertainment

the Earl of Portland went on this embaſſy with reluctance, having been for ſome time alarmed with the growing favour of a rival in King William's affection, namely, Keppel, lately created Earl of Albemarle, a Dutchman, who had alſo been Page to his Majeſty. And, ſays our author (*), 'his jealouſy was not ill-grounded, for Albemarle ſo prevailed 'in Lord Portland's abſence, that he obliged him, by ſeveral little affronts, to lay down 'all his employments, after which he was never more in favour, though the King always 'ſhewed

(*) Ibid.

tainment of foreign Ambaſſadors, through multitudes of ſpectators, who were aſtoniſhed at the grandeur and opulence of the Engliſh nation. Being arrived at the Hôtel, the Marſhal de Boufflers, after a ſhort ſtay with his Excellency, took his leave, and ſoon after the Duke D'Aumont came from the King with a compliment to his Excellency, and the uſual compliments were made from the Princes and Princeſſes of the Blood.

Two days afterwards his Excellency was admitted to his firſt publick audience at Verſailles, whither he was conducted in the ſame manner as at his entry, and was received with the utmoſt grandeur; in the firſt court of the palace the Foot-guards were drawn up, the French on one ſide, the Swiſſers on the other, the drums beating, colours flying, and the officers ſaluting with their hats. In the ſecond court, the guard called Hoquelous were ranged, all the coaches went in, and his Excellency alighted at the chamber of Ambaſſadors, and all his retinue After a ſhort ſtay here, M. Bonneville informing his Excellency that the King was ready to receive him, he proceeded to his audience. The Marquis Blainville, Great Maſter of the Ceremonies, received his Excellency at the foot of the great ſtairs, which were lined with the Swiſs guards, and conducted him to the guard-chamber, at the entry of which he was received by the Captain of the guard in waiting, and thence conducted to the King's bed-chamber, which was filled with perſons of the higheſt quality. (28) Compl. Hiſt. According to Biſhop Kennet (28) it was a diſtinguiſhing mark of honour, that his Excellency was admitted to his audience in the King's bed-chamber, and even within the rails round the bed, where the King ſtood, with the three young Princes his grandſons, and the Count de Thouloufe, Duke d' Aumont, and Marſhal de (29) Hiſt. of Europe, 1709. Noailles (29). His Excellency having made his ſpeech, covered, and delivered his credentials, the King anſwered him in very obliging terms, both in relation to his Royal Maſter and himſelf. His Excellency then preſented the Engliſh Noblemen and Gentlemen to the King, and retired; after which he had audience of the Dauphin, and all the reſt of the Royal Family, and was, together with his retinue, entertained at dinner at ſeveral tables, and in the afternoon was conducted back to Paris, with the ſame ceremonies as at his coming; the whole performed with the greateſt order and regularity, as well as magnificence. The whole French Court, not only in imitation, but by expreſs direction of the King, ſhewed his Lordſhip moſt ſingular marks of honour and reſpect. He was entertained by the Princes of the Blood and Grandees of the Court, and in his turn entertained them; and 'tis obſervable (30) Compl. Hiſt. (30), that his Lordſhip was attended in all the viſits he made by the ſame numerous and ſplendid train as at (31) Ibid. his publick entry (31); and the magnificence of his table was anſwerable to the grandeur of his attendance and equipage, his Lordſhip ſeldom dining without the company of thoſe of the firſt rank in the kingdom, who admired the plenty, elegance, and order of his entertainments. There is a circumſtance mentioned (32) Oldmixon. by one of our Hiſtorians (32), in itſelf immaterial, and of no other concern than as it ſerves to ſhew that this noble Lord, though not an Engliſhman born, yet had the honour and credit of England as much at heart as if he had been a native of it, and indeed ſupported it's dignity better than any Engliſh Ambaſſador at the Court of France, either before or after him. 'His 'Excellency, ſays our author, had frequently ſurloins 'of Engliſh beef ſent him from Dover, which being 'landed at Calais, were diſpatched thence by meſſen-'gers on purpoſe, to come freſh to Paris. This he did 'for the honour of England. He had alſo large quan-'tities of the fineſt Herefordſhire cyder, and Burton ale, 'which were ſo fine, that the Cuſtom-houſe officers 'on the Seine ſaid it was *Vin d'Eſpagne*, Canary, and 'would have ſeized it if it had not belonged to his 'Excellency.'

'Tis eaſy to imagine what a mortification it muſt be to the abdicated King, and his Court at St Germains, to hear what extraordinary honours were paid to the Miniſter and favourite of the Prince who filled the throne he vainly called his. During the Earl of Portland's ſtay in France there was a review of the troops of the houſhold, at which the King, Dauphin, young Princes of Franee, King James, and his ſon, the titular Prince of Wales, and divers perſons of quality, were preſent; and likewiſe the Earl of Portland, not knowing that King James and his ſon would be there. This latter, by his father's directions, endeavoured to join converſation with the Lord Woodſtock; but the Earl of Portland his father, ſeeing his deſign, ordered his ſon to avoid him, as he himſelf did all thoſe that belonged to the Court of St Germains; and King James himſelf did all he could to engage Lord Cavendiſh, and the other Engliſh Noblemen to accoſt him, but they all imitated the Earl of Portland (33). (33) Compl. Hiſt.

In the beginning of May, King William having appointed the Earl of Jerſey to ſucceed Lord Portland as Ambaſſador Extraordinary to France, his Excellency had firſt his publick, and then private audience of leave of the King and all the Royal Family (34). (34) Ibid. The King ſent his Lordſhip the uſual preſent of his picture ſet with Diamonds, but with this difference, that the ſtones were worth three times as much as is uſual in the like gifts. Beſides which, his Majeſty preſented the Earl with all the ſtamps and prints engraved at the Louvre, contained in twelve large volumes in folio; in return for which, his Excelleney made the King a preſent of nine very fine Engliſh horſes (35). (35) Compl. Hiſt. On the 28th of June his Excellency left Paris, and went to Chantilli, a houſe belonging to the Prince of Condé, where he was entertained in a grand manner, 'till the 11th, when he took leave of his Highneſs, and proceeding on his journey, arrived at Kenſington on the 19th. Thus ended this famous embaſſy, the expence of which, according to the French account (36), was (36) Annales de la Cour. only 100,000 crowns; but, aceording to our own Hiſtorians (37), almoſt three times that ſum, 80,000 *l.* and one of them writes (38), that he has been informed (37) Compl. Hiſt. Lord Portland was 25,000 *l.* out of pocket more than his allowance for the charge of the embaſſy, and that (38) Hiſt. of Europe, 1709. his Lordſhip was never reimburſed it, but rightly adds, that he will not anſwer for the truth of this. Salmon ſays it coſt King William near 150,000 *l.* (39). How- (39) Salmon's Modern Hiſtory. ever this be, 'tis certain the money that was ſpent upon this occaſion was to very little purpoſe; and Mr Prior might well ſay, as he does (40), that this embaſſy was (40) Hiſt. of his own Time, p. 38. rather a matter of ceremony than buſineſs, the Earl of Portland, with all his endeavours, having been able to obtain nothing for the advantage of his Royal Maſter. His Lordſhip had it in his inſtructions, to inſiſt upon the removal of the late King James to a further diſtance from the Court of France. This demand King James concluded would be complied with, and was preparing to retire to Avignon, but Lewis XIV. would not liſten to the propoſal, though Lord Portland offered in King William's name, to give King James and his Queen an honourable penſion, and caſe the French King of 50,000 Louis d'ors a year, which he allowed King James, beſides ſmaller penſions and appointments to his followers, amounting in the whole to a very great ſum (41). —— From hence it appears, how ill the (41) Oldmixon, Kennet, &c. French King obſerved his engagements with King William, it having been expreſsly agreed in the conferences between Lord Portland and Marſhal de Boufflers (42), 'that the King of France ſhould give King (42) See the note [K]. 'James no aſſiſtance, and that he ſhould retire from 'the Freneh Court, either to Avignon or Italy;' which the French King now abſolutely refuſed Lord Portland to eomply with; and King William now ſaw he could not obtain any thing by remonſtrances, which he had neglected to ſtipulate in the treaty of Ryſwick; but this is not to be wonderd at, when we reflect how ſhort a time that treaty itſelf was found binding in it's moſt material articles.

[M] *For*

'shewed an esteem for him.' Bishop Burnet (*p*) gives this account of the affair. That the Earl of Portland observed the progress of the King's favour to the Lord Albemarle with great uneasiness; they grew to be not only incompatible, as all rivals for favour must be, but to hate and oppose one another in every thing; the one (Lord Portland) had more of the confidence, the other more of the favour. Lord Portland, upon his return from his embassy to France, could not bear the visible superiority in favour that the other was growing up to; so he took occasion, from a small preference given Lord Albemarle in prejudice of his own post, as Groom of the Stole, to withdraw from Court, and lay down all his employments. The King used all possible means to divert him from this resolution, but could not prevail on him to alter it. He indeed consented to serve his Majesty still in his State-affairs, but would not return to any post in the household. This change, says Bishop Kennet (*q*), did at first please the English and Dutch, the Earl of Albemarle having cunningly made several powerful friends in both nations, who, out of envy to Lord Portland, were glad to see another in his place, and it is said (*r*), that Lord Albemarle was supported by the Earl of Sutherland and Mrs Villiers, to pull down Lord Portland: however, though the first became now the reigning favourite, yet the latter, says Bishop Kennet, did ever preserve the esteem and affection of King William: though the same author had before said, that Lord Albemarle was become entire master of the King's confidence. But King William was a Prince of another sort of genius, than are those Princes who are governed by favourites; he was his own Minister in all the greater parts of government, as those of war and peace, forming alliances and treaties, which, in the main, were the effects of his own knowledge and experience, and he knew well the merit of those he employed in his service. We have before seen, that even by the acknowledgment of the French, enemies to Lord Portland and his friends, his Lordship was superior in capacity to M. de Bouffiers, then a leading man at the Court of France, and there was no Minister of State then in Europe, whose character was more than equal to Lord Portland's, in policy and negociation. King William was sensible of this, and, as such a Minister, Lord Portland never lost ground in the good opinion and esteem of his master, though possibly he might in his affection or personal love; for the affections and passions of Kings are variable as other mens, and consequently the situation of favourites is very precarious, and there have been very few instances of those, who could boast a reign so quiet and undisturbed, as never to suffer any interruption or diminution of their Prince's favour. Kings see with other mens eyes, and hear with other mens ears, and there are never wanting those about a Court, who endeavour to traduce that virtue in others, which they cannot, or will not, imitate themselves. The Earl of Albemarle had been in his Majesty's service from a youth, was descended of a noble family in Guelderland, attended King William into England as his Page of Honour, and being a young Lord of fine address and sweet temper, with a due mixture of heroism, it is no wonder his Majesty took pleasure in his conversation in the intervals of State business, and in making his fortune, who had so long followed his own; which, however, was not making him master of his confidence, as the Historian says. Bishop Burnet (*s*) says, it is a difficult matter to account for the reasons of the favour shewn by the King, in the highest degree, to these two Lords, they being in all respects, not only of different, but of quite opposite characters; secrecy and fidelity being the only qualities in which they did in any sort agree. Lord Albemarle was very chearful and gay, had all the arts of a Court, was civil to all, and procured favours for many; but was so addicted to his pleasures, that he could scarce submit to attend on business, and had never yet distinguished himself in any thing. On the other hand, Lord Portland was of a grave and sedate disposition, and indeed, adds the Bishop, was thought rather too cold and dry, and had not the art of creating friends; but was indefatigable in business, and had distinguished himself on many occasions (*t*). With another author, a pretty censorious one (*u*), his Lordship has the character of carrying himself with a very lofty mien, yet was not proud, nor much beloved nor hated by the people. But it is no wonder if the Earl of Portland was not acceptable to the English nation; his Lordship had been for ten years entirely trusted by the King, was his chief favourite and bosom-friend, and the favourites of Kings are seldom favourites of the people, on the contrary, are generally objects of national jealousy, and oftentimes of publick hatred: and as it must be owned King William was immoderately lavish to those he personally loved, of whom Lord Portland was the most distinguished instance, no doubt but his Majesty's extraordinary bounties and honours heaped upon this nobleman, raised much envy, and created him many enemies; for the amassing of wealth, and aggrandizing a family, are in themselves sufficient to render a Minister and Favourite unpopular; but as long as History has not charged his memory with failings that might deservedly render him obnoxious to the publick, there can be no partiality in attributing this nobleman's unpopularity, partly to the above reasons, and partly to his being a foreigner, for which he suffered not a little from the envy and malice of his enemies, in their Speeches, Libels, *&c.* of which there were some, levelled, as well against his royal patron King William, as against his Lordship, that were filled with reproaches and reflections, not only severe, but scandalous in the highest degree, and whose titles as well as contents are therefore best concealed. We shall only observe farther, that the same aversion to foreign favourites soon after shewed itself against Lord Albemarle, who,

(*p*) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 224.

(*q*) Compleat History of England, Vol. III. p. 754.

(*r*) Mackey's Memoirs, p. 67.

(*s*) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 225.

(*t*) Ibid.

(*u*) Mackey, in his Characters of the English and Scotch Nobility, p. 62.

who, as he grew into power and favour, like Lord Portland, began to be looked upon with the ſame jealouſy; and when the King gave him the Order of the Garter, in the year 1700, we are told (*w*) it was generally diſliked, and his Majeſty, to make it paſs the better, did at the ſame time confer the like honour on Lord Pembroke (an Engliſh nobleman of illuſtrious birth); yet it was obſerved, that few of the nobility graced the ceremony of their inſtallation with their preſence, and that many ſevere reflections were then made on his Majeſty, for laviſhing away a Garter on his favourite (*x*): and another writer ſays (*y*), the King loſt many friends by his attachment to Lord Albemarle, and that the creating him Knight of the Garter, gave a general diſguſt to the nobility. The King had for a long time given the Earl of Portland the entire and abſolute government of Scotland (*z*), and his Lordſhip was alſo employed, in the year 1698, in the new negociation ſet on foot for the ſucceſſion of the Crown of Spain, called by the name of the *Partition Treaty*, the intention of which being fruſtrated by the treachery of the French King, the treaty itſelf fell under ſevere cenſure, and was looked upon as a fatal ſlip in the politicks of that reign, and Lord Portland was impeached by the Houſe of Commons, in the year 1700, for adviſing and tranſacting it, as were alſo the other Lords concerned with him in it. As his Lordſhip had ſo conſiderable a ſhare in this memorable tranſaction, it cannot be amiſs to give a more particular account of it, as to it's deſign and occaſion, as well as the extraordinary and unuſual method of proceeding of the Houſe of Commons, againſt Lord Portland, and the other impeached Lords, for their ſhare therein. For this, ſee the note [*M*]. This ſame year, Lord Portland was a ſecond time attacked, together with the

(*w*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 783.

(*x*) Ibid.

(*y*) Prior's Negociations, p. 176, 177.

(*z*) Mackey's Memoirs, p. 63.

[*M*] *For this ſee the notes.*] The Treaty of Partition is ſaid to have been firſt projected by the famous Count Tallard, and to have laid the foundation of his future fortunes (43): But the firſt propoſal of it was made by the French King himſelf to Lord Portland, while he was in France; and it was probably in order to make King William come the more readily into it, that Lewis endeavoured to dazzle his Majeſty's eyes by the extraordinary reception he gave to his Ambaſſador, and the marks of eſteem and affection which he ſhewed him in ſeveral letters; for, after the peace of Ryſwick, that Monarch's thoughts were wholly turned upon ſecuring in his own family the ſucceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, the King of Spain having no iſſue, and his death being daily expected; and, on the other hand, King William was no leſs bent upon preventing any ſuch ſucceſſion from taking place (44). The French King, to accompliſh his ends, kept up a very conſiderable army, and made all the neceſſary preparations for ſending out great numbers of men of war and gallies, in order to ſeize upon Spain as ſoon as the preſent Monarch was dead; and it happened that King William's whole forces at this time amounted but to ſeven thouſand men. Thus was the French King left in a condition to execute almoſt any thing. It was in his power to take poſſeſſion of the whole Spaniſh monarchy in the various parts of the world, before any Prince but the Emperor, whom he had little reaſon to fear, could oppoſe him. It was therefore no wonder that King William was prevailed upon to liſten to a propoſal for dividing thoſe dominions, and thereby preventing the Spaniſh monarchy, with all it's dependencies, from falling into the hands of France. His Majeſty, it is ſaid, entered into this project by the advice of Lord Portland, and, being then in Holland, ſent over to England to Lord Somers for his advice in this important affair, deſiring him to ſend over the full powers under the Great Seal, to treat with Count Tallard, who had made ſome propoſitions to his Majeſty in perſon; but withal, enjoined inviolable ſecrecy to Lord Somers, who ſoon after ſent the King a commiſſion under the Great Seal, and likewiſe ſome advice about the affair, which his Majeſty however did not ſtay to receive, for before it's arrival, Auguſt 29, N. S. (45) a treaty was concluded, and ſigned by the Earl of Portland and Sir Joſeph Williamſon on the part of England, Count Tallard on the part of France, and by eight Plenipotentiaries of the States General, to this purport: That in caſe the King of Spain ſhould die without iſſue, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with the places then depending upon the Spaniſh monarchy, ſituate on the coaſt of Tuſcany, or the iſlands adjacent, the marquiſate of Final, the Province of Guipuſcoa, ſeveral towns and all places on the French ſide of the Pyrenees, and other mountains, with all the ſhips and gallies, *&c.* ſhould be given to the Dauphin in conſideration of his right (46). That the Crown of Spain, and the other kingdoms and places, both within and without Europe, ſhould deſcend to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria; and that the duchy of Milan ſhould be allotted to the Archduke Charles, the Emperor's ſecond ſon (47). This treaty was not long in force, for the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, appointed ſucceſſor to the King of Spain, died in February following, upon which Lord Portland ſoon after began to treat about a new partition in favour of the Archduke Charles. The Earl of Jerſey was ſent into France on this occaſion, and he and Lord Portland were joined in a commiſſion by his Majeſty, as his Plenipotentiaries, for concluding a new Partition Treaty (48), which was done in March following; the conditions of which were, I. That Spain, Flanders, and the Weſt-Indies, which by the former treaty had been allotted to the Prince of Bavaria, ſhould devolve to the Archduke Charles, the Emperor's ſecond ſon. II. That Naples and Sicily, with the reſt of the Spaniſh Provinces on the coaſt of Italy, *&c.* ſhould be aſſigned the Dauphin. III. That Lorrain ſhould be annexed to France, the duchy of Milan conferred on the Duke of Lorrain, and the county of Bitſche on the Prince of Vaudemont. King William and the States had certainly no other view in this treaty but to eſtabliſh the peace and tranquility of Europe, and to form a Barrier in the Netherlands for the ſecurity of the United Provinces; to which end this treaty might ſeem to be made at a very critical juncture, though by the treachery of the French it had another effect, they having very different deſigns which they clandeſtinely carried on; and while they were amuſing King William with the Partition Treaty, were labouring by all manner of means to pave the way to the Spaniſh throne for a Prince of the Houſe of Bourbon; for which purpoſe they procured a Will from the dying King, ſigned the 2d of October, N. S. whereby he conſtituted the Duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon to the Dauphin, his univerſal heir, in default of iſſue, and made other proviſions for continuing the ſucceſſion. This memorable Will was the contrivance of the Marquis d' Harcourt, and Cardinal Portocarrero, and the King ſurvived it but barely a month, dying on the 1ſt of November. The French King ſeemed at firſt doubtful whether to accept this Will, or obſerve the Treaty of Partition; but this was only a feint, for he did not long waver in his reſolution. On the 16th of November the Duke of Anjou was declared King of Spain at the French Court, and proclaimed at Madrid on the 24th of the ſame month, notwithſtanding the Pope and the Emperor proteſted againſt this ſtep; and the Engliſh and Dutch Miniſters likewiſe repreſented, that it was not agreeable to the Treaty of Partition ſo lately ſigned. Thus was the deſign of the Partition Treaty entirely defeated, and that which was intended to preſerve the publick tranquillity, was now cenſured as the ſole occaſion of breaking it. The Parliament began to ſhew their diſapprobation of it, and the ſecrecy with which it was tranſacted. The Houſe of Peers, March 20, 1700, in an addreſs, repreſented to his Majeſty the ill conſequence of it to the

(43) Life of King William, p. 334.

(44) Cole's Memoirs, p. 29, *& ſeq.*

(45) Prior's Negociations, p. 51.

(46) Ibid.

(47) Hiſt. of Europe, anno 1698. Compleat Hiſtory, *&c.*

(48) Prior's Negociations, p. 57.

the other favourite, Lord Albemarle, by the House of Commons, when the affair of the disposal

the peace and safety of Europe; for that, besides the occasion it might have given the late King of Spain to have made his Will in favour of the Duke of Anjou, if the treaty had taken effect, the prejudice to his Majesty and his subjects, and indeed to all Europe, by the addition of Sicily, Naples, several ports of the Mediterranean, duchy of Lorrain, &c. had been not only very great, but contrary to the pretence of the treaty itself, which was to prevent any umbrage that might have been taken, by uniting so many States and Dominions under one head: That this treaty was never considered in any of his Majesty's councils, and therefore they beseeched his Majesty, that he would for the future be pleased to admit, in all matters of importance, the advice of his natural born subjects, whose known probity and fortunes might make him and his people a just assurance of their fidelity to his service; and that in order thereto, he would be pleased to constitute a council of such persons, to whom his Majesty might be pleased to impart all affairs, both at home and abroad, which might any ways concern him and his dominions; for interest and natural affection for their country would incline them to wish the welfare and prosperity of it, much more than others who had no such ties upon them, and their experience and knowledge of their country, would also render them more capable, than strangers, of advising his Majesty in the true interest of it, &c. It is pretty plain against whom this address was designed. The Commons likewise addressed his Majesty against the treaty, and censured the negotiating it without the advice of the Parliament or Privy-Council. As things now seemed advancing to a crisis, and the Lord Portland seeing himself so visibly struck at in the Lord's address, and fearing the impending storm might fall too heavy on him, got the King's leave to communicate the whole matter to the House (49), where, being soon after charged with negociating the said treaty, his Lordship said in his excuse, that he had not concluded the treaty alone, for besides Lord Jersey, who was joined with him in the negotiation, he had likewise, by the King's order, acquainted six of his chief Ministers with it, who were the Earls of Pembroke, and Marlborough; the Lords, Somers, Lonsdale, Hallifax, and Orford; and Secretary Vernon; to which those Peers replied, that they did aeknowledge they had seen the rough draught of the treaty, but that the Earl of Portland had drawn it up himself in French, and they had never given nor refused their consent to it, because the treaty was never communicated to the Privy-Council. Many warm speeches were made upon this occasion, reflecting upon the Court; and the House of Commons were so angry, and their debates ran so high, that more than one of their Members broke in upon common decency and good manners. Mr How particularly said, the Partition Treaty was a felonious treaty, and compared it to the distribution of other mens goods among highwaymen. At length, April the 1st, they came to a resolution, 'That William Earl of Porland, by negotiating and concluding 'the Treaty of Partition, which was destructive to the 'trade of this kingdom, and dangerous to the peace 'of Europe, was guilty, and should be impeached of 'high crimes and misdemeanors;' and they ordered Sir John Leveson Gower to go up to the Lords, and at their bar to impeach the said Earl, and to acquaint their Lordships, that they would in due time exhibit articles against him. They then desired a conference with their Lordships, at which they desired their Lordships to communicate to them, what information they had received of any transactions relating to the Partition Treaty, particularly of some transactions between Lord Portland, and Mr Secretary Vernon: Whereupon their Lordships delivered to them the two Latin commissions of powers, granted to the Earls of Portland and Jersey, for negotiating the said treaties; and also a private paper of the Lord Portland's, which he had given in himself to the House, and which shews that it was with some reluctance his Lordship engaged in this troublesome affair. It runs thus. 'At the beginning of the summer of the year 1699, when I was 'in Holland at my country-house, and when the King 'would have me be concerned in the negotiation of 'this treaty, being very unwilling to meddle with 'business again, from which I had retired; before I 'would engage myself, I advised with my friends in 'Holland, and writ into England to Mr Secretary 'Vernon, as my particular friend, whether it was advisable for me to engage in business again? To which 'Mr Vernon answered in substance, that this would 'engage me but for a little while; that I being 'upon the place, and generally acquainted with the 'foreign Ministers, it would be easier for the King, 'and properer for me to be employed in it than any 'body else, who must otherwise be sent for on pur'pose.' The Commons then proceeded to impeach the Lords Orford, Somers, and Hallifax; and, not content with this step, on the 23d of April they addressed his Majesty to remove the Earl of Portland, and the other impeached Lords from his councils and presence for ever. His Majesty could not but be very uneasy at this severe dealing with his Counsellors and Ministers; when he knew the error, if any, was only an error of judgment, and that rather of his own, than of those employed by him. But by the courtesy of England our Kings are understood to do nothing but by advice, and consequently their Ministers are supposed to be answerable for their misdeeds. The King kept his temper, and only answered, that he would employ none in his service, but such as should be thought most likely to improve a mutual trust and confidence between him and his Parliament. But as the names of those Lords still remained in the council, it might be judged the King did not intend to grant their request. Such an address had never gone along with an impeachment before; the Commons indeed had begun such a practice in King Charles the Second's time (50), where they disliked a Minister, but had not matter to ground an impeachment on, and so took this method of making an address against him; but to come with an address after an impeachment, was a new attempt; this was punishing before trial, contrary to an indispensible rule of justice, of not judging before the party is heard. The Peers of England behaved with great prudence and good affection at this critical juncture; they were alarmed at the address of the Commons, and looked upon it to be an ill precedent for persons to be censured before they were tried; besides, that it made their judicature ridiculous, when in the first instance of an accusation, application was made for a censure, and a very severe one, for few misdemeanors could deserve a harder sentence (51). For this reason the Lords thought proper to interpose with this counter-address to the King; that the Commons having impeached the Lords Portland, &c. and designed to exhibit particular articles against them, and make good the same, they desired his Majesty would be pleased not to pass any censure upon those Lords, 'till they were tried upon the said impeachments, and judgment was given according to the usage of Parliament, and the laws of the land. Thus matters rested 'till the 5th of May, when the Commons not having given in articles of impeachment against the Lords, the House of Peers began to think that their Members had been impeached by the Commons, without a serious intention of prosecuting the charge against them; they therefore sent a message to the Commons, to remind them, that there were yet no articles preferred against the impeached Lords; this extorted from them articles against Lord Orford; and soon after against Lord Somers; and on the 24th of the same month, the Lords sent another quickening message to the Commons, and after that another; representing to them, that after impeachments had so long depended, it was a hardship to the persons concerned, and not agreeable to the usual methods of Parliaments in such cases, and pressed them to make good their impeachments against Lord Portland and Hallifax. This occasioned a breach between the two Houses, the Commons insisting upon it, that they, as prosecutors, were proper judges when articles of impeachment ought to be brought up, and would not proceed faster than they thought fit. But the truth is, the Commons being defective in their proofs (52), were not forward to prosecute this accusation, and the majority of them began to wish they had never entered upon this untoward affair. In short, they found their impeachments must come to nothing, for that they had not the majority in the House of Lords to judge in them as they should direct; and therefore they had before resolved on a shorter way to fix a severe censure on the impeached Lords, by addressing

(49) Burnet, Vol. II. p. 267.

(50) Burnet, Vol. I. p. 259.

(51) Ibid.

(52) Burnet, Vol. II. p. 267.

diſpoſal of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland was under their conſideration. It appearing upon enquiry, that the King had, among many other grants, made one to Lord Woodſtock, (the Earl of Portland's ſon) of 135,820 acres of land; and to Lord Albemarle two grants, of 108,633 acres in poſſeſſion and reverſion; the Parliament came to a reſolution to reſume theſe grants; and alſo reſolved, that the adviſing and paſſing them was highly reflecting on the King's honour, and that the officers and inſtruments concerned in the procuring and paſſing thoſe grants, had highly failed in the performance of their truſt and duty; and alſo, that the procuring or paſſing exorbitant grants, by any member now of the Privy-Council, or by any other that had been a Privy-Counſellor, in this, or any former reign, to his uſe or benefit, was a high crime and miſdemeanor, and to carry their reſentment ſtill farther, the Commons fell immediately upon impeaching, as we learn from a letter wrote by Mr Prior to the Earl of Mancheſter (*a*), and that the perſons they named were the Earls of Portland and Albemarle, and the articles upon which they were going, were for procuring for themſelves exorbitant grants (*b*). This impeachment, however, did not take place, but the Commons voted an addreſs to his Majeſty, that no perſon who was not a native of his dominions, except his Royal Highneſs Prince George of Denmark, ſhould be admitted to his Majeſty's Councils in England or Ireland. This blow, it is eaſy to ſee, was aimed chiefly at the two favourites, Lord Portland and Albemarle; but the King, not thinking it proper to receive ſuch an addreſs, had no other way to hinder it's being preſented, but by going ſuddenly to the Houſe of Lords, paſſing the bills that were ready, and putting an end to the ſeſſion, which his Majeſty did the very next day. The Partition Treaty was the laſt publick tranſaction we find Lord Portland engaged in; the next year after his impeachment, 1701, having put a period to the life of his royal and munificent maſter, King William III; but not without having ſhewn, even in his laſt moments, that his eſteem and affection for Lord Portland ended but with his life, for when his Majeſty was juſt expiring, he aſked, though with a faint voice, for the Earl of Portland, but before his Lordſhip could come, the King's voice quite failed him; the Earl, however, placing his ear as near his Majeſty's mouth as could be, his lips were obſerved to move, but without ſtrength to expreſs his mind to his Lordſhip; but, as the laſt teſtimony of the cordial affection he bore him, he took him by the hand, and carried it to his heart with great tenderneſs (*c*), and expired ſoon after. His Lordſhip had before been a witneſs to, and ſigned his Majeſty's laſt Will and Teſtament, made at the Hague in 1695; and it is ſaid (*d*), that King William, the winter before he died, told Lord Portland, as they were walking together in the garden at Hampton-Court, that he found his health declining very faſt, and that he could not live

(*a*) Extant in Mr Prior's Negociations, p. 171.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 303.

(*d*) Life of King William, Vol. III. Compleat Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 839. Hiſt. of Europe, Anno 1709.

addreſſing to have them removed from the King's councils for ever; and their impeachments were only for form ſake, and to give a colour to that addreſs, for they really intended to let the matter ſleep, thinking that what they had already done had ſo marked thoſe Lords, that the King could not employ them any more, which was the chief end of their proceedings. At a conference between the two Houſes, the Lord Haverſham having caſt ſome reflections upon the Commons impeachments, they now made this a plea for their delay, refuſing to proceed 'till they had received ſatisfaction for the affront offered by that Lord, which was no more than his having ſaid, that it was a plain demonſtration, that the Commons thought theſe Lords innocent, ſince there were ſeveral Lords equally guilty, whom the Commons left at the head of affairs near the King's perſon, to do what miſchief they were inclined to. The Commons having ſent up a charge againſt Lord Haverſham for this ſpeech, that Lord in his anſwer thereto, juſtified what he had ſaid, and further inſiſted, that the impeachment againſt Lord Portland could not have reference to any other treaty than that of 1699, the treaty of 1698 not being before the Houſe of Commons 'till after the impeachment, and that the Commons had ſhewn themſelves partial, and even unjuſt, in proceeding againſt the impeached Lords, while they ſuffered the Earl of Jerſey, who actually ſigned the ſaid treaty of 1699, as a Plenipotentiary with the Lord Portland, to ſtand unimpeached, and to continue at the head of affairs, as likewiſe Mr Secretary Vernon, Sir Joſeph Williamſon, &c. who were engaged in the ſame tranſactions. The Commons having exhibited articles againſt Lord Hallifax (but none againſt Lord Portland) the Peers ſent another meſſage, to put them in mind of their impeachment againſt Lord Portland; and finding they would not proceed to try the other impeached Lords, the Peers themſelves reſolved to try them, which they did, and acquitted them, and alſo diſmiſſed the charge againſt Lord Haverſham, and the impeachment againſt Lord Portland, there having been no articles exhibited againſt him. (53) Biſhop Burnet ſays (53), that the forbearance of the Commons to frame articles againſt Lord Portland was repreſented to the King as an expreſſion of their reſpect to him, which, if true, ſhews that Lord Portland was yet in great favour with his Majeſty. The arbitrary, and indeed, unjuſt proceedings of the Commons, put the nation into a high ferment, the generality of people diſliking their behaviour, a bold teſtimony of which was given in the Kentiſh petition delivered to the Houſe of Commons; and, after that, a ſtill more daring affront was offered them by the famous Memorial, called by the name of the Legions Letter, ſaid to be wrote in the names of 200,000 people. This conſiſted of complaints of a great number of unlawful and unwarrantable practices of the Commons, and among the reſt were theſe following, which may ſerve to ſhew the ſenſe of the people in general upon the late meaſures.

I. 'Addreſſing the King to diſplace his friends upon 'bare ſurmiſes, before the legal trial, or article proved, 'is illegal, and inverting the Law, and making exe- 'cution go before judgment, contrary to the true ſenſe 'of the Law, which eſteems every man a good man, 'till ſomething appears to the contrary.

II. 'Delaying proceedings upon capital impeach- 'ments, to blaſt the reputation of the perſons without 'proving the fact, is illegal and oppreſſive, deſtructive 'to the liberty of Engliſhmen, a delay of juſtice, and 'a reproach to Parliaments.

III. 'Suffering faucy and indecent reproaches upon 'his Majeſty's perſon to be publickly made in the Houſe, 'particularly by that impudent ſcandal of Parliaments, 'John How, who ſaid openly, *That his Majeſty had 'made a felonious treaty to rob his neighbours*; inſinua- 'ting, *that the Partition Treaty* (which was every way 'as juſt as blowing up one man's houſe to ſave ano- 'ther's) *was a combination of the King to rob the Crown 'of Spain of it's due.* This is making a Billingſgate 'of the Houſe, and ſetting up to bully your Sovereign, 'contrary to the intent and meaning of the freedom 'of ſpeech which you claim as a right, is ſcandalous 'to Parliaments, undutiful and unmannerly, and a 'reproach to the whole nation.'

There

live another ſummer, but charged his Lordſhip not to mention this 'till after his Majeſty's death. We are told (*e*), that at the time of the King's death, Lord Portland was Keeper of Windſor great Park, and was diſplaced upon Queen Anne's acceſſion to the throne; we are not, however, made acquainted with the time, when his Lordſhip became firſt poſſeſſed of that poſt. After King William's death, the Earl did not, at leaſt openly, concern himſelf with publick affairs (*f*), but betook himſelf to a retired life, in a moſt exemplary way, at his ſeat at Bulſtrode in the county of Bucks, where he erected, and plentifully endowed, a free-ſchool; and did many other charities. His Lordſhip had an admirable taſte for gardening, and took great delight in improving and beautifying his own gardens, which he made very elegant and curious. At length, being taken ill of a pleuriſy and malignant fever, after about a week's illneſs he died (*g*), November 23, 1709, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, leaving behind him a very plentiful fortune, being at that time reputed the richeſt ſubject in Europe (*h*). His corpſe being conveyed to London, was, on the third of December, carried with great funeral pomp, from his houſe in St James's ſquare to Weſtminſter-Abbey, and there interred in the vault under the eaſt window of Henry the VIIth's chapel. His Lordſhip married (*i*) to his firſt wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, Knight-Marſhal, and ſiſter to Edward-Earl of Jerſey, at that time Maid of Honour to Mary, Princeſs of Orange, the Royal Conſort of King William III, by whom he had iſſue three ſons and five daughters, *viz.* William, who died in his infancy; Henry, ſecond ſon, afterwards Earl and Duke of Portland; and another William, who died young in Holland (*k*). Lady Mary, the eldeſt daughter, married to Algernoon, Earl of Eſſex, and ſince his deceaſe, to the Honourable Conyers d'Arcy, Eſq; only brother to Robert, late Earl of Holderneſſe. Lady Anna Margaretta, the ſecond daughter, married to M. Duyvenvorde, one of the principal Nobles of Holland (*l*). Lady Frances Williamyna, third daughter, married to William, Lord Byron, and died March 31, 1712. Lady Eleanora, fourth daughter, died unmarried. Lady Iſabella, youngeſt daughter, married to Evelyn Pierpoint, Duke of Kingſton, and died February 23, 1727-8 (*m*). His Lordſhip, on the ſixteenth of May 1700, took to his ſecond wife, Jane (*n*), ſixth daughter of Sir John Temple, of Eaſt-Sheen in the county of Surrey, Bart. ſiſter to Henry, Lord Viſcount Palmerſton, and widow of John Lord Berkeley of Stratton; and by her (who, in 1726, was Governeſs to the three young Princeſſes, eldeſt daughters of his preſent Majeſty) had two ſons (*o*), William, one of the Nobles of Holland, who, in 1733, married Charlotta-Sophia-Hedwige-Eleonora, Counteſs of Aldenburgh, only daughter to Anthony, Count Aldenburgh, Seigneur de Varel, Kniphauſen, &c. in Germany; and Charles-John, an officer in the ſervice of the States-General; as alſo four daughters (*p*). Lady Sophia, married March 24, 1728-9, to his Grace Henry de Grey, Duke of Kent. Lady Elizabeth, married to Dr Henry Egerton, Biſhop of Hereford, Brother to his Grace Scroop Duke of Bridgewater (*q*). Lady Harriot, married to James Hamilton, Viſcount Limerick of the kingdom of Ireland (*r*). Lady Barbara unmarried.

(*e*) Mackey's Characters of the Engliſh & Scotch Nobility, p. 62.

(*f*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 311.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Mackey's Memoirs, p. 62.

(*i*) Peerage of England, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) Ibid.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Ibid.

(*q*) Ibid.

(*r*) Ibid.

(53) Diſcourſe of the Conteſts in Athens and Rome.

There appeared about this time a pamphlet (53), ſuppoſed to be wrote by Dean Swift, upon the ſubject of thoſe impeachments; in which there are theſe reflections. 'For a few popular orators, ſays he, upon 'the ſcore of perſonal pique, or to employ their pride 'in ſeeing themſelves at the head of a party, or as a 'method of advancement; for ſuch men, I ſay, when 'the State would of itſelf be quiet, and has beſides 'affairs of the greateſt importance upon the anvil, to 'impeach Miltiades (Lord Orford) after a great naval 'victory, (La Hogue) for not purſuing the Perſian 'fleet; to impeach Ariſtides (Lord Somers) the perſon 'moſt verſed among them in the knowledge and practice of their laws, for a blind ſuſpicion of his acting 'in an arbitrary manner; to impeach Pericles after 'all his ſervices (Lord Halifax) for a few paltry accounts; or to impeach Phocion (Lord Portland) for 'no other crime but negotiating a treaty for the peace 'and ſecurity of his country; what could the continuance of ſuch proceedings end in, but the utter 'diſcouragement of all virtuous actions and perſons, 'and conſequently the ruin of a State?' It was certainly an impolitick thing in the Parliament to put ſuch an affront upon King William's councils, at a time when they ought in a more eſpecial manner to have ſupported the credit and authority of them, ſince he muſt neceſſarily be at the head of the next confederacy that appeared, as he was at the laſt; and when the retroſpecting the affair of the Partition Treaty could be of no ſervice to the common cauſe, but was ſure to obſtruct and weaken it. But it ſeems pretty plain, that this affair was ſet on foot purely by a ſpirit of party and perſonal pique againſt thoſe Lords (*), ſince the others equally concerned with them were not queſtioned. There are few proſecutions of this kind, but there is a great deal of private pique, intereſt, and reſentment, mixed with views of publick good. The impeached Lords were the Chiefs of the Whigs, and had long reigned at Court without controul; and the Tories who ſucceeded them, had a view perhaps of preventing them from returning to their poſts, as well as of bringing them to juſtice for negotiating the Partition Treaty. Biſhop Burnet ſays (54), it was the effect of the influence and intrigues of France, which had ſet all it's engines at work to involve us into ſuch difficulties and contentions at home, as ſhould wholly take off our attention from affairs abroad; or, however, if it was not the effect of French direction, it was at leaſt the animoſity of a party, to ruin thoſe who had ſerved the King faithfully (55), and to diſcourage others from engaging ſo far in his intereſts as thoſe Lords had done. See the articles SOMERS (Lord Somers), RUSSELL (Earl of Orford), and MOUNTAGUE (Earl of Halifax). H

(*) Hiſt. of the Revolutions of Spain, 8*vo.* Vol. V. p. 270.

(54) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 274.

(55) Hiſt. of the Revolutions of Spain, 8*vo.* Vol. V. p. 269, 270.

BENTINCK (Henry) ſecond ſon of (*) William Earl of Portland, whilſt he was a Commoner, was elected, in two Parliaments (*a*), in the reign of Queen Anne, one of the Knights of the ſhire for the county of Southampton; and on the twenty-firſt of July, 1710, was made Captain of the firſt troop of horſe-guards, in the room of the Earl of Albemarle. He was created by his late Majeſty, Marquis of Tichfield in Hampſhire, and Duke of Portland, by letters patent, bearing date the ſixteenth of July, 1716, in

(*) See the above article.

(*a*) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 312.

whoſe patent of creation there are theſe remarkable expreſſions, which ſhew the juſt ſenſe his late Majeſty had, of the traiterous deſigns of the Miniſters, in the laſt year of the Queen, againſt the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the liberties of our country; where, ſpeaking of Lord Portland, then created a Duke, it is ſaid, 'he promoted the great 'work of the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, at the utmoſt hazard of his fortune and 'honours, at a time when our ſucceſſion was in the moſt imminent danger: he ſtood 'firm againſt all the promiſes and repeated offers of a Court, and frequently declared, 'how ready he was to reſign his high poſt in the late Queen's guards; which he at length 'was deprived of in an extraordinary manner, as apprehending, leſt, by the ſpecious 'ſuggeſtions of gratitude, he ſhould be prompted to enter into meaſures, which might 'have a tendency to betray the liberties of his country (*b*).' When the King went to Cambridge in 1717, and the ceremony of admitting and creating ſeveral degrees, was, according to cuſtom, performed in his royal preſence, his Grace the Duke of Portland was created Doctor of Laws. His Grace was alſo one of the Gentlemen of the late King's Bedchamber; and on the ninth of September, 1721, was appointed Captain-General, and Governor of the iſland of Jamaica, where his Grace departed this life, of a fever, on the fourth of July, 1726, in the forty-fifth year of his age, greatly lamented, being of a moſt noble, generous, and courteous diſpoſition, and was generally eſteemed one of the moſt accompliſhed Noblemen at Court (*c*); and there was this remarkable in his Grace's education, that he had for his tutors the two greateſt Hiſtorians of the age, Dr La Vaſſor, a Father of the Oratory in France, who embraced the Proteſtant Religion, and left that kingdom upon it; and after him M. Rapin de Thoyras, author of the Hiſtory of England (*d*) [*A*]. The ſucceſs of their cares, appeared in his Grace's excellent conduct in the government of Jamaica. His Grace married the Lady Elizabeth Noel (*e*), eldeſt daughter and co-heir of Writhiotheſly Baptiſt Noel, Earl of Gainſborough, by whom he had ſeveral children, and left iſſue two ſons and three daughters; William, now Duke of Portland, and Lord George, now an officer in his Majeſty's ſervice, and to whom the late King was godfather, and was born December 27, 1715; Lady Anne, Lady Iſabella, and Lady Amelia. His Grace was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon William, now Duke of Portland, who after three years travel in France and Italy, returned to England in the year 1733 (*f*).

(*b*) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 620.

(*c*) Oldmixon, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Preface to Rapin's Hiſtory of England.

(*e*) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 312, 313.

(*f*) Ibid.

[*A*] *And after him Monſieur Rapin de Thoyras, author of the* Hiſtory of England] In the Life of Monſieur Rapin, inſerted in the preface to his Hiſtory of England, it is ſaid, that in 1693 the Earl of Portland, who had heard of M. Rapin's character, reſolved to make him Governor to his ſon (the late Duke of Portland): Accordingly, when M. de Rapin thought nothing of the matter, he received in Ireland, where he then was, an order from the King to repair forthwith into England, and enter upon his employ of Governor; and his Majeſty gave him a penſion of 100 *l.* a year, 'till ſuch time as he ſhould provide for him better, which however never happened, and he enjoyed his penſion only during the King's life, after which it was taken from him, and in lieu of it he had a place given him of a moderate income (1). H

(1) Preface to Rapin's Hiſt. of England.

BENTLEY (RICHARD) Doctor, and Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, and late Maſter of Trinity-College, Cambridge; a great and extraordinary critic, as any the laſt age has produc'd [*A*], was, we find, by birth, a Yorkſhire man (*a*), and ſon (as I have been informed) of —— Bentley, a tradeſman, *viz.* either a Tanner, or a Blackſmith, at Wakefield, in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire. He was born in the year 1662;

(*a*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 903.

[*A*] *A great and extraordinary critic as any the laſt age has produced.*] In vindication of this aſſertion, it may not be improper here to refer to a few of thoſe diſtinguiſhing appellations the commonwealth of Letters have been in their books pleaſed to beſtow upon him, and few or none but himſelf. See *Spanheim's Callimachus*, and *Julian*; *Grævius's Callimachus*, his *Alberti Rubenii Diſſertatio*, dedicated to Dr *Bentley* (*); *Albertus Fabricius*, his *Marinus's Vita Procli*, dedicated to Dr *Bentley*; *Bibliotheca Græca*; Mr *Wolfius's Diſſertatio de Manichæiſmo hujus ævi*; his *Origen's Philoſophumena Olearius Philoſtratus*, *Gr. Lat. Hemſterhuſius's Pollux*, *Gr. Lat.* &c. Our own countrymen, Dr *Potter* in his *Lycophron*; Mr *Needham* in his *Hierocles*, Mr *Davis* in his *Tuſculanæ Queſtiones*, &c. However, we may venture to ſpeak the ſenſe of all theſe from a learned author, whoſe name is particularly revered, and is ſufficiently known to all that are not entire ſtrangers to the Republic of Letters, who, beſides the general epithets of *Eruditiſſimus*, *Præſtantiſſimus*, *Illuſtris perſpicaciſſimus*, *Clariſſimus*, Πολυμαθέστατος, &c. &c. (1) has theſe peculiar expreſſions concerning him, *Vir ſupra captum ſæculi ſui Doctus: Vir egregius et maximum literarum decus: magnum hodie literarum decus et incrementum: incomparabile auctoris ſui judicium et acumen*, &c. And in the fame work the moſt learned and incomparable Spanhemius, the King of Pruſſia's Ambaſſador to her Majeſty, thus ſtiles Dr Bentley, *Vir inſigni et reconditâ doctrinâ: Vir conſummatiſſimâ eruditione; magnum hodie literarum ac eruditæ Britanniæ decus: Vir ut exquiſitæ doctrina et reconditis literis, ita ſagacitate incredibili*, &c. — The *deciſive words of that tranſcendant critical genius of our age*, Dr Bentley, is alſo applied to him by a perſon of no ſmall note (2), the great Dr Clarke, who was himſelf ſo excellent a critic, and conſequently an unexceptionable judge thereof, in the following words gives this opinion of the learned Dr Bentley: *Criticus unus omnes longè, longéque —— antecellens* (3), which compliment is ſtill greatly heightened by the learned and ingenious Dr Hoadley, Biſhop of Winchester, who, after repeating them, ſays, *and whom every one will know by that title, without my naming him* (4). But we ſhall ſtop here, and proceed no farther in this affair: for, were we to gather together all the encomiums beſtowed upon this great man and his works by the learned world, both at home and abroad, we ſhould greatly tranſgreſs upon the bounds of our undertaking, and the patience of our readers. We have, we imagine, (if there are any who can be ſo ignorant as to be unacquainted with, or ſo envious as to doubt of, or deny, *the great abilities and profound erudition of this ornament and honour to the Engliſh nation*) produced ſufficient certificates and teſtimonies for the point we labour to prove.

(*) Spanheim in Julian, p. 19. In Callimachum, p. 455. Ibid. p. 605. Grævii Pref. ad Callim. & Rubenii Diſſertatio. See note [*B*] (7).

(1) Dr Kuſter's edition of Ariſtophanes.

(2) Emlyn's Tracts, p. 78.

(3) Dr Clarke's Preface to his edition of Cæſar's Commentaries, 1712.

(4) The Preface to Dr Clarke's Works, with an Account of the Life and Writings of the author, by Benjamin, Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury, 1730.

[*B*] *Was*

1662; but in what ſchool he laid the foundation, or firſt rudiments for that ſtock, he afterwards acquired, of profound learning, or who was the Preceptor, and afterwards Tutor of this great man, with ſome other circumſtances, we have not been able to find, from want of an intimacy with ſome of his family, or any of his particular acquaintance. Having, at a very early age, made a ſurprizing progreſs and uncommon proficiency in the learned languages; his inclination towards, and great capacity for, critical learning, ſoon began to diſplay itſelf; for before the age of twenty-four, he had wrote with his own hand a ſort of Hexapla, a thick volume in quarto, in the firſt column of which was every word of the Hebrew Bible, alphabetically diſpoſed, and in five other columns, all the various interpretations of thoſe words, in the Chaldee, Syriac, Vulgate Latin, Septuagint, and Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodoſian, that occur in the whole Bible; this he made for his own private uſe, to know the Hebrew, not from the late Rabbins, but the antient verſion, when, bating Arabic, Perſic, and Ethiopic, he muſt then have read over the whole Polyglott. He had alſo at that time, made for his own private uſe, another volume in quarto, of the various lections and emendations of the Hebrew text, drawn out of thoſe antient verſions, which, though done in thoſe green years, would have made a ſecond part to the famous Capellus's *Critica Sacra* (*b*). July 4, 1689, we find him of St John's college, Cambridge, where he had then taken his Maſter of Arts degree, being that day incorporated into the univerſity of Oxford, in Wadham-college, as ſuch, and mentioned by Anthony Wood (though then but a young man, a good deal under thirty) as a genius that was promiſing, and to whom the world was likely to be obliged, for his future ſtudies and productions (*c*). Some time after that, he was made domeſtick Chaplain to the Right Reverend Edward Lord Biſhop of Worceſter (*) (*d*). In the year 1691 [*B*], he publiſhed a Latin Epiſtle to John Mill, D. D. containing ſome critical obſervations relating to Johannes Malala, Greek Hiſtoriographer, publiſhed at the end of that author at Oxon. in 1691, in a large octavo, which was the firſt piece that our author publiſhed.—Nor was religion leſs indebted to him than learning; for much about this time, he had the honour to be ſelected out, and pitched upon, as the firſt perſon to preach at Boyle's Lectures (*e*) [*C*], (founded by that honourable

(*b*) Dr Bentley's Propoſals, for printing a new edition of the Greek Teſtament, and St Hierom's Latin Verſion, with a full Anſwer to all the Remarks of a late Pamphleteer; by a Member of Trinity-college, Camb. ſubſcribed J. E. 1721, p. 19.

(*c*) Wood's Faſti, ut ſupra.

(*) To whoſe ſon he had for ſome time been private Tutor, and in whoſe family he tells us he ſpent fourteen years.

(*d*) Wood's Faſti, ibid.

(*e*) Bentley's Sermons at Boyle's Lectures, fol. Vol. I. Lond. 1739.

[*B*] *In* 1691, *he publiſhed his Epiſtle to Dr Mill.*] *Malala's Chronicon* is now finiſhed, and will be publiſhed in a few days. We owe the edition of this manuſcript, taken out of the Bodleian library, to Mr Hody of Wadham-college, and Mr Bentley, Chaplain to the Lord Biſhop of Worceſter (5). Though this book bears the date of 1691, it was not publiſhed, as we find by the preceding and following quotations, 'till February 1692. The title of the whole runs thus. *Johannis Antiocheni Cognomento Malalæ Hiſtoria Chronica è Mſs Cod. Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ, nunc primum edita cum interp. et notis* Edm. Chilmeadi *et triplice indice rerum, autorum et vocum barbarum. Præmittitur diſſertatio de autore, per* Humfredum Hodium, S. T. B. *Coll.* Wadhami *Socium. Accedit Epiſtola* Richardi Bentleii *ad Cl. V.* Jo Milllum, S. T. P. *cum indice ſcriptorum, qui ibi emendantur* 8*vo. Oxonii E theatro Sheldoniano* 1691. Mr Bentley's remarks in the letter to the Rev. Dr Mill are worthy to be taken notice of, as they correct a great number of paſſages of the ancient Poets, and other Greek authors, which by *Malala* are quoted very negligently; occaſionally alſo correcting ſeveral paſſages from authors not quoted by *Malala*; in both which corrections the ingenious author is, for the moſt part, peculiarly happy (*).

(5) The Works of the Learned, for January, 1691-2.

(*) See an abſtract of this whole work, and ſeveral inſtances of the uſefulneſs of Mr Bentley's corrections, in The Works of the Learned, Febr. 1691-2.

It will not be improper to inſert, in this place, the opinion of the learned Grævius on this Epiſtle, in anſwer to ſome faults found with it by Mr Boyle, or at leaſt his party, as that *it was a confuſed rhapſody*, &c. (6). But as we ſhall have farther uſe for the whole paſſage, we will here tranſcribe it all, and refer to it as occaſion ſerves (7). 'Nec manes tantum *Rubenii* 'ſed omnes humanitatis cultores tibi pro hoc in ſe merito devinxiſti. Hi nunc tuas curas in *Manilium, Heſychium*, alioſque ſcriptores deſiderant, et expectant 'cupidè. Nam eruditiſſima illa Epiſtola, quam ſub 'texuiſti Malalæ Chronicis, tam multa recondita nos 'docuit, ut incredibilem expectationem tui ingenii 'commoverit. Nihil nobis longius eſt, nihil deſideratius, quam ut illa videamus, quorum ſpem feciſti 'cùm publice omnibus, tùm mihi de tuis in *Callimacho* animadverſionibus, quarum pulcherrimum ſpecimen mihi miſiſti, &c.' *i.e.* that not only the aſhes of Rubenius, but all lovers of polite learning, were deſervedly beholden to you for retrieving the MS. and that they were in great expectations of, and longed to have your labours in Manilius, Hesychius, and other authors; for that moſt learned Epiſtle, joined to the Chronology of Malala, has ſhewn us ſuch a ſtock of profound learning and diſcoveries, as has given us incredible expectations from your genius. Nothing is more deſired or wiſhed for by us, than to ſee your remarks and animadverſions upon Callimachus, of which you ſent me a delightful ſpecimen, as we have reaſon to hope made publick to all as well as me.———

(6) A ſhort Account of Dr Bentley's Humanity, p. 78.

(7) See Grævius's Dedication to Dr Bentley, in the Life of Theodorus Manilius.

This Epiſtle to Dr Mill, was wrote and publiſhed, by the expreſs deſire of the Right Rev. the Biſhop of Lichfield (†).

(†) Bentley againſt Boyle, Pref. p. lxxxviii.

[*C*] *He was ſelected out, and pitched upon, for the firſt perſon to preach at Boyle's Lectures.*] He was choſen into this honourable office, March 17, 1692, by the Truſtees of the Hon. Robert Boyle, by Will appointed for that purpoſe, viz. the Right Rev. Father in God, Thomas, Lord Biſhop of Lincoln; Sir Henry Aſhurſt, Bart. Sir John Rotheram, Serjeant at Law; and John Evelyn, Eſq; (*). His I. ſermon, the Folly of Atheiſm, &c. was preached in the church of St Martin's in the Fields, March 7, 1691-2, on *Pſalm* xiv. 1. The II. lecture or ſermon was, That Matter and Motion cannot think, &c. preached at St Mary le Bow, April 4, 1692, on *Acts* xvii. 27. The III. A Confutation of Atheiſm, from the ſtructure and origin of Human Bodies, was preached at St Mary le Bow, May 2, 1692, on the ſame text. IV. Was preached on the ſame text, June 6, 1692. V. On the ſame text, was preached September 5, 1692. VI. Was a Confutation of Atheiſm, from the origin and frame of the world, preached October 3, 1692, on *Acts* xiv. 15, &c. VII. On the ſame text, November 7, 1692. And the VIII. and laſt on the ſame ſubject and text, December 5, 1692. Theſe eight ſermons were, as in the text, publiſhed by particular deſire, in quarto, in 1693-4. Lond. and are deſervedly eſteemed and ranked among the beſt of thoſe performances. Mr Molyneux, and Mr Locke, in their Letters concerning the reception of his Eſſay on the Human Underſtanding, mention Mr Bentley's name and theſe ſermons with no ſmall reſpect and deference (8). 'But that your 'doctrine ſhould be ſo ſoon heard out of our pulpits, 'is what is much more remarkable; he that even ten 'years ago ſhould have preached, that *Idea Dei non 'eſt innata*, that the idea of God is not innate, had 'certainly drawn on him the character of an Atheiſt; 'yet now we find Mr Bentley very large upon it in 'his ſermons at Mr Boyle's Lecture, ſermon I, p. 4, 'and ſermon III. p. 5.'——*To which paragraph Mr* Locke *writes in return* (9). 'However you are 'pleaſed to rejoice, that my notions have had the 'good luck to be vented from the pulpit, and *particu-*

(*) See his Pref. and his Sermons, firſt edit. 1693-4.

(8) Mr Molyneux to Mr Locke, Dublin, Sept. 26, 1696.

(9) Mr Locke to Mr Molyneux, 22 Feb. 1696-7.

'larly

honourable gentleman, to assert and vindicate the great fundamentals of Natural and Revealed Religion) where he successfully applied Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia Mathematica*, to demonstrate the being of God, and altogether silenced the Atheists, who have ever since that time sheltered themselves under Deism. The subject of his discourses was the folly of Atheism, even with respect to the present life, and that matter and motion cannot think; or a confutation of Atheism from the faculties of the soul, from the structure and origin of human bodies, and the origin and frame of the world itself; and though but young, and even only in Deacon's Orders when called to this honour, laid the basis and foundation upon which all the successors to that worthy office have since built, making his lectures their standard. And we may, without flattery, apply to the Doctor, what is said of one of his successors in that office, *viz.* 'This was a 'province, for which, if ever any man was peculiarly fitted by natural parts and learning, 'he was the man, executing his trust in such a manner, that he at once surprized and 'instructed his most understanding hearers, exceeding the expectations of those, who 'knew him enough to expect great things from him, and laid the foundations of true 'religion too deep and strong to be shaken, either by the superstition of some, or 'infidelity of others *(f)*.' Though a task of great extent, and no small difficulty, yet he so well answered the religious and generous design of the excellent founder, and acquitted himself with so much reputation, that the trustees not only *publickly thanked* him for them, but did moreover, by especial command and desire, prevail upon him to make the said discourses publick *(g)*; upon which he gave the world a volume containing eight Sermons, which have not only undergone a number of editions, but have been translated abroad into several languages. Upon the death of Mr Justel, the Doctor was immediately thought upon to succeed him, as Keeper of the Royal Library at St James's, and accordingly, a few months after his decease, had a warrant made out for that place, from the Secretary's office, Dec. 23, 1693, and had his patent for the same in April following; and soon after he was nominated to that office, before his patent was signed, by his care and diligence, procured no less than a thousand volumes of one sort or other, which had been neglected to be brought to the library according to the Act of Parliament, which prescribes, that one copy of every book printed in England, should be brought and lodged in this library, and one in each university library.—It was about this time, and upon this occasion, of his being made Library-Keeper, that the famous dispute between him and the honourable Mr Boyle, whether the Epistles of Phalaris were genuine or not, in some measure, at first took rise, which gave occasion to so many books and pamphlets, and has made so much noise in the world. We shall endeavour to give the reader as intelligible and full an account of the motives and rise of this dispute, as our present scope will allow, in note [*D*]. This controversy upon a point of learning, in itself

(f) Hoadley's Preface to Dr Clarke's Works, and account of h's Life & Writings.

(g) His Preface, to the above.

'larly by *Mr Bentley*, yet matters go not so clear as 'you imagine, for a man of no small name, as you 'know Dr Sherlock is, has been pleased to declare 'against my doctrine of no Innate Ideas, from the 'pulpit of the Temple, and charged it with little less 'than *Atheism*.' *To which Mr* Molyneux *answers* (10), 'Both Mr *Whiston* and *Bentley* are positive against the 'Idea of God's being innate; and I had rather rely 'on them (if I would rely on *any* man) than on 'Dr Sherlock. 'Tis true the latter has a great name, 'but that I am sure weighs not with you nor me.' Mr Bentley, as is observed in the text, was at that time but in Deacon's Orders.

(10) Mr Molyneux to Mr Locke, March 16, 1696-7.

(*) Boyle against Bentley, p. 2.

[*D*] *We shall endeavour to give the reader as intelligible and full an account, of the motives and rise of this dispute, as our present scope will allow.*] Dr Aldrich, Dean of Christ-Church, desiring Mr Boyle to put out a new edition of Phalaris (*), he readily set about it; but wanting to consult a MS. Phalaris, in the King's library, sent to Mr Bennet, Bookseller in London, to get him the MS. by applying himself to Dr Bentley in his name. After earnest sollicitations, and great delays (11), for many months, Mr Bennet at last got possession of the MS. who, imagining there was no great hurry to return it, did not immediately set the Collator to work upon it; but Dr Bentley being to go a journey into Worcestershire at that time for six months; about six days after the MS. had been delivered, called for it again, and would by no means be prevailed upon to let him have the use of it any longer, though he told him the collation was not perfected (12), and denied his request in a very rude manner (13), throwing out many slighting and disparaging expressions, both of Mr Boyle and the work. This is the case as told by Mr Bennet, Mr Boyle, &c. who thinking himself ill used, towards the end of his preface, where he is giving some account of the edition of Phalaris, and the MSS. consulted in it, added the following words: *Collatas etiam (vid. Epistolas) curavi usque ad Epist* 40. *Cum manuscripto in Bibliothecâ Regiâ, cujus mihi copiam ulteriorem Bibliothecarius pro singulari suâ humanitate negavit.* I likewise gave orders (says he) to have the Epistles collated with the MS. in the King's library; but my collator was prevented from going beyond the fortieth Epistle, by the singular humanity of the Library-Keeper, who refused to let me have any further use of the MS (14). The Epistles being published, Dr Bentley sends a letter (as he says) the very day that he saw Mr Boyle's new Phalaris in the hands of a person of honour, to whom it had been presented, while the rest of the impression was not yet published, to Mr Boyle at Oxford, to give him a true information of the whole matter; wherein, as Mr Boyle acknowledges (15), having expressed himself with great civility, he represented the matter of fact quite otherwise than he had heard it, expecting, that upon the receipt of the letter, he would put a stop to the publication of the book, 'till he had altered that passage, and printed the page anew, which might have been done in one day at the expence of five shillings. He says he did not expressly desire Mr Boyle to take out that passage, and reprint the whole leaf, thinking that was too low a submission. To which letter Mr Boyle says he immediately returned a civil answer, to this effect,—that Mr Bennet, whom he had employed to wait upon the Doctor in his name, gave him such an account of his reception, that he had reason to apprehend himself affronted; and since he could make no other excuse to the reader for not collating the King's manuscript, but because it was denied him, he thought he could do no less than express some resentment for that denial; that he should be very much concerned if Mr Bennet had dealt so with him as to mislead him in his account, and if that appeared, should be ready to take some opportunity of begging his pardon, expressing himself (Mr Boyle says) in such a manner, that the Doctor might understand he meant to give him satisfaction as publickly as he had injured him.

(11) But in the Epistles of Phalaris examined; the Doctor proves he had it in a month after he was Library-Keeper, and offered voluntarily, p. xviii. also 66. and says he informed him how soon he should want it, p. xxi. and 66.

(12) The Doctor denies ever hearing the collation was not perfected, p. 66. affirming, that the whole MS. would not take up above four hours collating, p. xxvi.

(13) Boyle against Bentley, p. 3.

(14) In the Pref. to Mr Boyle's edition of Phalaris.

(15) Bentley's Dissertation examined, p. 4.

itſelf as dry and inſipid as could poſſibly be, was managed and interſperſed on both ſides, with an infinity of wit and humour, and was univerſally read and admired, as it juſtly deſerved The world was at that time a little biaſſed in favour of the production of the young nobleman, at leaſt as to the genteel raillery of his pieces, whether ſo much as to the real affair in hand, (*) *viz.* the genuineneſs of the Epiſtles of Phalaris, is not ſo eaſily determined; ſince the beſt judges almoſt univerſally now, (the prejudice of opinion being worn off) give it in that reſpect to Dr Bentley; nor does he much, if at all, fall ſhort of Mr Boyle, in throwing a deal of life and ſpirit into the controverſy, particularly in his anſwer to Mr Boyle, which is interſperſed, as well as Mr Boyle's piece, with abundance of wit and humour: and is, upon the whole, reckoned much the beſt book. Having thus, in the text and note, given the reader ſome account of one of the important paſſages of Dr Bentley's life, or at leaſt of a part of his works, that made a great noiſe in the learned world: we ſhall next regularly deſcend to give a catalogue of his works, as near as we are able, according to the date they firſt bore, or the years they were publiſhed in, and what remarks we may be able to gather upon each of them, we ſhall add by way of note. This is, we imagine, all that can be expected in the life of this eminent Critic, except what, part of his education, his preferments, and a few family affairs, will afford; as to the unhappy diſagreement between his college and him, to render that, and the diſtinct account of him as a Critic, the clearer, we ſhall ſeparate them, and firſt conſider him with regard to his works and preferments, *&c.* and ſhall afterwards treat ſeparately of his diſpute with the college, with as much perſpicuity, as ſo puzzled and intricate

(*) *Had* Phalaris *been the author of thoſe ingenious Epiſtles which the Doctor has fully proved he has no title to*, &c. An humble Addreſs, and ſerious Repreſentation of the Preſent State of Trinity-college, Cambridge, in a Letter to a noble Lord, p. 21. a well wrote piece, but with much warmth againſt Dr Bentley.

him. — Here the matter reſted for two years and a half after the edition of Phalaris, when Dr Bentley, in an Appendix to Mr Wotton's Reflections on ancient and modern Learning, inſerted his Diſſertation on the Epiſtles of Themiſtocles, Socrates, Euripides, Phalaris, and the Fables of Æſop; aſſerting, that the Epiſtles which had been aſcribed to Phalaris for ſo many years paſt, were ſpurious, and the production of ſome ſophiſt; and partly in anger, for the ſting in Mr Boyle's preface to them, falls foul with ſome warmth on Mr Boyle's new edition and verſion, ſaying he had fooliſhly buſied himſelf about a contemptible and ſpurious author, and had made a bad book worſe by a very ill edition of it, &c. &c. (16) and in part of the book juſtifies himſelf as to the affair of the MS. in the following words: *A Bookſeller came to me, in the name of the* EDITORS, *to beg the uſe of the manuſcript; it was not then in my cuſtody, but as ſoon as I had the power of it, I went voluntarily and offered it him, bidding him tell the Collator not to loſe any time, for I was ſhortly to go out of town for two months; 'twas delivered, uſed, and returned; not a word ſaid by the bearer, nor the leaſt ſuſpicion in me that they had not finiſhed the collation.* (17). Thus Dr Bentley puts the affair in a quite different light by his aſſertions, which are replied to, and that reply again anſwered, and ſo on, 'till the whole is ſo perplexed and confounded, that there is no judging of, or coming at, the truth and reality of the affair (18). We may, however, adjuſt theſe accounts, and bring their differences ſomewhat nearer to a ballance, by conſidering the diſtance of time, viz. full three years from the beginning of this tranſaction to the end of the controverſy, and the partiality with which each muſt naturally recall to his remembrance his own words, actions, and behaviour. As to the real affair, viz. the genuineneſs of the Epiſtles of Phalaris, it is of too great length for us to interfere at all in, or rehearſe any part of the controverſy; we ſhall only add here, as above in the text, that the Doctor is not now (whatever he might then be out of partiality to a young ſhining Nobleman) imagined to have the worſt of the argument, or to have handled it without ſome merit and applauſe as to wit and humour; though Mr Boyle, as the humour and caprice of the age then ran, only received congratulations on this occaſion. Thus Dr Garth in the Diſpenſary (19).

(16) Dr Bentley's Diſſertations on the Epiſtles of Phalaris, *ſparſim.*

(17) Ut ſupra, p. 68.

(18) The Matter being confounded with many flat contradictions, may properly be reduced to this ſhort queſtion, *Utri creditis, Quirites,* Dr *Bentley,* or Mr *Bennet,* the Bookſeller?

(19) Dr Garth's Diſpenſary.

So Diamonds take a luſtre from their foil,
And to a BENTLEY *'tis we owe a* BOYLE.

The Doctor had alſo ſome wags who were his enemies *even* at Cambridge, who drew his picture in the hands of Phalaris's guards, who were putting him into their maſter's bull, and out of the Doctor's mouth came a label with theſe words, *I had rather be* ROASTED *than* BOYLED (20). And Dean *Swift*, in his Tale of a Tub, has ſome ſtrokes at Dr Bentley upon this occaſion, but more eſpecially in his Battle of the Books (21), where, on account of Dr Bentley's diſſertation of Phalaris, &c. being annexed to Mr Wotton's Reflections on learning, and their being great friends, he makes Mr Wotton and Dr Bentley ſtanding ſide by ſide, in each other's defence, to be both tranſfixed to the ground by one ſtroke of the javelin of Mr Boyle, and this he heightens by the ſimile of a Cook's ſpitting a brace of woodcocks.

(20) Budgell's Lives of the Boyles, p. 193.

(21) The Epiſode in the Battle of the Books, p. 256, *&c.* in the Tale of a Tub, *ſparſim*, particularly p. 22, 82, 93, 203.

But to give a regular account of the proceedings of this debate, that is, of the books as printed —— About 1694 Mr Boyle publiſhed his very fine edition of Phalaris, with the Greek text, tranſlated in a nervous and claſſical Latin ſtile.

About two Years and a half after this, in 1697, Dr Bentley publiſhed his Diſſertation upon the Epiſtles of Themiſtocles, Socrates, Euripides, Phalaris, and the Fables of Æſop, at the end of the ſecond edition of Mr Wotton's Reflections of Antient and Modern Learning; but in the third edition, in 1705, the Diſſertation on Phalaris, being of conſiderable bulk, is omitted, becauſe afterwards printed by Dr Bentley entire, and added with great additions to his further defence of it, in anſwer to Mr Boyle; but what concerned the Epiſtles of Themiſtocles, Socrates, Euripides, and the Fables of Æſop, being printed no where elſe, is reprinted in that and the other editions of Mr Wotton's book.

In 1698 came out Dr Bentley's Diſſertations on the Epiſtles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æſop, examined by the Honourable Charles Boyle, Eſq; a book more commonly known by the title of *Boyle againſt Bentley*. The publication of this book was hindered by Mr Boyle's buſineſs, which ſent him into, and detained him in, Ireland, elſe he had anſwered Dr Bentley's Diſſertation (22) ſooner. The ſecond edition of this book was publiſhed in 1742.

(22) As he tells us in the Preface.

Then in 1699 followed Dr Bentley's Anſwer to the above, commonly known by the name of *Bentley againſt Boyle*, a curious piece, interſperſed with a great deal of true wit and humour. This is at preſent a ſcarce book, and the curious have for ſome time expected it would be reprinted, as well as Mr Boyle's piece. Theſe were the ſeveral pieces concerned in this great diſpute, excepting ſome few that were publiſhed againſt the Doctor, hardly any of which have had the honour to come down to us even in this ſmall period of time (*). There is one indeed of them which we have quoted, and ſhall quote again, therefore we ſhall give the title of it here, and conclude this note, which we have been obliged to ſtretch a little, to give a clear idea of the whole affair. —— *A ſhort account of Dr Bentley's Humanity and Juſtice to thoſe authors who have written before him, with an honeſt vindication of Thomas Stanley, Eſq; and his notes on Callimachus. To which are added, ſome other Obſervations on that Poet, in a Letter to the Honourable Charles Boyle, Eſq; with a Poſtſcript, in relation to Dr Bentley's late book againſt him. To which is added, an Appendix, by the Bookſeller; wherein the Doctor's miſrepreſentations of all the matters of fact, wherein he is concerned in his late book about Phalaris's Epiſtles, are modeſtly conſidered, with a Letter from the Honourable Charles Boyle on that Subject*, 8vo. 1699. Lond.

(*) Among the reſt, in 1701, a ſhort Review of the Controverſy between Mr Boyle and Dr Bentley, 144 pages, 8vo.

intricate an affair will allow of. But to return; at the expreſs deſire of his friend Mr Grævius, he ſet about, compiled, and publiſhed, his Animadverſions and Remarks on the Poet Callimachus (*b*) [*E*], making at the ſame time a collection of ſome ſcattered pieces or fragments of that author. Theſe he finiſhed and ſent over to Mr Grævius, towards the latter end of his diſpute with Mr Boyle, and Mr Grævius publiſhed them abroad in 1697 (*i*). In the year 1700, upon the death of Dr North, he was by the Crown preſented to the Maſterſhip of Trinity-college, Cambridge, which is reckoned worth near 1000 *l. per Annum*, upon which preferment he reſigned his prebend of Worceſter (*k*). But June 12, 1701, on Dr Saywell's death, was collated and made Archdeacon of Ely (*l*). What next employed his critical genius, were the two firſt comedies of Ariſtophanes; upon theſe he made ſome curious annotations, which were publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1710, as was, much about the ſame time, at Rheims, his emendations, *&c.* on the fragments of Menander and Philemon, in the feigned name of *Phileleutherus Lipſienſis:* under this character he appeared again in 1713, in remarks upon Collins's Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking, a book which had made no ſmall noiſe in the world at that time, this he handles and confutes in ſo critical, learned, and yet familiar a manner, that the world may not think themſelves a little obliged to him, for theſe judicious and learned remarks, which may be reckoned among his capital pieces. But, as his appearing under that feigned and foreign title may ſeem a little inconſiſtent, with publiſhing his remarks in Engliſh upon that Engliſh pamphlet, we ſhall juſt tranſcribe enough of the preface to that work, to explain that in note [*F*]. Juſt before his Remarks on Free-Thinking, in 1711, came forth his ſo long expected and celebrated edition of Horace [*G*]. What he intended, was

(*b*) Bentley againſt Boyle, in the Preface.

(*i*) Bibliotheca Bodleiana.

(*k*) Willis on Cathedrals in the Prebends of Worceſter, p. 672.

(*l*) Willis on Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 376, in the Archdeacons of Ely.

[*E*] *His Animadverſions and Remarks on the Poet Callimachus.*] The title of which, as given in the *Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, runs thus. *Annotationes, in Callimachum ultra*, 1697. *Collectio fragmentorum Callimachi & Annotationes ad eum ibid* (*). This was an accurate edition of that Poet, publiſhed by the learned Grævius, to whom Dr Bentley ſent over his animadverſions and remarks, great part of which he is charged with having ſtole from manuſcript remarks of the learned Mr Stanley's, which were lent him by Sir Edward Sherburn †. How this matter ſtands we ſhall not pretend to ſay, ſhall only obſerve what even on this very piece his inveterate enemies, then vilifying and writing againſt him, were obliged to yield to him as his undoubted right in this point, viz. *It ought to be acknowledged, that Dr Bentley has made* SOME *additions to Mr Stanley's Collections; it ought to be confeſſed that Dr Bentley has made ſome additions of his own to what was collected to his hands ſo readily*, beſides a number of obſervations which are granted him as his own. But now let us ſee, what, upon the whole, are the foreign opinions of this edition, and the Doctor's performance thercin. See Grævius's preface to Dr Bentley before in note [*B*]; Mr Spanheim *in Callimachum*; *Grævii præf. ad Callim.* We have alſo ſince this been obliged by the Doctor with an edition for ſchools, &c. of this author, in octavo, in the year 1741, in which is the hymns and a parcel of the ſelect epigrams of Callimachus, joined with ſome other things. After having given us his reaſons for this edition in his preface, he adds a little Eſſay of about twelve pages, of the pronunciation of the Greek tongue.

(*) Catalogus impreſſorum Librorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana, p. 136.

† A ſhort account of Dr B's Humanity, &c. ut ſupra, p. 29.

[*F*] *To explain that in the note.*] In 1713 came out a piece, intitled, *A Diſcourſe of Free-thinking, occaſioned by the riſe and growth of a Sect, called* FREE-THINKERS. This was managed by Mr Collins, Des Maizeaux, and ſeveral others. Soon after the Doctor comes out with his *remarks upon it, in a Letter to F. H. D. D. by Phileleutherus Lipſienſis.* Before which is prefixed the following letter, of which we ſhall take the liberty to tranſcribe a part.

To my very learned and honoured friend, *F. H.* D. D. at London, Great Britain.

SIR,

'YOUR many and great civilities to me ſince your firſt acquaintance in the Low-Countries, and the kind office you did me in conveying my annotations on *Menander* to the preſs, but, above all, your taciturnity and ſecrecy, that have kept the true author of that book undiſcovered hitherto, if not unqueſted, have encouraged me to ſend you theſe preſent remarks to be communicated to the publick, &c.'

He then tells us, how he came by the Diſcourſe, viz. 'that an Engliſhman juſt come from London, where this 'book was juſt publiſhed, and had made much diſcourſe, 'made him a preſent of it, knowing him to be an admirer of Engliſh books, and one that (during his ſtay 'at Oxford) had made himſelf a competent maſter of 'the Engliſh language.' Then goes on; 'I, who (as you 'well know) have been trained up and exerciſed in free 'thought from my youth, and whoſe borrow'd name, *Phileleutherus*, ſufficiently denotes me a lover of freedom, 'was pleaſed not a little with ſo promiſing a title. But 'when once the curtain was drawn, and by a peruſal of 'the book, the private Cabala and myſterious ſcheme 'within became viſible and open; under the ſpecious 'ſhew of free-thinking, a ſet and ſyſtem of opinions are 'all along inculcated and dogmatically taught; opinions 'the moſt ſlaviſh, the moſt abject and baſe, that human 'underſtanding is capable of. This irkſome diſappointment that my fine preſent ſhould dwindle ſo far, as to 'be below the value of waſte paper, raiſed a haſty reſolution in me to write ſome remarks on it. And I find 'I ſhall have much the ſame employment as I had before on Menander, for I am here too to deal in fragments, the main of the book being a rhapſody of 'paſſages out of old and new writers, raked and ſcraped 'together by the joint labour of many hands, to abuſe 'all religion. *O infelices laborum!* Had I been at their conſultation, I could have furniſhed them with many 'more. And I will now inform them, that if they will 'read all Galen, and the Greek Commentators on Ariſtotle, they may find, two or three paſſages much fitter 'for their purpoſe than any they have brought, &c (†).' (†) The Letter before the Remarks on Free-Thinking.

[*G*] *In* 1711 *came forth his ſo long expected and celebrated edition of Horace.*] This, which is alſo a very correct, elegant, and neat edition, was printed in quarto, and dedicated to Lord Oxford from Trinity-college, Cambridge, upon the very birth-day of Horace, viz. the 6th of the Ides of December In his preface to this he tells us, that having much care and buſineſs upon his hands, he was obliged to forſake more difficult ſtudies; but that he might not entirely forget his old love for the Muſes, he reſolved to undertake ſome eaſy and pleaſant work, which did not ſo much require a free and undiſturbed mind, but might rather conduce to make it ſo. Horace, he ſays, was the author he pitched upon, not ſo much that he imagined there were more faults to correct in that than in any other of the Ancients, but becauſe moſt pleaſing to the generality of his readers, and himſelf; keeping himſelf within theſe bounds, viz. only to meddle with ſuch things as ſhould belong to the genuine and right reading, altogether neglecting what the generality of Commentators have laboured in, viz. what regards the hiſtory, cuſtoms, and manners of the Ancients. This indeed he acknowledges to be a very material work, but, as already done, there was no occaſion for farther remarks in that way. He owns he adds more from his own imaginations and conjectures than from manuſcripts or books. Then proceeds to give us an account of the ſeveral manuſcripts and editions of Horace that he had conſulted.

was not properly to explain his author, but only to correct what he judged remained ſtill corrupted in the text, as he himſelf tells us in his preface (*), and this, by the help and aſſiſtance, either of ancient manuſcripts, old editions, or by a happy ſagacity in divination and conjecture: this, it muſt be confeſſed, was a nice and dangerous undertaking, if the author had not been perfectly maſter of the ſubject and argument, the language, ſtile, and genius of his author; and even received originally from nature, that particular niceneſs of taſte, and peculiarly happy talent, which is proper and requiſite to ſucceed in ſuch a nice and hazardous attempt; as we may ſee more fully at large, in the Doctor's own preface (†). Dr Bentley, however, ſucceeded very well, correcting a much greater number of paſſages, than any, or all his former interpreters, ever had done; furniſhing us, in this his new edition of our elegant Roman poet, with a great number of very plauſible, and highly probable, not to mention ſome, which are indeed certain and genuine emendations. But as the republick of Criticks, is full of curious and litigious minds and ſpirits, as well as raſh and preſumptuous ones, not to mention, that even the moſt able and impartial, are not in all things infallible, nor of the ſame opinion; there won't want ſome therefore, that will not every where approve Dr Bentley's gueſſes and conjectures [*H*]. The commonwealth of

(*) See note [*G*].

(†) Ut ſupra.

conſulted. The title runs thus: *Q. Horatius Flaccus ex recenſione, & cum notis et emendationibus, Richardi Bentleii.* It has gone through abundance of editions, and been printed according to his emendations and corrections in various ſizes. We ſhall only further add, with reference to the Amſterdam edition, compared with the Cambridge one (23), that it ſeems much more convenient and better diſpoſed, the notes being every where here placed under the text, whereas they were all before at the end of the volume, and the additions alſo put and inſerted in their proper places, which before were only at the end of the ſecond tome. The copies alſo which are printed upon large paper ſeem far to ſurpaſs in beauty and goodneſs thoſe of England, although the larger as well as leſſer ones, are both ſold much cheaper than the Engliſh ever were. But what is ſtill more conſiderable, the Dutch bookſellers have printed in the ſame letter Daniel Aveman's Index of Horace's words and phraſes; to which Mr Verburg has added all the various readings in Dr Bentley's edition, and has beſides augmented it with 500 quotations, and ſtriking out all there was in it relating to the conjunctions and other undeclinable particles, which no reader ever has any occaſion to enquire or ſearch for. This Index alone therefore, if there was nothing elſe beſides, will recommend this edition, and make it preferable to the other.

(23) From the French of M. le Clerc's Judgment and Cenſure of Dr Bentley's Horace.

[*H*] *There won't want ſome therefore that will not every where approve Dr Bentley's gueſſes and conjectures.*] As to Foreigners, M. Le Clerc's *Judgment and Cenſure of* Horace is the only one we have peruſed on that ſubject, though there are doubtleſs ſome others in the foreign Journals and Bibliotheques. As to (24) M. Le Clerc's opinion, the reader has great part of it, except what relates to any particular criticiſms, in the text, as alſo in the foregoing note. In the year following the Doctor's edition, viz. 1712, came out by various hands, the Odes and Epodes of Horace in ſixpenny numbers, making in the whole two volumes in octavo; the titles of which are, *The Odes and Epodes of Horace in Latin and Engliſh, with a Tranſlation of Dr* Bentley's *Notes. To which are added* Notes *upon* Notes, *done in the* Bentleian *ſtile and manner:* To which, as the preface is ſhort, and ſomething pertinent in this place, we ſhall here add it. 'We humbly 'hope that the reader will encourage the following 'Eſſays upon ſeveral accounts. 'Firſt, As they are de'ſigned to ſhew him the beſt author of Auguſtus's age 'in his native purity. Secondly; To give him a fur'ther proof how far all attempts to render him into 'Engliſh, even after the beſt verſion now extant has 'ſucceeded no better, muſt fall ſhort of the original. 'Thirdly, to convince him how ridiculous it is to 'preſume to correct HORACE without authority, upon 'the pretended ſtrength of ſuperior judgment in 'Poetry. And laſtly, How eaſily ſuch a preſumption 'may be turned upon the authors, and ſufficiently ex'poſe them in their own way (25).' This laſt paragraph ſeems indeed to have been the greateſt part of the deſign of this work, which is executed with a great deal of ſpirit and humour. Theſe and other pieces are, we find, hinted at by the learned Johnſon (author of the Grammatical Commentaries) in the following words, in his *Ariſtarchi Anti-Bentleiani* (26). 'Sed 'elapſo anno uno, atque item altero, cum adverſariis, 'quos tres vel quatuor habuit, nihil viderem argu'mento dignum prodiiſſe: neque de iis quidquam 'dictum in quibus Bentleius maxime peccaverat.' But a year or two being paſſed without any of Dr Bentley's antagoniſts, of which he had three or four, advancing any thing worthy of notice, having never touched upon the places where he was moſt faulty; Mr Johnſon, as he informs us, was reſolved to have a ſtroke or two at the Doctor himſelf, but was delayed three or four years by an indiſpoſition, which alſo made him examine the Doctor no farther than the XXXVIIth ode, or firſt book of Horace, in his firſt part (27). This piece, as the reader may perceive by the title in the margin, is in Latin, and was printed in octavo at Nottingham, at leaſt ſix years after the Doctor's edition of Horace. Before it is prefixed a Latin preface of about eighteen pages, in which he gives us reaſons for undertaking this work, and for uſing the Doctor ſo familiarly, or rather rudely, as he does. This he pretends is by way of retaliation for the great men (28) Dr Bentley has made free with, where he accordingly ſums up what the Doctor ſays of himſelf, and what of others. However, the *De ſe dicta* of Mr Johnſon, even in this preface, are not inconſiderable. At the end of the firſt part of Mr Johnſon's remarks, conſiſting of 108 pages, is a ſtanza of an old ballad, with annotations after the manner of Dr Bentley; and after that follows a ſecond part, which goes through with an examination of the other books, Epodes, Satires, and Epiſtles of Horace; and tho' there is no doubt but a great many of the obſervations of that eminent Grammarian are very juſt and trne, yet we can no ways agree with Mr Edmund Miller, either in his opinion of Ariſtarchus, or Dr Bentley's Horace. His words are theſe (29). 'But the Doctor has had the 'ill fortune to fall into the hands of Mr *Johnſon*, who '(by giving himſelf the trouble of examining only 'into the firſt book of this applauded performance) 'has in his Ariſtarchus abovementioned diſcovered ſo 'much want of judgment, ſo many abſurdities, incon'ſiſtencies, ſilly affected alterations, together with ſo 'much careleſſneſs, even to the writing not only im'proper but falſe Latin in many inſtances, beſides a 'knaviſh arrogance of aſſuming other peoples diſco'veries to himſelf, that he has made it plain (in much 'better Latin than his own) that the Doctor in this 'edition, as well as his other actions, had his chief 'view upon profit.' But Mr Miller's learning, taſte for criticiſm, or books, will never hurt Dr Bentley. However, as we have now mentioned it, and ſhall have occaſion for to take farther notice of it, we cannot help giving ſomething of a character of it from a late ingenious author (30). *Another trifling pamphlet, in relation to this Univerſity, has been lately thruſt into the world, with little deſign, I fear, of inſtruction, but rather to irritate a party ſufficiently enraged againſt our famous Univerſities, and to haſten a viſitation; take it, ſuch as it is, publiſhed under the title of,* &c. But we ſhall wind up our obſervations on this noted performance of the Doctor's (which, as I remember ſomewhere to have read, coſt himſelf no leſs time than the taking of Troy did the Greeks), with a paſſage *even* of the preface of Mr Johnſon's Ariſtarchus; which ſhews the true merit and value of that work, and the opinion the Learned entertained of it at that time, and which it

(24) Le Clerc's Cenſure and Judgment of Horace, tranſlated from the French.

(25) Preface to Bentley's Horace, notes upon notes.

(26) Ariſtarchi Anti-Bentleiani nonaginta Bentleii per notas univerſas Latinitate Lapſus fœdiſſimos oſtendens, Prefat. p. vi.

(27) Præfat. p. vii.

(28) Præf. p. vii. to p. xviii. Bentleii *de ſe & aliis Dicta.*

(29) An Account of the univerſity of Cambridge, &c. by Edmund Miller, p. 100.

(30) Rawlinſon's Engliſh Topographer, p. 13.

of learning is now so free, that every one pretends a right to speak his mind and sentiment, how dissonant or opposite soever it may prove, even to that of the greatest and ablest pens, or those of the first rank and order therein. On the fifth of November, in the year 1715, the Doctor preached a sermon at St James's against Popery, on which somebody soon after published Remarks, which occasioned Dr Bentley's answer, intituled, Reflections on the scandalous Aspersions cast on the Clergy, by the Author of the Remarks on Dr Bentley's Sermon on Popery, &c. this was printed in the year 1717, in octavo. In the year 1716, the Doctor had two printed Letters inscribed to him, dated Jan. 1; to which also were added his Answer; these were concerning his intended edition of the Greek Testament, giving some account of what was to be expected in that edition; and in them we are informed, that he intended to make no use of any manuscript in this edition, that was not a thousand years old or above; of which sort, he had got at that time twenty together in his study, which made up, one with another, 20,000 years [*I*]; and after having had this affair in agitation for about four years, he at last published proposals for it (*), which, notwithstanding the difficulty of the times, met with prodigious encouragement from all true lovers of learning, and people of the best rank and quality at London. But soon after came out Remarks, paragraph by paragraph, on these proposals, by Dr Conyers Middleton, the afterwards known author of this piece, who sets out, by assuring his reader, that it was neither personal spleen, nor envy to the author of the proposals, that drew the following remarks from him, but a serious conviction, that he had neither *talents* nor *materials* proper for the work, and that religion was much more likely to receive detriment than service from it. The time, manner, and other circumstances of these proposals, says he, make it but too evident, that they were hastened out to serve quite different ends, than those of common Christianity; and I think it my duty to obviate, as far as I am able, the influence they might have on some, whom big words, and bold attempts, are apt to lead implicitly into an high opinion and admiration of the merit and abilities of the undertaker. He then proceeds to criticize paragraph by paragraph on the Doctor's proposals, of which, as it was a famous dispute, and quite overthrew the Doctor's design, (though he had at first met with all imaginable success) we shall endeavour to give the reader some idea, by extracting from the pamphlets that passed on that occasion, below in note [*K*]. But as to matters of mere learning

(*) As below in note [*K*].

it justly deserves. 'Cæteris eum in deliciis esse, ut 'unicum Horatii interpretem, laudibus in cælum ferri: 'librum adolescentibus in manus ubique tradi, quo 'demum poetæ tanti veros sensus, atque elegantias quò 'in multis linguæ Latinæ rationem internoscerent (31).' Others were so delighted with him, that they used to extol him up to the skies, as the only Commentator (or interpreter) of Horace. His book was every where given into the hands of youth, from which alone they could come at the true sense and elegancies of that great Poet, and from whence alone in many cases they could arrive at the true knowledge of the Latin tongue.

(31) Aristarchi Anti-Bentleiani Præfat. p. v.

[*I*] *Of which sort he had got at that time twenty together in his study, which made up, one with another, 20,000 years.*] 'Mr Martin of Utrecht, speaking 'upon the subject of this very letter, says, that our 'Editor is not a little indebted to his good fortune for 'having found twenty manuscripts well told, which 'are of 1000 years ago, or above, it being one of the 'most extraordinary discoveries in this kind of Litera-'ture that has been made in our days (32).' And again in another place (33), 'the point will be, says 'he, whether these MSS. lately discovered be really 'as old as Dr Bentley takes them to be, for we are 'not ignorant how difficult it is, not to say impossible, 'to pass always in these cases a certain judgment se-'cure from all doubts.'

(32) Martin's Defence of his Dissertation, in English.

(33) Ibid. p. 16.

[*K*] *As below in the notes.*] Proposals for printing a new edition of the Greek Testament, and St Hierom's Latin version. Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ *Græcè Novum Testamentum versionis vulgatæ, P.* S^tum *Hieronymum ad vetusta exemplaria Græca castigatæ et exactæ* ——— *utrumque ex antiquissimis Cod. MSS. cum Græcis tum Latinis edidit Richardus Bentleius.*

I. The author of this edition observing, that the printed copies of the New Testament, both of the original Greek and antient Vulgar Latin, were taken from manuscripts of no great antiquity, such as the first editors could then procure; and that now, by God's providence, there are manuscripts in Europe (accessible, though with great charge) above 1000 years old, in both languages, he believes he may do good service to common Christianity, if he publishes a new edition of the Greek and Latin, not according to the recent and interpolated copies, but as represented in the most antient and venerable manuscripts, in Greek and Roman capital letters.

II. The author revolving in his mind some passages of St Hierom, where he declares, that (without making a new version) he adjusted and reformed the whole *Latin Vulgate to the best Greek exemplary*, that is, to those of the famous Origen; and another passage, where he says, that a verbal or literal interpretation out of Greek into Latin is not necessary, *except in the Holy Scriptures*, ubi ipse verborum ordo mysterium est, *where the very order of the words is a mystery*; took thence the hint, that if the oldest copies of the original Greek, and Hierom's Latin, were examined and compared together, perhaps they would be still found to agree both in words and order of words; and upon making the essay, he has succeeded in his conjecture beyond his expectation, or even his hopes.

III. The author believes, that he has retrieved (except in very few places) the true exemplar of Origen, which was the standard to the most learned of the Fathers at the time of the council of Nice, and two centuries after; and he is sure that the Greek and Latin manuscripts, by their mutual assistance, do so settle the original text to the smallest nicety, as cannot be performed now in any classic author whatever; and that out of a labyrinth of thirty thousand various readings, that croud the pages of our present best editions, all put upon equal credit to the offence of many good persons; this clue so leads and extricates us, that there will scarce be two hundred out of so many thousands that can deserve the least consideration.

IV. To confirm the lections which the author places in the text, he makes use of the old versions, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic, and Æthiopic; and of all the Fathers, Greeks and Latins, within the first five centuries; and he gives in his notes all the various readings (now known) within the said five centuries; so that the reader has under one view what the first ages of the Church knew of the text; and what has crept into any copies since is of no value or authority.

V. The author is very sensible, that in the sacred writings there is no place for conjectures or emendations; diligence and fidelity, with some judgment and experience, are the characters here requisite; he declares therefore, that he does not alter one letter in the text without the authorities subjoined in the notes; and

to

learning and criticiſm, or diſpute and malicious raillery, we ſhall purpoſely omit that, as it

to leave the free choice to every reader, he places under each column the ſmalleſt variations of this edition, either in words or order, from the received Greek of Stephanus, and the Latin of the two Popes Sixtus V, and Clemens VIII; ſo that this edition exhibits both itſelf and the common ones.

VI. If the author has any thing to ſuggeſt, towards a change of the text, not ſupported by any copies now extant, he will offer it ſeparate in his *Prolegomena*; in which will be a large account of the ſeveral manuſcripts here uſed, and of the other matters which contribute to make this edition uſeful. In this work he is of no ſect or party, his deſign is to ſerve the whole Chriſtian name; he draws no conſequences in his notes, makes no oblique glances upon any diſputed points, old or new. He conſecrates this work as a Κειμήλιον, a Κτῆμα ἐσαεί, a *Charter*, a *Magna Charta*, to the whole Chriſtian Church, to laſt, when all the antient manuſcripts here quoted may be loſt and extinguiſhed.

VII. To publiſh this work, according to it's uſe and importance, a great expence is requiſite. It is deſigned to be printed, not on the paper, or with the letter of this ſpecimen, but with the beſt letter, paper, and ink, that Europe affords; it muſt therefore be done by ſubſcription or contribution. As it will make two tomes in folio, the loweſt ſubſcription for ſmaller paper muſt be three guineas, one advanced in preſent; and for the great paper five guineas, two advanced.

VIII. The work will be put to the preſs as ſoon as money is contributed to ſupport the charge of the impreſſion, and no more copies will be printed than ſubſcribed for. The overſeer and corrector of the preſs will be the learned Mr John Walker of Trinity-college in Cambridge, who with great accurateneſs has collated many manuſcripts at Paris for the preſent edition; and the iſſue of it, whether gain or loſs, is equally to fall on him and the author.

Then follows the ſpecimen, viz. the laſt chapter of the Apocalypſe, with a Latin verſion, and the various readings of the ſeveral manuſcripts in the notes. Soon after theſe propoſals, in 1721, came out Dr Middleton's remarks upon them, paragraph by paragraph, as above in the text. In theſe he obſerves our author makes no ſcruple to deſtroy the authority of all our publiſhed ſcriptures, crying down all the current editions as corrupt and adulterate; and then, in vindication of the former editions, Dr Middleton endeavours to prove the excellency of two or three of the principal ones, viz. the celebrated Complutenſian, printed in 1515, which had all the manuſcripts of the Vatican, beſides many others of the greateſt antiquity, procured by Cardinal Ximenes, with no ſmall trouble and expence, from Rome, Spain, and other foreign parts; inſomuch that ſeven only of theſe manuſcript copies, fetched from different countries, coſt him 4000 crowns (34). Next Eraſmus's edition, formed by collating and comparing many of the moſt correct and antient manuſcripts, both Greek and Latin. Dr Mill compares one of Eraſmus's Greek Manuſcripts to the Alexandrian itſelf, which is ſuppoſed to be above 1200 years old; and then inſtances Robert Stephens, who collected the text of his edition from no fewer than ſixteen of the beſt manuſcripts, ſome of which are deſcribed by him to be *ipsâ vetuſtatis ſpecie pœnè adorandos*. I need not mention, ſays he, the many other editions we have of good note, but ſhall leave it to the reader to determine from theſe, how juſt and modeſt our author has been in this paragraph; and whether manuſcripts of no great antiquity, recent and interpolated, be the proper tranſlations of *Antiquiſſimæ, Emendatiſſimeque venerandæ vetuſtatis, ſpectatæque fidei*, for theſe are the epithets given to thoſe manuſcripts. Beſides the laſt edition of the learned Dr Mill, who with incredible pains and induſtry for thirty years together, has drawn together in his elaborate edition, not only what had been collected by all other authors and editors before him, but the collations likewiſe of all manuſcripts whatſoever which he had heard of, or were at all in fame in any part of Europe, there are many in his collections above 1000 years old, and in capitals too. But the author of the remarks, carries his remarks on the beginning of this article by much too far, the matter being drawn up in as tender and modeſt terms as the nature of the thing would bear, without any the ſmalleſt reproach or reflexion on the prior editors (35). The Doctor then reduces him to the following dilemma, no man can poſſibly give a better edition than thoſe already extant; or the man that can do it, ought neceſſarily to ſay in his propoſals, that the extant editions are erroneous and imperfect (36). Did not *Eraſmus*, without public cenſure, refine by repeated editions not only upon the *Complutenſes*, but even upon himſelf? How came *Robert Stephens*, a mere Printer, with public acceptation and applauſe, to refine upon them both (37). —— The *venerable manuſcripts* of the *Complutenſes* did not hinder *Eraſmus* from *varying* from them *in a thouſand places*; nor did *Eraſmus*'s *correct and antient manuſcripts* deter Robert Stephens from doing the like by his. — The world is now advanced, adds he, two whole centuries in age ſince the date of the *Complutenſian* and *Eraſmus*'s edition, and as much within thirty years ſince that of *Robert Stephens*; within that time older manuſcripts have been brought to light than thoſe editors knew, every thing is comparatively old or recent: In thoſe days, when no better was ſeen, they gave the titles of antient and venerable to manuſcripts that are now ſcarce reckoned in the 2d or 3d rate. — But that his edition would chiefly turn upon eight Greek manuſcripts, the moſt recent of which is one thouſand years old (38), and that without the concurrence of ſome of theſe, he will ſcarce put one word in his text. Now of all theſe eight, not one was uſed either by the *Complutenſes* or *Eraſmus*, and only one of them by *Robert Stephens*, and that very negligently. As to Ximenes, ſeven manuſcripts; 4,000,000 crowns would not buy the manuſcripts that the Doctor got collated for this edition; and though he had no Cardinal's purſe, ſpent nevertheleſs a thouſand crowns only for the bare uſe of them (39), and that four of theſe eight manuſcripts (and the four principal, abating the Alexandrian) were never collated by or for Dr Mill (40), beſides having collated with his own hand a ſcore of old Latin Teſtaments which he had procured at his own expence. This pamphlet, called a Defence of Dr Bentley's Propoſals, for printing a new edition of the Greek Teſtament, &c. is again anſwered by Dr Middleton in his own proper name (41), by ſumming up, in ſomething a ſtronger manner, what he had before ſaid, and ſtill inſiſting upon the excellence and antiquity of the manuſcripts of the former editions, and turns the Doctor's anſwer wholly into pride and arrogance of himſelf. He then proceeds to enquire into the *true ſtate of his materials* in this manner. — The firſt account I have met with of *his manuſcripts*, ſays he (42), is in a *printed letter of his*, upon the ſubject of his edition, as above in the text. Thus, ſays Dr Middleton (43), his *twenty old manuſcripts ſhrink at once to eight*, and he is forced again to own, that even of *theſe eight, there are only four which had not been collated and made uſe of by Dr Mill.* He ought however, methinks, to oblige *his ſubſcribers* with a *more particular and ſatisfactory* account of the *four manuſcripts* he pretends to; whether, though never uſed by Dr Mill, they were not ſtill *collated by* Dr Kuſter; whether *any one of them, or all together*, make out the whole New Teſtament, for 'tis a great rarity to find any *one of value* which contains *above a part of it*; and *our editor* tells us himſelf, that *there are very few good ones, nay, not ſo much as one of any antiquity*, beſides the Alexandrine, *which comprehends the whole*; ſo that whenever he thinks fit to anſwer theſe queries, his little ſtock will probably be reduced once more to half; nay, he will be left, I am almoſt confident, with nothing more than *ſome piece only of the New Teſtament in manuſcript*; for I will not pretend to deny (44), that our author may poſſibly have met with, and collated ſome few manuſcripts, which Dr Mill had not heard or made uſe of; but what reaſon or pretence can this give him for ſuch a triumph and inſult over all editors before him. I might alſo, ſays Dr Middleton, properly enough obſerve, the many blunders and errata of the preſs (as remarkable in this ſpecimen as in the very worſt of our printed editions), to ſhew that there is no kind of inaccuracy but what may be juſtly charged upon it. Dr Bentley, in defence of the incorrectneſs of his ſpecimen, alledges, that the propoſals were drawn up in haſte in one evening by candlelight, and printed next day from the firſt and ſole draught, which haſte likewiſe hindered him from re-

(34) Gemeſius, De Rebus Geſtis Ximenii, lib. ii.

(35) Dr Bentley's Propoſals for printing a new edition of the Greek Teſtament, and St Hierom's Latin verſion, with a full Anſwer to all the Remarks of a late Pamphleteer, by a Member of Trinity-coll. Cambridge, 1721. p. 11.

(35) Ibid. p. 12.

(37) Ibid. p. 13.

(38) Ibid. p. 13.

(39) Ibid. p. 15.

(40) Ibid. p. 14.

(41) Some farther Remarks, Paragraph by Paragraph, upon Propoſals lately publiſhed for a new edition of a Greek and Latin Teſtament, by Richard Bentley, containing a full Anſwer to the Editor's late Defence of his ſaid Propoſals, as well as to all his Objections there made, againſt my former Remarks, by Cenſurers Middleton, D. D. price 2s. p. 4, 5.

(42) Two Letters to Dr Bentley, and the Doctor's Anſwer, dated Trin. Coll. Jan. 1, 1716-17.

(43) Some farther Remarks, &c. containing a full Anſwer to the Editor's late Defence of his Propoſals, &c. p. 8.

(44) Ibid. p. 24.

it would abundantly tranſgreſs the limits we muſt neceſſarily ſet ourſelves upon this occaſion, referring the curious reader to the tracts themſelves for a fuller account. Soon after theſe Remarks paragraph by paragraph, came out the Propoſals, with a pamphlet, intituled, A full Anſwer to all the Remarks of a late Pamphleteer, by a member of Trinity-college, Cambridge, 1721, ſigned I. E. this Dr Middleton, and all, imagined could be none but the Doctor himſelf, as well from the ſtyle, as the letters I. E. being the two firſt vowels of Richard Bentley, and upon this ſuppoſition, Dr Middleton and others, in their future Remarks, make that one great handle of abuſing him. It is, however, ſomewhat uncertain, whether Dr Middleton might not be as much miſtaken as to the author of thoſe Remarks, as the very author of thoſe Remarks was, with reſpect to the author of the Remarks Paragraph by Paragraph, who took them to be made by Dr Colbatch [*L*]. But ſoon after this came out a pamphlet, with ſome farther Remarks, *&c.* containing a full anſwer to the editor's late defence of his Propoſals, as well as all his objections there made, againſt my former Remarks, by Conyers Middleton, D. D. As alſo, an anonymous Letter to the Reverend Maſter of Trinity-college, Cambridge, editor of a new Greek Teſtament. We alſo find, under the catalogue of the Doctor's works in the Bibliotheca Bodleiana, much about this time, ſomewhat analogous and relating to this affair, *viz.* An Enquiry into the Authority of the Primitive Complutenſian edition of the New Teſtament, in a Letter to Archdeacon Bentley, in 1722, 8*vo.* (*n*). As to theſe Propoſals, Dr Middleton takes upon him to ſay, that they were only publiſhed with a view 'that ſome noiſe ſhould be made in the world in his favour, to 'ſupport his declining character; by ſomething great and popular, to recover eſteem and 'applauſe to himſelf, and throw an odium and contempt upon his proſecutors, *&c* (*o*).' But another author makes us ſtill more obliged to the diſpute between him and his college, 'and next (by the help of favourers of learning, falſly ſo called) to gain an 'impunity for what he is accuſed of; it may be truly ſaid, as to whatever he has 'publiſhed, within theſe laſt ſeven years, (if there has been any merit in it) it has been 'more owing to his proſecution than to himſelf (*p*).' Was this the cauſe, as Dr Middleton, and the *learned* Mr Miller ſeem to imagine, the world is indeed not a little indebted to that college, for their quarrels and diſputes with this great man; which it is likely was done from this publick ſpirited view. And it is indeed much to be regretted, that they could not find means of continuing their animoſity and proſecutions as long as the

(*n*) As alſo Phileleutherus Londinenſis ad F. V. Prof. Amſtelod. Epiſtolæ duæ de Bentleii editione N. T. Lond. 1721. Bib. Bod. Vol. II. p. 102.

(*o*) Some farther Remarks, *&c.* p. 22.

(*p*) Miller's Account of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 100, 101.

viſing it, and ſo left ſeveral falſe accents and points in the ſpecimen; and afterwards adds, that he feared not that all men of common ſenſe and common candour would look on 340 hints in that chapter of *ſpecimen* (45), and not from two ſmall ſlips, imagine, that all thoſe agreements came by chance without the tranſlator's deſign or thought; who look more on the 30 variations that appeared before his *ſpecimen* (46), between the two texts, and are now reconciled from the beſt copies, than on two trifling variations that ſtill remain.

(45) Ibid. p. 25.

(46) Ibid. p. 32.

[*L*] *Who took them to be made by Dr Colbatch.*]

Cambridge, Jan. 20.

'FINDING myſelf to be treated after a moſt 'barbarous manner in a virulent libel, which 'bears the title of *Dr Bentley's Propoſals, with a full 'Anſwer*, &c. upon pretence of my being the author 'of the Remarks upon the Propoſals lately publiſhed 'by Richard Bentley, &c. I think it neceſſary, upon 'ſeveral accounts, to declare as follows:

'That I am not the author of thoſe Remarks, nor 'any part of them; and that they were undertaken 'and written without my aſſiſtance or knowledge. 'That R. B. certainly knew, or eaſily might have 'known, that they were written by the Reverend and 'Learned Dr Middleton, who had owned them to ſe'veral of his friends, by whoſe means he verily be'lieves that R. B. was informed that he alone was the 'author: For my own part, preſently after the Re'marks were publiſhed, I took all occaſions to declare 'as above, being obliged in juſtice ſo to do, leaſt my 'ſilence might in ſome meaſure contribute to deprive 'my worthy friend of the honour due for ſo excellent 'a performance; nor do I queſtion but R. B. before 'he began to write his libel, had been acquainted 'with what I ſaid on thoſe occaſions. That thoſe 'foul aſperſions, which are caſt upon me in almoſt 'every page, are as falſe in fact, as they are apparently 'malicious, which is notorious to all who know me, 'and to none more than R. B. himſelf. That I never 'wrote any libels againſt the Government, the Col'lege, or Maſter, as he falſely aſſerts. I never wrote 'any thing at all relating to the Government, or pub'liſhed any thing concerning the College, or Maſter, 'except a Commemoration Sermon. Dec. 1, 1717, 'which the Maſter pretended to approve of, giving it 'under his hand that he would ſubſcribe to every word 'of it. As to other matters relating to either, I have 'hitherto thought them fit only for the cognizance of 'a Viſitor.'

John Colbatch, D. D. Senior Fellow of Trinity-college, and Caſuiſtical Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Cambridge (47).

(47) At the end of the Preface to Some farther Remarks, *&c.*

Cambridge, Feb. 27, 1720-1.

At a meeting of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads.

'WHEREAS the Rev. John Colbatch, D. D. 'and Caſuiſtical Profeſſor of this Univerſity, 'hath made complaint to us of a book lately pub'liſhed, annexed to propoſals for printing a new edi'tion of the Greek Teſtament, &c. and called a full 'Anſwer to all the Remarks of a late Pamphleteer, 'by a Member of Trinity-college, ſubſcribed I. E. 'wherein the ſaid John Colbatch conceives himſelf 'to be highly injured, as being repreſented under the 'moſt reproachful and infamous characters, and hath 'therefore applied to us for redreſs: We the Vice-'Chancellor and Heads of Colleges, whoſe names are 'underwritten, having peruſed the ſaid book, do find 'that the ſaid Dr Colbatch had juſt ground of com'plaint, it appearing to us that he is therein deſcribed 'under very odious and ignominious characters; and 'do declare and pronounce the ſaid book to be a moſt 'virulent and ſcandalous libel, highly injurious to the 'ſaid Dr Colbatch, contrary to good manners, and a 'notorious violation of the ſtatutes and diſcipline of 'this Univerſity; and, as ſoon as the author of the 'ſaid libel can be diſcovered, we reſolve to do juſtice 'to the ſaid Dr Colbatch, by inflicting ſuch cenſures 'upon the offender, as the ſtatutes of this Univerſity in 'that caſe do appoint.'

Tho. Croſs, Vice-Chancellor, *John Covel*, *C. Aſhton*, *Bardſey Viſher*, *Edw. Lary*, *R. Jenkin*, *W. Grigg*, *D. Waterland*, *Wm. Savage*.

[*M*] *At*

the Doctor's life, that the world might have been ſtill farther obliged to them, for ſome other performances of their learned Maſter; we ſay obliged to them, for doubtleſs as they had found out the Doctor's foible, it was only with this publick ſpirited deſign, that they gave him and themſelves ſo much trouble; and neither (it is to be hoped) through any great offence on his ſide, no more than any perſonal pique or maliciouſneſs on theirs to him, any more than to his learned predeceſſors, eſpecially Dr North, his laſt predeceſſor but one (*) in that office. The Doctor, however, was permitted to live the remainder, or laſt twenty years of his life, without proſecution, in eaſe and idleneſs, only giving us his Terence, Phædrus, and Milton, in all that time. In 1725, at a Publick Commencement on the ſixth of July, the Doctor made an elegant Latin ſpeech, on creating ſeven Doctors of Divinity, in which, at the ſeveral periods, by little notes below, is ſet forth the whole form of the creation of a Doctor of Divinity; this piece is uſually joined to his edition of Terence and Phædrus, at leaſt to the Amſterdam edition of it [*M*], in 1727, which is a very neat edition, upon a good paper and print, adorned with a curious frontiſpiece, and dedicated by Dr Bentley to the Prince of Wales. The Doctor has not only obliged us with his notes on this author, but has alſo added thoſe of the learned Gabriel Faernius, and taken great pains in amending and correcting the author, not only from thoſe the moſt antient manuſcripts, which Gabriel Faernius had procured, but alſo from whatever manuſcripts the Royal Library, thoſe of Cambridge, or any of his friends, could afford, ſome of which he aſſures us were of great antiquity, and at leaſt next, and very little inferior to, thoſe of Faernius, whoſe orthography, as the moſt antient manuſcript, he altogether follows (*q*), but has altered the text in abundance of Places, never however without giving in the notes, the manner and reaſon for ſuch alteration; then follows the Schediaſma of the metre and accents of Terence, by which the Doctor proves that Terence is wrote all in verſe, conſiſting of about nineteen pages (*r*). This however has been a matter of ſome controverſy, between the learned Biſhop Hare and our author, upon which, as diſputes ran pretty high, an ingenious author has made an obſervation which we ſhall mention below [*N*]. About the year 1732, he publiſhed his Milton's *Paradiſe Loſt*, when he was, as he ſays in his preface, about ſeventy years old (*s*). This is a very elegant and beautiful edition of that poem, and alſo the trueſt and correcteſt that has yet appeared, as to the faults in orthography; diſtinction by points and capital letters, accents and eliſion of vowels; which are all here very carefully and judiciouſly corrected, but errors in thoſe reſpects ſwarm in the prior editions. However not one word is altered in it [*O*], but all the conjectures that attempt a reformation of the genuine Milton, caſt in the margin, and explained in the notes; ſo that every reader has his free choice, whether he will accept or reject what is offered him: this, with the goodneſs of the paper and type, make this edition truly valuable, though the Doctor's remarks on this poem, have not met with the approbation from the world [*P*], that a man

(*) In the foregoing ſheet, p. 738. line 6, *for* on the death of Dr North, *read* on the death of Dr Mountague.

(*q*) See the Preface to Terence.

(*r*) Ibid.

(*s*) Vide Prefat. ad eundem.

[*M*] *At leaſt to the Amſterdam edition of it.*] This we take to be the beſt edition of it, as well as his Horace, being ſupplied with two copious indexes, and neatly printed upon an excellent paper, and ſent over there as corrected for a ſecond edition, with the Doctor's own hand. This we find from a little prefatory diſcourſe to the reader, in which, as he tells Mr Boyle (49), among a great many other places, *ejus humanitas ſingularis*, is ſaid of him ſeriouſly and candidly, as he always made it his endeavours to oblige even Foreigners by all courteſy and humanity, and much more to encourage and aſſiſt any uſeful deſign at home. But to return to his Terence. It was firſt publiſhed here in 1726, under the following title: *P. Terentii Afri Comœdias recenſuit notaſque ſuas et Gabrielis Faerni addidit Richardus Bentleius.* To which the Amſterdam edition adds, *Editio altera, denuo recenſa ac indice ampliſſimo rerum et verborum tam in textum quam notas aucta, Amſtelodami*, 1727. To this is adjoined a beautiful edition of Phædrus, under the following title: *Phædri Auguſti liberti fabularum Æſoparum, lib. V. Publii Syri et aliorum veterum ſententiæ. Recenſuit et notas addidit Richardus Bentleius.* To which is alſo added a copious index.

(49) Phalaris's Epiſtles examined, p. 68.

[*N*] *Upon which, as diſputes ran pretty high, an ingenious author has made an obſervation, which we ſhall mention below*] 'However, as I heartily wiſh that the 'preſent difficulties and diſcouragements to the ſtudy of 'the Scriptures, ſo accurately repreſented by Dr Hare, 'were taken away; ſo do I think no ſuch difficulties 'ought to diſcourage great and good men among the 'Clergy, from bending their own ſtudies to their own 'profeſſion, eſpecially in it's preſent circumſtances; and 'I venture to add this, that if once ſuch as theſe would 'be themſelves in earneſt with Chriſtianity, and would 'in earneſt fall to this great work, the *Collins's*, the 'Tindal's, the *Toland's*, and the *Woolſton's*, would ſoon become contemptible, and the religion of our Bleſſed 'Saviour, now at ſo low an ebb, would ſoon flouriſh 'and ſpread itſelf over the world. To obſerve laymen, 'as *Grotius*, *Newton*, and *Locke*, laying out their no-'bleſt talents in ſacred ſtudies, while ſuch Clergymen as 'Dr *Bentley* and Biſhop *Hare*, to name no others at preſent, have been, in the words of Sir Iſaac Newton, 'fighting with one another about a Playbook (*Terence*). 'This is a reproach upon them, their holy religion, and 'holy function, plainly intolerable (50).

(50) Whiſton's Hiſtorical Memoirs of Dr Clarke.

[*O*] *However, not one word is altered in it.*] Changes indeed are ſuggeſted, and accordingly put into the margin, but not in the text, and not obtruded on the reader. They are generally in this ſtile: *It may be adjuſted thus; among ſeveral ways of change this may be one, or this may not be abſurd, or diſagreeing from the Miltonian character or ſtile.* So that the following remarks made upon his Milton in a public paper (51) cannot be reckoned of any force againſt his work, being only intended to caſt reflections upon it's author, viz. 'for a perſon, who *though allowed to be* 'a very learned Critic, was never imagined to be a 'Poet, to publiſh his extemporary, crude, and indi-'geſted Criticiſms, upon the compleateſt poem in the 'Engliſh language (52), to pretend to alter and correct 'it in every page, to ſtrike out a great many verſes, 'and to put in ſeveral of his own, treating the heroic 'poem of Great Milton like the exerciſe of a ſchool-'boy.'

(51) The Grubſtreet Journal.

(52) See note [Q].

[*P*] *Though Dr Bentley's remarks on this poem have not met with approbation from the world.*] Several papers and pamphlets publiſhed about this time, viz. in 1732, take notice and criticiſe upon this the Doctor's performance on Milton; the Grubſtreet-Journal (53) in particular has ſeveral remarks, obſervations, and criticiſms, after the Bentleian ſtile and manner, beſides ſome copies of verſes and epigrams on the ſame ſubject, both in Latin and Engliſh. But the beſt and only thing that was publiſhed material againſt it was, Dr

(53) Particularly No. 82, 87, 99, 100, 101, 108, 113, 116, 118, 125, 137, and ſeveral others.

man of his extenſive genius, ſo deſervedly diſtinguiſhed for his ſuperior talent in critical knowledge, might have reaſonably expected. Yet his very antagoniſt, that publiſhed Remarks upon his Milton (*t*), allows he has given us ſome (he might have ſaid many) uſeful and judicious remarks, and only ſays, he has made many emendations which may juſtly be called in queſtion. But it may not be improper here, to take notice of ſome part of the Doctor's preface to Milton, which may in ſome meaſure excuſe, or rather account for, the indifferent reception this book met with from the publick [*Q*], excepting what caprice and ill nature might produce, which were more upon the account of the author than of his works, but generally levelled indiſcriminately at either. Beſides he tells us in his preface (*u*), that the notes were made extempore, and put to preſs as ſoon as made [*R*], ſo that any thing very great could not ſurely be expected, eſpecially by ſuch who took him up on this occaſion, and would hardly in any caſe allow him even common merit and learning. Theſe are all the critical works that the learned Dr Bentley publiſhed, or ſuch only as came to our knowledge, for it is not to be doubted but that he wrote and publiſhed ſeveral others, which perhaps ſome of his friends may be better acquainted with. He tells us he had prepared a new edition of the poet Manilius for the preſs [*S*], which he had publiſhed, had not the dearneſs of paper, and the want of good types, and ſome other occaſions, hindered him (*w*). He had alſo ſome deſign of publiſhing an edition of Heſychius, as we find by Mr Grævius's letter to him, in which he was ſo well read, as to aſſure Dr Mill, he could if he pleaſed, correct five thouſand faults in that author (*x*). His emendations on the Tuſculan Queſtions of Cicero, are adjoined to Mr Davis's edition of that author. This being all we have been able to gather from his critical works, we ſhall now proceed to enquire into the complaint of maladminiſtration, urged againſt him by the college, which was the occaſion of a long ſuit, whether

(*t*) Dr Pearce's Reviews of the text of Milton. See remark [*P*].

(*u*) See note [*R*].

(*w*) Diſſertation upon the Epiſtles of Phalaris, with an Anſwer to the Objections of the Hon. Charles Boyle, Eſq; p. xliv. xlix. lxii. See note [*B*] (7).

(*x*) Epiſtle to Dr Mill, p. 39.

Dr Pearce's *Review of the text of Milton's Paradiſe Loſt; in which the chief of Dr Bentley's emendations are conſidered, and ſeveral other emendations and obſervations are offered to the public.* This was publiſhed at three different times, in three different parts. In the preface to which, he tells us (54), 'that having been 'converſant in Milton's poetical writings, and having 'carefully examined the emendations which Dr Bent'ley offered to the world in his new edition of Para'diſe Loſt, he thought it not improper to communi'cate his obſervations to the public on this occaſion. 'Dr Bentley is deſervedly diſtinguiſhed for his ſuperior 'talents in criticiſm; they are owned by the unani'mous conſent of the learned world, and have gained 'him a reputation which is real and ſubſtantial; but 'this will be underſtood with exception to what he 'has done on Milton's poems. — In the emendations, 'which the author of theſe ſheets offers as from him'ſelf, he never ventures farther than to propoſe words 'of the like ſound, which a blind Poet's ear may be 'preſumed to have been ſometimes miſtaken in, when 'the proof-ſheets were read to him, and but few of 'this ſort are mentioned; the greateſt part ariſes from 'the alteration of the points, in which it is not im'probable that Milton truſted much to the care of the 'Printer and Reviſer.'

(54) The Preface to Dr Pearce's Review.

[*Q*] *Which may in ſome meaſure excuſe, or rather account for, the indifferent reception this book met with from the public.*] For above ſixty years, ſays he, this poem, with ſuch miſerable deformities by the preſs, and not ſeldom flat nonſenſe, paſſed upon the whole nation for a perfect and faultleſs compoſition; the beſt pens in the kingdom contending in it's praiſes, as eclipſing all modern eſſays whatever, and rivalling, if not excelling, Homer and Virgil; the reaſon of which he looked upon to be, that it's readers firſt acceded to it, poſſeſſed with awe and veneration from it's univerſal eſteem, and have been by that deterred from truſting to their judgments; and even in places diſpleaſing, rather ſuſpecting their own capacity, than that any thing in the book could poſſibly be amiſs. Who durſt oppoſe the univerſal vogue? and riſk his own character, while he laboured to exalt Milton's? I wonder rather that it is done even now: Had theſe notes been written forty years ago, it would have been prudence to have ſuppreſſed them for fear of injuring one's riſing fortune; but now when ſeventy years *Jamdudum memorem monuerunt*, and ſpoke loudly in my ears,

Mitte leves ſpes & certamina divitiarum,

I made the notes extempore, and put them to the preſs as ſoon as made, without apprehenſion of growing leaner by cenſures, or plumper by commendations. (55).

(55) The Preface to Dr Bentley's Milton.

[*R*] *That the notes were made extempore, and put to the preſs as ſoon as made.*] Upon which ſome of his oppoſers obſerve, that it was ſix years before the publication that Dr Aſhenhurſt declared at Briſtol, that Dr B. was then engaged in making notes on Milton; nor did he ſpeak of it as a work juſt then begun, for he had not then ſeen the Doctor for two or three years; ſo that this work may have coſt him as many years labour as even his Horace. The perſon who received this account from Dr Aſhenhurſt is ready to atteſt the truth of it, when called upon ſo to do (56). This might poſſibly be the caſe, and yet the Doctor's aſſertion be true; for the Doctor might probably acquaint Dr Aſhenhurſt with his ſcheme while yet in embryo, before perhaps at all carried into execution, when he had only in reading made a few curſory remarks, between which, indiſpoſition in a perſon of the Doctor's age, or a hundred other things, might intervene to delay his ſetting about it in earneſt, and going methodically through with it from beginning to end; ſo that Dr Aſhenhurſt might perhaps be acquainted with the ſcheme, and the Doctor reported to be abſolutely employed about it, and yet the notes in a manner made extempore, and even put to the preſs as ſoon as made.

(56) Grubſtreet Journal.

[*S*] *He tells us he had prepared a new edition of the Poet Manilius for the preſs.*] Which deſign being known abroad, firſt occaſioned his acquaintance with Sir Edward Sherburn, who had formerly tranſlated the firſt book of that Poet into Engliſh verſe, and explained it with a large commentary, and had beſides got together ſeveral old and ſcarce editions of that Poet; beſides thoſe, he had purchaſed at Antwerp by means of a Bookſeller a whole box full of papers of the famous Gaſper Gevartius, who undertook an edition of the ſame Poet, but was prevented by death. All theſe Sir Edward Sherburn ſent to Dr Bentley for the uſe of his intended edition of Manilius; among which papers, he tells us, he found none of any conſequence, except a treatiſe about Theodorus Mallius; written, as he had good reaſon to believe, by Albertus Rubenius, whoſe poſthumous works the learned Grævius was then publiſhing; this therefore, with Sir Edward's leave, he ſent over to him, who promiſed to take care to let the *world know to whoſe kindneſs they were obliged for this piece*, but entirely forgot this; dedicated it to Dr Bentley, and never ſo much as mentioned Sir Edward's name. This gave occaſion to the Doctor's enemies to accuſe him of falſifying his word to Sir Edward Sherburn (57), by not letting Mr Grævius know from whence he had it, and not deſiring him to make an honourable mention of Sir Edward, as the perſon that had obliged the world with it. But Mr Grævius clears him of this aſperſion, and confeſſes his own forgetfulneſs and neglect of what Dr Bentley had expreſsly wrote to him on this ſubject (58).

(57) See the Account of Dr Bentley's Humanity, &c. p. 27, 28; and Boyle againſt Bentley, p. 16.

(58) Grævii Epiſtola Richardo Bentleio.

[*T*] *Theſe*

whether the Crown or the Biſhop of Ely was General Viſitor. A party in the College, diſpleaſed at ſome regulations endeavoured by the Maſter, began to talk of the fortieth ſtatute, *de Magiſtri (ſi res exigat) Amotione*, and to cabal about complaining to the Biſhop of Ely: the Maſter hearing this, went to Biſhop Patrick, then at Ely, to acquaint him with their deſign; the Biſhop told him, he had never heard before, that, as Biſhop of Ely, he had any thing to do in the Royal College of Trinity; called his Secretary to him, and bid him ſeek if there was any precedent of it in the Biſhop's archives; but not one was found, not ſo much as a copy of Trinity-college Statutes. Upon that, the Doctor lent him one, and for that Biſhop's time the matter was dropped. But in his ſucceſſor Dr More's time, the party found great encouragement to apply to the Biſhop; which they accordingly did in 1709, and a vaſt number of articles about dilapidations, but not one of immorality, bribery, or fraud, were exhibited againſt the Maſter; theſe, as below in note [*T*], contain a good deal of malice, and many vilifying

[*T*] *Theſe as below in the notes.*] I received this appeal from the Fellows of Trinity-college, by the hands of Mr Edmund Miller, the tenth of February, 1709. JOHN, Ely.

The Petition of the Fellows of Trinity-college againſt Dr Bentley.

To the Right Reverend Father in God, John, Lord Biſhop of Ely, Viſitor of Trinity-college in Cambridge, upon the fortieth chapter of the College Statutes, intitled, *De Magiſtri (ſi res exigat) amotione.*

The humble petition and complaint of the Vice-Maſter, Senior Fellows, and many of the Doctors in Divinity and Maſters of Arts, Fellows and Members of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of the Univerſity of Cambridge, of King Henry the Eighth's foundation, in behalf of themſelves and the reſt of the Members of the ſaid College, againſt Richard Bentley, Doctor in Divinity, now Maſter thereof,

Shew,

'THAT the Fellows, and all the Members of the ſaid College, having for many years lived with a great reſpect and love to their former Maſters, and in a perfect amity one with another; in the year of our Lord God 1700, when the ſaid Dr Bentley firſt came to be their Maſter, the peace of the ſaid College was ſoon diſturbed, by his demanding and taking of the ſaid College ſeveral unuſual and great ſums of money, which he applied to his own uſe; and almoſt every year ſince, by his continual making new demands of profits and perquiſites for himſelf, and by his taking, and threatning to take away, ſometimes with the forced conſent of the governing part of the College, and ſometimes without any conſent at all, ſeveral known privileges and perquiſites from the reſt of the College in general, and even Fellowſhips and Scholarſhips from ſeveral in particular, and by threatning and aſſuming to inflict ſeveral unſtatutable and (before his time) unheard-of puniſhments upon ſeveral of the Fellows, for no other reaſon but becauſe he heard they talked againſt his proceedings; and by his uſing violence and unworthy methods, whereby he has prevailed with ſome few of the College to eſpouſe his ſeparate intereſt, the peace of this royal and ample foundation has not only for many years been wholly broken, but the ſtatutes have been violated, and the goods of the College waſted, and many of the Fellows reduced to great neceſſity, by his leſſening the value of their fellowſhips, which were before but very ſmall; nevertheleſs, the Fellows and Members of the ſaid College, out of a peaceable diſpoſition, and being perſuaded by the ſaid Dr Bentley's fair promiſes, which he conſtantly made upon gaining any new advantage, that they ſhould enjoy peace and quietneſs for the future; and out of reſpect to thoſe that made him their Maſter, though they could not be wholly ſilent, they were unwilling publickly to complain to their ſuperiors, 'till now again this laſt year the ſaid Dr Bentley, not only making another exorbitant demand of profits to himſelf, but, in order thereto, endeavouring to make an alteration almoſt throughout the whole College in their dividends and dues, whereby they are maintained, and which they and their predeceſſors have for many years enjoyed, and that in a partial manner, and by ſuch methods as are before mentioned. We are neceſſitated at this time to petition and complain to your Lordſhip, promiſing within a convenient time to lay before you, in ſuch method as you ſhall appoint, the ſeveral particulars, wherein the truth of what is here alledged will manifeſtly appear; humbly craving in due time ſuch ſentence as to your Lordſhip's wiſdom and juſtice ſhall ſeem meet.

Feb. 6, 1709. Signed by 30 of the College.

This the Biſhop ſent immediately to Dr Bentley, viz. on the 11th of February, and the Doctor anſwered it on the 13th (59); but as there were ſeveral pieces publiſhed on both ſides on this occaſion, we ſhall endeavour to give the reader ſome account of them (60).

'A true Copy of Articles againſt Dr *Bentley*, exhibited to the Right Rev. Father in God *John More*, Lord Biſhop of Ely, by many of the Fellows of Trinity-college in Cambridge; together with the College Statute, *de Amotione Magiſtri*, and ſeveral other clauſes of the College Statutes, with References to the Articles. Lond. 1710, 8vo.

'The preſent State of Trinity-college in Cambridge, in a Letter from Dr *Bentley*, Maſter of the ſaid College, to the Right Rev. *John*, Lord Biſhop of Ely. Publiſhed for general information by a Gentleman of the Temple. Lond. 1710, 8vo.

'Some Remarks upon a Letter, intitled, The Preſent State of Trinity-college in Cambridge Written by *Richard Bentley*, D. D, now Maſter of the ſaid College, to the Right Rev. *John*, Lord Biſhop of Ely. With ſome Remarks alſo upon the Preface, pretended to be written and publiſhed together with the Letter by a Gentleman of the Temple, by Mr *Miller*, Fellow of the College. Lond. 1710, 8vo.

'Some Conſiderations humbly offered to *John* Lord Biſhop of Ely, on a Book, intitled, The Preſent State of Trinity-college in Cambridge, by Dr *Bentley*; by a Maſter of Arts, and Fellow of the ſaid College. Lond. 8vo.

'The true State of Trinity-college, in a Letter to a reſiding Fellow of that Society; wherein the trifling impertinencies, malicious aſperſions, and bold falſehoods of Dr *Bentley*, are anſwered in ſuch a manner as they deſerve. Publiſhed for the information of the Students, Scholars, and Fellows of both Univerſities. Lond. 1710, 8vo.'

Beſides theſe, the firſt of which alone we were not able to procure, we alſo find the following ones publiſhed at this time, and upon this account, all which we have conſulted and made uſe of in this work.

'A full View of Dr *Bentley*'s Letter to the Lord Biſhop of Ely, in a Diſcourſe to a Friend; wherein the whole ſtrain of that celebrated piece throughout is fairly, familiarly, and largely conſidered, by *Tho. Bloner*, M. A. Fellow of Trinity-college, Cambridge. 1710.

'A true and impartial Account of the preſent differences between the Maſter and Fellows of Trinity-college, Cambridge, conſidered. In a Letter to a Gentleman, ſome time Member of that Society, 1711.

'An humble and ſerious Repreſentation of the Preſent State of Trinity-college in Cambridge. In a Letter to a noble Lord.'

But to return to the ſubject of the petition at the beginning of the note. The Doctor, far from being guilty of what he is charged with in that petition, *ſeems* to have been rather their great benefactor, laying ſeveral ſums of money out of his private purſe in

(59) This Letter is dated at her Majeſty's Library, Febr. 12, 1709-10.

(60) Mr Rawlinſon, in his Engliſh Topographer.

fying aſperſions, and were the ſubject of many pamphlets pro and con upon that occaſion, *viz.* His Lordſhip received the charge; intending to proceed upon it, which he conceived himſelf ſufficiently authorized to do, required Dr Bentley's anſwer, which he declined for ſome time to give *(y)*, pleading want of form in the charge; becauſe other members of the college, beſides the Seniors, had joined in the accuſation, and the Seniors themſelves, as he alledged, had never yet admoniſhed him, from whence he inferred, that all proceedings on ſuch a charge, and whatſoever ſhould follow on the ſame foot, would be *ipſo facto* null and void *(z)*; but the Biſhop, it ſeems, did not think this plea to be material, for he inſiſted upon Dr Bentley's anſwer to the charge, who, upon that, began to queſtion what authority his Lordſhip had over him; and by a petition preſented to the late Queen, prayed 'that her Majeſty would take him and the college into her protection, againſt the Biſhop's pretenſions, and maintain her ſole power and juriſdiction over her royal foundation and the Maſters thereof.' This petition was referred to the then Attorney and Sollicitor-General, and they ordered fully to conſider the matter, and report their opinions thereupon. Notice was given at the ſame time to the Biſhop, that her Majeſty having taken this affair into her cognizance, his Lordſhip was to ſtay proceedings 'till the Queen's pleaſure was further known. Mr Attorney and Sollicitor-General, took ſome time to conſider, and were of opinion, the Biſhop had power over the Maſter; but this report not proving ſatisfactory to ſome perſons then in power, a letter was brought to the Biſhop from Mr Secretary St John, dated 18 June 1711, acquainting him, 'that the matter of the petition of Dr Richard Bentley, Maſter of Trinity-college in Cambridge, together with the report of Mr Attorney and Mr Sollicitor-General, being then before the Queen, and ordered to be taken into conſideration by my Lord Keeper, aſſiſted by her Majeſty's Counſel learned in the Law, her Majeſty thought it to be a buſineſs of ſuch weight and conſequence, that ſhe had commanded him (the Secretary) to ſignify her pleaſure to his Lordſhip, that he ſhould ſtop all further proceedings, according to her Majeſty's direction.' But the Maſter ſeeing that all diſcipline and ſtudies would be loſt in the college, if that controverſy was not one way or other decided, applied to the then Miniſtry, to take his trial under any Viſitor the Queen ſhould appoint, or if none would be ſo appointed, that he might have leave, *ſalvo jure regio*, to be voluntarily tried under the Biſhop. Upon this, the inhibition was taken off by Mr Secretary St John, by order of the Queen, ſignifying, *that his Lordſhip was at liberty to proceed, ſo far as by the law he might.* But his Lordſhip did not think fit to proceed, 'till he was ſerved with a Rule of Court from the King's-Bench, in Eaſter term 1714, to ſhew cauſe why a writ of Mandamus ſhould not iſſue out againſt him. The Biſhop being then at Ely, was applied to by joint-meſſengers on both ſides, to make a ſtep to the college, and there he might have ended the matter in two days. But this was not thought ſo proper, and Ely houſe at London was pitched on, where, inſtead of two days, the trial laſted at leaſt ſix weeks, and the college paid a thouſand pounds for it; three learned Lawyers, who

(y) *A Vindication of the Biſhop of Ely's viſitatorial Juriſdiction over the College in general, and over the Maſter thereof in particular*, p. 18; this however does not appear, ſince his Anſwer was given in within three Days after the Petition had been given to the Biſhop. See note [T].

(z) The preſent State of Trinity-College, in Cambridge, in a Letter from Dr Bentley to the Biſhop of Ely, 1710, p. 10.

in repairing and beautifying the College, which by his care has been greatly ornamented and improved; but the chief thing that he had diſguſted them by was, his prudent regulations of ſeveral enormous and expenſive abuſes, in open breach and violation of the Statutes; for this, rather than any real ſuffering on their part, or male-adminiſtration on his, *ſeems* the chief of their quarrel or uneaſineſſes grounded; and their ſeveral letters, remarks, and conſiderations on this letter and ſubject, ſeem rather actuated by a ſpirit of private malice, envy, revenge, or perſonal pique (*); but we cannot here enter into the whole affair *pro* and *con*, but, after reading over the ſeveral pieces wrote againſt him, muſt partly imagine, (if not too much biaſſed in his favour by his great learning) that the caſe was in a great meaſure as we have above ſtated it. The reader, to be convinced of this, need only read over the Doctor's letter to the Biſhop of Ely, and almoſt any one of the pieces wrote againſt him above mentioned. But on this ſubject we cannot introduce any thing more to the purpoſe than the following quotation: 'When I remember the ſtate of that College before Dr Bentley came to it, and compare it with the flouriſhing condition of it at preſent, I am amazed at the vile ingratitude of thoſe narrow-ſoul'd wretches, that, not content to defraud that great man of the honour and thanks due to him, for recovering a Society to ſome ſplendour and figure, are not aſhamed to talk as if Trinity had been ruined by one that has been viſibly ſo great a benefactor to it. What a devotion to malice and ſtupidity muſt theſe people pay, that after ſo many noble improvements that Dr Bentley has made in this College, in every poſſible particular, can have the face to ſay ſuch things of him, as in the confeſſion of one of their tribe here, ſhameleſsly deſcribing his own talent this way, *hardly any man but himſelf would bear the ſcandal or odium of, for all his preferments and learning.* Has the utmoſt malice of a few railing incendiaries ever produced any thing that ſhould leſſen Dr Bentley in any man's eſteem? No, nor ever will, but amongſt ſuch as a great and generous ſpirit paſſes with for a proud and haughty one; who, becauſe Trinity-college is one of the handſomeſt in Europe, cry out plunder and dilapidation; and are ready to ſwear that he has impoveriſhed the Society, becauſe it is twelve hundred pounds a year the richer merely by his good management. The Gentlemen of that Society are ſenſible, I believe, that it would be a long panegyric to give Dr Bentley all the praiſes due to him upon the account of his maſterſhip; and though there are ſome few, even amongſt thoſe who have been the moſt obliged to him, of different taſte and ſentiment, 'tis not to be wondered at: There is a *Genus Hominum*, that, whether from the natural make and conſtitution of the men, or from a certain acquired antipathy to merit, ſeem incapable of doing juſtice to it in others. When men will quit their gratitude to take up the moſt abſurd prejudices, there is no perſuading them that ten dividends are not more than twenty, or that two or three and twenty lads a year admitted in Dr M—gue's time, are not more than forty in Dr B's. It is a reflection to the honour of that College that it afforded but four Fellows, and thoſe, without flattery, none of the wiſeſt, that could entertain ſuch a ſtupid notion of duty, privilege, and conſcience, as to give their votes for their Maſter's degradation. And a famous Lawyer, that was of the counſel againſt him at his trial, has ſince, as I have heard, declared, that he was ſure Dr Bentley muſt be a very good and virtuous man, ſince, in the courſe of that trial, nothing inconſiſtent with that character could be proved againſt him (61).

(*) See Oldmixon's Hiſt. and Reign of the Stuarts, p. 629.

(61) A Review of the Proceedings againſt Dr Bentley, in the Univerſity of Cambridge; in Anſwer to a late pretended full and impartial Account, &c. pag. 69, 73, 74.

[U] *The*

who could know but very little of the matter, being admitted on each ſide, to make eloquent harangues, anſwers, and replies, upon queſtions ariſing from above fifty articles, in which there was ſcarce any thing material, that might not eaſily be determined, upon a bare inſpection of the college Statutes, Regiſters, and Books of Accompts. The trial being ended, and the cauſe ripe for ſentence, the Biſhop's death prevented his giving judgment [*U*]. Thus the matter dropped for the preſent, but was afterwards revived in the year 1728, when new articles of complaint againſt Dr Bentley, charging him with having in many inſtances made great waſte of the college revenue, and violated the Statutes, all founded on the 40th of Elizabeth, were again exhibited to my Lord of Ely, as ſpecially authorized and appointed to receive the ſame, and to proceed thereupon. Though the matter was long before decided in favour of the Crown, as having the general viſitatorial power [*X*]. Upon which, a petition was ſubſcribed by the college, and preſented

[*U*] *The Biſhop's death prevented his giving judgment.*] Some time after the Biſhop's death came out the following piece: 'A true account of the Preſent State of Trinity-college in Cambridge, under the oppreſſive government of their Maſter, *Richard Bentley*, late D. D. Lond. 1720, 8vo.' The Gentleman who wrote this piece, having thought fit to acknowledge it, and do juſtice to one who was ſuſpected as the author of it, gave the following publick notice to the world.

Cambridge, Feb. 19, 1719-20.

'WHEREAS the Maſter of Trinity-college is proſecuting the author and publiſher of a book, intitled, *A true account of the Preſent State of Trinity-college in Cambridge, under the oppreſſive government of their Maſter* Richard Bentley, *late* D. D. for preventing all unneceſſary trouble and expence in ſuch proſecution, I hereby voluntarily acknowledge myſelf to be the ſole author of the ſaid book; and do declare, that the ſeveral facts therein mentioned, are no other than what have either been proved upon the Maſter at a public trial before the late Biſhop of Ely, (who died before ſentence was given) or will certainly, with many more of the ſame kind, be charged and proved upon him by the Fellows, whenever there ſhall be a Viſitor aſſigned for that purpoſe, for which they have long been petitioning; and I ſolemnly proteſt, that I had no other view in writing the ſaid book, but to promote and bring on ſuch a viſitation, by ſhewing the neceſſity of it, and to do juſtice to my worthy oppreſſed friends of that College (whereof I was not long ſince a Fellow) which they are not able to do for themſelves, but at the hazard of their own Fellowſhips; (the Maſter having, ſince the publication of this book, attempted to deprive a Reverend and Learned Member of the Seniority, for the bare ſuſpicion of his being the author of it) and I do affirm, that I have ſaid nothing material in the ſaid book, but under the utmoſt conviction of it's truth, either from my own knowledge, or upon the beſt evidence and information, as will eaſily appear whenever there ſhall be occaſion; and if in the mean while the Maſter, or any of his friends, will undertake to anſwer me in print, I hereby promiſe either to defend and prove every article alledged againſt him, or to make him the ſatisfaction of a publick recantation.'

CONYERS MIDDLETON, D.D.

[*X*] *Though the matter was long before decided in favour of the Crown, as having the general viſitatorial power.*] The Statute by which the Biſhop of Ely claimed a viſitatorial power, was, the 46th of Edward the VIth (62); but from the general viſitatorial power, if not from the particular one of the Maſter, he was thus excluded by the opinion of the moſt eminent in their profeſſion (63). 'We are of opinion, that theſe Statutes of King Edward VI. were not of perpetual obligation, or unalterable, but were alterable by the Statutes made by Queen Elizabeth, they being accepted and acted under by the College. — We are of opinion the Statutes of Queen Elizabeth are valid, and were intended as a complete body of Statutes for that College, and the original Statutes made by King Edward VI, expreſſed to have been under the Great Seal, being now without the ſame, from which they may be preſumed to have been cancelled on the making of thoſe of Queen Elizabeth; and the Biſhops of Ely, from the making of the Statutes of Queen Elizabeth, having never exerciſed or claimed the power of a Viſitor, we humbly apprehend the 46th chapter of the Statutes of King Edward VI, *de viſitatore*, was omitted in the body of Statutes of Queen Elizabeth; — and we are humbly of opinion, that her Majeſty, with the acceptation of the College, if the Statute *de viſitatore* be in force (64), may repeal the ſame; but her Majeſty's declaration without ſuch acceptance will not be effectual.'

Anno, 1711-12.

Tho. Powys, *J. Conyers*,
Edw Northey, *Tho. Lutwych*,
Rob. Raymond, *John Ward* (65).
Nich. Hooper,

Firſt, we ſhall obſerve how forceable the argument uſed by the Queen's counſel is, that Edward's Statutes by being without the Broad Seal now, which once was affixed to them, muſt from thence be preſumed to have been cancelled (66). Beſides, the Crown always nominates the Maſter of Trinity, but the Fellows and Scholars are choſen by the College: Is it not then abſurd to think that the Crown ſhould ſo carefully reſume to itſelf the power over the Fellows and Scholars whom it does not elect, and abandon the Maſter alone, it's own Elect and Nominee, to an external viſitation? The reſult of all is, that ſince Queen Elizabeth, no Biſhop of Ely meddled in Trinity-college before the preſent Maſter's voluntary trial under Biſhop More. Fellows and Scholars have the King only for their Viſitor; the Maſter, if this 40th Statute be in force, is to have both King and Biſhop too. That being abſurd and impoſſible, it was put as a queſtion to the Queen's learned counſel, Whether the Crown could not take from the Biſhop that imagined power over the Maſter, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal; and the anſwer was, That by Letters under the Great Seal, the Queen might annul this 40th Statute, the cauſe of the diſturbance, and make the Crown ſole viſitor of the Maſter, as well as the College, if the College accepted them, 'and that the College now deſires and petitions for; but in reverſe, if the King ſhould be induced to give the right of the Crown by Letters Patent to the Biſhop, the College, to ſay the leaſt, would have the extremeſt reluctancy to accept ſuch Letters, they being thereby abjoined from the more immediate care of the Crown, which even from the date of Elizabeth's Statutes, had been always thought to have the viſitatorial power over them, and has accordingly exerciſed it. The College have before declared under their Common Seal in their petition to his Majeſty, and they now do, that they don't deſire to avoid any enquiry into the ſtate of their Society, or the conduct of any Members thereof, being earneſtly deſirous that the ſame may be made by any legal authority; which legal authority, or general viſitatorial power over them, for the reaſons above-mentioned, they apprehend to be veſted in the Kings of this realm, as ſucceſſors to the Royal Founder of their Society. If this point be determined, as the Society hope it will, by the King's moſt honourable Privy-Council, the Maſter and Fellows of the ſaid Society, in vindication of their own honour, and in juſtice to themſelves, humbly propoſe forthwith to beſeech his Majeſty, to condeſcend to nominate Commiſſioners, to viſit and enquire into the ſtate of the ſaid Society; or if it be not proper to be determined by the honourable Privy-Council, they hope, as the right of the Crown is in queſtion, *an iſſue at Law*, or ſuch other method, as in their wiſdom ſhall ſeem moſt proper, will be by them directed; ſo that the queſtion

(62) A Vindication of the Lord Biſhop of Ely's viſitatorial Juriſdiction over Trinity-college in general, and the Maſter in particular.

(63) As the Biſhop acknowledges in his Petition, Nov. 2, 1728.

(64) That is, whether the Biſhop had a viſitatorial power over the Maſter in particular, tho' not over the College in general.

(65) The Caſe of Trinity-college in Cambridge, whether the Crown or the Biſhop of Ely be General Viſitor, p. 24.

(66) Ibid. p. 17.

ſented to his Majeſty under the Common-Seal, the 10th of Auguſt 1728, and the cauſe carried before the King in Council; for the college itſelf now engaged as party in the cauſe againſt the Biſhop, and above fifteen hundred pounds out of the revenues of the college, was ſpent in carrying it on. This being referred to a Committee of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council, Dr Fleetwood, then Lord Biſhop of Ely, on the ſecond of November 1728, alſo preſented a petition to his Majeſty, to be heard touching his right, which was likewiſe referred to the ſaid Committee. The Lords Committee, juſt before the day appointed for a hearing, *viz.* March 13, 1728, had a printed pamphlet put into their hands, intitled, *The Caſe of Trinity-college; Whether the Crown or the Biſhop of Ely be General Viſitor* (*a*)*?* at the end of which, as well as in their petition, the college applied to the King, to take the viſitatorial power (as by the opinion of Counſel he might with their conſent) into his own hands, that they might be only viſited by the Crown, but not with a view or intent of avoiding a viſitation or enquiry into the ſtate of the ſociety, for which they were very preſſing, both in their petition, and at the end of this pamphlet. On the fifteenth, the Cauſe came on before the Lords of the Committee of Privy-Council, but was from thence referred to the King's-Bench (*b*) [*Y*], where the May following it was tried by way of Prohibition, and after a long pleading, the Judges unanimouſly determined it in favour of the Biſhop, as to his viſitatorial power over the Doctor (*c*); and the June following, the Fellows exhibited their articles of complaint againſt him before the Biſhop of Ely, his Lordſhip having two aſſiſtants, *viz.* Sir Henry Penrice, and Dr Betteſworth (*d*). But it being urged, that the Biſhop was going to exerciſe a general viſitatorial power, another petition was preferred to his Majeſty and Council, by the Maſter and Fellows, and a further hearing appointed in this cauſe, in the Court of King's-Bench, in November 1729, *&c* (*e*). and in November 1731, we find the cauſe had gone againſt the Biſhop of Ely, by his taking out a writ of Error, for carrying the cauſe by appeal into the Houſe of Lords (*f*). The Crown, however, at laſt, to put an end to the diſpute and diſturbance (as fully impowered (*g*) to do) took both College and Maſter, according to their petition, into it's own juriſdiction and viſitation, and here the matter ended. ——— The proceedings of the Univerſity againſt him in the year 1717 alſo, made much noiſe in the world, and were repreſented as violent and unjuſtifiable, as the effects of a power falſely uſurped, or ſcandalouſly abuſed, being influenced by the malice of a party diſaffected to the government (*h*), were the cauſe of great ferment and uneaſineſs in the Univerſity, and raiſed the curioſity, and drew the eyes of the whole nation upon them; for which reaſon we ſhall beg leave to be a little particular and full in our account, that we may give the reader a juſt idea of them. In October 1717, the day after his Majeſty's viſit to the Univerſity, when ſeveral Doctors in Divinity, named by mandate, were attending in the ſenate-houſe to receive their degrees. Dr Bentley, on creation, made a demand of four guineas from each of them, as a fee due to him as Profeſſor [*Z*], over and above a broad-piece, which had by cuſtom been allowed as a preſent on this occaſion; and abſolutely refuſed to create any Doctor, 'till this fee was paid him. This occaſioned a long and warm diſpute, 'till at laſt many of them, the Doctors, and Dr Middleton among the reſt, conſented to pay the fee in queſtion, upon this

(*a*) See note [*X*].

(*b*) Monthly Chronicle for March, 1729.

(*c*) Monthly Chron. for May, 1729.

(*d*) Ibid. for June, 1729.

(*e*) Ibid. for November, 1729.

(*f*) Ibid. for November, 1731.

(*g*) See note [*X*].

(*h*) See Oldmixon's Hiſtory and Reign of the Stuarts, p. 629.

'ſtion now depending, Whether the Crown or the 'Biſhop of Ely be General Viſitor, may receive a full 'and a proper determination (67).

(67) The Caſe of Trinity-college, Cambridge, whether the Crown or the Biſhop of Ely be General Viſitor, p. 17, 18.

[*Y*] *On the 15th the cauſe came on before the Lords of the Committee of Privy-Council, but was from thence referred to the King's-Bench.*] The Attorney and Sollicitor-General were Counſel for the Maſter and the Fellows, and Dr Henchman and Mr Fazakerley for the Biſhop. There was a very full Committee of Council, and, after hearing the arguments of the Counſellors on both ſides, *An Act for regulating the Privy-Council* (68) was read; which, among other things, ſays, 'That neither his Majeſty, nor his Privy-Coun-'cil, have, or ought to have, any juriſdiction, power 'or authority, by Engliſh bill, petition, article, libel, 'or any other way whatſoever, to examine, or draw 'into queſtion, determine, or diſpoſe of lands, tene-'ments, hereditaments, goods or chattels, of any the 'ſubjects of the kingdom, but that the ſame ought to 'be tried and determined in the ordinary Courts of 'juſtice, &c.' Whereupon the Lords declined making any order or report.

(68) The Statute of 16 Car. I. cap. 10.

[*Z*] *Made a demand of four guineas from each of them, as a fee due to him as Profeſſor.*] In anſwer to ſuch as may plead the illegality and unſtatutableneſs of demanding this fee, it may not be improper to aſk, 'What 'Statute had Dr Gooch for taking two guineas as Vice-'Chancellor, of each of the King's Doctors that went 'out under him? What Statute had Dr Grigge, when 'he was Vice-Chancellor, to demand of each of thoſe 'Doctors that went out under him, two guineas *quate-'nus* Secretary to the Duke of Somerſet, and two more '*quatenus* Vice-Chancellor? Dr Grigge could take 'four guineas, becauſe of his double capacity; and 'when he was ſucceeded by Dr Gooch in the Vice-'Chancellorſhip, he ſtill demanded his two guineas '*quatenus* Secretary, and Dr Gooch claimed the 'other two, as being Vice-Chancellor. The Proc-'tors, the Regiſter, the Beadles, had ſome their two 'guineas, others, one guinea, from each Doctor; by 'what ſtatute? For 'tis known the Regiſter's fee is 'but ſix-pence by Statute, and the others proportion-'able. Dr Bentley may be condemned for claiming 'theſe four guineas; but then Dr Gooch muſt be 'condemned for exacting two guineas; and Dr Grigge 'for exacting four guineas, and all the reſt for exact-'ing their guineas equally. Theſe fees are all equal-'ly unſtatutable, and equally unjuſt.' Beſides, the Vice-Chancellor gave orders (as the Impartial Account tells us) 'that any other Doctor of Divinity 'ſhould perform the ceremony, by which you are not 'to underſtand that the Vice-Chancellor transferred 'the Profeſſor's right to Dr Fiſher; ſo that according 'to this notion, it is a province that does not more 'ſtatutably belong to the Profeſſor than to any other 'Doctor. Since then the office belongs to the Profeſ-'ſor as a Doctor of Divinity only, and may conſe-'quently be performed by any other Doctor, then 'might he refuſe to do it, but on his own terms, and 'might ſet what price he pleaſed upon his own labour. 'From whence it appears, that the Univerſity could 'not oblige him to do it at any fixed rate, and even 'had no authority to command him to do it at all; 'and though the Profeſſor may be condemned for ex-'acting ſuch a fee, he may be fully juſtified in it upon 'this ſuppoſition (69).'

(69) The Caſe of Dr Bentley, *&c.* p. 13, 14, 15, 32, and 33.

[*A*] *The*

this condition, that he should restore the money if it was not afterwards determined to be his right. In the next meeting, those who had paid the fee were created, but he refused to create such as would not pay it; upon which Dr Grigge, then Vice-Chancellor, gave orders, that some other Doctor should perform the ceremony instead of him, and accordingly Dr Fisher, the Master of Sydenham-college, created several for the usual gratuity of a broad-piece; they sent, at the same time, a state of the Case to the Chancellor, the Duke of Somerset. Dr Bentley still insisted upon his claim; but at last, instead of money, was content with a note from the rest, promising the payment of it, if it should be determined for him by the King, or any authority delegated from him; and at last submitted to create one of the King's Doctors, who came last, and some others who commenced afterwards, without either fee or note. Matters went on thus for near a twelvemonth, the Doctor being in quiet possession of the money and notes; but nothing being determined about his right or title to it, Dr Middleton thought he had reason to expect his money again, and accordingly (as it is said) made (*h*) a demand of it, first by letter, which was taken no notice of, and afterwards in person, and then applied to the Vice-Chancellor for a decree, which, from the tender regard the Vice-Chancellor had for Dr Bentley, he was some time before he could obtain. At length, however, the decree was granted, and a known enemy of Dr Bentley's employed to serve it (*i*), who went to Trinity-lodge on Tuesday the twenty-third of September, but whether through ignorance in his own business, or that he believed Dr Bentley, who told him that it signified nothing, not having the consent of nine heads to it, or that he had some other design than that of arresting him, he leaves the arrest, decree, &c. with the Doctor, and came away without executing the Vice-Chancellor's orders at all (*k*). Dr Bentley was afterwards arrested by another Beadle, on the first of October, with a second decree, which doubtless argued the invalidity of the first. The Professor supposing the authority of the arrest not sufficient, refused to submit to it; but on farther consideration obeyed the writ, and put in bail. Every body, but such as were let into the secret, expected this four guineas affair would end here. Friday the third of October being appointed for the trial, the Doctor only appeared there by his Proctor, which was looked upon as a contempt of the Vice-Chancellor's jurisdiction [*AA*]. Dr Middleton, therefore, by the leave of the Court, appointed

(*h*) A full and impartial Account of all the late Proceedings in the University against Dr Bentley, p. 9.

(*i*) A Review of the Proceedings, &c. p. 14.

(*k*) Ut supra, p. 15.

[*AA*] *The Doctor only appeared there by his Proctor, which was looked upon as a contempt of the Vice-Chancellor's jurisdiction.*] The Doctor's non-appearance in person being alledged against him as a chief article in this affair, it may not be improper to search a little into this. One author tells us, 'No man can appear 'in our court by his Proctor, who does not first appear 'in person, (unless it be in case of sickness) and de-'sire the Judge to assign him a Proctor (70).' Another informs us, 'His non-appearance was such an instance 'of contempt, as has seldom been known in the Uni-'versity; and that to tell us, as Dr Bentley did af-'terwards, that he had sent a Proctor to appear for 'him, is so far from excusing, that it aggravates his 'offence; for by our express Statutes, and the prac-'tice of the Court, no party can be in judgment, or 'allowed to appear by proxy, 'till he has personally 'asked and obtained the Judge's leave to constitute a 'Proctor; and if the plaintiff be present, which was 'the case, and the defendant absent, his Proctor can-'not be admitted: And farther, if either party shall 'presume to procure or retain one to act for him, 'contrary to the tenor of the Statute, he shall, if the 'plaintiff, for that very reason lose his cause; if the 'defendant, be looked upon as convict, and censured 'accordingly (*)—Now it seems it is the constant prac-'tice to dispense with a debtor's personal appearance; 'so that the Professor could not be charged with any 'contempt on that account, unless the Vice-Chancel-'lor had given him notice that he was resolved to set 'aside that practice, which is as sacred to other Courts 'as a Law. But in truth the Statute supposes no 'contempt, but says expressly, that in that case the 'defendant shall be held convict, but not as the Impar-'tial Account adds, (without authority) and censured 'accordingly. For, as the plaintiff not appearing 'shall lose his cause, the defendant shall forfeit his 'debt; or, as it is ordered in a later Grace, (of greater 'force, where it differs from it, than the old Statute 'or Decree before us, which was never confirmed by 'Royal authority) shall forfeit his bail-bond. Nor 'can a Vice-Chancellor put even that Statute in exe-'cution, if the Proctor be ready to swear, that his 'client is detained by sickness, or any other lawful 'reason, from making his appearance in Court. So 'that, including all the circumstances, if the Vice-'Chancellor had resolved at this time to break through 'the practice of his Court, he could not, without a 'direct breach of Statute, (which he is equally bound 'to observe with every other Member of the Univer-'sity) have punished him, in the manner he did, for 'non-appearance. Besides, it cannot be pretended, 'that this drew on the suspension, because the Vice-'Chancellor declared, that he postponed that affair of 'the debt, and then ordered the Beadle's deposition 'to be read; on which an unlucky record was made, 'bearing witness, that the Professor was accused of 'contempt as contained therein. How ridiculous then 'must these vindicators of the Vice-Chancellor appear, 'who ground their arguments on the truth of a fact, 'which is contradicted by his own declaration, by the 'very acts of his Court (71).' It is asserted by the two authors quoted in this note, who wrote against Dr Bentley, that the Statutes justify the Professor's punish-ment on account of contempt, which must either con-sist in his non-appearance, or in the matters alledged against him in the Beadle's deposition; for the former, that could only be punished by the forfeiture of his bail-bond; for, besides what we have just mentioned of Statutes, he was arrested for a debt; in which cir-cumstances no man can be guilty of contumacy, for the person of the debtor is required either of his bail, or the arresting officer. The debtor himself is not at all concerned. Dr Middleton brought an action of debt against him, to this the Doctor gave bail; in which case the Statutes of the University are express, that if the person arrested does not appear, his bail is an-swerable, which is common likewise to all Courts in England. Now as the Doctor did not appear, and no favour was shewn, why did not the Vice-Chancellor secure to Dr Middleton his debt in a statutable way, by laying hold on the bail? Why should Dr Bentley be suspended for not appearing, when the Statute expres-sly provides for the security of the creditor another way, and therefore did not require the appearance of the debtor. Can a Court be contemned by forfeiture of the bail-bond? An action for debt is here plainly confounded with a process for crimes and misdemea-nors, by insisting on personally asking and obtaining the Judge's leave to constitute a Proctor, and on the contempt of the Court in not appearing, &c. where-as they ought to prove it an incivility and disre-spect to the Vice-Chancellor, or to any Judge, to forfeit a man's bail-bond. Was this cleared up, the proceedings might be a little justified perhaps, in condemning Dr Bentley uncited and unheard, and in

(70) The Pro-ceedings of the Vice-Chancellor and University of Cambridge, a-gainst Dr Bent-ley.

(*) The Impar-tial Account, p. 16.

(71) The Case of Dr Bentley, Re-gius-Professor of Divinity truly stated, &c. p. 26, 27.

appointed Mr Cook his Proctor, who accuſed Dr Bentley of contempt for not appearing, and moved for ſome cenſure upon it, and called for the Beadle to make a return of the firſt decree (*l*); but he being confined in his chamber, by a fit of the gout, there made an affidavit, by improving ſome circumſtantial talk he had with the Doctor and ſome other gentlemen (*m*), the ſubject of which was, a complaint of the ill uſage he had met with in his attending at Dr Bentley's lodgings, who amongſt other things (he depoſed) ſaid to him, *I will not be concluded by what the Vice-Chancellor and two or three of his friends ſhall determine over a bottle* (*n*) (thereby reflecting on the clandeſtine way they had proceeded againſt him, without the formal conſent of ſuch a number of Heads, as he thought neceſſary to make a ſtatutable (*o*) arreſt); for this expreſſion, the Vice-Chancellor *ſuſpended* the Doctor from all his degrees [*BB*], who had no citation, no hearing, not ſo much as any notice, from any hand, of what was then doing; declaring, he would vacate his Profeſſorſhip in two or three days, if he did not make his humble ſubmiſſion (*p*). 'Three Court-days are allowed for this ſubmiſſion, *viz.* the 7th, 9th, and 15th of October. On the two former days his name was not mentioned, and on the laſt, the Vice-Chancellor would certainly have forgot to ſummon him, if he had not been reminded by his brother the Dean of Chicheſter. That ſame day the Vice-Chancellor requires the Profeſſor to ſubmit, and own himſelf rightly ſuſpended. So that, he firſt puts it out of the Profeſſor's power to vindicate himſelf, and then commands him to confeſs a fault that he had not been guilty of, and to acknowledge the juſtice of a ſentence, that has no precedent here, nor any parallel in Hiſtory. The only remedy that was now left, the Profeſſor applied to, *viz.* an appeal to the Delegates of the Univerſity [*CC*]; which was arbitrarily refuſed him. But thinking it prudent to have the ſanction of the Univerſity to back him, the Vice-Chancellor calls a Congregation, tells his own tale, and has the pleaſure to behold the madneſs of the people (*q*). For this he had alſo another very ſtrong motive, *viz.* to prevent the Profeſſor's being ever reſtored by the ſingle power of any ſucceeding Vice-Chancellor, by engaging the Univerſity to proceed, where he had left off; and after an illegal ſuſpenſion, to aſſume a power of degrading (*r*). The 15th of October, the third Court-day after the ſuſpenſion, the Vice-Chancellor informed the Univerſity of the ſteps he had taken, and the meſſage he had ſent the Profeſſor, which was, *That he required him to come and acknowledge his crime, the legality of his ſuſpenſion, and humbly beg to be reſtored to his degrees*; to which the gentleman (he ſaid) had returned no anſwer; and then he commanded it to be regiſtered, that he would deliberate farther of what was to be done, towards the maintenance of the Univerſity privileges and his own authority. Eight Heads were preſent in the Conſiſtory, *viz.* two Viſitors of Bennet-college, Dr Cowel and Dr Balderſton; three late Chaplains to his Majeſty, Dr Laney, Dr Adams, and Dr Sherlock; the rival Profeſſor, Dr Fiſher; the Maſters of Clare-Hall, and St John's-college, Dr Grigg and Dr Jenkins. Theſe gentlemen, at a conſultation the ſame afternoon, in the Maſter of Peterhouſe's lodge, appointed a Congregation the next morning 'to

(*l*) A full and impartial Account, p. 16.

(*m*) A Review of the Proceedings, &c. p. 15.

(*n*) Theſe words the Vice-Chancellor was pleaſed to inſiſt upon as criminal, on account of which his ſuſpenſion, and conſequently degradation followed.

(*o*) The Caſe of Dr Bentley truly ſtated, p. 3.

(*p*) Ut ſupra, p. 4.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 11.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 9.

making it a term of his re-admiſſion,' that he ſhould own the juſtice of the ſentence of ſuſpenſion.—As to the caſe of a contempt offered with reſpect to the Decree, Beadle, &c. it muſt be a contempt offered to the firſt writ, which was in reality acknowledged to be no writ; for if the firſt was good and lawful, why was a ſecond granted? Should a legal writ be contemned? But 'tis a ſure indication, that they are conſcious of having taken a wrong ſtep, when they grant a ſecond writ upon the ſame action, without endeavouring to vindicate the contempt of the firſt. The contempt then was the contempt of a writ, which the Vice-Chancellor himſelf did at firſt contemn, for to the ſecond writ Dr Bentley ſurrendered himſelf. Now if the firſt arreſt was not valid, the uſage of the Beadle can never be interpreted a contempt of any juriſdiction, becauſe in that caſe he had no right to act as an officer. But ſuppoſe the arreſt valid, a proceſs ought to have been iſſued out, if it had been a matter of a criminal nature; but he had no citation.

[*BB*] *The Vice-Chancellor ſuſpends Dr Bentley from all his degrees.*] The latter part of the Journal for that day runs thus: *Exhibuit depoſitiones* Edw. Clarke, *Bedell. Arm. quibus depoſitionibus lectis*, Cook *accuſarit contemptum dicti rev. viri, prout in iiſdem continetur; & dominus ad ejus petitionem pronunciavit rev. virum ſuſpenſum ab omni gradu ſuſcepto* (72). From this account of the ſuſpenſion, it appears that the Vice-Chancellor pronounced Dr Bentley ſuſpended from all his degrees, at the petition of Mr Cook, Dr Middleton's Proctor, (in a cauſe of debt) who accuſed Dr Bentley of contempt, contained in the depoſitions of Mr Clarke the Beadle. As to the ſuſpending him at the deſire of Mr Cook, *ad ejus petitionem*, how this came into the Acts is a little ſurpriſing; ſince Mr Cook ſaid to ſome of his brother Lawyers, if that may be credited, ſoon after it was over, that *he was as much ſurprized* at the ſuſpending of the Doctor *as they*; and never deſired any ſuch thing, nor ſo much as thought on it. Moreover the Vice-Chancellor knew he was talking in relation to the debt affair only; for he interrupted him, waving the hand, and told him, that he would poſtpone *his* cauſe, and conſider only Dr *Bentley*'s great *contempt* of the *authority* and *juriſdiction* of the Univerſity, in calling a regular meeting of the Heads, to which he himſelf was invited, the Vice-Chancellor and his friends, over a bottle, &c. he then appealed to the Heads there preſent, and they giving their conſent, *he was ſuſpended* (73).

(72) The Journal of the Court.

(73) A Review of the Proceedings againſt Dr Bentley, p. 27.

[*CC*] *The only remedy now left, the Profeſſor applied to, viz. an appeal to the Delegates of the Univerſity.*] 'The firſt ſtep which this contemner of the Univerſity juriſdiction took, was, to appeal to the Univerſity itſelf, from the irregular ſentence of it's officer; who out of great concern, no doubt, for their rights and privileges, abſolutely refuſed to let them be judges of what, in the plenitude of his own power, he had been pleaſed to order, and refuſed the Doctor the *appeal*; which refuſal was plainly as great an inſult upon the privileges of the Univerſity as could be, in direct oppoſition to all manner of Statutes, an appeal being allowed from the Vice-Chancellor to the Body in all caſes, without any one exception, nor has he ever any power at all to hinder it; it cannot be refuſed to any one that thinks himſelf injured, and will make it, and belongs to the Delegates to determine whether the ground of it be juſt or not; if it be, to give him relief; if not, then, and not 'till then, to remit the appellant to the Vice-Chancellor: Therefore when Dr Gooch hindered the Profeſſor's appeal, he both denied him a right that he had by Statute, and was guilty of the very crime, upon pretence of which he ſuſpended him, viz. contempt of the authority and juriſdiction of the Univerſity (74).'

(74) The Review of the Proceedings againſt Dr Bentley, p. 66, 67.

[*DD*] *The*

'to degrade the Profeſſor. But, when the time came, a friend of the Profeſſor's being 'that day one of the Caput, other buſineſs was propoſed but not concluded. On Friday 'morning, no mention was made, as ought to have been, of the proceedings at the laſt Con-'gregation, but the grand affair being found practicable, was propoſed to the Caput [*DD*].' And in the afternoon a vote of the body deprived the great Bentley of all the privileges, honours, and degrees, that he had received from it, and loſt perhaps more honour than it took from the Profeſſor. But if the ſuſpenſion of Dr Bentley was arbitrary, unſtatutable, and illegal, (as we imagine we have almoſt convinced the reader from text and notes) how much more ſo muſt the conſequence of it, the degradation of this great man, from all his degrees, rights, and titles, in the univerſity be. Upon this Dr Bentley (which we ſhall ſtill venture to call him) drew up a petition, which he preſented to his Majeſty, Oct. 30, 1718, complaining of the proceedings of the Vice-Chancellor and Univerſity, begging his Majeſty's relief and protection, as ſupreme Viſitor of the Univerſity. The King, in Council, taking the ſaid Petition into conſideration, was pleaſed to order the ſame to be ſent to the Reverend Dr Gooch, Vice-Chancellor; who was thereby directed to attend his Majeſty in Council, on Thurſday the ſixth of November, 1718, to give an account of the proceedings which occaſioned this complaint; on which day the caſe was heard between the Univerſity and the Doctor, before King and Council, and afterwards referred to a committee of Council. But the Miniſtry being unwilling to interpoſe their authority, with regard to the proceedings, the matter was farther referred, in a judicial way, to the Court of King's-Bench, where we imagine it was kept ſome time in agitation; at length, however, the proceedings of the Univerſity were reverſed by that Court, and on February the 7th, 1728, the Court of King's-Bench ſent down a Mandamus to the univerſity of Cambridge, to reſtore Mr Bentley, Maſter of Trinity-college, to all his degrees, and whatever he had been deprived of, *&c.* according to a prophetick paſſage at the end of one of the pamphlets, at that time printed in his defence: 'When our 'preſent heats are over, I queſtion not, but our *Profeſſor's Caſe* will be looked upon with 'another eye, if it be not already ſeen, that the honour of the Univerſity was made a 'pretext only, to cover the reſentments of ſome particular perſons amongſt it's members: 'as the determination of it lies at preſent before a judgment, where merit and not malice 'is likely to be regarded; we ſhall in a little time, I make no doubt, with a more *ſcho-'lar-like* pleaſure than can be perceived in *this* uſage of the learned Bentley, congratu-'late ourſelves upon his reſtoration to his well-merited honours.'— As to his particular preferments, and the exact times thereof, with the more private affairs and occurrences of his life, we ſhall be able to add very little upon that head, from want, as we before hinted, of an intimacy with ſome of his particular friends and acquaintance; all that we can farther add, to what we have before given, is, that in 1692, when under thirty years of age, we find him Tutor in Extraordinary to the Biſhop of Worceſter's ſon, and afterwards Chaplain to that learned Prelate, in whoſe family he ſpent fourteen years, with no ſmall credit and applauſe. Mr Boyle hints (*s*) at his having been Amanuenſis to the Biſhop, but Dr Bentley tells us he never uſed one, and denies ever being in that capacity to any one. At the time of his being with the Biſhop, he held a correſpondence, not only with the moſt learned men of his own nation, but alſo with many foreigners, who even at that early age, gave him ſuch teſtimonies of the great regard and eſteem they had for his learning and abilities, as few beſides himſelf can produce. Before he was made Library-

(*s*) Boyle againſt Bentley, p. 223.

[*D D*] *The grand affair found practicable was propoſed to the Caput.*] The *Caput*, mentioned above, is a Committee of ſix perſons choſen from different parts of the Univerſity, to conſult and determine of what is proper to be propoſed to the Univerſity, the Vice-Chancellor always being one. Every Grace, before it can be offered in congregation, muſt paſs the ſcrutiny of the *Caput*, where each Member has a negative upon it; the Vice-Chancellor is the only perſon can propoſe any to them. The Grace was no ſooner propoſed to the *Caput*, but without any difficulty, or the leaſt ſcruple, conſented to; and ſo hearty were they in the cauſe, that it was propoſed to expel Mr Bentley the Univerſity. This was not however done, which is very ſtrange, ſince we are told they were all unanimous in the opinion, that he had ſtatutably deſerved it, and that there wanted neither precedent, nor power, nor conſent, for doing it (75). However, the Grace for degradation, which is as follows, was thought the moſt proper way. This was accordingly read and approved by the *Caput*, and concluded the buſineſs of the morning.

(75) A full and impartial Account of the proceedings, *&c.* p. 39.

A Copy of the GRACE.

'CUM Reverendus vir, Richardus Bentley, Col-'legii Trinitatis magiſter, ad ſummos in hac 'Univerſitate titulos et honores veſtro favore dudum 'promotas, adeo ſe immemorem et loci ſui et veſtræ 'authoritatis dederit, ut debite ſummonitus ad com-'parendum et reſpondendum in causâ coram Pro-Can-'cellario obedientiam, recuſaveret, miniſtrum Univer-'ſitatis ſummonentem indignis modis tractaverit, Pro-'Cancellarium et Capita Collegiorum, opprobriis im-'petiverit, juriſdictionem denique Univerſitatis, longo 'uſu, Regiis Chartis, et autoritate Parliamenti ſtabili-'tatem pro nihilo habendam eſſe declaraverit; cum-'que idem Richardus Bentley ſuper his cauſis ab omni 'gradu, ſuſpenſus fuerit, et poſtea per tres dies juridi-'cos expectatus comparere tamen neglexerat; placeat 'vobis ut dictus Richardus Bentley ab omni gradu, ti-'tulo et jure in hac Univerſitate dejiciatur & exclu-'datur.'

In the ſecond meeting of the Congregation, in the afternoon, the Grace was again read, and voted in both Houſes.

It paſſed in the Regent-houſe	Placets ——	40
	Non Placets —	15
It paſſed likewiſe in the Non-Regent-houſe (76).	Placets ——	62
	Non Placets —	35

But though the majority which voted the degradation was conſiderable, viz. 102 voices againſt 50, he had the honour to have for his friends, all that were remarkable for their ſteady affections to the government (77).

(76) An Account of the Proceedings againſt Dr Bentley, as delivered to his Majeſty in Council.

(77) The Caſe of Dr Bentley, *&c.*

[*EE*] *For*

Library-Keeper to his Majeſty, he was, we find by Mr Boyle, Library-Keeper to a learned Dean (*t*). He was Chaplain in Ordinary to King William III, as alſo to Queen Anne; had a good rectory in the Iſle of Ely, and about the year 1729, was elected Regius-Profeſſor of Divinity at Cambridge, for which chair, when he ſtood candidate, he held a very famous lecture [*EE*]. Soon after he was preferred to the maſterſhip of Trinity, he married his Lady, by whom he had ſeveral children; ſhe bore an excellent character, and died before him, in the year 1740. He died aged eighty years, on the fourteenth of July, 1742, and is buried in Trinity-college chapel [*FF*].

(*t*) Boyle againſt Bentley, p. 189.

[*EE*] *For which chair, when he ſtood candidate, he held a very famous lecture.*] Wherein he entirely gave up that famous text in the firſt epiſtle of St *John*, chap. v. 7. concerning the *Three that bear record in heaven*, and publickly proved it be ſpurious. Mr Emlyn wrote an expreſs treatiſe on that ſubject, at the deſire of Dr Clarke and Mr Whiſton, to which treatiſe Dr Bentley alſo alluded in this famous lecture; on which occaſion Dr Waterland being aſked, 'Whether Dr Bentley's 'arguments did not convince him;' replied, 'No; for 'he was convinced before (78).'

(78) Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Life of Dr Samuel Clarke, by Mr Whiſton, p. 101. See alſo, An Epigram of Dr Bentley's, *&c.* ut ſupra, p. 21.

[*FF*] *And is buried in Trinity-college chapel.*] The inſcription on the ſtone that covers him is only this:

H: S: E.
Richardus Bentley
S: T: P: R.
Obiit xiv. Jul. 1742.
Ætatis 80.

Theſe are all the monumentary honours of this great man, who indeed needed not the inſcription of a tomb-ſtone to tranſmit his memory to poſterity. R

☞ The reader is deſired to correct a miſtake in this Life, in page 740, line 4 in the text, *for* at St James's, *read* before the Univerſity.

BERNARD (NICHOLAS) a learned Divine of the laſt Century, was born in England, and educated in the univerſity of Cambridge, where he took the Degree of Maſter of Arts, and was incorporated (*a*) to the ſame Degree at Oxford, on the fifteenth of July 1628. He was created Doctor of Divinity of the univerſity of Dublin, (as we think) but of this, or the time when it was done, we cannot ſpeak with any certainty, for the reaſons given in the remark [*A*]. He was ordained (*b*) by Primate Uſher, in the year 1626, in St Peter's church, Droghedah, while he was only a Bachelor of Arts, and made his Chaplain, and ſoon after, by the Primate's intereſt, was promoted to the Deanery of Ardagh. His Grace having daily opportunities of taking notice of the parts, and the ſolidity of learning and judgment of Mr Bernard, employed him in making collections for ſome works he was then meditating, and more particularly for the Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches, which did not appear in publick 'till the year 1639. The Primate always expreſſed great friendſhip and eſteem for him, and upon taking his leave of him at Droghedah in 1640, gave him (*c*) 'A ſerious Preparative againſt the 'heavy Sorrows and Miſeries that he ſhould feel before he ſaw him again, and ſpoke of 'them with that confidence, as if they had been within his view.' This ſerious diſcourſe of the Primate's, proved in the event to be a prophecy [*B*]. The year following he publiſhed a book and a ſermon, which gave offence to ſome of the over-rigid bigots of the Church of England [*C*]; but the Primate had too juſt and generous a way of thinking to withdraw from him his favour or countenance, for adhering ſtrictly to the truth. The ſame year was publiſhed a pamphlet of his writing, upon a fact of which he was an eye-witneſs [*D*]. In the ſummer of 1642, having loſt moſt of his ſubſtance, he returned ſafe to

(*a*) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 244.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Bernard's Life of Primate Uſher. See alſo Harris's Biſhops, p. 109.

[*A*] *Cannot ſpeak with any certainty for the reaſons given in the remark.*] The regiſtries of the univerſity of Dublin, preceding the times of the Reſtoration, are not in being; but as Dr Bernard was Chaplain to Primate Uſher, from the year 1626 to the death of that learned Prelate, it is probable he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity ſome time before the year 1641, when he fled out of the kingdom at the time Droghedah was beſieged by the Iriſh rebels, in which he had taken refuge, or ſoon after.

[*B*] *This diſcourſe of the Primate's proved in the event to be a prophecy.*] It is taken notice of as a prophecy both by Dr Bernard, and Mr Parr, another chaplain of the Primate's, in the Lives they wrote of that Prelate, and by ſeveral other writers; and ſo is an expreſſion of his in a ſermon preached in the year 1601. upon Ezekiel iv. 6. *And thou ſhalt bear the iniquity of the houſe of Judah forty days: I have appointed thee each day for a year*; which words of Ezekiel, concerning the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and the Jews, he applied to Ireland, and made uſe of this obſervable expreſſion, *i. e.* 'From this year I reckon 'forty years, and then thoſe whom you now embrace 'ſhall be your ruin, and you ſhall bear their iniquity.' Which time exactly anſwered to the rebellion which broke out forty years after. This matter bore heavy on his mind, as appears by his preparative to Dr Bernard, who ſuffered greatly in the rebellion the year following, was ſtripped of the greater part of his ſubſtance, drove from his eccleſiaſtical preferments, obliged to take ſhelter in Droghedah under the protection of the Engliſh army, was often in danger of his life, and at length, in the ſummer of 1642, made his eſcape to England to attend on the Lord Primate.

[*C*] *Gave offence to ſome of the over-rigid bigots of the Church of England.*] The book and ſermon mentioned in the text were, I. *The Penitent Death of a woful ſinner; or, The Penitent Death of John Atherton, late Biſhop of Waterford in Ireland, who was executed at Dublin the 5th of December*, 1640; *with ſome Annotations on ſeveral paſſages.* Lond. 1641, 4to. 1642, 8vo. II. *A Sermon preached at the burial of John Atherton, the next night after his execution, in St John's Church, Dublin.* Lond. 1641, 4to. 1642, 8vo. Dr Bernard had the beſt opportunity in the world of knowing the truth of the fact for which Biſhop Atherton ſuffered, having attended him in his exemplary preparation for death, and in his laſt moments; and he gives us his behaviour and confeſſion fairly and honeſtly; yet ſome, out of a miſtaken zeal for religion, think the ſtory ought not to have been related though it were truth, as if religion ſuffered, becauſe all the members of it are not Saints; and one gentleman (1) is ſo hardy as to deny the fact, though the Biſhop confeſſed it. Theſe things are the effect of bigotry, and only becoming the ſchools of the Jeſuits. See this matter fully told in the article ATHERTON.

(1) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 67.

[*D*] *Was publiſhed a pamphlet of his writing, upon a fact, of which he was an eye-witneſs.*] This pamphlet was a letter to a friend in Dublin from the ſiege of Droghedah, dated the 7th of January, 1641, and publiſhed immediately after.

[*E*] *Preſent*

to England to attend on the Lord Primate, and carried with him a welcome preſent in thoſe times of calamity and diſtreſs, for which the whole kingdom of Ireland may with juſtice be ſaid to be his debtor [*E*]. Upon his arrival in England, he was preſented (*d*) by the Earl Bridgwater, to the rich rectory of Whitchurch in Shropſhire, and after the declenſion of the Royal Cauſe, was made Chaplain to the Protector, one of his Almoners, and Preacher to the Society of Gray's-Inn. Being thus comfortably ſettled, in the year 1642, he found leiſure, from his paſtoral charge, to publiſh a few ſmall treatiſes [*F*], mentiond in the remarks. After the Reſtoration of King Charles II, in 1660, being not ſatisfied of the thorough and firm ſettlement of the State of Ireland, he was terrified from venturing himſelf into it again, and therefore declined returning, and taking poſſeſſion of his deanry, and continued at Whitchurch to his death, which happened in the winter of 1661. He left behind him ſeveral monuments of his induſtry, beſides thoſe before mentioned, a catalogue of which, from Anthony Wood (*e*), may be conſulted underneath [*G*].

(*d*) Ath. Oxon. ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

[*E*] *Preſent—for which Ireland may be ſaid to be his debtor.*] The furniture of the Primate's houſe at Droghedah, and, which was more welcome, his choice library of books were ſecured by the care and diligenee of Dr Bernard. After the Primate's death the library was removed to Ireland, and is now depoſited in the college of Dublin for the uſe of the kingdom.

[*F*] *He found leiſure to publiſh ſome treatiſes.*] Theſe were, I. *The whole proceedings of the Siege of Droghedah in Ireland; with a thankful remembrance of it's wonderful delivery, raiſed with God's aſſiſtance, by the prayers and ſole valour of the beſieged; with a relation of ſuch paſſages as have fallen out there, and in the parts near adjoining. To which is added an Appendix, concerning other occurrences fallen out ſince.* London, 1642. Dublin, 1642, 4to. Again Dublin, 1736. II. *A Dialogue between Paul and Agrippa.* London, 1642, 4to.

[*G*] *A catalogue of his works from Anthony Wood.*] They are—A farewell Sermon of Comfort and Concord, preached at Droghedah, printed 1651, 8vo.—The Life and Death of Dr James Uſher, late Archbiſhop of Armagh, Primate, and Metropolitan of all Ireland, in a Sermon preached at his funeral in the abbey of Weſtminſter, on the 17th of April, 1656. Lond. 1656, 12mo, afterwards enlarged. — The Judgment of the late Archbiſhop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland; concerning firſt, the extent of Chriſt's death and ſatisfaction; ſecondly, of the Sabbath, and obſervation of the Lord's-day, and of Ordination in other Reformed Churches, with a vindication of him from a pretended change of opinion in the firſt, ſome advertiſements upon the latter, and, in prevention of further injuries, a declaration of his judgment in ſeveral other ſubjects. Lond. 1657, 8vo. —This treatiſe was anſwered (3) by Dr Peter Heylyn, in a book, intitled, *Reſpondet Petrus*; or, The Anſwer of Peter Heylyn, D. D. to ſo much of Dr Bernard's book, intitled, The Judgment of the late Primate of Ireland, &c. as he is made a party by the ſaid Lord Primate in the point of the Sabbath. London, 1658, 4to. —He alſo publiſhed ſeveral Letters which paſſed between him and Dr Heylyn, —and publiſhed and enlarged ſeveral poſthumous works of Dr Uſher, as His Judgment on Babylon, being the preſent See of Rome, Rev. xviii. 4. with a Sermon of Biſhop Bedell's upon the ſame words, London, 1659. —Devotions of the antient Church, in ſeven pious prayers, &c. London, 1660, 8vo. — *Clavi trabales*, or Nails faſtened by ſome great maſters of aſſemblies, confirming the King's Supremacy, the Subject's Duty, and Church Government by Biſhops; being a collection of ſome pieces written on theſe ſubjects by Archbiſhop Uſher, Mr Hooker, Biſhop Andrews, and Dr Hadrian Saravia; with a Preface by the Biſhop of Lincoln, London, 1661, 4to.

(3) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 283.

D

BERNARD (EDWARD) a moſt learned Aſtronomer, Linguiſt, and Critick, in the XVIIth century, was born at Perry St Paul, commonly called Paulers-Perry, near Towceſter in Northamptonſhire, on the ſecond of May 1638 (*a*). He was the ſon of Joſeph Bernard, Rector of that pariſh (*b*), and Elizabeth, daughter of John Lenche or Linche, of Wyche in Worceſterſhire, both of them of good parentage. He had his firſt education at Northampton, where his father removed ſome time after his marriage. But before he was ſix years of age his father died. Whereupon his mother ſent him to London to his uncle; who took care of his education, and placed him, in 1648, in Merchant-Taylors-School, of which the moſt famous William Dugard was then Head-Maſter (*c*). Here he continued ſeven years [*A*], namely, 'till June 1655, when he was elected Scholar of St John's-college in Oxford (*d*). By this long ſtay at ſchool, he had the advantage of laying-in an uncommon fund of learning; ſo that, when he firſt went to the Univerſity, he was maſter of the beauties and propriety of the Greek and Latin tongues, very converſant in the claſſical authors, and not unacquainted with Hebrew. He had alſo by frequent uſe gained a tolerably good Latin ſtyle for his age; and could make verſes well. This poetical faculty remained with him as long as he lived; ſo that even to his dying day, he uſed ſometimes to divert himſelf in making epigrams, which were ſmart and witty (*e*). But when he came to be ſettled in the Univerſity, he ſlighted this, which he looked upon as comparatively trifling, and applied himſelf with the utmoſt attention and diligence, to the more uſeful ſtudies of Hiſtory, Philology, and Philoſophy; particularly to Philology, which he had a very great inclination to, and of which he was infinitely fond. Therefore, he firſt carefully read over, and attentively peruſed, the Greek and Latin authors, with the commentaries and emendations of the moſt famous antient and modern Criticks. Then, not ſatisfied with the knowledge of the languages of Greece and Rome, he would alſo be acquainted with Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, and Coptic; and that not in a ſuperficial manner, but ſo as thoroughly to underſtand them (*f*). Next, he turned his thoughts to the Mathematicks, of which he learned the elements under the moſt celebrated Dr J. Wallis; but by his own indefatigable application ſoon made himſelf maſter of every branch of that uſeful ſcience. Three years after his admiſſion into the Univerſity, he was made

(*a*) Vita clariſſimi & doctiſſimi Edwardi Bernardi, &c. Scriptore Tho. Smitho, S. T. P. at the end of Biſhop Huntington's Epiſtles, Lond. 1704, 8vo, p. 1. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. edit. 1721, col. 1084.

(*b*) Dr Smith ſays, *he thinks* his father was Rector of that pariſh — *in iſto viculo, ut puto, ſacrum parochi munus obibat* —Vita &c. p. 1. but Mr Wood ſtyles him *Gentleman*, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Vita, &c. ut ſupra.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Vita, &c. ut ſupra, p. 4.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 7, 8.

[*A*] *Here he continued ſeven years.*] He ſtaid two or three years in the upper form, that he might have an opportunity of being choſen into St John's college (1).

(1) T Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 3.

made Fellow of St John's-college (*g*). February the 12, 1658-9, he took his Degree of Bachelor of Arts (*h*), and that of Maſter, April the 16th, 1662 (*i*): and was now much eſteemed and beloved, on account of his great parts and learning, and his remarkable ſweetneſs of temper (*k*). In the year 1667, he was choſen one of the Proctors of the Univerſity: and on the 9th of June, 1668, took his Degree of Bachelor of Divinity, in compliance with the ſtatutes of the founder of St John's-college (*l*); but ſo great was his modeſty, that he could not be prevailed upon to take his Doctor's degree 'till ſeveral years after (*m*). About December 1668 he went to Leyden, in order to conſult ſeveral oriental manuſcripts, left to that Univerſity by Joſeph Scaliger and Levin Warner; and particularly to examine the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh books of Apollonius Pergæus's Conic Sections, of which the Greek text is loſt, but are preſerved in the Arabic verſion of that author. This verſion, the learned James Golius had brought from the Eaſt, and it was now in the poſſeſſion of his executors; who finding that Mr. Bernard's chief deſign in coming to Holland, was to conſult that manuſcript, allowed him the free uſe of it. Whereupon he tranſcribed the three books abovementioned, and the diagrams; intending to publiſh them at Oxford with a Latin verſion, and proper notes, with a view to ſupply the defect of the Greek, and correct the errors of the Arabic tranſlation (*n*), but he was hindered from putting his deſign in execution [*B*]. During his ſtay in Holland, he contracted a friendſhip with the Profeſſors, and other eminent and learned men, at Leyden. At his return to Oxford, he applied himſelf with freſh vigour to his ſtudies; and collated, or examined over again, the moſt valuable manuſcripts in the Bodleian library, which he had already collated, as well for his own uſe, as that of his friends. And ſo obliging was he in this reſpect, that he ſpared neither time nor pains, to ſerve the learned. This obliging temper, joined to his exact judgment and approved fidelity, induced all ſuch as publiſhed any antient authors, to deſire his obſervations, or emendations from the manuſcripts at Oxford; which he very readily imparted to them, and indeed oftener than ſome did acknowledge. By this means, he came to be engaged in a very extenſive correſpondence with the learned men of moſt countries (*o*). About the year 1669, the famous Chriſtopher Wren, LL. D. Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford, being appointed Surveyor-General of his Majeſty's works, and like to be much detained in London, obtained leave from the Vice-Chancellor to nominate a Deputy, and pitched upon Mr Bernard; which engaged the latter to a more intenſe application to the ſtudy of Aſtronomy (*p*). In 1672, the Preſident and Fellows of his college, preſented him to the rectory of Cheame in Surrey. The February following, Dr Peter Mew, Preſident of that college, being advanced to the biſhoprick of Bath and Wells, appointed our author one of his Chaplains (*q*) Hereby, he was put into the direct road to good preferment, but he loſt all views and hopes of it, by accepting of the place of Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, vacant by the reſignation of Sir Chriſtopher Wren [*C*], into which he was admitted April 9, 1673 (*r*). About this time, there was a noble deſign formed in the Univerſity of Oxford, of collecting together, and publiſhing, all the antient Mathematicians: this was chiefly promoted and encouraged by the worthy Dr John Fell, Dean of Chriſt-Church, and Biſhop of Oxford; who endeavoured to obtain a ſubſcription for the ſupport of that extenſive work. Mr Bernard, who had it very much at heart, and firſt formed the project of it, collected together all the old books upon that ſubject, publiſhed ſince the invention of printing, and all the manuſcripts he could diſcover in the Bodleian and Savilian libraries; and diſpoſed them in order of time, and according to the matter they contained (*s*). Of this he drew a Synopſis, or Scheme, wherein the whole was divided into fourteen volumes; and preſented it to Biſhop Fell [*D*]. For a ſpecimen of this noble deſign, he publiſhed a few ſheets of Euclid in folio, containing the Greek text and a Latin verſion, with Proclus's Commentary in Greek and Latin, and learned ſcholia and corollaries, and the figures neatly and accurately engraven on copper, at his own expence (*t*). And in order to promote the ſtudy of Aſtronomy, which he looked upon as his proper profeſſion, he undertook an edition of the *Parva Syntaxis Alexandrina* [*E*]; in which, beſides Euclid, are contained the ſmall treatiſes of Theodoſius, Autolycus, Menelaus, Ariſtarchus, and Hipſicles: but this was never publiſhed (*u*). In the year 1676, at the recommendation of the Earl of Arlington, he was ſent to France by King Charles II, to be Tutor to the Dukes of Grafton and Northumberland, natural ſons of that King, by Barbara Villiers, Ducheſs of Cleveland, who then lived with their mother

(*g*) Ibid. p. 4.

(*h*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 122.

(*i*) Ibid. col. 148.

(*k*) Vita, &c. as above, p. 8.

(*l*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 171. and Vita, &c. ut ſupra, p. 9.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 10.

(*n*) Vita, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 11.

(*o*) Ib. p. 13, 14.

(*p*) Vita, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 14.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 15.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 15, 22.

(*s*) Ib. p. 23.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 25.

(*u*) Vita, &c. ut ſupra, p. 23—25.

[*B*] *He was hindered from putting his deſign in execution.*] But this book was publiſhed at length by the learned Dr Edmund Halley, (at Oxford, 1710, fol.) who has given a Latin tranſlation of the three laſt books out of Arabic, and ſupplied by his own ingenuity and induſtry the eighth book, which was entirely loſt.

[*C*] *Vacant by the reſignation of Dr Wren.*] For, by the ſtatutes of the founder, (Sir Henry Savile) the Profeſſors are not allowed to hold any other office, either eccleſiaſtical or civil, that they may conſtantly apply themſelves to their proper ſtudies, and not be diverted from them (2).

(2) Smith, Vita, &c. as above, p. 26.

[*D*] *Of this he drew up a Synopſis or Scheme,* &c.] It was publiſhed by Dr Tho. Smith, at the end of his Life of our author, under the title of *Veterum Mathematicorum Græcorum, Latinorum, et Arabum, Synopſis. Collectore Viro clariſſimo & doctiſſimo, D. Edwardo Bernardo.* And, at the end of it, there is a catalogue of ſome Greek writers, who are ſuppoſed to be loſt in their own language; but are preſerved in the Syriac or Arabic tranſlations of them.

[*E*] *Parva Syntaxis Alexandrina.*] Or Μικρὰς Ἀστρονόμος, of the contents of which there is an account in the *Veterum Mathematicorum Synopſis*, mentioned in the laſt note, p. 17.

[*F*] *Of*

mother at Paris. But being a man of a meek ſpirit, and great modeſty, though however without the leaſt moroſeneſs, he was not ſo acceptable in that ſtation, as a perſon of a more gay and courtly temper would have been (*w*). Therefore, after about a year's ſtay there, he returned to his beloved retirement at Oxford; having, in that voyage, reaped the pleaſure and advantage, of becoming acquainted with the learned in France [*F*], of collating ſeveral antient and valuable manuſcripts, and of buying many ſcarce and curious books for his own library (*x*). Upon his return to Oxford, he reſumed his ſtudies with greater alacrity. And though, according to the duty of his profeſſorſhip, he ſpent moſt of his time in the Mathematicks; yet he had a much greater inclination to Hiſtory, Chronology, and Antiquities. This made him undertake a new edition of Joſephus [*G*], which, however, for ſome reaſons, was never compleated. In 1683, he went a ſecond time to Holland, in order to be preſent at the ſale of Nicholas Heinſius's library by auction; where he purchaſed, at a great price, ſeveral of the claſſical authors, that had been either collated with manuſcripts, or illuſtrated with the marginal notes of Joſeph Scaliger, Bonaventure Vulcanius, the two Heinſius's, and other great Critics (*y*). There he renewed, or contracted, an acquaintance with ſeveral perſons of eminent learning [*H*]; and ſo taken was he with the civilities and humanity of the Dutch, and the great opportunities in that country, of making conſiderable improvements in Oriental learning, that he almoſt determined to ſettle at Leyden; if he could have been choſen Profeſſor of the Oriental tongues in that univerſity; but miſſing of that, he returned to Oxford. He began now to be weary of the dry and unentertaining ſtudy of Aſtronomy, which, as he complained, rendered life neither better nor more happy; and his health declining with his years, he was willing, upon proper terms, to reſign his profeſſorſhip to Mr Flamſtead or Mr Halley, who had cultivated that ſcience with great induſtry and wonderful ſucceſs, and with the applauſe of all Europe. But not being able to obtain any other ſettlement, he was forced to hold his place eight years longer (*z*). October 30, 1684, he was prevailed upon to take his degree of Doctor in Divinity (*a*). In 1691, he was preſented, by his good friend and patron Dr Mew, Biſhop of Wincheſter, to the rich rectory of Brightwell in Berkſhire. That benefice lying about nine miles from Oxford, he could conveniently reſide at either place, according to the different ſeaſons of the year; and for that purpoſe he was perſuaded by his friends to keep his houſe in Oxford. Soon after he reſigned his profeſſorſhip, after having enjoyed it eighteen years, and was ſucceeded therein by David Gregory, Profeſſor of the Mathematicks at Edinburgh (*b*). In 1692, he was employed in drawing up a Catalogue of the manuſcripts in Great Britain and Ireland [*I*]. Auguſt 6, 1693, he married a handſome young Lady, named

(*w*) He was but ill uſed, and called in contempt *the Schoolmaſter*, ibid. p. 27.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 25, 27.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 42.

(*z*) Vita, &c. ut ſupra, p. 29—45.

(*a*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 225.

(*b*) Vita, &c. p. 47.

[*F*] *Of becoming acquainted with the Learned in France.*] Particularly with Peter Carcau, Keeper of the King's library; Henry Juſtel, Iſmael Bullialdus, Daniel Huet, afterwards Biſhop of Avranches; John Mabillon, Paſchaſius Queſnel, Andrew Dacier, Euſebius Renaudot, &c (3).

(3) Vita, &c. as above, p. 27, 28.

[*G*] *This made him undertake a new edition of Joſephus.*] Several years before, Biſhop Fell had reſolved, with our author's aſſiſtance, to print at the Theatre at Oxford a new edition of Joſephus, more correct than any of the former. But, either for want of proper means to compleat that work, or in expectation of one promiſed by the learned Andrew Boſius, this deſign was for a while laid aſide. Upon the death of Boſius it was reſumed again; and Mr Bernard collected all the manuſcripts he could procure out of the libraries of Great Britain, both of the Greek text and Epiphanius's Latin tranſlation, and purchaſed Boſius's valuable papers of his executors at a great price. Then he publiſhed a ſpecimen of his edition of Joſephus, and wrote great numbers of letters to his learned friends in France, Holland, Germany, and others countries, to deſire their aſſiſtance in that work. He laboured in it a good while with the utmoſt vigour and reſolution, though his conſtitution was much broken by his intenſe application to his ſtudies. But this noble undertaking was left unfiniſhed, for theſe two reaſons. Firſt, Many perſons complained of Epiphanius's tranſlation, becauſe it was defective and not anſwerable to the original in many places, and required a new verſion, or at leaſt to have that of Gelenius reviſed and corrected. Secondly, Great faults were found with the heap of various readings that were to be introduced in this edition, and with the length of the commentaries, in which whole diſſertations were inſerted without any apparent neceſſity, that ought to have been placed at the end of the work, or printed by themſelves. Theſe things occaſioning a conteſt between Mr Bernard and the Curators of the Oxford-preſs, the printing of it was interrupted; and at laſt the deſign of having it done at the expence of the Univerſity, was quite broken off by the death of Biſhop Fell. However, about ſix or ſeven years after, Mr Bernard was prevailed upon by three Bookſellers of Oxford to reſume that work, and to publiſh it in a leſs form upon the model of his ſpecimen; but they not being able to bear the expence of it on account of the war, after a few ſheets were printed off, deſiſted from their undertaking (4). Theſe repeated diſcouragements hindered the learned author from proceeding further than the *four firſt books*, and *part of the fifth*, of the Jewiſh Antiquities; and the *firſt book*, *and part of the ſecond*, of the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem; which were printed at the Theatre at Oxford in 1686 and 1687, and publiſhed in 1700, fol. In the notes, the learned author ſhews himſelf an univerſal ſcholar, and diſcerning critic; and appears to have been maſter of moſt of the Oriental learning and languages. Theſe notes have been incorporated into Mr S. Havercamp's edition.

(4) Vita, &c. p. 29—35.

[*H*] *He renewed, or contracted, an acquaintance with ſeveral perſons of eminent learning.*] Namely, J. G. Grævius, Frederic Spanheim, James Triglandius, James Gronovius, James Perizonius, Theodore Ryckius, Servatius Gallæus, Evaldus Rulæus, and eſpecially Nicholas Witſen, Burgomaſter of Amſterdam, who preſented him with a Coptic dictionary, brought from Egypt by Theodore Petræus of Holſatia; and afterwards tranſmitted to him in 1686 the Coptic and Ethiopic Types, made of iron, for the uſe of the printing-preſs at Oxford (5).

(5) Ibid. p. 43, 44.

[*I*] *He was employed in drawing up a catalogue of the manuſcripts*, &c.] He had rather the overſight than the drudgery of making this catalogue, which had been begun by other hands. The moſt conſiderable ſhare he had in this work, was the drawing up a moſt uſeful and compleat alphabetical Index; to which he preſixed this title, *Librorum manuſcriptorum Magnæ Britanniæ & Hiberniæ, atque externarum aliquot Bibliothecarum Index ſecundum alphabetum Edwardus Bernardus conſtruxit Oxonii*, An. Dom. CIↃIↃCXCVI. In this Index he mentions a great number of valuable Greek manuſcripts, which are to be found in ſeveral foreign libraries, as well as our own

named Eleanor Howell, descended from the Princes of Wales (*c*), with whom he lived very happily. In September 1696, though he had been for some time afflicted with the stone, and almost worn out with infirmities, he resolved to take a third voyage to Holland, accompanied only with his wife, in order to be present at the sale of Golius's manuscripts [*K*], a great number of which he purchased at the request and expence of Dr Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin (*d*). After six or seven weeks stay in Holland, he returned to London (*e*), where having continued about a fortnight, to refresh and recover himself from his voyage, he removed to Oxford about the end of November. There he immediately fell into a languishing consumption, attended with a dysentery, which put an end to his life, January 12, 1696-7, before he was quite fifty-nine years of age (*f*). Four days after he was interred in a very solemn manner in St John's-college chapel, his pall being held up by six Doctors, among whom were his former colleague, Dr Wallis, and his successor Dr Gregory; and his corps was attended by the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of the university (*g*). A monument of white marble was soon after erected for him by his widow [*L*]. The works he published were as follow: I. 'Tables of the Longitudes, Latitudes, right Ascensions, and Declinations, of the chief 'fixed Stars, according to the best ancient Observers, written in Latin to Dr Robert 'Huntington, Provost of Trinity-college, Dublin, in a Letter dated March 25, 1684, 'and published in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 158. p. 567.' II. 'The Obli-'quity of the Ecliptic from the observations of the Ancients; in Latin. Inserted in the 'Philosophical Transactions, No. 163. p. 721 [*M*].' III. A Latin Letter to Mr John Flamstead, containing observations on the Eclipse of the Sun, July 2, 1684, at Oxford, inserted also in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 164. p. 747. IV. A Treatise, 'of 'the ancient Weights and Measures,' printed first at the end of Dr Edward Pocock's Commentary on Hosea, Oxford, 1685, fol. and afterwards reprinted in Latin, with very great additions and alterations, under this title, *De mensuris & ponderibus antiquis Libri tres*, Oxon. 1688, 8*vo* [*N*]. V. 'Private Devotions; with a brief Explication of the 'Ten Commandments,' Oxford, 1689, 12*mo*. VI. *Orbis eruditi Literatura a charactere Samaritico deducta*; printed at Oxford from a copper-plate, on one side of a broad sheet of paper: containing at one view, the different forms of Letters used by the Phœnicians, Samaritans, Jews, Syrians, Arabs, Persians, Brachmans, and other Indian Philosophers, Malabarians, Greeks, Cophts, Russians, Sclavonians, Æthiopians, Francs, Saxons, Goths, &c. all collected from ancient inscriptions, coins, and manuscripts: together with the abbreviations used by the Greeks, Physicians, Mathematicians, and Chymists. VII. *Etymologicum Britannicum*, or derivations of the British and English words from the Russian, Sclavonian, Persian, and Armenian Languages; printed at the end of Dr Hickes's Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica and Mœso-Gotthica, Oxon. 1689, 4*to*. VIII. He published Mr William Guise's *Mishnæ pars prima, ordinis primi Zeraim tituli septem*, Oxon. 1690, 4*to*. IX. *Chronologiæ Samaritanæ Synopsis* (*h*), in two Tables; the first, containing the most famous epocha's, and remarkable things, from the beginning of the world; the second, a catalogue of the Samaritan High-Priests from Aaron. The author sent it to the most learned Job Ludolphus, who had it published in the *Acta Eruditorum Lipsiensia*, April 1691, p. 167, &c. He also was author of the following things; X. *Notæ in fragmentum Seguierianum Stephani Byzantini*; or, Notes on a fragment of Steph. Byzantinus in the library of Monsieur Seguier, Chancellor of France: part of which, relating to Dodone, were published by the great James Gronovius, at the end of his *Exercitationes de Dodone*, or Dissertations on Dodone, *Lugd. Batav.* 1681. XI. *Annotationes in Epistolam S. Barnabæ*, Notes upon St Barnabas's Epistle, published in Bishop Fell's edition of that author, Oxon. 1685, 8*vo*. XII. Short Notes, in Greek and Latin, upon Cotelerius's edition of the Apostolical Fathers, printed in the Amsterdam edition of them. XIII. *Veterum Testimonia de Versione LXXII Interpretum*, i. e. the Testimonies of the Ancients concerning the Greek Version of the Old Testament by the Seventy, printed at the end of *Aristeæ Historia LXXII Interpretum*, published by Dr Henry Aldrich, Oxon. 1692, 8*vo*. (*i*). XIV. He translated into Latin, the Letters of the Samaritans, which Dr

(*c*) Wood's Ath. col. 1084.

(*d*) Vita, &c. ut supra, p. 49, 51.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 52.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 53.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 54.

(*h*) Mr Wood gives it the title of *Chronici Samaritici Breviarium*, which is wrong, col. 1085.

(*i*) Wood's Ath. col. 1085.

own, that men of learning might know where to have recourse to them. Those foreign libraries are, those of Augsburgh, Heidelburgh, now removed to the Vatican at Rome, Leyden, the Emperor Leopold's at Vienna, of the Princes di Medici at St Laurence and St Mark at Florence, of the University of Padua, of Monsieur Seguier, Chancellor of France; and the Vatican at Rome. He prefixed a learned Preface to this Index, shewing the great usefulness of it (6). This catalogue was published at Oxford in 1697, fol.

[*K*] *In order to be present at the sale of Golius's manuscripts.*] His executors had unwisely refused a very considerable sum offered them for the whole library, twenty-eight years before, by the University of Cambridge; and now they were selling them by auction (7).

[*L*] *A monument of white marble was soon erected for him by his widow.*] In the middle whereof there is the form of an *Heart* carved, circumscribed with these words, according to his own direction a little before he died, HABEMUS COR BERNARDI; and underneath, E. B. S. T. P. *Obiit Jan.* 12, 1696. The same is also repeated on a small square marble, under which he was buried (8).

[*M*] *Tables of the Longitudes, Latitudes,* &c. and, *The Obliquity of the Ecliptic,* &c.] The Latin titles of these two pieces are, I. *Canon præcipuarum e Stellis fixis secundum observata Majorum.* II. *Observata ex Græcis, Arabicis, Persicis, Judaicis, Latinisque Scriptoribus de obliquitate Zodiaci.*

[*N*] *De mensuris & ponderibus antiquis libri tres,* &c.] At the end of this edition are subjoined two Letters to the author. One from Nicholas Fatio de Duillier, containing a new description of the *Brazen Sea* of Solomon, with a draught of it. The other from Dr Thomas Hyde, concerning the Weights and Measures of the Chinese.

[*O*] *He*

(6) Vita, &c. ubi supra, p. 47, 48, 61, 62, 63.

(7) Ibid. p. 49.

(8) Vita, &c. ut supra, p. 54.

Dr R. Huntington procured them to write to their *brethren*, the Jews in England, in 1673, while he was at Sichem (*k*). Dr Smith having obtained a copy of this tranſlation, gave it to the learned Job Ludolphus, when he was in England, who publiſhed it in the Collection of Samaritan Epiſtles, written to himſelf and other learned men (*l*). Beſides what hath been here mentioned, he alſo aſſiſted ſeveral learned men in their editions of books, and collated manuſcripts for them [*O*]. He left behind him in manuſcript many books of his own compoſition, with very large Collections [*P*]; which, together with the books enriched in the margin with the notes of the moſt learned men, and collected by him in France and Holland, were purchaſed by the Curators of the Bodleian Library, for the ſum of two hundred pounds. They likewiſe bought a conſiderable number of curious and valuable books out of his library, which were wanting in the Bodleian, for which they paid one hundred and forty pounds. The reſt of his books were ſold by auction, all men of letters ſtriving to purchaſe thoſe which had any obſervations of Dr Bernard's own hand (*m*). As to this learned man's character, Dr T. Smith, who knew him well, gives him a very great one. He was, ſays he (*n*), of a mild diſpoſition, greatly averſe to conteſts and quarrels: and if he happened to be where diſputes ran high, he would deliver his opinion with great modeſty, and in few words, but entirely to the purpoſe. He was a candid judge of other mens works: not too cenſorious even on trifling books, if they contained nothing inconſiſtent with good manners, virtue, or religion: But when wit, learning, or good ſenſe ſhone in them, he was always ready to give them their due praiſe. Though he was a true ſon of the Church of England, and a zealous aſſerter and advocate of it's apoſtolical doctrine, from which no conſiderations, offers, or advantages whatſoever, could ever have tempted him to depart; yet he judged favourably and charitably of Diſſenters of all denominations. He wiſhed, that peace and unity might be reſtored among the Churches of a different communion, by removing the cauſes of thoſe diſputes wherewith the Chriſtian world is rent aſunder, and purging Chriſtianity of the leaven of the Schoolmen's opinions; but, without hurting pure and uncorrupt Chriſtianity as delivered in the Goſpels, or intrenching upon the rights of Biſhops. His piety and prudence never ſuffered him to be hurried away by an immoderate zeal, in declaiming againſt the errors, or moſt ſpecious innovations of others. His piety was ſincere and unaffected, and his devotions both in publick and private, were very regular and exemplary (*o*). Of his great and extenſive learning, his works are a ſufficient evidence: and

(*k*) See *Vita D. R. Huntingtoni Scriptore Tho. Smitho*, edit. Lond. 1704. See, p. 12, 13.

(*l*) Vita D. E. Bernardi, as above, p. 42.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) Vita, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 54, 55.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 59.

[*O*] *He aſſiſted ſeveral learned men in their editions of books*, &c.] Particularly the learned Paſchaſius Queſnel, in his edition of the works of Leo Magnus (9); and collated Pälæphatus and Cornutus, with the manuſcripts, for the uſe of the learned Dr Tho. Gale, who publiſhed them among his *Opuſcula Mythologica, Ethica, & Phyſica* (10).

(9) Vide Paſch. Queſnel Præfat. ad opera S. Leonis magni.

(10) Vide Præf. ad Lectorem, prefixam Opuſcul. Mythol. &c.

[*P*] *He left behind him in manuſcript many books of his own compoſition, with very large collections*, &c.] Which were as follow, I. *Chronicon omnis ævi, ſive Canon Chronicus*; a very learned and laborious work in ſeveral tables, comprehending the moſt famous Epocha's of all nations, the *Faſti Conſulares*, and a Chronology from Chriſt for ſeveral centuries. II. *Calendarium Eccleſiaſticum & Civile plerarumque Gentium.* The chief of theſe nations were the Greeks and Romans, Perſians, Arabians, Syrians, Copts, and Ethiopians. He gave the copy of this to a Bookſeller of Leipſic, who promiſed to have it printed, but it never appeared. III. *Index Librorum Manuſcriptorum Angliæ & Hiberniæ* (11). IV. 'Large Commentaries 'on the private Devotions, drawn from the Eccle- 'ſiaſticks of the three firſt centuries of Chriſtians, and 'from the Gentile authors, Greek and Latin, and 'Oriental.' He put this other title to this manuſcript, 'Private Devotions; with a brief Explication of the 'Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the 'Apoſtles Creed, in ſeven books.' V. *Obſervationes varii generis.* VI. *Notæ ad Scriptores veteres tam ſacros quam profanos.* VII. *Etymolog. Græcum & Latinum.* VIII. *Lexicon Ægyptiacum.* IX. *Lexicon Ruſticum.* X. *Euclides, Græcè & Latinè.* In 1694 he prepared for the preſs all Euclid's works; and reviſed, corrected, and collated with the Greek and Arabic copies, his *Data*, (of the Paris edition, 1625, 4to.) for which he had a very great value. XI. *Syntagma de Matheſi*; or, the Principles and Elements of the Mathematicks, left unfiniſhed. XII. *Diſſertatio de Literaturâ*; or, Collections on the Letters and Alphabets of ſeveral nations. XIII. *Linguarum inſularum Britanniæ & Hiberniæ origines Perſicæ & Armeniacæ.* XIV. In the Polyglott Bible, which he had in twelve volumes, he had inſerted the Synopſis Criticorum, the Armenian Verſion, and other books of Scripture, in their proper places, for the more eaſy comparing of them. And in the margin had made critical Notes and Scholia, and collated the original with the Greek, Arabic, and Syriac Verſions, and the Samaritan Pentateuch, and alſo with the manuſcripts, and the writings of the Fathers. This moſt valuable ſett of books was permitted to go out of the kingdom; it being bought, at the ſale of Dr Bernard's books, by the learned Olaus Wormius of Denmark, for the ſum of twenty pounds (12). XV. He collated the four firſt books of Apollonius's Conic Sections (13), with the Arabic Verſion, and with the Greek, which he added in the margin; and tranſlated the three laſt into Latin. To this he added the Lemmata of Archimedes in Arabic and Latin, with figures and notes, and a learned Preface. XVI. He collated Ariſtarchus the Samian, concerning the magnitudes and diſtances of the Sun and Moon, publiſhed in Latin at Piſauro in 1572, 4to, with the Arabic Verſion, and with the Greek Original, which he added in the margin from a manuſcript. This book was publiſhed at Oxford in 1688, by Dr Wallis. XVII. He alſo collated Vitruvius, and Cleomedes's tract of Meteors, with the manuſcripts, and made notes on the laſt, taken from the antient Scholiaſt. XVIII. He compared the book of Sacred Liturgies, *Liber divinarum Liturgiarum*, publiſhed by Robert Stephens at Paris, in 1560, fol. eſpecially the Liturgies of St Baſil and St Chryſoſtom; with the manuſcripts. XIX. He wrote notes on the whole Engliſh Liturgy; and alſo Commentaries and Annotations on ſeveral chapters and verſes of the Bible. XX. He intended to have compoſed a large Commentary on the whole book of Pſalms, of which he publiſhed a ſpecimen. XXI. He deſigned to publiſh the Pſalter in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, with the old French and Roman Verſions, and one made immediately from the original, and likewiſe with the Coptic. For that purpoſe, having met with the Pſalter publiſhed by Jac. Faber Stapulenſis in 1508, he procured Father Mabillon to collate the French and Roman Verſions, and the Hebrew in that edition, with a manuſcript of good authority in the monaſtery of St Germain's. XXII. Collections of Arabic Proverbs, tranſlated into Latin, partly by himſelf, and partly by Dr Pocock. XXIII. Notes on the *Gloſſaria Græco-Latina & Latino-Græca*, publiſhed by Vulcanius in 1600. For this purpoſe, in 1676, when he was at Paris, he collated an old Greek and Latin Lexicon, which

(11) See above, note [*L*].

(12) Vita, &c. p. 71, 72.

(13) They were publiſhed in Latin at Bologna in 1556.

and on this account he has been much applauded both at home and abroad (*p*). Mr Wood, in particular, says of him (*q*), that he was 'a person admirably well read in 'all kind of ancient learning, in Astronomy and Mathematicks, a curious Critick, an 'excellent Grecian, Latinist, Chronologer, and Orientalian.'

(*p*) See *Testimonia & Elogia*, &c. at the end of Dr Bernard's Life by Dr T. Smith.

(*q*) Athenæ, Vol. II. col. 1084.

which is to be found at the end of some Tracts of Cyril, with a manuscript in the library of St Germain des Prez. XXIV. Observations on *Gerardi Vossii Etymologicon Linguæ Latinæ*. And he intended once to write an Etymological Canon of the origin and variations of that language; and to reprint Henry Stephen's *Thesaurus* of the Greek tongue, or rather to compile a new work of that kind. In a word, he collated, or made curious observations on all the ancient and modern books he read. C

BERNARDI (JOHN) was the son of Count Francis Bernardi, Resident here in England from the republick of Genoa, and was descended from a very antient and honourable family, created, for their services to the House of Austria, Counts of the Holy Roman Empire (*a*) [*A*]. He was born in 1657, and was very early enured to misfortunes and imprisonment; for his father being disgusted at some ill usage he received from the government of Genoa, refused to return thither, and being himself a native of England, retired into Worcestershire, where he settled; and being a great lover of gardening, spent a considerable fortune in improvements of that kind, which, however, did not so far amuse or divert him, as to extinguish his sense of the injuries he had received, which soured his temper to such a degree, that he frequently confined his son John, for very slight causes, to a dark room, where he allowed him only bread and small beer for several days, which hard usage so wrought upon his disposition, that he resolved, at all events, to leave his father's house, and to throw himself into the world, though a perfect child (*b*). Accordingly, in 1670, he quitted his father's seat, with a full resolution never to return thither while the old man lived. He travelled that night sixteen miles in the road to Coventry, and as day-light began to appear, he took shelter in the house of a Wheelwright, who, upon hearing his melancholy story, promised to conceal him, which he performed, and put him into a little room from whence he could look upon the road, and in which he had not been long before he saw his father on horseback, who enquired of the Wheelwright, if he had seen such a boy as he described, which being answered in the negative, prevented the young man from being carried back to confinement (*c*). When the second night came on, he set out again for Packington-hall, the seat of Sir Clement Fisher, who married the famous Mrs Jane Lane, very instrumental in preserving King Charles II, after the fatal battle at Worcester (*d*). But on his coming thither, being informed that Sir Clement and his Lady were in London, he followed them up to town, and was very hospitably received; the Lady having been very kind to him at his father's, and often intreated the old gentleman to deal more indulgent with his son, and to afford him a liberal education. He was by her recommended to a near relation, Capt. Littleton Clent, who was then in garrison at Portsmouth, who took him into his company, and caused him to be taught his exercise as a soldier, which gave him the first taste for a military life. While he was under the protection of this gentleman, he very narrowly

(*a*) Bernardi's History of his own Life, p. 1. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 156, 157, 158.

(*b*) Bernardi's Life, p. 5.

(*c*) From M. Bernardi's own mouth.

(*d*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 419—421.

[*A*] *For their services to the House of Austria, Counts of the Holy Roman Empire.*] The family of Bernardi was originally of Lucca, where they had flourished from the year 1097, and from about the year 1384, had enjoyed the most considerable offices in that Republick; particularly that of Standard-bearer, which with much reputation and fidelity they discharged. Philip de Bernardi, the grandfather of the person of whom we are speaking, resided twenty-eight years with a publick character in England, and is said to have rendered important services to the House of Austria, more especially the Spanish branch of it, at the imminent hazard of his life. He likewise married in this kingdom Mary Damport, of an antient and honourable Catholick family, by whom he had issue two sons, Philip and Francis, the latter of which was the father of our Major Bernardi. In consideration of the services and circumstances before-mentioned, the Emperor Ferdinand II, by letters patent signed with his own hand, and under his imperial seal, dated the 24th of September, 1629, in the eleventh year of his reign over the Empire, the twelfth over Hungary, and the thirteenth over Bohemia, created him Knight and Count of the Holy Roman Empire, with remainder to his sons Philip and Francis, and his and their heirs and successors, male and female, in lawful wedlock begotten, ratifying and confirming their hereditary nobility and antient coat-armour, which is thus blazoned in the patent, viz. the shield quarterly, the first and fourth Or, charged with an eagle displayed, sable, crowned of the field, respecting each other, their beaks open, langued gules, holding in their fore-paws a reed proper; over all in an escutcheon gules, two battle-axes saltirewise, the shield adorned with two crests each on an open helmet, issuing out of an imperial crown, that on the left a demy lion crowned, as in the field; that on the right a black eagle crowned as in the field, respecting each other; and the mantling on the left, from the top of the helmet on the outside, Or, and gules, lined with argent and azure; on the right side, from the top of the helmet on the outside, Or, and sable; lined with sable and argent covering the whole shield. Amongst other privileges granted by this patent, there are these, that himself and his descendants have the liberty of using red wax in all letters, writings, deeds, patents, and other instruments; that they shall be exempt from all jurisdiction, except that of the Imperial Aulick Council; that they shall have a power of nominating and appointing Publick Notaries and ordinary judges throughout the empire, administering to them an oath of office set forth in the said patent; that they may legitimate and restore in blood all bastards and other spurious issue, except those of Princes, Counts, and Barons, giving them thereby full power to inherit; to grant liberty to slaves; to restore infamous persons to credit; to create Doctors in Divinity, Law, Physick, and Philosophy, and other inferior degrees, after due examination, in as ample manner as the Universities of Vienna, Paris, Pavia, or any other University, or even his Imperial Majesty, could do; to grant armorial ensigns, or coat-armour, to any persons at their pleasure; and all other privileges and immunities of right belonging to, or which have been exercised by Counts or Knights of the Empire (1).

(1) All these particulars are extracted from the Patent, which is published at large in Latin and English, in the Appendix to Bernardi's Life.

[*B*] *Which*

narrowly escaped a misfortune, which had put an early end to his troubles and his life [B]. On the conclusion of the Dutch war, Captain Clent being broke, was no other way in a condition of expressing his kindness for Mr Bernardi, than by making him a present of twenty pounds. But the loss of his patron was not the only mischief which befel him in the year 1673, for he had the small-pox soon after, which reduced him very low both in constitution and fortune (e). In this distress he addressed himself to his godfather, Col. Anselme, who proposed to him going over to Holland, with which he readily complied, and soon after his arrival, entered as a private soldier into the service of the States, and then listed in one of the English independent companies. He was in the famous action of Seneff, in which the Prince of Condé fell on the rear of the Prince of Orange's army, and took part of his baggage, but after an obstinate engagement was obliged to retire (f). He was also present at the siege of Oudenarde, and afterwards at that of Grave, where he served in the company of Capt. Philip Savage, and had his share in a very dangerous attack on the counterscarp, in which he was wounded. The place surrendered on the twenty-ninth of October, 1674. Soon after this, the English troops in the service of the States being regimented, Mr Bernardi obtained an Ensign's commission from the Prince of Orange, dated the second of February, 1675, in the company of his godfather, who was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of Disney's regiment (g). In June following, he was removed, with his godfather, to another regiment, commanded by Sir John Fenwick, and at the close of the year, had the misfortune to be wounded in endeavouring to part two gentlemen in a duel. He was present, the succeeding year, at the siege of Maestricht, where he had the misfortune to lose the sight of one of his eyes, and to be shot through one of his arms, the bones of which were shivered to splinters, when taking his arm in the lappet of his coat, he crowded back to the breach, and fell down to the bottom among the dead. A soldier of his, seeing him fall, jumped after him, took him up in his arms, and carried him to the surgeons in the trenches, where he was dressed. The Prince of Orange being informed of his behaviour, and that the Lieutenant of the Major's company of that regiment was killed in the attack, gave his commission to Mr Bernardi. But it appearing afterwards that the Lieutenant was only taken prisoner, he missed of this preferment. In April 1677, he married a Dutch lady of a good family, with whom he lived comfortably eleven years. He had a share in the next campaign in the battle of St Omers, and at the close thereof, was appointed Lieutenant in Capt. Philip Savage's company, in which he first served by a commission from the Prince of Orange, dated September 6, 1677. He was present the next year in the battle of Mons, which was the last action in the war. After the peace, his godfather, Col. Anselme was so reduced, as to be obliged to serve as a private man under Mr Bernardi, who allowed him double pay, and excused him from duty (h). In 1683, Mr Bernardi was made Captain-Lieutenant in Col. Monk's company, and at this time he was in so great favour with the Prince of Orange, that upon the death of Capt. Jasper Paston, brother to the Earl of Yarmouth, he had his company given him by a commission from the Prince, dated the seventeenth of November, 1685, which was confirmed by a commission from the States, dated the third of December following. At this time his circumstances were very easy, and he had just reason to be thankful to Providence for the condition he was in, having obtained by his merit a company at the age of twenty-seven, the profits of which, together with his wife's fortune, brought him in a clear revenue of five hundred pounds a year (i). But it was not long that he continued in this easy and happy situation, for King James II, in the year 1687, having conceived some displeasure against the States-General, demanded the six regiments of British troops that were in their service, and which had been so for fifteen years (k). This the States refused, but at the same time did not constrain the officers to serve them against their will, though care was taken to represent to them, in very strong terms, the difference between remaining upon a settled establishment, and returning home upon an uncertainty [C]. This had such an effect, that out of two hundred and forty officers that were

(e) Bernardi's Life, p. 12.

(f) Life of King William III. p. 37—41.

(g) See the Copy of this Commission; in the Appendix to Bernardi's Life. See also the article of FENWICK (Sir John).

(h) Bernardi's Life, p. 13—45.

(i) Ibid. p. 49.

(k) Life of King James II. p. 435.

[B] *Which had put an early end to his troubles and his life.*] This accident happened thus: While he continued as a cadet in Captain Clent's company, he had leave given him in the year 1671 to go to a gentleman's house not far off, which he did, as he was wont to do, in coloured cloths, which subjected him to the accident of being seized, by a press-gang belonging to the Royal James, at Fareham, within four miles of Portsmouth, to which place he was carried. This was justly esteemed one of the finest ships in the royal navy, had been built in the dock there by Commissioner Dean, with whose service in this respect King Charles II was so well satisfied, that, as a mark of his esteem and favour, he made him a present of a silver axe (2). If Mr Bernardi had listened to the persuasions of those who carried him to Portsmouth, and had resolved to try his fortune at sea, which, considering his youth, and the advantages that might have been proposed to him, it is a wonder that he did not, his first and last voyage had been the same; for this fine ship, on board of which the Earl of Sandwich soon after hoisted his flag, was burnt by a Dutch fireship on the 28th of May 1672, in the famous battle off Southwold-Bay, and that noble Lord, and the best part of a thousand brave men, perished in her (3). But our young adventurer had better fortune; he wrote a letter to his Captain, acquainting him with what had fallen out; and upon his being brought to Mr Stevenson, then Clerk of the Cheque, to have his name registered, he found Captain Clent with him, who claimed him as belonging to his company (4), and procured thereby his immediate discharge, which left him at liberty to prosecute his fortune in it's former channel; which, as the reader will see, he some years after did with very good effect.

(2) From the Papers of Mr Pepys, relating to the Navy.

(3) Historian's Guide, p. 85. Burchet's Naval History, p. 402, 403.

(4) Bernardi's Life, p. 10.

[C] *And returning home upon an uncertainty.*] In order to the reader's understanding this matter perfectly, it is necessary to inform him, that King Charles II, during the second Dutch war in his reign, had sent a considerable body of his subjects into the service of France, under the command of the Duke of Monmouth and the Earl of Dumbarton, who merited so well of the French King, that they were put upon

were in the whole brigade, no more than ſixty thought proper to obey the King's commands, amongſt whom was Captain Bernardi. King James was no ſooner informed of this, than he ordered a yacht to ſail for Holland to bring thoſe gentlemen over, to whom he ſent alſo three months pay, and upon their arrival in England, immediately raiſed three new regiments, in order to re-place thoſe officers in their commands, and at the ſame time iſſued a proclamation, declaring all officers that remained in the ſervice of the States of Holland, rebels (*l*). But the ſcene was very ſoon changed; his Serene Highneſs proceeded ſoon after on his expedition to England, which brought about the Revolution. One of the firſt ſteps taken by his Highneſs after the King was withdrawn, was to ſend an aſſociation to every one of the regiments then in being, which all the officers were required to ſign, importing, that they were determined to defend the Prince againſt all perſons whatever, and ſuch officers as refuſed it, were ordered to quit their commands. Amongſt theſe was Capt. Bernardi, who having obtained a paſs for himſelf and his family, he tranſported them to Calais, where, finding many perſons of his own principles in great diſtreſs, the Captain pledged his effects for fifty pounds for their relief, though they were worth double as much, and the conſequence was, that he loſt both effects and money. He proceeded from thence to St Germains, where he was very kindly received, and after a ſhort repoſe, made a long and fatiguing march to Breſt, to wait the return of the French fleet, which carried King James to Ireland, and ſpeedily tranſported two thouſand three hundred of his ſubjects to the ſame kingdom (*m*). This was in the month of April, 1689, and it was with great difficulty they landed theſe people in Bantrey-Bay, on the firſt day of May, and the next day engaged the Engliſh fleet under Admiral Herbert (*n*). The Earl of Dover, who was appointed by King James to receive theſe recruits, conducted them directly to Dublin, where they were formed into ſeparate corps, and all the officers had commiſſions given them. Amongſt the reſt, Mr Bernardi was appointed Major of an Iriſh regiment, which was ſoon diſbanded for mutiny; and then he had the like command in the regiment of Mac Carthy Moor, a great Iriſh Chief, under whom he ſerved for ſome time (*o*). After Marſhal Schombergh landed in that kingdom with twenty thouſand men from England, King James found his affairs in a very declining condition. However, as he had ſtill a ſuperior army, he marched to Ardee, which he fortified, and thereby kept the Marſhal in his camp near Dundalk, which being a marſhy, unwholſome place, half his troops ſoon died of fluxes (*p*). While King James was at Ardee, he formed a deſign of ſending the Earl of Seaforth into Scotland, in hopes the preſence of that nobleman might ſupply the loſs of the famous Viſcount Dundee, then lately killed in his ſervice. To aſſiſt the Earl in this enterprize, the King directed Major Bernardi, and another Field-Officer, to attend him, which they did, and embarking on board a man of war at Galway, in the weſt of Ireland, ſteered their courſe for Scotland; but before they got clear of the Iriſh coaſt they met with a ſtorm, by which their bowſprit and fore-maſt were both broke to pieces, upon which the Captain with much difficulty and danger worked the ſhip into Broad-Haven, in the province of Connaught, from whence the Earl ſent Major Bernardi to King James, then in his camp at Ardee, to acquaint him with this unlucky accident, which hindered his intended voyage (*q*). King James thereupon ordered the ſhip back again to Galway, and put off the Earl's voyage to the next ſpring, when he proceeded, with Sir Thomas Southwell and Major Bernardi, for Scotland, where he ſpeedily raiſed a great body of men for King James's ſervice, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for joining Major-General Buchan, who commanded the ramains of Lord Dundee's forces, in order to form the ſiege of Inverneſs (*r*) [*D*]. But the Earl was diſappointed

(*l*) Hiſt. of the Revolution, p. 97. Bernardi's Life, p. 52. See the article of MACKAY (HUGH).

(*m*) Bernardi's Life, p. 50—54.

(*n*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 416.

(*o*) Bernardi's Life, p. 61.

(*p*) Parker's Memoirs of Military Tranſactions in Ireland, &c. p. 16.

(*q*) Bernardi's Life, p. 64—67.

(*r*) Balcarras's Memoirs, p. 125.

upon a very good eſtabliſhment; and it is ſaid that the Earl of Dumbarton might have had the Staff of Marſhal of France, if he had not been recalled (5). When therefore the peace was made with the Dutch, the Prince of Orange, as the King's nephew, thought himſelf well intitled to demand a corps of Engliſh troops for the Dutch ſervice, which, as we have ſeen, he obtained about the year 1673. The Earl of Offory, ſon to the old Duke of Ormond, was General of theſe troops by a commiſſion from the States (6), and upon his death the King named the Earl of Pembroke to ſucceed him, part of whoſe equipage was actually ſent to Holland; and Bernardi tells us, he had the uſe of them, but ſome diſputes ariſing, and the Dutch being very ſlow in their reſolutions, the Earl of Pembroke never went over in perſon (7). Theſe ſix regiments were ſent by the Dutch to the aſſiſtance of King James on Monmouth's rebellion, and he permitted them to return again to the ſervice of the States, who knew the value of them ſo well, and were ſo thoroughly ſatisfied of their fidelity, that it was no wonder they were unwilling to part with them. Among other arguments that were uſed to induce the officers to remain where they were, notwithſtanding the King's commands, one was, the fate of the officers and ſoldiers re-called out of the French ſervice by King Charles II, the former being left unprovided for, and many of the latter begging and ſtarving in the ſtreets (8). This argument had, without doubt, very great weight in one ſenſe, that is, with regard to the officers changing a certainty for an uncertainty; but in other reſpects it was ſingular enough, for in the firſt place thoſe troops were re-called chiefly at the inſtance of the States themſelves; and ſecondly, it was a full proof that the French thought the King of England had a clear right to re-call his ſubjects out of their ſervice. However, as moſt of the officers were very well ſettled in Holland, and many of them had acquired fortunes and eſtabliſhments independent of their military commands, they were very willing to remain where they were, eſpecially at a time when King James was making the greateſt efforts at home in favour of the Popiſh religion, and might be preſumed to withdraw theſe forces, and increaſe his own, with no other view than to be in a better condition of carrying his deſigns into execution.

(5) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 191.

(6) See the article of BUTLER (THOMAS) Earl of Offory.

(7) Life of Bernardi, p. 47.

(8) See the article of MACKAY (HUGH).

[*D*] *In order to form the ſiege of Inverneſs.*] This expedition of the Earl of Seaforth is a very curious and very important point of hiſtory, and yet very little, indeed hardly at all, known. When King James had received advice of the death of the Viſcount of Dundee (9), he reſolved immediately to ſend this Nobleman over to ſupply his place; and if it had not been for the accident of his diſappointment, as related in the text, in all probability he would have kept the Highlanders

(9) Life of King William III. p. 226.

disappointed in this design, by the speedy march of Major-General Mackay, with a considerable body of regular troops, into those parts, and while things were in this situation, the news came of the total defeat of King James's army at the Boyne, upon which Sir Thomas Southwell prevailed upon the Earl to dismiss his forces, and to surrender himself prisoner to Major-General Mackay upon honourable terms. The Earl taking this step, without the consent of his uncle, Mr Colin Mackenzie, and the rest of his friends, it provoked them to such a degree, that they would have cut Sir Thomas Southwell to pieces, if Major Bernardi had not interposed and prevented it. This Mr Colin Mackenzie, took Major Bernardi, and the rest of the officers that came with him from Ireland, under his protection, and conducted them safely to Major-General Buchan, who was then at an hundred miles distance, and who, upon hearing of the Earl of Seaforth's conduct, had dismissed most of his forces. Major Bernardi had now nothing more to transact in the Highlands, and therefore, as his presence there could be of no service, he desired to go to England, and Major-General Buchan approved of it, and sent for the Laird of Glenco, to come with forty of his vassals, to receive Bernardi at Invergary, and to conduct and guard him to the Braes of Monteth, being near an hundred miles, and very difficult travelling over rocks and mountains in that season of the year, near the end of October; a great part of the journey was to be performed in the night-time, several detachments of King William's forces lying in their way, particularly at Inverlochy, or Fort William, a place where was a garrison of twelve hundred men, and there was no other way to climb up an high mountain, but near the gate of the said fortress, so that it was impossible to pass them but when asleep and their gate locked (*s*). The Laird of Glenco's country lying within twenty miles of that garrison, Major Bernardi arrived safe at that gentleman's house, and remained there some days, to rest himself and recover his strength. After having reposed himself there six days, he desired to proceed on his journey, and the Laird appointed forty of his best men, under the command of a relation of his own, to conduct him to the Braes of Monteth, places as dangerous and difficult to pass as any of the way he had come before. The same inconveniences, of small garrisons of the government were in their way, and their parties were continually about the country in the day-time. This made the second part of Major Bernardi's journey to be mostly night-work. However, he arrived safe at the Braes, at which place he was recommended, by Major-General Buchan, to one Col. Duncan Graham, to be than farther directed by him. Major Bernardi proceeded on his journey from the Braes of Monteth, under the conduct of a guide appointed him by Col. Graham, and having no more need of guards, he arrived at Edinburgh in the month of November, in the year 1691. The Magistrates of that city having heard that some gentlemen were come from the Highlands, ordered their gates to be shut, and a general search to be made for them. Bernardi's landlord getting notice of it, conducted him out of town but half an hour before the order was put in execution, otherwise his journey at that time had terminated in some prison at Edinburgh; but escaping that, and some other dangers, he travelled on from thence to London, meeting with no more difficulties than those of a long winter's journey (*t*). Having finished his affairs in London, by disposing of some effects he had left with a friend, when he went out of England, and by selling his Scots horses, he purposed to go over to Flanders, and meeting with two gentlemen of his acquaintance ready to make the same voyage, he went with them to Colchester, where they were recommended to the Master of a ship, who was in a short time to carry over a lady of great quality to Ostend, but the wind happening to be fixed in the east, the lady ordered her trunks to be put on board, and

(*s*) Ibid. p. 67—75.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 75—80.

Highlanders together, and have given the Government a great deal of trouble in Scotland, for there was no man had a larger interest in the Highlands, or was more respected by the Clans. Besides, at that time King James was able to have spared him some regular troops from Ireland, and his country lay extremely convenient for the landing of those troops: But by this disappointment King James's friends in Scotland were so disheartened, that the greatest part of them dispersed, and many of them submitted and made their terms with the Government, which made his second expedition of much less consequence than otherwise it would have been. It was in his return to King James's camp that the Earl met with Sir Thomas Southwell, who, with about threescore other Genlemen, had been convicted and condemned as traytors, for taking up arms against the Duke of Tyrconnel; and upon his procuring Sir Thomas's pardon, that Gentleman thought himself obliged in gratitude, or perhaps for his safety, to accept a commission in King James's service, and therefore went in quality of Captain under the Earl of Seaforth, into Scotland (10). When the Highlanders were assembled to the northward of Inverness, they appeared to be a very formidable number of men, considering the regular troops the Government had at that time in that country; and the more so, since General Buchan, whose body of horse was of very little consequence in itself, when joined to these men under the command of experienced officers, would have made up a very formidable army, which, if successful in the attack of Inverness, or any other action of consequence, could not have failed spreading the flame of war through the Highlands, the inhabitants of which were, generally speaking, disaffected. But Sir Thomas Southwell observing the Earl much affected with the news of King James's defeat at the Boyne, laid hold of that opportunity to shew him security and peace on one side, and great hazards and difficulties on the other, which inclined him to follow his advice, and to make use of his assistance in obtaining reasonable terms from General Mackay, which put an end to the troubles in Scotland, and consequently to the diversion that might have been made on that side, if he had continued firm to his first purpose, his forces being superior at the time he submitted to Mackay's, and the war continuing long after in Ireland, which would have made such a diversion extremely troublesome, and therefore it is no wonder that Sir Thomas Southwell's service was considered in so high a light by King William; and very probably it was with a view of doing this service, or something like it, that Sir Thomas accepted this command, which are points that were never hitherto cleared up.

(10) Life of Bernardi, p. 66, 67.

and then went to a gentleman's houſe about five miles off, charging the Maſter to ſend for her as ſoon as the wind came fair. Bernardi and his friends met with two other gentlemen who were ſtrangers to them, and alſo unknown in the town, who were come thither to get a paſſage over in the ſame ſhip. They joined company and lodged all together for ſome nights at Mr Cook's, then Poſt-Maſter in Colcheſter; but having notice of ſome peoples inquiſitiveneſs about them, Bernardi and his two friends went to a gentleman's houſe about a mile out of the town, and the other two gentlemen went to the Maſter of the ſhip's houſe. The ſecond night after Bernardi and his friends went into the country, intimation was given, that Sir Iſaac Rebow, a juſtice of the Peace, had iſſued out his warrant to apprehend them, and bring them before him, and the wind coming fair the ſame night, they went directly to the Maſter of the ſhip's houſe, to go on board. The Maſter of the ſhip told them, that he had ſent a meſſenger to the lady, and expected her in an hour more, and ſent one of his men to conduct them on board a-ſhip, and ſaid he would follow them, with the other two gentlemen at his houſe, as ſoon as the lady came. A meſſage came from the lady, that ſhe could not poſſibly come before the next day in the afternoon. Bernardi and his two friends continued on ſhip-board to avoid the Juſtice's warrant. The next day, towards the evening, came a company of Trained-Bands, with five hundred country people, to the kay, where the ſhip then lay dry at low water, about two miles from the town, and Bernardi, and the two gentlemen with him, were ſeized, and carried directly to Colcheſter goal, where the other two gentlemen, and the Maſter of the ſhip, had before been made priſoners (*u*). The lady, who occaſioned all this ſtir, was the Counteſs of Errol, with whom Mr Bernardi was not at all acquainted; however, it coſt him a great deal of trouble, and hindered him from purſuing any ſettled courſe of life, 'till a year and a half afterwards, that a bill being preferred againſt him and his friends in Eſſex for high-treaſon, was rejected, by which he eſcaped indeed any farther ſuffering on this head, but at the expence of ſeveral hundred pounds, an accident almoſt inſupportable to a man already of a broken fortune (*w*). He went afterwards over to Holland, with the Earl of Nottingham's paſs, who was then Secretary of State, and returning within the time preſcribed, merited thereby ſome farther indulgencies from his Lordſhip. The times being now dangerous for a man of Major Bernardi's ſentiments, who could ſcarce live ſo cautiouſly as not to give ſome offence, he reſolved to retire into the country, where he lived peaceably, and without ſeeing much company, for ſome months, at a houſe near Brentford (*x*). But being obliged to quit this houſe, on account of it's changing it's owner, he came to London again about Chriſtmas 1695, which proved his ruin by a ſeries of very unfortunate accidents, ſuppoſing what he conſtantly profeſſed to be true, that he was in no reſpect privy to the baſe and barbarous conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating King William (*y*). For being unhappily at a tavern on Tower-Hill, with one Capt. Rookwood, who was his old acquaintance, and who was involved in that affair, they were ſeized together, and ſent to the compter, and afterwards committed to Newgate, which was extreamly tho' not equally fatal to them both [*E*]. He was committed on the twenty-fifth of March

(*u*) Ibid. p. 80—84.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 85.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 86.

(*y*) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 426. Life of King William III, p. 449. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 130.

[*E*] *Tho' not equally fatal to them both.*] We have ſhewn in the text, that Major Bernardi quitted his houſe near Brentford at Chriſtmas, 1695, upon which he came up to London. It was in February following that the plot was diſcovered, and the firſt proclamation that iſſued was dated the 23d of that month, in which Mr Rookwood's name was inſerted (11); but to underſtand this matter clearly, and the grounds of Mr Bernardi's impriſonment, it will be requiſite to give his account of it in his own words. 'Captain Rookwood 'came to Bernarndi of a Saturday, ſoon after the ſaid 'horrid plot broke out, and his countenance and be-'haviour ſeemed to diſcover diſturbance of mind. 'Bernardi thereupon aſked him, If any evil had hap-'pened to him? To which he anſwered, No; but 'ſaid, that if any body ſhould be ſo malicious as to 'give information of his being come over at that time, 'he ſhould certainly be taken up. But it ſeems his 'name was in a proclamation, which came out upon 'that very day to ſeize him, as one of thoſe who was 'concerned in the ſaid aſſaſſination-plot, though Ber-'nardi had not then heard any thing of the matter; 'and Rookwood concealed it from him, intending, as 'appeared by his behaviour afterwards, to ſpend the 'evening with Bernardi; but Bernardi told him, that 'he was under a promiſe and engagement to ſup that 'night at a tavern on Tower-hill. Captain Rook-'wood ſaid, that if the meeting there was not upon 'private buſineſs, he deſired he might be one of the 'company; which Bernardi readily complied with, 'and he and Rookwood, with other company, ſupped 'there accordingly; and making it too late to go 'home to their lodgings, Rookwood and Bernardi 'ſtaid all night at the tavern, and went to bed to-'gether there. The next morning ſome conſtables, 'and other armed men, came into the houſe, and en-'tered the room where Bernardi and Rookwood were 'in bed, and producing their warrant to ſearch for 'and ſeize them, required ſubmiſſion thereto. Ber-'nardi and Rookwood readily yielded to their au-'thority, not making the leaſt reſiſtance, and got up 'and dreſſed themſelves as ſoon as poſſibly they could; 'but Mr Conſtable's orders being to carry them, and 'all the people belonging to the tavern, before the 'Recorder of London, who was gone to church, 'they were obliged to remain in the tavern 'till noon, 'guarded by twenty men. This delay gave Bernardi 'an opportunity to make ſome enquiry into the cauſe 'of all that hurly-burly. The ſenior Conſtable told 'him, that a neighbour's ſervant-maid came to the ta-'vern the night before, and ſeeing ſome Gentlemen at 'ſupper, ſhe aſked the drawer who they were? and he 'making her a ſurly anſwer, ſhe went with her brother, 'a jouneyman ſhoemaker, directly to the Recorder, 'and gave information that ſome evil-minded men 'were at the tavern, and that the people of the houſe 'refuſed to diſcover who they were, and therefore it 'was reaſonable to believe, that they might be ſuch 'perſons as the Government then ſought for by divers 'proclamations. It was the latter end of February, 'and the before-mentioned horrid conſpiracy was diſ-'covered about the middle of the ſame month. The 'Conſtables having notice of the Recorder's being at 'home, they carried Bernardi and Rookwood, with 'all the family, before him, who examined them ſepa-'rately and very ſtrictly; and told them, that he could 'do no leſs than commit them at that diſturbed time, 'though he found no other cauſe than ſuſpicion for ſo 'doing; and therefore, as a favour, would ſend them 'to the two Compters, and not to Newgate, that they 'might with leſs difficulty and expence obtain their 'liberty, when the ſtorm was blown over; he ordered 'the

(11) State Tryals, Vol. IV. p. 684, 685.

March 1696, for high-treaſon, but not upon oath (z). Some time after this, the witneſſes againſt the conſpirators were examined before the Lord Chief-Juſtice Holt, in order to the trial of Major Lowick, Major Bernardi, Capt. Knightly, and Capt. Rookwood, but no evidence at all appearing his name was ſtruck out of the liſt, and Mr Cranburn's inſerted in his ſtead, and thoſe four were afterwards tried and convicted (a). After all the trials were over, ſix gentlemen, who were confined, entered their prayer at the ſeſſions in the Old-Bailey, and were firſt bailed and then diſcharged, though five of their names had been in proclamations, and one thouſand pounds reward, paid, for apprehending them (b). There then remained in priſon Major Bernardi, Capt. Counter, Mr Caſſils, Mr Meldrum, and Mr Chambers, who were confined in different parts of the goal, and had no communication with each other; but their friends, after the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act expired, and the other gentlemen had been diſcharged, entered prayers for them at the next ſeſſions, in order to their being tried or bailed, but at the requeſt of the Sollicitor of the Treaſury, the Court was adjourned, and the Parliament being ſitting, a bill was brought in for impriſoning them a year, on a ſuggeſtion, that in that time evidence might be found againſt them; and when this bill came up to the Houſe of Lords, Mr Blackbourne's name was inſerted, tho' he was diſcharged before, and taken into cuſtody of a Meſſenger while the bill was depending in the Houſe of Common, without any freſh charge againſt him (c). This act having paſſed, and the year expired, a ſecond act was paſſed for the ſame purpoſe, for another year. On the expiration of the ſecond act there paſſed a third, for confining them during the pleaſure of King William, and his Majeſty, upon the application of the late Earl of Burlington, was graciouſly pleaſed, to promiſe that he would deliver them in a ſhort time, but his kind intention was fruſtrated by his illneſs and death, which followed ſoon after. An act was then paſſed for confining them during the pleaſure of Queen Anne, in whoſe reign Capt. James Counter was diſcharged, tho' the only one of the ſix that was committed upon oath, and the like promiſe was obtained from her Majeſty, in favour of Major Bernardi, at the requeſt of the Duke of Buckingham, and for Mr Blackbourne, at the inſtance of the Earl of Oxford. But no order was made before the Queen's death, when an act paſſed for confining them during the pleaſure of the late King, and a ſixth in the beginning of the preſent reign (d). Under this confinement, Robert Meldrum, James Chambers, Robert Caſſils, and John Bernardi, died, the latter on the 20th of September, 1736, after very near forty years impriſonment (e); and Mr Robert Blackbourne, by the clemency of his preſent Majeſty, was removed to the King's Bench. There is nothing farther to be added in reſpect to this gentleman, but that in the year

(z) See the copy of this commitment, in Bernardi's Life, p. 110, 111.

(a) State Trials, Vol. IV. p. 661.

(b) Theſe were the three Higgons's, Captain Stow, Capt. Walbank, and Mr Blackbourne.

(c) Bernardi's Life, p. 95—97.

(d) Ibid. p. 97—103.

(e) London Magazine, 1736, p. 521, col. b. Gentleman's Magazine, 1736, p. 533, col. a.

'the family belonging to the tavern to give bail the next 'day; Bernardi and Rookwood remained quiet under 'their reſpective and different confinement near a 'month, without any communication with each other, 'either by letter or meſſage, in all that time. Captain Charnock, King, and Keys, were taken up on 'the firſt proclamation, which came forth on or about 'the 22d day of February, and between that time and 'the 18th day of March next following they were all 'three condemned and executed. And upon the 23d 'day of the ſame month of March, came forth 'another proclamation, in which Bernardi's name was 'inſerted, and the reward of a thouſand pounds was 'thereby offered to apprehend him. Captain Rookwood repoſing an entire confidence in the friendſhip 'of one Mr George Harris, intruſted him with the 'knowledge of his and Bernardi's being impriſoned in 'the Compters, as before related; and here it is to 'be obſerved, that although Captain Rookwood was 'in a proclamation, which came forth but the day before he and Bernardi went together to the tavern on 'Tower hill, and of which, without doubt, he had 'been apprized at the time of his firſt coming to Bernardi, who then knew nothing of the matter; yet 'Captain Rookwood thought fit to conceal the ſame 'from the knowledge of Bernardi as long as he could, 'and judging it conducive to his ſafety he changed his 'name, and prevailed on him ſo to do, but without acquainting Bernardi with the proclamation as a reaſon 'for his ſo doing. Capt. Rookwood was often viſited by 'the ſaid Mr Harris, to whom theſe particulars were 'communicated by Capt. Rookwood; and as ſoon as 'the proclamation of the 23d of March came forth, 'which was the laſt that was publiſhed to apprehend 'conſpirators, and was publiſhed at ſome weeks diſtance from the reſt, and wherein Bernardi's name 'was inſerted, with a reward of a thouſand pounds to 'apprehend him, as before-mentioned; Harris went 'and diſcovered Capt. Rookwood and Bernardi for the 'ſake of the reward; and they were taken out of the 'Compters by a detachment of the guards in the night 'of the 24th of the ſame month of March, and were 'carried to the Tilt-yard, and examined by the Lords 'of the Council the next day, and committed cloſe 'priſoners to Newgate, loaded with heavy irons, and 'put into ſeparate, diſmal, dark, and ſtinking apartments, not being allowed to ſpeak to each other from 'the time of their firſt being taken out of the two 'Compters. Bernardi did never ſee Rookwood afterwards, who was ſoon after tried and condemned, and 'was executed at Tyburn on the 29th day of April 'following (12).' It appears from this account, that Major Bernardi was guilty of very great indiſcretions in the courſe of this affair, by carrying Captain Rookwood into the company of his friends at the tavern upon Tower-hill, which involved many innocent perſons in much trouble; in continuing there all night, which had a very ſuſpicious aſpect; in changing his name when he was committed, and ſubmitting quietly to that impriſonment, which had with reſpect to him the ſame aſpect as in regard to Capt. Rookwood. After all, Major Bernardi was the only perſon amongſt thoſe who fell under this extraordinary confinement that had juſt reaſon to complain. Mr Chambers is mentioned as the perſon who was to give notice of King William's going out, in order for the conſpirators to follow and attack him (13). Captain Counter is ſworn to have deliivered arms to ſome of the conſpirators (14); and Blackbourn is poſitively ſworn to have been one of them that was to have acted under Capt. Rookwood (15); but with reſpect to Major Bernardi, there is only Mr Harris's account that he had ſeen him in the company of Mr Rookwood; and conſidering the character that witneſs gives himſelf, we may very well judge, that, after what Bernardi ſays in his relation, he could not do leſs than name him in the manner he did, having got his name inſerted in the proclamation. It is indeed ſtrange that the ſix other perſons ſhould be bailed and diſcharged, conſidering that as much or more had been ſaid againſt them in the trials of ſuch of the conſpirators as were convicted, than againſt thoſe that were detained with Bernardi: but the truth ſeems to be, that the conſequences of diſcharging ſo many deſperate people under ſo high an imputation ſo ſoon, had not been then ſufficiently conſidered; and that this was the true reaſon, and not any partiality to one ſet of men, or prejudice againſt the other, appears from the apprehending Blackbourne the

(12) Life of Bernardi, pag. 87—92.

(13) State Tryals, Vol. IV. p. 568.

(14) Ib. p. 688.

(15) Ib. p. 687.

ſecond

year 1712, he married a second wife, by whom he had ten children while in Newgate, and by whose care and industry he was chiefly supported (*f*). Major Bernardi was a little brisk man, of a very chearful disposition, and who bore his misfortunes, more especially his long imprisonment, and frequent indispositions by the breaking out of old wounds, with great constancy of mind; and was much respected and beloved by all who knew him.

(*f*) Bernardi's Life, p. 22S.

second time, and causing his name to be inserted in the bill for imprisoning the rest when it came up to the House of Lords. These remarks follow naturally from a view of the facts which occasioned them, and which they are intended to explain; and, as such, it is hoped the reader will consider them, and make proper allowances for what one man is naturally apt to say in his own case, and the light in which things appear to another who enquires only after truth, and is not at all sollicitous on which side he finds it. — E

BERTIE, the name of a very ancient, illustrious, and noble family, ancestors of the present most noble Peregrine, Duke of Ancaster, and also of the Right Honourable the Earl of Abingdon. There are few families more ancient than this, for we can, with great certainty, trace it as far back as the days of King Ethelred II, between seven and eight hundred years ago. That we may make the more room for this article, we shall give the genealogy of the family down to Peregrine, the first nobleman thereof, in the note [*A*], and shall confine ourselves in the text, to the Lives of PEREGRINE, ROBERT,

[*A*] *We shall give the genealogy of the family in the notes.*] This family originally came into England from *Bertiland* in Prussia, when the Saxons invaded this nation; and by the gift of one of the Saxon Kings had a castle, and also a town, which was denominated from thence, *Bertiesset*, now Bersted, near Maidstone in Kent; Sted, and Stad, denoting in the Saxon language a town (1). It appears from an old manuscript in the Cotton library, that Leopald de Bertie, was Constable of Dover-castle, in the reign of King Ethelred, from whom descended Hieronymus de Bertie, founder, or at least a great benefactor to one of the monasteries in Kent, the north part of which he built at his own expence, and was himself buried in a chapel there, where these arms were put up against a pillar, viz. Three Battering Rams in pale (*). The said Leopald quarrelling with the Monks of St Austin at Canterbury about tithes, which the Monks endeavouring to carry off by force of arms, a fight began, wherein a son of Leopald's was slain; of which he complained to the King, but receiving no satisfaction, he flew to *Sweyn*, King of the Danes, for assistance, who invaded the kingdom with a powerful fleet, which was divided into two squadrons, one steering towards Northumberland, and the other for Kent, where they joined Leopald's forces, and laid siege to Canterbury, which they took in the year 1011, leading the Archbishop away captive; but Sweyn dying, the scale soon turned, for Ethelred miserably persecuted the Danes; and Burbach Bertie, the only surviving son of Leopald, conscious of his father's actions, went to Robert, King of France, who received him honourably; and having married a French woman, settled there, where his posterity continued 'till the year 1154, when Philip Bertie, with his family, accompanied King Henry the Second into England, and by that Prince's favour recovered his patrimony in Bersted. This Philip had issue Martin, who was father of Robert, and he of William, who had issue Edward, father of Jerome, who lived at Bersted aforesaid in the reign of King Henry the Fifth. This Jerome one Sunday in Lent, hearing a Monk in a church exclaiming against the murder occasioned by his ancestor, rushed in upon him, and slew him; for which rash act he was excommunicated by the Archbishop, and was obliged to go to Rome to get absolution; which he did, upon condition that he should ask pardon of the Archbishop and Monks of Canterbury at publick mass, and pay two pieces of gold to the Convent, as the fruit of his repentance, and for the souls of his ancestors. He afterwards became a benefactor, by new building their church at his own charge. To this Jerome succeeded Robert, who had also issue Robert, father of William, who had issue Thomas, who was Captain of Hurst-castle in the Isle of Wight (2), in the reign of Henry the Seventh, and left issue Richard Bertie, Esq;. This Richard had his education, first, in Corpus-Christi-college, Oxford (3), of which House he was a Fellow, and afterwards under Thomas Wriothesly, Earl of Southampton, Lord Chancellor of England; and being singularly learned in the French, Italian, and Latin tongues, and an accomplished Gentleman, he gained the affection of that great Duchess Katharine, the fourth wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who left her a widow in 1545. She was, in her own right, Baroness Willoughby of Eresby, being daughter and sole heiress of William, the last Lord Willoughby of Eresby (4). This Lady, being very zealous for the Reformation in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, drew both herself and her husband into danger, through the malice of Bishop Gardiner (5), restored by Queen Mary, who having sent for Richard Bertie her husband, in the first year of the Queen's reign (6), amongst other questions, touching his religion, asked, 'Whether the Lady his wife was now 'as ready to set up mass as she had been to pull it 'down, when in her progress she caused a dog in a 'rochet to be carried, and called by his (Gardiner's) 'name?' Upon this, Mr Bertie being advised by his friends, that the Bishop meant to call the Duchess his wife to an account for her religion, and foreseeing the danger, he procured the Queen's licence to travel beyond sea, under colour of looking after such debts as were due from the Emperor to the late Duke of Suffolk, his Lady's former husband; and having obtained it, passed the seas at Dover in June, the same year, leaving her behind, who, in January following, went disguised from her house in Barbican, and passing to Leigh in Essex, privately took shipping (7), and after much danger at sea, met her husband at Santon in Cleveland, where, after some stay, being like to be called to account for their faith by the Bishop of Arras, were obliged to haste away on foot with her daughter, a child, and two servants, to *Wesel*, a hanse-town in the duchy of Cleves; where, after going through many hardships, at length met accidentally with one who knew them, and had formerly been under obligations to the Duchess, and who therefore kindly entertained them 'till they got a protection from the Magistrates for their stay there. They hired a house, and the Duchess was brought to bed of a son, October 12, 1555, who was christened Peregrine, because he was born in a foreign country, *(Terra peregrina)* (8); since which, it is observable, there has been constantly one of that name in the family. Mr Bertie and his Duchess thinking themselves happily settled at Wesel, intelligence was sent them, that it had been contrived in England to seize them there; upon which they were obliged to fly to *Winheim*, a town in the Palsgrave's dominions, where, having staid 'till necessaries began to fail them, it providentially happened that the King of Poland, hearing of their distress, kindly invited them into his country (9). They set out from Winheim in 1557, but in their way underwent divers great hardships, and were in danger of their lives from the Landgrave's soldiers, who, upon occasion of a quarrel about a spaniel which they had along with them, thrust boar-spears into the waggon where the Duchess and her children were; and pursuing her husband into a village, had murdered him, but that he forsook his horse, and ran up a ladder which was set to the top of a house, and thereby escaped. After this they passed on quietly to Poland, where they were courteously entertained by the King, and were honourably placed in the Earldom of Crozan in Sanogelia; in which place having the absolute power of governing, they continued in great quietness and honour 'till the death of Queen Mary, and then returned into England.—In the sixth year of Queen Elizabeth, Mr Bertie having waited on

(1) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 255.

(*) The present arms of the family.

(2) Historical Account of the Nobility of England, p. 156.

(3) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 689. Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 276. Hollingshed, Chr. of England, pag. 1142.

(4) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 256. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 306.

(5) Historical Account of the present Nobility, p. 156.

(6) Hollingshed, p. 1143. Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 408.

(7) Dugdale, ut supra. Hollinshed, p. 1144.

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, p. 109. Hollingshed, p. 1145. Camden's Britannia, by Gibson, p. 478, 479.

(9) Dugdale, ut supra. Hollingshed, ut supra.

ROBERT, and MOUNTAGUE BERTIE, three perſons renowned for their valour and loyalty, and ornaments to their country; and, as ſuch, highly deſerving a place in Engliſh Biography.

on the Queen to Cambridge, when the Univerſity for five days entertained her with comedies, tragedies, and orations; he had then the degree of Maſter of Arts conferred on him (10). He died in 1582, aged ſixty-four, having ſurvived his Ducheſs two years (11), and having iſſue an only ſon, *Peregrine Bertie*, before mentioned, and a daughter, married to Reginald Grey, Earl of Kent (12). — In the year 1680, Charles Bertie, Envoy Extraordinary to the Electors and Princes of Germany, in his paſſage through the city of Weſel, cauſed a ſtone to be affixed over the porch of the church of St Willebrode in that city, with a Latin inſcription, in memory of the birth of his anceſtor *Peregrine Bertie*, in the manner we have related; and likewiſe procured a copy of the regiſter, under the Common Seal of the ſame city, certifying the ſaid birth (13).

(10) Collins's Peerage of England, ut ſupra.

(11) F. F. in Offic. Arm. p. 271.

(12) Catal. of Nob. by R. B.

(13) Camden's Brit. by Gibſon, p. 479. Peerage of England, ut ſupra.

BERTIE (PEREGRINE) ſon and heir of Richard Bertie, by Katharine, Ducheſs of Suffolk, and (in her own right) Baroneſs Willoughby of Ereſby (*a*), was, in the firſt year of Queen Elizabeth, made a free denizen, by patent bearing date the ſecond of Auguſt, 1559 (*b*). On the death of his mother, he claimed the dignity and title of Lord Willoughby of Ereſby, wearing his mourning-apparel at her funeral in all points as a Baron: the Queen having appointed Sir William Cecil, Knight, Lord Burleigh, Lord High-Treaſurer of England; Thomas, Earl of Suſſex, Lord High-Chamberlain; and Robert, Earl of Leiceſter; to hear and ſee the petition and proofs exhibited by the ſaid Peregrine Bertie, for the dignity of Lord Willoughby of Ereſby; and they having made their report to her Majeſty of his right and title to the ſame, ſhe commanded them to declare to him, that, according to his right, her pleaſure was, that he ſhould be admitted to the dignity, and be named and called by the title of, Lord Willoughby of Ereſby (*c*), which they did in the Star-Chamber, on Friday the 11th of November, 1580, (his father being then living) and placed him at the table with them according to his rank, above many other Barons who dined with them, and all of them drank to him by the name of Lord Willoughby; and on Monday the 16th of January following, he took his ſeat in Parliament, next to Lord Zouch of Harringworth, according to his rank (*d*). In the year 1582, the Lord Willoughby, with the Earl of Leiceſter, and ſeveral other noblemen, was commanded to attend the Duke of Anjou, (then in England, and who was to have married Queen Elizabeth) to Antwerp, which he did (*e*) the Queen herſelf going with them as far as Canterbury; and before the end of that year, his Lordſhip was ſent Embaſſador to Frederick II, King of Denmark, under colour of carrying him the Order of the Garter, but the chief motive of his embaſſy was, to induce that Prince to deſiſt from certain cuſtoms, which the Engliſh merchant-ſhips paid him in paſſing the Sound, in which, however, it was not poſſible to ſucceed (*f*). The Lord Willoughby, however, inveſted his Daniſh Majeſty with the enſigns of the Order, put on the collar of roſes about his neck, and the Garter about his leg, but the other enſigns the King took to keep and lay up, refuſing to put them on becauſe they were outlandiſh (*g*); and he likewiſe refuſed to take the uſual oath, having denied the ſame thing before, when he was admitted to the Order of St Michael, by the French King (*h*). In 1586, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the ſiege of Zutphen in the Netherlands, where, in a ſharp encounter with the forces of that garriſon, he overthrew George Creſiack, at that time Commander in Chief of the enemy's horſe, and took him priſoner (*i*). The year after, he was made General of the Engliſh auxiliary forces in the United Provinces, in the room of the Earl of Leiceſter, who was re-called home (*k*); there he moſt valiantly defended Bergen-op-zoom, againſt the Duke of Parma, who had beſieged it (*); and did many other ſignal ſervices in Flanders, and acquired great applauſe and reputation. In the year 1589, he was one of the Peers that ſat on the trial of Philip Earl of Arundel (*l*); and the ſame year he was ſent General of four thouſand auxiliaries into France, to the King of Navarre's aſſiance; and alſo carried with him, twenty-two thouſand pounds ſterling in gold (*m*). He aſſiſted, and was very ſerviceable at the ſiege of Paris, alſo at the reduction of Mons, Alençon, Falais, Luxon, and Honfleur, and after the fatigue of a long winter's expedition, and a march of about five hundred miles, his troops were diſbanded with great commendations for their good ſervice (†), and a preſent of a diamond ring from the King of France, to their brave General the Lord Willoughby; which his Lordſhip at his death left his ſon Peregrine, with a charge, upon his bleſſing, to tranſmit it to his heirs (*n*). We do not find his Lordſhip engaged in any military exploits, after this expedition to France. He had already atchieved enough to eſtabliſh his reputation as a great and able Commander, and there wanted nothing to raiſe his renown higher than it now was, to render him fairer in the eye of publick eſtimation, or to place him in a higher degree of confidence and eſteem with his Sovereign. Of this we have an inconteſtable proof, in a letter wrote by the Queen, with her own hand, to this nobleman, by way of congratulation upon the recovery of his health, at the ſame time gently exhorting him to return again to his employments and to Court, from which he voluntarily abſented himſelf (*), for he had a magnanimity and greatneſs of ſpirit, that could not ſubmit to the ſervileneſs and flattery of a Court. This letter is penned in ſuch a friendly and familiar ſtile, with ſuch kind expreſſions of gratitude for his Lordſhip's ſervices, and genteel but juſt encomiums upon his merit, as ſhew much good ſenſe and good nature in the writer. Where his Lordſhip was, at the time her Majeſty paid him this honour, we are not informed; but, from the letter,

(*a*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 258. Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferings of worthy Perſons, 8vo, p. 306. Hiſtorical and Genealogical Account of the preſent Nobility, p. 156. Dugdale's Baronage of England, Tom. II. p. 409.

(*b*) Pat. 1. Eliz. pag. 2. Hollingſhed's Chronicle of England, pag. 1142.

(*c*) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, p. 3. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, 8vo, Vol. IX. p. 23. Camden ſays, it was with much ado that the Queen admitted him to the title of Lord Willoughby. Complete Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. II. p. 488.

(*d*) In Rot. Parl. 22 Eliz. Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 528. Journal of Parliament.

(*e*) Peerage of England, ut ſupra. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, Vol. IX. p. 21. Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, ann. 1582. Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 488. Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 409. Hollingſhed, p. 1143. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 349.

(*f*) Camden's Annals.

(*g*) Rapin, ubi ſupra. Camden, ubi ſupra. Compleat Hiſt. ut ſupra.

(*h*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 488.

(*i*) Peerage of England, ubi ſupra, Camden, ann. 1586. Dugdale's Baronage, c. 409.

(*k*) Rapin's Hiſt. of England, Vol. IX. p. 117. Camden's Annals. Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 541.

(*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 409.

(*l*) Hiſtorical Account of the Nobility, p. 157. Camden's Annals. Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 409.

(*m*) Rapin. Vol. IX. p. 136.

(†) Echard's Hiſt. of England, pag. 363.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 409. Camden's Annals, p. 16. Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 557. Hollingſhed, p. 1143.

(*) Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 22.

letter, it ſhould ſeem, that he was ſomewhere abroad, though probably he might be only at Berwick, of which place he was Governor about this time, or however ſoon after, for his Will bears date 7 Aug. 1559, at Berwick (*o*), five years after the date of the Queen's letter, which we have preſerved in the note [*A*], as a curioſity our readers will, doubtleſs, be pleaſed to ſee. Her Majeſty had ſome years before this given his Lordſhip a proof of her regard for him, by voluntarily offering to ſtand god-mother to his firſt born ſon Robert, (the *young General* (*p*) as ſhe then called him) and which words he verified, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. This great nobleman departed this life, in the beginning of the year 1601 (*q*), and was buried, according to his deſire, in the pariſh church of Spilſby, in the county of Lincoln, where a monument was erected to his memory. His Lordſhip's Will is remarkable, and we have therefore given an extract or two from it in the note [*B*]. Sir Robert Naunton (*r*) ſays of him, 'that he was one of the Queen's firſt 'ſwordſmen, and a great maſter in the art military.' Another writer (*s*) records two or three things of him, which indeed ſhew a great ſpirit and manly reſolution. They are briefly theſe. His Lordſhip having, in one of his campaigns, taken a fine gennet, managed for the war, and intended as a preſent for the King of Spain, he was importuned by the Spaniſh General to return it, with the offer of a thouſand pounds down, or an hundred pounds a year during his life. To which the Lord Willoughby replied, 'That if it had been a General or Commander he had taken, he would have freely ſent 'him back; but it being an horſe, he loved him as well as the King of Spain, and there-'fore would keep him.' Once, when his Lordſhip was confined to his bed with the gout, he had an inſulting challenge ſent him, to which he anſwered, 'that although he 'was lame of his hands and feet, yet he would meet his adverſary with a piece of a 'rapier in his teeth.' He uſed to ſay, 'That a Court became a ſoldier of good ſkill and 'great ſpirit, as a bed of down would one of the Tower lyons.' Camden (*t*) gives him the character of having a very generous temper and true martial courage. His Lordſhip married Mary, the daughter of John Vere, Earl of Oxford, ſiſter and heir of the whole blood to Edward, the ſeventeenth Earl of Oxford, and left iſſue by her five ſons, Robert, Peregrine, Henry, Vere, and Roger; and a daughter, married to Sir Lewis Watſon, of Rockingham caſtle, in the county of Northampton, afterwards Lord Rockingham (*u*). His Lordſhip was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, Robert Bertie.

(*o*) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 261. Camden's Annals. Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 643. Woodhall, qu. 58. Dugdale's Baronage, p. 409.

(*p*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 308.

(*q*) Camden's Annals, p. 257. Compleat Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 643. Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 261.

(*r*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 22.

(*s*) Lloyd, in his Memoirs, p. 308.

(*t*) Camden's Britann. by Gibſon, p. 322.

(*u*) Dugdale's Baronage, ut ſupra. J. 8. in Officio Arm. fol. 13. a. Collins's Peerage, ut ſupra.

[*A*] *The Queen's letter, which we have preſerved in the note.*] It is as follows:

'Good Peregrine,

'WE are not a little glad, that by your journey you have received ſuch good fruit of amendment; eſpecially when we conſider how great a vexation it is to a mind, devoted to action and honour, to be reſtrained by any indiſpoſition of body from following thoſe courſes, which, to your own reputation, and our great ſatisfaction, you have formerly performed. And therefore, as we muſt now (out of our deſire of your well-doing) chiefly enjoin you to an eſpecial care, to increaſe and continue your health, which muſt give life to all your beſt endeavours; ſo we muſt next as ſeriouſly recommend to you this conſideration, that in theſe times, when there is ſuch appearance that we ſhall have the trial of our beſt and noble ſubjects, you ſeem not to affect the ſatisfaction of your own private contentment, beyond the attending on that which nature and duty challengeth from all perſons of your quality and profeſſion. For if neceſſarily (your health of body being recovered) you ſhall elloigne yourſelf by reſidence there from thoſe employments, whereof we ſhall have too good ſtore, you ſhall not ſo much amend the ſtate of your body, as happily you ſhall call in queſtion the reputation of your mind and judgment, even in the opinion of thoſe that love you, and are beſt acquainted with your diſpoſition and diſcretion.

'Interpret this our plainneſs, we pray you, to our extraordinary eſtimation of you; for it is not common with us to deal ſo freely with many; and believe, that you ſhall ever find us both ready and willing, in all occaſions, to yield you the fruits of that intereſt, which your endeavours have purchaſed for you in our opinion and eſtimation; not doubting, but when you have with moderation made trial of the ſucceſs of theſe your ſundry peregrinations, you will find as great comfort to ſpend your days at home, as heretofore you have done, of which we do wiſh you full meaſure, however you ſhall have cauſe of abode or return.

'Your moſt loving Sovereign,

'E. R.

'Given under our Signet, at our manour of *Nonſuch*, the ſeventh of October, 1594, in the 37th year of our reign.'

[*B*] *We have given an extract or two from his Will in the note.* It begins thus: 'In the name of the bleſſed divine Trynitie in perſons, and of omnipotent Unitye in Godhead, who created, redeemed, and ſanctified me, whom I ſteadfaſtlye beleeve will gloriſye this ſinfull, corruptyble and fleſhely bodye, with eternal happineſs by a joyeful reſurrection at the general Judgment, when by his incomprehenſible juſtice and mercye, having ſatisfied for my ſinful ſoule, and ſtored it uppe in his heavenlye treaſure, his almightye voice ſhall call all fleſhe to be joined together with the ſoule to everlaſtyng comforte or diſcomforte. In that holye name I Peregrin Bertye, Knighte, Lorde Willoughbie of Willoughbie, Beke, and Ereſbie, &c.' He then proceeds to diſpoſe of his eſtates and effects among his children, and goes on to 'requeſt her moſt gracious Majeſty, in moſt humble and dutiful manner, that in ſome reſpect of his loyal and ready heart always to do her all faithful ſervice, her Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to grant the education and wardſhip of his ſon and heir, and one leaſe of her Majeſty's third part of his lands, during his nonage, to the Lord Edward Zouch, &c. whereby her Majeſty would moſt loyally reſpect his long and affectionate ſervice towards her. And for a ſmall remembrance of his loyalty and duty, which he had always obſerved toward her Majeſty, he deſired ſhe would accept of a cup of Gold to the value of 100 *l.* or ſome jewels of that value, as may beſt content her, and beſt repreſent the loyalty of his heart, &c.'

H

(*a*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 307.

BERTIE (ROBERT) born at London, December 16, 1582 (*a*); her Majeſty Queen Elizabeth, the Earls of Eſſex and Leiceſter, were his ſponſors (*). This nobleman when he was very young, ſhewed an unuſual forwardneſs and inclination to arms and military exerciſes, was preſent at ſeveral ſieges, as that of Amiens, under Sir John Baſkerville,

(*) See the preceding article.

Baſkerville, and Sir Arthur Savage (*b*); that of Cadiz, under the Earls of Eſſex and Nottingham, in 1596, where he was knighted for his valiant behaviour; at the famous battle of Newport, fought between Prince Maurice and the Arch-Duke, in the year 1600, when he was three times unhorſed, but ſtill undaunted, and where eight hundred Engliſhmen loſt their lives (*c*). He was alſo with the Earl of Cumberland when he took the Caracks at Porto-Rico; and alſo with Sir Richard Leveſon, and Sir William Mounſon, in 1602 (*d*), when they took the great Spaniſh carack, worth a million of crowns, and diſperſed eleven gallies that guarded her (*e*). Having ſeen moſt of the Courts and countries in Europe, his Lordſhip, in the firſt year of King James I, ſet up his claim to the earldom of Oxford, as alſo to the title of Bulbeck, Sandford, and Badleſmere, and to the office of Lord High-Chamberlain of England, as ſon and heir to Mary, the ſole daughter to that great family (*f*); and after much diſpute had judgment in his behalf, for the office of Lord High-Chamberlain (*g*); and the ſame year took his ſeat above all the Barons (*h*). His Lordſhip was afterwards created a Knight of the Bath, at the inſtallation of Prince Charles, afterwards King of England (*i*). During the peaceable reign of King James, he lived quietly at his ſeat in Lincolnſhire (*k*); but in the next reign, which found employment enough for the moſt active mind, he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf. In the ſecond year of King Charles I, he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Lindſey (*l*). In 1628, he was made Admiral, in the room of the Duke of Buckingham, murdered by Felton at Portſmouth; in a few days after which, he ſailed with a large fleet to the relief of Rochelle, where he made many brave attempts, to break through the great barricado acroſs the entry of that port, but all in vain (*m*). And four years after, was elected a Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, and one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council (*n*). The next year, the ſeventh of King Charles I, he was made Lord High-Conſtable of England, for the trial of Lord Rea and David Ramſey, in the Court Military (*o*); which patent was revoked the twentieth of May (*p*). In the ninth of Charles I, he commanded a fleet of forty ſail of men of war, for ſecuring the Narrow Seas, and the trade of England (*q*). In the eleventh of Charles I, he was conſtituted Lord High-Admirel of England (*r*), having, according to the Hiſtorian (*s*), been Admiral at ſea in ſeveral expeditions; and in 1639, on the Scots taking arms, he was made Governor of Berwick. In 1640, he was made Lord High-Conſtable of England, for the trial of Lord Strafford, of which he had the management (*t*), being alſo, at that time, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers. This ſame year his Majeſty declared him General of his forces (*u*), and he was ever near his Majeſty's perſon, aſſiſting him to the very utmoſt of his power and abilities; with his advice in council, and his experience and valour in the field, as we ſhall, but too ſoon, ſee. He, and his ſon, the Lord Willoughby of Ereſby, afterwards Earl of Lindſey, were, to their honour be it ſpoken, among thoſe Lords who left the Houſe of Peers, and followed their King to York, in 1642 (*w*), where they entered into, and ſigned a ſolemn engagement, to ſtand by his Majeſty, in defence of his perſon, crown, and dignity, and the maintenance of the eſtabliſhed laws and religion, with their lives and fortunes (*x*): and accordingly, the Earl of Lindſey and his ſon, raiſed the counties of Lincoln and Nottingham, for the King's defence (*y*). They afterwards joined with the other Lords, then with the King at York, in a declaration or teſtimony, in vindication of his Majeſty, proteſting, they were fully perſuaded he had no intention of making war upon the Parliament, as was then reported, but that all his endeavours tended to the firm and conſtant ſettlement of the Proteſtant religion, the juſt privileges of Parliament, the liberty of the ſubject, and the law, peace, and proſperity of his kingdom (*z*). Both which Declarations were printed and publiſhed, with the Lords names thereto, remaining as monuments of their loyalty and zeal, for the honour of their much injured Sovereign. The brave Earl of Lindſey, this ſame year, gave the laſt proof of his affection for his Majeſty, and of his own perſonal bravery, in the battle of Edgehill, fought on the twenty-third of October, 1642, in which his Lordſhip was killed, receiving a ſhot in his thigh, at the head of his own regiment, and his ſon, the Lord Willoughby, taken priſoner (*a*). It is very proper to give a more particular account of this famous battle, which we ſhall do, briefly, in the note [*A*]. After his Lordſhip was wounded, and taken away by the rebels, he

(*b*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 309.

(*c*) Rapin, Vol. IX. p 195.

(*d*) Lloyd, ut ſupra.

(*e*) Rapin, p. 217.

(*f*) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Tom. II. p 409.

(*g*) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p 265. Journal of Parliament. Hiſtorical Account of the Nobility, &c. p. 157.

(*h*) Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 540.

(*i*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 310.

(*k*) Lloyd, ibid.

(*l*) Pat. 2 Car. I.

(*m*) Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. p. 49 Memoirs of the Duke of Buckingham, p. 138.

(*n*) Peerage, ut ſupra. Lloyd, ut ſupra. Inſtit. of the Garter, by Aſhmole.

(*o*) Pat. 7 Car. I. p. 20.

(*p*) Pat. 8 Car. I. p. 21.

(*q*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 23. Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 81.

(*r*) Pat. 11 Car. I. p. 5.

(*s*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, 8*vo*. edit. Vol. I. p. 673.

(*t*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 41.

(*u*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, the Abridgment, 8*vo*, Vol. III. p. 54. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 62. Peerage of England, ut ſupra. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 496. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, folio, Vol. II. p. 565. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 673.

(*w*) Monteth's Hiſtory of the Troubles of Great Britain, p. 101.

(*x*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. IV. p. 379. Monteth, p. 107. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, 8*vo*. Vol. I. p. 654. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 60.

(*y*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 312.

(*z*) Ruſhworth, ut ſupra. Monteth, p. 108. Clarendon's Hiſt. p. 655.

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, p. 409. Clarendon, Ruſhworth, Rapin, Whitlock, Compleat Hiſt. &c.

[*A*] *It is very proper to give a more particular account of this famous battle, which we ſhall briefly do in the note.*] The King's army conſiſted of about 14,000 men; that of the Parliament, under the command of the Earl of Eſſex, of near 16,000 (1). The two armies being in ſight of each other, near Keinton in Warwickſhire, on Sunday, the 23d of October (2), the King drew up his army in the morning on Edgehill, from whence might be ſeen all *Keinton* plain, where the Parliament's army ſtood in battle array. The Earl of Lindſey was General of the King's whole army by his commiſſion; and, ſays the Hiſtorian, was thought very equal to it (3). But Prince Rupert, the King's nephew, who was General of the horſe, was, by the King's particular favour and regard for him, exempted from receiving orders from any body but the King himſelf; by which ſtep all the horſe was entirely ſeparated from any dependance upon the General (4); whoſe advice alſo concerning the order of battle, and diſpoſition of the troops, the King rejected for Prince Rupert's. It had been happier for the King, perhaps, if the Lord Lindſey had been ſole director of the army, ſince it was the raſhneſs, or too great eagerneſs, of Prince Rupert, that loſt the day. Beſides, this partiality of the King's to his nephew had created ſome diſcontent in the army, and made the Earl of Lindſey uneaſy, but was far from ſhaking his loyalty; and accordingly, the army having marched down the hill, and the King having given orders to charge the enemy in a valley under it, called the Valley of the Red Horſe, a name not unſuitable to it that day (5), the General himſelf alighted at the head of his own regiment of foot, his ſon the Lord Willoughby being next to him with the King's regiment of guards, and bravely

(1) Rapin's Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 11, 13. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 64.

(2) Monteth's Hiſtory of the Troubles of Great Britain, p. 118.

(3) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 43.

(4) Clarendon, ut ſupra.

(5) Monteth, ubi ſupra.

he continued, even with his dying breath, his endeavours to ſerve his royal maſter, by ſeriouſly exhorting the rebel officers to return to their obedience and duty to the King, as we learn from the Lord Clarendon (*b*), in his character of this nobleman, which is as follows: 'The Earl of Lindſey, ſays he, was a man of very noble extraction, and inherited a great fortune from his anceſtors, which though he did not manage with ſo great care, as if he deſired much to improve, yet he left it in a very fair condition to his family, which more intended the increaſe of it. He was a man of great honour, and ſpent his youth and vigour of his age, in military actions and commands abroad: and albeit he indulged to himſelf great liberties of life, yet he ſtill preſerved a very good reputation with all men, and a very great intereſt in his country, as appeared by the ſupplies he and his ſon brought to the King's army; the ſeveral companies of his own regiment of foot, being commanded by the principal Knights and gentlemen of Lincolnſhire, who engaged themſelves in the ſervice, principally out of their perſonal affection to him. he was of a generous nature, and punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him; which made him bear that reſtriction ſo heavily, which was put upon him by the commiſſion granted to Prince Rupert; and by the King's preferring the Prince's opinion, in all matters relating to the war, before his: nor did he conceal his reſentment; the day before the battle, he ſaid to ſome friends with whom he uſed freedom, that he did not look upon himſelf as General, and therefore he was reſolved, when the day of battle ſhould come, that he would be at the head of his regiment, as a private Colonel, where he would die.' (Which words of his proved truly prophetical, as did alſo the other, when, going into the battle, he caſt his eye upon young Prince Charles, and ſaid, (*) *There is the child that will end the war we now begin.*) 'He was carried out of the field to the next village, and if he could then have procured ſurgeons, it is thought his wound would not have proved mortal. And as ſoon as the other army was compoſed by the coming on of the night, the Earl of Eſſex, about midnight ſent Sir William Balfour, and ſome other officers, to ſee him, and to offer him all offices, and meant himſelf to have viſited him. They found him upon a little ſtraw, in a poor houſe, where they had laid him in his blood, which had run from him in great abundance, no ſurgeon having been yet with him, only he had great vivacity in his looks, and told them he was ſorry to ſee ſo many gentlemen, ſome of whom were his old friends, engaged in ſo foul a rebellion; and principally directed his diſcourſe to Sir William Balfour, whom he put in mind of the great obligations he had to the King, how much his Majeſty had diſobliged the whole nation by putting him into the command of the Tower, and that it was the moſt odious ingratitude in him to make him that return. He wiſhed them to tell the Lord Eſſex, that he ought to caſt himſelf at the King's feet to beg his pardon, which if he did not ſpeedily do, his memory would be odious

(*b*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 52, 53.

(*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 548.

bravely charged the enemy in front (6). Prince Rupert, with the King's right wing of horſe, advancing to charge the enemy's left wing, on a ſudden Sir Faithful Forteſcue, who commanded a troop of the Parliament's horſe, moving forwards with his whole troop from the groſs of the enemy's cavalry, and diſcharging their piſtols on the ground, preſented themſelves to Prince Rupert, and directly joined with him in charging thoſe they had juſt deſerted (7). This unexpected deſertion ſtruck the Parliament's horſe with ſuch a terror, each man looking upon his companion as upon an enemy, that they were entirely routed, and purſued above two miles from the field of battle. But this long and unadviſed purſuit loſt the King a compleat victory. The Parliament's right wing ſtood their ground no better than the left, for they ran away full ſpeed, and were purſued with the ſame fury and the ſame imprudence. What was moreover fatal to the King was, that a regiment of horſe which ſerved for a body of reſerve, thinking that the victory was now unqueſtionable by the flight of the enemy's cavalry, with ſpurs and looſe reins followed the chace, and could not be kept back by their commanders. All this while the foot of both armies were engaged, without victory inclining to either ſide; 'till at length Sir William Balfour, to whom the Earl of Eſſex had given the command of the reſerve, turned the ſcale; for as ſoon as he ſaw the King's horſe ſo eagerly employed in the purſuit of the flying troops, he went and charged the foot in flank, and put them into ſuch diſorder, that the King, with the two Princes his ſons, were in danger of being made priſoners. Then it was the brave General, the Earl of Lindſey, being far engaged (8), received a ſhot in the thigh, with which he fell, and was preſently encompaſſed with the enemy; and his ſon, the Lord Willougby, piouſly endeavouring to reſcue his father, was taken priſoner along with him (9); or, according to the author cited in the margin (10), ſeeing his valiant father wounded and taken priſoner, voluntarily yielded himſelf to a Commander of horſe on the rebels ſide, that he might be near and attend him. At length, Prince Rupert returning from his fatal purſuit of the rebels, found the hope of ſo glorious a day totally vaniſhed; but his return, however, prevented the King from being entirely routed: For Sir William Balfour, who had only a ſmall body of reſerve, ſeeing the cavalry coming back from the chace, ſuddenly quitted the fight, and went and ſkreened himſelf near the Earl of Eſſex's foot; and could the King and Prince Rupert have perſuaded their horſe at that time to have charged the Parliament's infantry, who had hardly any cavalry to ſupport them, it is very probable they would have routed them, and obtained a compleat victory. But the horſe that were returned from the purſuit in extreme diſorder, could not be brought to charge the enemy, who ſtood in good order, though they were in great danger. It was three o'clock in the afternoon before the fight began, and it was now too late for the King to attempt to rally his infantry, who were in great diſorder; and thus both armies kept their poſts all night, and even the next whole day faced one another without renewing the battle. At laſt the Earl of Eſſex ordering his baggage to be drawn off, the King withdrew to the quarters he had taken the day before the battle; and the Earl of Eſſex marched to Warwick (11). The number of ſlain on the field of battle, and in the purſuit, was above 5000, of which the King's loſs was about a third part (12); and the King's party took from the enemy ſeventy colours and ſtandards, with ſeven pieces of cannon (13), and loſt only ſixteen colours (14). Nevertheleſs, both parties claimed the victory, though perhaps neither was more intitled to it than the other; for each in it's turn was victorious, and each beaten. Indeed the Parliament loſt more men, colours, ſtandards, and cannon; yet they kept the field in very good order, the doing which at leaſt ſaved them from the diſhonour of a defeat. But their loſs was much more

(6) Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collections, Vol. IV. p. 547. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 548.

(7) Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 47. Rapin's Hiſt. Vol. XII. p. 17, 18.

(8) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 64.

(9) Dugdale's Baronage, p. 409. Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 48. Rapin's Hiſtory, Vol. XII. p. 18. Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. IV. p. 547.

(10) Collins, in his Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 267.

(11) Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 56. Rapin, Vol. XII. p. 20.

(12) Clarendon, ut ſupra.

(13) Monteth's Troubles of Gr. Brit. p. 119.

(14) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. IV. p. 546.

'odious to the nation: and continued this kind of diſcourſe with ſo much vehemence, 'that the officers by degrees withdrew themſelves, and prevented the viſit the Earl of 'Eſſex intended him, who only ſent the beſt ſurgeons to him. But, in the very opening 'of his wounds, he died before the morning, only upon the loſs of blood. He had very 'many friends, and very few enemies, and died generally lamented.' The Lord Lindſey's wound not being thought mortal, nor even dangerous, his death was imputed to the Earl of Eſſex, as if he had purpoſely neglected, or forbid the performing of any neceſſary offices to him, out of the inſolence of his nature, and in revenge of ſome former unkindneſſes that had paſſed between them. But the above account clears him from ſuch imputation; and the Lord Clarendon, in another part of his work (*c*), acquits his Lordſhip, attributing the unfortunate Lord Lindſey's want of aſſiſtance, to the hurry and diſtraction the rebels were in at that time. This great nobleman married Elizabeth, the only child of Edward, the firſt Lord Montague of Boughton in Northamptonſhire, by whom he had five daughters and nine ſons (*d*); Montague, his ſucceſſor; Roger, Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King Charles I; Robert, Peregrine, Francis, who was Captain of horſe, and killed in the King's ſervice in Ireland, in 1641; Robert, ſixth ſon; Henry, who was alſo Captain of horſe, and loſt his life in the King's ſervice at the battle of Newbury; Vere, and Edward. His Lordſhip was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Montague Bertie.

(*c*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 51.

(*d*) J 8. in Officio Arm. f. 74. Ibid. f. 13. Dugdale's Baronage, p. 410.

more than equalled on the other ſide, by that irreparable one of the great Earl of Lindſey, than whom the King had not a more valiant, experienced, or faithful officer, left in his army. The King himſelf was very ſenſibly affected with the loſs of this great man, and the impriſonment of his ſon; and in a few days after the battle, with all the tenderneſs of a parent, he wrote the following letter with his own hand, directed *For the Earl of Lindſey, Lord High-Chamberlain of England*, and ſigned with his Sign Manual. This letter, ſo much to the honour of the family, is no where extant but in Mr Echard's Hiſtory of England (15), who had it from the Honourable Charles Bertie of Uffington, on purpoſe to be by him publiſhed, which it never had been 'till then. We ſhall therefore give it a place here, as highly deſerving the reader's notice.

(15) Echard, P 549.

'LINDSEY,

'YOU cannot be more ſenſible (as I believe) of 'your father's loſs than myſelf, his death con- 'firming the eſtimation I ever had of him; as for 'yourſelf, the double ſufferings you have for my 'ſake, both in your father's perſon and your own, 'puts upon me the ſtricter obligation, not only to re- 'ſtore you to your liberty (now unjuſtly detained from 'you), but alſo to ſhew the world by my actions how 'really I am

'Your moſt aſſured,

Ayno, 27 *Oct.* 1642.

'Conſtant friend.

'CHARLES R.'

H

BERTIE (MONTAGUE) whom, in the laſt article, we have followed (by the name of Lord Willoughby of Ereſby) to the battle of Edge-hill, where, we have ſeen, he was taken priſoner, endeavouring to reſcue his father. Being afterwards exchanged (*a*), he went to Oxford, where the King then was, who joyfully received him (*b*); and he as reſolutely adhered to his Majeſty's ſervice, commanding the regiment of life-guards in ſeveral battles, as at Newbury twice, Cropredy, Leſtwithiel, and other places; as alſo in the fatal battle of Naſeby (*c*), where he was wounded; and had a ſhare in all the misfortunes of that King, being one of the Gentlemen of his royal Bedchamber, and of his Privy-Council, attending him even to the time his Majeſty put himſelf into the hands of the Scots (*d*). At the treaty in the Iſle of Wight, the King ſent for him, to be one of his Commiſſioners and adviſers (*e*). After the execrable murther of the King, the Earl of Lindſey, together with the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, and Earl of Southampton, deſired leave to perform the laſt duty to their dead maſter, and to wait upon him to his grave, which they were permitted to do, and accordingly they attended the royal corpſe to Windſor, where it was buried (*f*). After this, the Lord Lindſey compounded, and lived privately, expecting and endeavouring the reſtoration of Monarchy and Epiſcopacy; which being effected, King Charles II. conſtituted him one of his Privy-Council (*g*), and his Lordſhip was alſo appointed one of the Judges at the tryals of the regicides (*h*); and afterwards elected a Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, at a chapter held at Whitehall, the firſt of April, 1661. And at the King's coronation, exhibiting his claim for the exerciſe of that great hereditary office of Lord High-Chamberlain of England (*i*), and for the reception of ſuch fees and benefits, as his noble anceſtors had heretofore enjoyed, did accordingly, on that ſolemn occaſion, execute the office of Lord High-Chamberlain, and receive thoſe fees and benefits which were of right his due (*k*). His Lordſhip died at Campden-houſe in Kenſington, the twenty-fifth of July, 1666, aged fifty-eight years, and was buried at Edenham, in the vault with his noble father. Mr Archdeacon Echard gives this character of the Lord Lindſey (*l*). 'He was, 'ſays he, one of the *Quadrumvirate*, that had been ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed for their 'unparallelled loyalty to the late King; a brave, experienced ſoldier; a great patron of 'uſeful learning and ingenuity; an honeſt, frugal, and faithful Engliſhman; and a true 'patriot and imitator of the antient nobility, whoſe grandure conſiſted neither in rich cloaths 'nor fine courtſhip; after he had waded through an ocean of difficulties, he died in quiet, 'peace, and honour.' He married to his firſt wife Martha, daughter of Sir William Cockayn of Ruſhton in Northamptonſhire, widow of the Earl of Holderneſs, by whom he had iſſue five ſons, Robert, Peregrine, Richard, Vere (one of the Barons of the Exchequer in the

(*a*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 267.

(*b*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 48.

(*c*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, 8vo. Vol. III. p. 656. Rapin's Hiſt of England, 8vo, Vol. XII. p. 307. Dugdale's Baronage of England, Tom. II. p. 409. Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, the Abridgment, Vol. V. p. 527.

(*d*) Peerage of England, ut ſupra.

(*e*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. VI. p. 475. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 181.

(*f*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 259.

(*g*) Rapin, Vol. XIII. p. 240. Continuation of the Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 9. State Tryals. Tryals of the Regicides, &c.

(*h*) Continuation, Vol. I. p. 21.

(*i*) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 409.

(*k*) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 409. Journal of Parliament.

(*l*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 827.

the reign of King Charles II, and afterwards one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas) and Charles; and three daughters. By his second wife he had two sons, James and Henry, the first of which (who was Lord Norris by descent from his mother, who was in her own right, Baroness Norris of Rycote) was, on account of his noble descent and eminent services to King Charles II. (as his patent sets forth) by him created Earl of Abingdon, the thirtieth of November, 1682, 34 Car. II, and was the grandfather of the present Earl of Abingdon. To Montague, Earl of Lindsey, succeeded Robert, his eldest son, who, the same year his father died, was sworn of his Majesty's Privy-Council. He was succeeded by his eldest son Robert, the fourth Earl of Lindsey, who was one of the Privy-Council to King William III, and Lord Lieutenant, and Custos Rotulorum, for the county of Lincoln. On the twenty-ninth of December, 1706, the fifth of Queen Anne, he was created Marquis of Lindsey (*m*); and in the next reign, on the first of October, 1714, he was sworn one of his Majesty's Privy-Council; and in the same month he was made Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum for the county of Lincoln, being likewise, on the twenty-ninth of July, 1715, created Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven. His Grace dying in 1723 (*n*), was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Peregrine, who soon after was sworn of the Privy-Council, and appointed Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Lincoln, in which posts he was also continued by his present Majesty, and dying a few years since, was succeeded by his eldest son Peregrine, the present Duke of Ancaster. H

(*m*) Oldmixon's History of England, Vol. II. p. 383.

(*n*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 269.

BERTON (William) an eminent Divine of the XIVth century, and Doctor in that faculty, flourished about the year 1381, in the reign of Richard II, and was some time Chancellor of the university of Oxford (*a*). He is chiefly remarkable for his opposition to the doctrines of Wickliff: for, by virtue of his office, as Governor of the university, he appointed twelve Censors, six of the order of Mendicants, and six Seculars, consisting of Divines and Lawyers, to examine Wickliff's opinions; who accordingly declared him an Heretic (*b*). He wrote likewise against that pretended Heresiarch [*A*]. And for this reason it is, that his character is so differently represented by Bale and Pits [*B*].

(*a*) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Centur. VI. n. 89. & Pitf. de Illust. Angl. Script. *an.* 1381, n. 670.

(*b*) Historia Wickleffiana, *in calce* Harpsfieldi Hist. Eccles. edit. Duaci. 1622, p. 684. *See the article* WICKLIFF.

[*A*] *He wrote against Wickliffe.*] He wrote several pieces upon the subject of Wickliff's pretended Heresy; particularly *Determinations against Wickliff*; *a Treatise concerning his just condemnation*; and another *against the Articles extracted from his writings* (1).

(1) Bale and Pits, ubi supra.

[*B*] *His character is differently represented by Bale and Pits.*] Bale, as a Protestant, abuses him plentifully for his prosecution of Wickliff, whom he calls *a most pious Divine*. He represents our Chancellor as *exalting the Pope* (whom he styles *Romulus's Vicar in parricide*) *above all that is called God, or that is worshipped*. 'Primus omnium fuit, qui Romuli in 'parricidio vicarium Papam superbissimum, super 'omne quod dicitur Deus, aut quod colitur, extollens, 'Joannem Wicklevum, pissimum Theologum, pub- 'lice damnavit, et apostacis bullis hereticum decla- 'ravit (2).' Next to Berton, he falls upon the twelve Censors, whom he treats *as actuated by a spirit of fanaticism*, and as *condemning the Truth of God himself* in their condemnation of Wickliff. 'Qui omnem in 'illum exercentes tyrannidem, fanatico spiritu agitati, 'vocibus et scriptis Dei veritatem in eo damnabant (3).' Pits, on the contrary, being a zealous Papist, commends the piety, learning, prudence, and sagacity, of the Chancellor, in detecting the erroneous and pernicious doctrines of Wickliff, and his judgment in thinking it his duty to bring them under public censure. *Hic cum esset vir pius, doctus, prudens, et ingenio perspicaci, vidit pestilentem Wickleffi doctrinam ad Ecclesiæ perniciem tendere, et ad multarum animarum interitum. Quare ad officii sui rationem pertinere judicavit super hoc religionis negotio inquirere, et re accuratius examinata, competentes judices in tota causa constituere* (4). Behold here the strange and deplorable effect of religious prejudice! The same action, in the opinion of one writer, is no less than maintaining the cause of Antichrist; in another's, it is the dictate of piety, prudence, and every good quality; and the same doctrine is at once a *pestilent error*, and the *truth of God* himself. T

(2) Bale, ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Pits, ubi supra.

BETTERTON (Thomas) the most famous Actor upon our stage, and who might be very justly stiled the English Roscius. He was son of Mr Betterton, Under-Cook to King Charles I, and was born in Tothil-street in Westminster, some time in the year 1635 (*a*). Having received the rudiments of polite learning in several schools, and shewing a great propensity to reading, it was once proposed he should have been brought up to some learned profession; but the violence and confusion of the times putting this out of the power of his family, it was, at his own request, agreed, that he should be bound apprentice to a Bookseller (*b*), and accordingly he was so put to Mr John Holden, a person in those days very famous, and much in the confidence of Sir William D'Avenant (*c*), tho' this, as almost every other circumstance of the earlier part of Betterton's life, is subject to some dispute [*A*]. It is therefore a very difficult thing to tell how, or when, he came upon

(*a*) See this point cleared in note [*A*].

(*b*) From the information of the late Mr Southerne.

(*c*) He printed Sir William's Poem, called *Gondibert*.

(1) The title of this book is, The Life of Mr Thomas Betterton, the late eminent Tragedian. Wherein the Action and Utterance, of the Stage, Bar, and Pulpit, are distinctly considered, &c. Lond. 1710, 8vo. It is dedicated to Richard Steele, Esq; and the Dedication subscribed Charles Gildon.

[*A*] *Is subject to some dispute.*] There are very few lives, in which the dates and circumstances are more difficult to be settled with tolerable certainty than this; which probably arises from nothing so much as persons affirming facts upon memory, in which they were liable to be mistaken, and others committing them to writing without discerning their mistakes. As for instance, Mr Charles Gildon, who drew up a kind of rhapsody, to which he gave the title of Mr *Betterton's Life* (1), tells us, that at his decease he was seventy-five years of age. Another author says, that he was about seventy (2); and a person, who had reason to be better acquainted with his history, assures us, that he was considerably above that age (3). In all this we have nothing of certainty; but the late Mr Southerne, who was very well acquainted with Mr Betterton, when applied to upon this head, recollected, that, on his last benefit, Mr Betterton declared he was in his seventy-fifth year; if so, that fixes the time of his birth very exactly. It is affirmed also by Mr Gildon, that he was bound to Mr Rhodes a Bookseller, and that he was fellow-prentice with Mr Kynaston (4); but if Mr Betterton might be allowed to know this fact better than any body else, he told the late Mr Pope, that he was bound to Mr Holden:

(2) History of the Stage, p. 91.

(3) Cibber's Life, p. 99.

(4) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

upon the ſtage, not becauſe we have no accounts of this matter, but becauſe thoſe accounts differ from, and indeed are irreconcilable to, each other; yet upon examining them cloſely, and comparing all their circumſtances, it ſeems to be highly probable, that he began to act under the direction of Sir William D'Avenant, in 1656 or 1657, at the Opera-Houſe in Charter-Houſe Yard *(d)* [*B*]. He continued there 'till the Reſtoration, when the face of theatrick affairs changed entirely, and two diſtinct companies were formed by royal authority, the firſt in virtue of a patent granted to Henry Killegrew, Eſq; his heirs and aſſigns, which was called *the King's Company*; the other in virtue of a like patent, granted to Sir William D'Avenant, his heirs and aſſigns, which was ſtiled *the Duke's Company* (*e*). The former acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, and the latter at the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. In order that every thing might appear to the utmoſt advantage, and the Engliſh Theatre want none of the decorations uſed abroad, Mr Betterton, by command of King Charles II, went to Paris to take a view of the French ſtage, that he might the better judge of what would contribute to the improvement of our own *(f)*. Upon his return, ſuch meaſures were taken, as it was apprehended would give the utmoſt luſtre to the Engliſh ſtage; and for ſeveral years, both companies acted with the higheſt applauſe, and the utmoſt reputation *(g)* [*C*]. The Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-

(*d*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412. Philips's Theatrum Poetarum, p. 197. Life of Betterton.

(*e*) Apology for the Life of Mr C. Cibber, by himſelf, London, 1740, 8vo, p. 75.

(*f*) Life of Betterton.

(*g*) See the Prologues to the Plays in thoſe times, Dryden's Prefaces, and other records of Dramatick Hiſtory.

( ) Mr J. Richardſon's Life of Milton, p. 90.

Holden (5): But whether he might not afterwards live with Mr Rhodes, is a queſtion not eaſy to be anſwered at this diſtance of time; and when there are ſo few people living to whom any application could be made, with any tolerable hopes of receiving an anſwer with certainty.

[*B*] *At the opera-houſe in Charter-houſe-yard*] We are told by a certain author, from a kind of tradition, that Betterton, being a Bookſeller's prentice, and coming to the play-houſe about his maſter's buſineſs, took a fancy to the ſtage, and ſo became a player (6). Mr Gildon, in his book before-mentioned, gives us quite another account of the matter (7). 'That, ſays 'he, which prepared Mr Betterton and his fellow-'prentice for the ſtage was, that his maſter Rhodes 'having formerly been wardrobe-keeper to the King's 'company of comedians in the Black-Fryers, on Ge-'neral Monk's march to London in 1659 with his 'army, got a licence from the powers then in being, 'to ſet up a company of players in the Cockpit in 'Drury-lane, and ſoon made his company compleat; 'his apprentices, Mr Betterton for mens parts, and 'Mr Kynaſton for womens parts, being at the head 'of them. Mr Betterton was now about twenty-two 'years of age, when he got a great applauſe by act-'ing in the *Loyal Subject*, the *Wild-Gooſe Chaſe*, the '*Spaniſh Curate*, and many more: But while our 'young actor is thus riſing under his maſter Rhodes, 'Sir William D'Avenant getting a patent of King 'Charles II, for erecting a company under the name 'of the Duke of York's ſervants, took Mr Betterton, 'and all that acted under Mr Rhodes, into his com-'pany.' We find this account copied by ſeveral writers, though it is evidently inconſiſtent in it's parts, and hardly one of the facts related in it true. According to this account, Mr Betterton became an actor in 1659, and yet at the age of twenty-two (1657) he had great applauſe by acting, that is, he was a great actor before he was an actor at all. Sir William D'Avenant is ſaid to have erected a company after the Reſtoration, and to have compoſed it chiefly of Mr Rhodes's actors; whereas in fact he was Maſter of a play-houſe before the Reſtoration, and indeed of that very houſe, and of thoſe actors which are here beſtowed upon Mr Rhodes (8); ſo that it is very plain that this account is falſe, or at leaſt very inconſiſtent and inaccurate. The truth of the matter was this, Sir William D'Avenant with much difficulty obtained leave from thoſe, who were then poſſeſſed of the government, to repreſent a kind of Operas, for Tragedies and Comedies he was not permitted to act; and he opened at Rutland-houſe in Charter-houſe-yard, May 23, 1656, and afterwards removed to the Cockpit in Drury-lane, which was over-againſt the Caſtle tavern; and there it was that Mr Betterton firſt appeared. For his Maſter Mr Holden (9), having printed Sir William's poem, called *Gondibert*, and afterwards many other performances of his, Betterton became thereby known to that Gentleman, who, finding him a very capable perſon, took great pains in the inſtructing him, and gave him the firſt reliſh for theatrick entertainments, as himſelf frequently acknowledged; and therefore we have reaſon to think, that this point is at laſt freed from thoſe difficulties with which it has been hitherto incumbered, and that the fact ought to ſtand as it has been repreſented in the text.

(6) Hiſtory of Europe, 1710, p. 16.

(7) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

(8) See the article D'AVENANT (Sir WILLIAM).

(9) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

[*C*] *Acted with the utmoſt applauſe, and the higheſt reputation.*] It has been ſuppoſed, that Betterton introduced moving ſcenes into our theatre, which before had the ſtage only hung with tapeſtry. I cannot poſitively ſay whether the fact be true or not; but if it was true, and as it is alſo ſaid, inſtead of being applauded, he was cenſured for it, his caſe was certainly hard; for, as Mr Gildon very juſtly obſerves, theſe ſcenes help the repreſentation, by giving the ſpectator a view of the place; which, though not neceſſary, where the unity in that reſpect is ſtrictly obſerved, is however very convenient where that is diſpenſed with, as generally it is in our plays (10). The taſte for dramatick entertainments was never higher than while theſe two companies played; and Mr Cibber, who is certainly a very good judge of the ſubject, has given us three ſtrong reaſons for it. Firſt, That plays having been ſo long prohibited, people came to them with greater eagerneſs, like folks after a long faſt to a great feaſt. The ſecond was, that women were now brought upon the ſtage, which muſt have been a very great advantage; for, on all former ſtages, female characters were performed by boys, or young men, of the moſt effeminate aſpect. The third, that a rule was eſtabliſhed, by which no play acted at one houſe could be attempted at the other. All the capital plays, therefore, of Shakeſpear, Fletcher, and Ben Jonſon, were divided between them, by the approbation of the Court, and their own alternate choice; ſo that when Hart was famous for Othello, Betterton had no leſs a reputation for Hamlet. By this order the town was ſupplied with greater variety of plays than could poſſibly have been ſhewn, had both companies been employed at the ſame time upon the ſame play; which liberty too muſt have occaſioned ſuch frequent repetitions of them, by their oppoſite endeavours to foreſtall and anticipate one another, that the beſt actors in the world muſt have grown tedious and taſteleſs to the ſpectator. When theſe reaſons are conſidered, and withal the number of great actors that were then upon the ſtage, and the many new plays that appeared while theſe two companies continued, we ſhall not be ſurprized at the reputation the theatre was then in, or aſcribe it to mere prejudice, that many ſenſible people have ſpoken in ſo high terms of the dramatick performances of thoſe days (11). To ſay the truth, the ſtage was then ſo much the care of the State, or at leaſt of the Court, that whenever any diſputes aroſe, they were generally decided either by the King, or his brother the Duke of York, which not only kept the players in order, and in that obedience which was requiſite to the patentees, but gave them likewiſe figure and character in the world as gentlemen, and the immediate ſervants of their Prince (12). So that if this account juſtifies the high ſentiments entertained by ſome of our moſt judicious writers, it at the ſame time ſhews us, upon what motives theſe ſentiments of theirs are grounded; and clearly proves, that if performers were better in thoſe times than in ours, it was becauſe they were in a better condition, that is, were under better regulations; for as to pay, it was very far from being ſo good. Mr Hart, the beſt performer

(10) This Reflection occurs in the Life of Betterton, p. 6.

(11) See Dryden's Prefaces, Rymer's Criticiſms, and Cibber's Hiſtory of the Stage.

(12) There were ſome of the King's Company actually ſworn of his Majeſty's Chamber, and had ſcarlet cloth and lace aſſigned them, as menial ſervants.

Inn-Fields being very inconvenient, they cauſed another to be built for them in Dorſet Gardens, which was called the Duke's Theatre, to which they removed, and followed their profeſſion with all the ſucceſs they could deſire, under a reign, which might be truly ſtiled *a reign of pleaſure* (*b*). In 1670, Mr Betterton married a gentlewoman on the ſame ſtage, one Mrs Saunderſon, who excelled, as an Actreſs, every thing but her own conduct in human life. In her he was compleatly happy, and by their joint endeavours, even in thoſe days, they were able, not only to acquire a comfortable ſubſiſtence, but alſo to ſave what might maintain them in their advanced age (*i*). After Sir William D'Avenant's death, the patent came into the hands of Dr Charles D'Avenant his ſon, ſo well known to the learned world, for his admirable political writings. But whether his genius was leſs fit for the adminiſtration of ſuch a government, than that of his father, or that the King's Company was really ſuperior to his in acting, ſo it was, that they gained the hearts of the town, and Dr D'Avenant was forced to have recourſe to rich ſcenes and fine muſick, for the ſupport of a ſtage upon which Betterton played (*k*). The Doctor himſelf wrote the Opera of *Circe*, which came firſt on the ſtage in 1675, and was received with ſuch applauſe, as gave hopes of ſucceeding in this new way [*D*]. The ſame year a Paſtoral of Mr Crowne's was repreſented at Court, called *Caliſto*, or *The Chaſte Nymph*, which was written at the deſire of Queen Katharine, and the Ladies Mary and Anne, daughters to the Duke of York, who afterwards did honour to the Engliſh throne, performed parts in it (*l*). On this occaſion, Mr Betterton inſtructed the noble Actors, and ſupplied the part of Prompter, and Mrs Betterton gave leſſons to the young Princeſſes, in grateful remembrance of which, Queen Anne ſettled a penſion of one hundred pounds a year upon her (*m*). All this time the theatrical war went on between the two Companies, in which the Duke's had much the better of the King's in all reſpects. A certain writer aſſures us, this advantage was gained by open force, and the frequent uſe of their new ſtage-artillery, *viz.* muſick, machines, and ſcenery; but beſides theſe, I find ſome other arts practiſed in the way of negociation, by which the King's Company were at leaſt as much diſtreſſed as by the Operas (*n*) [*E*]. It was by theſe meaſures, that, at length, the

(*b*) Life of Betterton.

(*i*) From the information of Mr Southerne.

(*k*) Cibber's Life, p. 79.

(*l*) Account of Engliſh Dramatick Poets, by G. Langbain, Oxford, 1691, 8vo, p. 92.

(*m*) Life of Betterton.

(*n*) See this explained in notes [*D*] and [*E*].

former in the King's company, had but three pounds a week, and very probably Mr Betterton had not then ſo much; and beſides, benefits were things unheard-of in thoſe times. So that we may plainly perceive, that it may be affirmed with truth, a profeſſion is not always in the higheſt credit when it produces the greateſt profit; which however is a maxim not altogether confined to play-houſes, for in this, as in many other caſes, the theatre and the world are but too much alike.

[*D*] *As gave them hopes of ſucceeding in this way.*] It is a very difficult thing to write the hiſtory of the theatre with accuracy, and yet it is very well worth the knowing. Few authors have done ſo much towards this as Mr Cibber; and no wonder, ſince perhaps never any man underſtood this ſubject better. What he ſays of the decline of the Duke's company is very clear, and very conſiſtent with good ſenſe and truth (13). 'Theſe two excellent companies were both 'proſperous for ſome few years, 'till their variety of 'plays began to be exhauſted. Then of courſe the 'better actors (which the King's ſeem to have been 'allowed) could not fail of drawing the greater au-'diences. Sir William D'Avenant, therefore, Maſter 'of the Duke's company, to make head againſt their 'ſucceſs, was forced to add ſpectacle and muſick to 'action, and to introduce a new ſpecies of plays, ſince 'called dramatick operas; of which kind were the 'Tempeſt, Pſyche, Circe, and others; all ſet off 'with the moſt expenſive decorations of ſcenes and 'habits, with the beſt voices and dancers. This ſen-'ſual ſupply of ſight and ſound coming in to the aſ-'ſiſtance of the weaker party, it was no wonder they 'ſhould grow too hard for ſenſe and ſimple naturc, 'when it is conſidered how many more people there are 'that can ſee and hear, than think and judge.' The reader will eaſily perceive that I differ from this author in point of time; he fixes the declenſion of the Duke's company, and aſcribes the introduction of Operas on the ſtage of the Duke's theatre to the adminiſtration of Sir William D'Avenant; but in this he is certainly wrong. Pſyche (14), written by Mr Thomas Shadwell, did not appear 'till 1675. Circe came upon the ſtage the ſame year, and the Tempeſt, as it was altered by Sir William D'Avenant and Mr Dryden in 1676. But Sir William died April 7, 1668 (15), full five years before his company were reduced to the neceſſity of ſupporting ſenſe by ſound, and making uſe of machinery, when they found that plain acting would not do the buſineſs.

(13) Cibber's Life, p. 79.

(14) Langbain's Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, p. 449, 450.

(15) See Dryden's Preface to the Tempeſt, as altered by him and Sir W. D. from Shakeſpear.

[*E*] *Were at leaſt as much diſtreſſed as by the Opera.*] It is obſerved by Mr Cibber, that the wanton change of the publick taſte, after the introducing Operas at the Duke's theatre, began to fall as heavy upon the King's company, as their greater excellence in action had before fallen upon their competitors. He likewiſe obſerves, that Major Mohun and Captain Hart began to grow old, and the younger actors, ſuch as Goodman and Clark, grew impatient to get into their parts; and to theſe cauſes he attributes the declenſion of the King's company. But though doubtleſs theſe might help, yet he ſeems not to be acquainted with the principal cauſe, which, as it relates immediately to Mr Betterton, I am obliged to mention. He had by this time a concern in the management of the Duke's company, and finding that theſe ſtruggles hurt both theatres, projected the union of them as the ſole means of recovering the credit of the ſtage; to which it ſeems the King's company, looking upon themſelves as the ſtrongeſt, were exceedingly averſe; and in order to render them more tractable, it was found expedient to take off two of their beſt actors, Mr Kynaſton and Captain Hart. This was a ſingular tranſaction, and of ſuch a nature as not to deſerve credit, if the original article, containing this ſecret treaty, were not actually in being; and as it contains abundance of curious particulars, in relation to play-houſe policy, it may not be amiſs to inſert it (16).

(16) Life of Betterton, p. 8.

Memorandum, *October* 14, 1681.

'IT was then agreed between Dr Charles D'Ave-'nant, Thomas Betterton, Gent. and William 'Smith, Gent. of the one part; and Charles Hart, 'Gent. and Edward Kynaſton, Gent. on the other 'part; That the ſaid Charles D'Avenant, Thomas 'Betterton, and William Smith, do pay, or cauſe to 'be paid, out of the profits of acting, unto Charles 'Hart and Edward Kynaſton, five ſhillings a piece for 'every day there ſhall be any Tragedies or Comedies, 'or other repreſentations, acted at the Duke's theatre 'in Saliſbury-court, or wherever the company ſhall act 'during the reſpective lives of the ſaid Charles Hart 'and Edward Kynaſton, excepting the days the young 'men or young women play for their own profit only. 'But this agreement to ceaſe, if the ſaid Charles Hart 'or Edward Kynaſton ſhall at any time play among, 'or effectually aſſiſt, the King's company of actors, 'and for as long as this is paid they both covenant 'and promiſe not to play at the King's theatre.

'If Mr Kynaſton ſhall hereafter be free to act at the 'Duke's theatre, this agreement with him, as to his 'penſion, ſhall alſo ceaſe.

'In

the King's company were compelled to come into the ſcheme, which thoſe at the head of the Duke's company had formed, of ſubmitting to a coalition, from whence it was hoped, a new company might ſpring, ſuperior, in every reſpect, to all that had gone before them (*o*). This was one of the moſt ſingular revolutions in theatrick government that ever happened, and one of the moſt important events of Mr Betterton's life, but as to the time in which it was accompliſhed, we cannot be poſitive; though as to the circumſtances we have been tolerably exact, and it is from a compariſon of theſe we are led to judge, that it muſt have fallen out in the year 1685 or 1686, though many writers place it ſooner [*F*]. It was in this united company, that the merit of Betterton ſhone with unrivalled luſtre, and that having ſurvived the famous Actors upon whoſe model he had formed himſelf, he was now at liberty to diſcover his mighty genius in it's full extent, by replacing many of them with advantage in thoſe very characters, in which, during their life-times, they had been thought inimitable (*p*). Of this it would be hard to yield belief, and harder ſtill to gain a juſt notion of what we ought to believe about it, if we had not from a living, a capable, and candid writer, as authentick a teſtimony, and at the ſame time, as clear, and as diſtinct an account of his excellence in this reſpect, as our own, or indeed any language will bear, and which may be juſtly eſteemed, a deſcription equally expreſſive and worthy of it's ſubject (*q*) [*G*]. Happy, in the notice of his Sovereign, the

(*o*) Cibber's Life, p. 81.

(*p*) See the article of DRYDEN (JOHN).

(*q*) Cibber's Life, p. 81—99.

'In conſideration of this penſion, Mr Hart and Mr 'Kynaſton do promiſe to make over, within a month 'after the ſealing of this, unto Charles D'Avenant, 'Thomas Betterton, and William Smith, all the right, 'title, and claim, which they, or either of them, 'may have to any plays, books, cloaths, and ſcenes, 'in the King's play-houſe.

'Mr Hart and Mr Kynaſton do both alſo promiſe, 'within a month after the ſealing hereof, to make 'over to the ſaid Charles D'Avenant, Thomas Better-'ton, and William Smith, all the title which they or 'each of them have, to ſix and three-pence apiece for 'every day there ſhall be any playing at the King's 'theatre.

'Mr Hart and Mr Kynaſton do both alſo promiſe 'to promote with all their power and intereſt, an 'agreement between both playhouſes; and Mr Ky-'naſton for himſelf promiſes to endeavour, as much 'as he can, to get free, that he may act at the Duke's 'theatre; but he is not obliged to play unleſs he has 'ten ſhillings *per* day for his acting, and his penſion 'then to ceaſe.

'Mr Hart and Mr Kynaſton do promiſe to go to 'Law with Mr Killigrew to have theſe articles per-'formed, and are to be at the expence of the ſuit.

'In witneſs of this agreement, all the parties have 'hereunto ſet their hands this fourteenth day of Octo-'ber, 1681.'

[*F*] *Muſt have fallen out in* 1685, *or* 1686, *though many writers place it ſooner.*] Mr Gildon ſays poſitively, that Mr Hart and Mr Kynaſton performed their promiſes ſo well, that the union was effected in 1682 (17). But Mr Cibber ſays, that it was brought about in 1684 by the King's advice, which amounted to a command (18). In Mr Dryden's poems we have a Prologue and an Epilogue upon the union of the two companies, which is dated in 1686; and I am apt to think this the true date of that tranſaction for ſeveral reaſons (19). It was the firſt of King James's reign, which might poſſibly be the cauſe why his own company of comedians had ſo great advantage in the manner of this conjunction. In the next place, I find that Mr Cibber is miſtaken, in ſuppoſing that Mr Hart quitted the ſtage upon the ſcore of this union, becauſe it manifeſtly appears, from the paper cited in the former note, that he had quitted the King's company ſeveral years before he was engaged to promote this union, and very probably did ſo. But for all this, I am very far from being poſitive on this head, and therefore I have given the reader the dates, the authorities, and the reaſons, which occur to me for preferring the laſt date; and from hence I hope to eſcape cenſure, even ſhould it appear hereafter that I am miſtaken. By this union a new company was formed, compoſed of the beſt actors that ever appeared upon the Engliſh ſtage together, as appears from the following liſt given us by Mr Cibber, in 1690, when he came into the company, viz. *Men*, Mr Betterton, Mr Mountfort, Mr Kynaſton, Mr Sandford, Mr Nokes, Mr Underhill, and Mr Leigh. *Women*, Mrs Betterton, Mrs Barry, Mrs Leigh, Mrs Butler, Mrs Mountfort, and Mrs Bracegirdle

(17) Life of Betterton, p. 10.

(18) Cibber's Life, p. 153.

(19) Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 259.

[*G*] *A deſcription equally expreſſive, and worthy of it's ſubject.*] What I intend to give the reader in this note is, the character of Mr Betterton as a player, drawn by Mr Cibber, whoſe long acquaintance with him in that character, muſt have given him great opportunities of knowing him thoroughly, and whoſe excellence in that profeſſion, and the great ſkill he ſhewed for many years in the management of a theatre, muſt render him a very competent judge. I have endeavoured to bring what he has delivered concerning our great actor into as narrow a compaſs as poſſible; and though it is ſtill pretty long, yet I am perſuaded that it will not appear tedious. 'Betterton was an actor as 'Shakeſpear was an author, both without competitors! 'formed for the mutual aſſiſtance and illuſtration of 'each other's genius! How Shakeſpear wrote, all men 'who have a taſte for nature may read and know; 'but with what higher rapture would he ſtill be read, 'could they conceive how Betterton played him! 'then might they know the one was born alone to 'ſpeak, what the other only knew to write! Pity it is 'that the momentary beauties, flowing from an har-'monious elocution, cannot, like thoſe of poetry, be 'their own record! That the animated graces of the 'player can live no longer than the inſtant breath and 'motion that preſents them, or at beſt can but faintly 'glimmer through the memory, or imperfect atteſtation 'of a few ſurviving ſpectators. Could how Betterton 'ſpoke be eaſily known as what he ſpoke, then might 'you ſee the Muſe of Shakeſpear in her triumph, with 'all her beauties in their beſt array, riſing into real 'life, and charming her beholders. But, alas! ſince 'all this is ſo far out of the reach of deſcription, how 'ſhall I ſhew you Betterton? Should I therefore tell 'you that all the Othellos, Hamlets, Hotſpurs, Mack-'beths, and Brutus's, you may have ſeen ſince his 'time have fallen far ſhort of him, this ſtill would 'give you no idea of his particular excellence. Let 'us ſee then what a particular compariſon may do, 'whether that may yet draw him nearer to you? 'You have ſeen a Hamlet perhaps, who on the firſt 'appearance of his father's ſpirit has thrown himſelf 'into all the ſtraining vociferation requiſite to expreſs 'rage and fury, and the houſe has thundered with ap-'plauſe, though the miſguided actor was all the while '(as Shakeſpear terms it) *tearing a paſſion into rags*. 'I am the more bold to offer you this particular in-'ſtance, becauſe the late Mr Addiſon, while I ſat by 'him to ſee this ſcene acted, made the ſame obſer-'vation, aſking me, with ſome ſurprize, if I thought 'Hamlet ſhould be in ſo violent a paſſion with the 'ghoſt, which, though it might have aſtoniſhed, it 'had not provoked him? for you may obſerve, that 'in this beautiful ſpeech the paſſion never riſes beyond 'an almoſt breathleſs aſtoniſhment, or an impatience 'limited by filial reverence to enquire into the ſuſpected 'wrongs that may have raiſed him from his peaceful 'tomb! and a deſire to know what a ſpirit ſo ſeem-'ingly diſtreſſed might wiſh or enjoin a ſorrowful ſon 'to execute towards his future quiet in the grave? This 'was the light into which Betterton threw this ſcene 'which he opened with a pauſe of mute amazement! 'Then riſing ſlowly to a ſolemn trembling voice, he 'made the ghoſt equally terrible to the ſpectator as to 'himſelf!

the protection of the nobility, and the general respect of all ranks of people, who considered him

'himself! and in the descriptive part of the natural 'emotions which the ghastly vision gave him, the 'boldness of his expostulation was still governed 'by decency; manly, but not braving; his voice 'never rising into that seeming outrage, or wild de- 'fiance, of what he naturally revered. But, alas! to 'preserve this medium between mouthing, and mean- 'ing too little, to keep the attention more pleasingly 'awake by a tempered spirit, than by meer vehemence 'of voice, is of all the master-strokes of an actor the 'most difficult to reach. In this none have equalled
(20) Ibid. p. 86. 'Betterton ——— (20). He that feels not himself 'the passion he would raise, will talk to a sleeping au- 'dience. But this never was the fault of Betterton; and 'it has often amazed me to see those who soon came 'after him, throw out in some parts of a character a 'just and graceful spirit, which Betterton himself 'could not but have applauded; and yet, in the 'equally shining passages of the same character, have 'heavily dragged the sentiment along like a dead 'weight, with a long toned voice and absent eye, as 'if they had fairly forgot what they were about. If 'you have never made this observation, I am con- 'tented you should not know where to apply it. 'A farther excellence in Betterton was, that he could 'vary his spirit to the different characters he acted. 'Those wild impatient starts, that fierce and flashing 'fire, which he threw into Hotspur, never came from 'the unruffled temper of his Brutus (for I have more 'than once seen a Brutus as warm as Hotspur). When 'the Betterton Brutus was provoked in his dispute 'with Cassius, his spirits flew out of his eye; his 'steady looks alone supplied that terror which he dis- 'dained an intemperance in his voice should rise to. 'Thus, with a settled dignity of contempt, like an 'unheeding rock, he repelled upon himself the foam 'of Cassius. Perhaps the very words of Shakespear, 'will better let you into my meaning.

"Must I give way and room to your rash choler?
"Shall I be frighted when a madman stares?

'And a little after,

"There is no terror, *Cassius*, in your looks, *&c.*

'Not but in some part of this scene, where he re- 'proaches Cassius, his temper is not under this suppres- 'sion, but opens into that warmth which becomes a 'man of virtue; yet this is that hasty spark of anger, 'which Brutus himself endeavours to excuse: But 'with whatever strength of nature we see the poet 'shew at once the Philosopher and the Hero, yet the 'image of the actor's excellence will be still imperfect 'to you, unless language could put colours in our 'words to paint the voice with. '*Et si vis similem 'pingere, pinge sonum*, is enjoining an impossibility. 'The most that a Vandyke can arrive at is, to make 'his portraits of great persons, seems to think; a 'Shakespear goes farther yet, and tells you what his 'pictures thought; a Betterton steps beyond them 'both, and calls them from the grave to breathe, and 'be themselves again in feature, speech, and motion, 'when the skilful actor shews you all those powers at 'once united, and gratifies at once your eye, your 'ear, your understanding. To conceive the pleasure 'arising from such harmony! You must have been 'present at it! 'tis not to be told you!' —— After some very just remarks upon the many defects in Lee's Alexander the Great, and shewing that the general reception that tragedy met with, was owing to the judgment of the actor, and not of the Poet, he proceeds
(21) Ibid. p. 91. thus —— (21). 'When this favourite play I am 'speaking of, from it's being too frequently acted, 'was worn out, and came to be deserted by the town 'upon the sudden death of Mountfort, who had played 'Alexander with success for several years. The part 'was given to Betterton, which under this great dis- 'advantage of the satiety it had given, he immediately 'revived with so new a lustre, that for three days to- 'gether it filled the house, and had then his declining 'strength been equal to the fatigue the action gave 'him, it probably might have doubled it's success; 'an uncommon instance of the power and intrinsick 'merit of an actor. This I mention, not only to 'prove what irresistible pleasure may arise from a ju- 'dicious elocution with scarce sense to assist it. But 'to shew you too, that though Betterton never wanted 'fire and force when his character demanded it, yet, 'where it was not demanded, he never prostituted his 'power to the low ambition of false applause. And 'further, that when from a too advanced age he re- 'signed that toilsome part of Alexander, the play for 'many years after was never able to impose upon the 'publick; and I look upon his so particularly support- 'ing the false fire, and extravagancies of that cha- 'racter, to be a more surprising proof of his skill than 'his being eminent in those of Shakespear, because 'there truth and nature coming to his assistance, he 'had not the same difficulties to combat, and conse- 'quently we must be less amazed at his success where 'we are more able to account for it. Notwithstand- 'ing the extraordinary power he shewed in blowing 'Alexander once more into a blaze of admiration, 'Betterton had so just a sense of what was true or 'false applause, that I have heard him say, he never 'thought any kind of it equal to an attentive silence; 'that there were many ways of deceiving an au- 'dience into a loud one, but to keep them hushed 'and quiet was an applause which only truth and 'merit could arrive at, of which art there never was 'an equal master to himself. From these various ex- 'cellencies he had so full a possession of the esteem and 'regard of his auditors, that upon his entrance into 'every scene, he seemed to seize upon the eyes and 'ears of the giddy and inadvertent! To have talked 'or looked another way would then have been thought 'insensibility or ignorance. In all his soliloquies of 'moment, the strongest intelligence of attitude and 'aspect drew you into such an impatient gaze and 'eager expectation, that you almost imbibed the sen- 'timent with your eye before the ear could reach it. 'I never heard a line in tragedy come from Better- 'ton, wherein my judgment, my ears, and my imagi- 'nation, were not fully satisfied, which since his time 'I cannot equally say of any one actor whatsoever. 'Not but it is possible to be much his inferior with 'great excellencies. Had it been practicable to have 'tied down the clattering hands of all the ill judges, 'who were commonly the majority of an audience, to 'what amazing perfection might the English theatre 'have arrived, with so just an actor as Betterton at 'the head of it.' —— He speaks then of the capa- city of an actor what he ought to know, and how far he should be able to judge of sentiment and poetry. He proceeds next to examine the talents requisite in the profession; and after confessing that with all these, it is not impossible a man may fail, he puts the que- stion, What shall we say will infallibly form an actor? and he answers it in the following terms ——— (22). (22) Ibid. p. 95.
'This, I confess, is one of nature's secrets, too deep 'for me to dive into. Let us content ourselves there- 'fore with affirming, that genius which nature only 'gives, only can compleat him. This genius then 'was so strong in Betterton, that it shone out in every 'speech and motion of him; yet voice and person 'are such necessary supporters to it, that by the mul- 'titude they have been preferred to genius itself, or 'at least often mistaken for it. Betterton had a voice 'of that kind, which gave more spirit to terror than 'to the softer passions; more strength than melody. 'The rage and jealousy of Othello became him better 'than the sighs and tenderness of Castalio; for tho' 'in Castalio he only excelled others, in Othello he 'excelled himself; which you will easily believe, 'when you consider, that in spite of his complexion 'Othello has more natural beauties, than the best actor 'can find in all the magazine of poetry to animate his 'power and delight his judgment with. The person 'of this excellent actor was suitable to his voice, 'more manly than sweet, not exceeding the middle 'stature, inclining to the corpulent; of a serious and 'penetrating aspect; his limbs nearer the athletick 'than the delicate proportion; yet, however formed, 'there arose from the harmony of the whole a com- 'manding mein of majesty, which the fairer faced, 'or (as Shakespear calls them) the curled darlings of 'his time, ever wanted something to be equal masters 'of.

him as an honour to the ſtage and to his country, he might have paſſed through life with as much eaſe, ſatisfaction, and peace of mind, as any man of his time, as having actually ſaved, even out of his moderate allowance, if not an ample, at leaſt a competent eſtate; had he not been perſuaded to attempt becoming rich, which unluckily engaged him in a deſign, which ſwept away all his capital, and left him in real diſtreſs (*r*). This fell out in 1692, and though nothing could fall harder upon ſuch a man, and at ſuch a time of life, yet he bore it with manly patience, not only without murmur or complaint, but even without mention, and was ſo far from ſuffering this ſevere ſtroke of ill fortune, fallen upon him, by following the advice of one he thought his friend, to prejudice that friend, who ventured and loſt more than himſelf, that, on the contrary, he continued his friendſhip to his daughter, after his deceaſe, and did for her all he could have done for his own (*s*) [*H*]. Such was the virtue! ſuch the integrity! ſuch the magnanimity of Mr Betterton! who in his private character was as great as in any he borrowed from the poets, and was therefore always conſidered as the head of the Theatre, though veſted there with very little power. The patentees, as there was now only one Theatre, conſidered it as a means of accumulating wealth to themſelves by the labours of others, and having this maxim once in their minds, it began to have ſo ſtrong an influence on their conduct, that the Actors ſoon found themſelves in a very diſmal condition. They were oppreſſed without decency, left without means of redreſs for the preſent, and without hopes for the future. In this diſmal ſituation, Betterton endeavoured to convince the Managers of their folly, and laboured to ſhew, from reaſon and experience, that the means they uſed were very ill ſuited to the ends they propoſed, and that every government muſt fail, where the *few* forget their obligations to the *many*. This language, in the ears of this theatrical miniſtry, founded like treaſon; and therefore, inſtead of thinking how to remedy the miſchiefs complained of, they bent their thoughts to get the better of their monitor, as if the not hearing of faults was equivalent to mending them. It was with this view, that they began to give ſome of Betterton's beſt parts to young Actors, ſuppoſing this would leſſen his character and abate his influence (*t*). This policy ruined them, and aſſiſted him; the publick reſented having Plays ill acted, when they knew they might be acted better. The wiſeſt and beſt Players attached themſelves wholly to Betterton, and deſired him to turn his thoughts on ſome method of procuring himſelf and them juſtice. Thus, ſtage-tyranny brought about the deſtruction of that power by which it was exerciſed, and the very ſteps taken to render

(*r*) From the information of an intimate friend of Mr Betterton's lately deceaſed.

(*s*) See this tranſaction more fully explained in note [*H*].

(*t*) Cibber's Life, P. 153.

of. There was ſome years ago to be had, almoſt in every print-ſhop, a metzotinto from Kneller, extremely like him. In all I have ſaid of Betterton, I confine myſelf to the time of his ſtrength and higheſt power in action, that you may make allowances from what he was able to execute at fifty, to what you might have ſeen of him at paſt ſeventy. For though to the laſt he was without his equal, he might not then be equal to his former ſelf; yet ſo far was he from being ever overtaken, that for many years after his deceaſe, I ſeldom ſaw any of his parts in Shakeſpear ſupplied by others, but it drew from me the lamentation of Ophelia upon Hamlet's being unlike what ſhe had ſeen him.

'Ah! woe is me!

'T' have ſeen what I have ſeen, ſee what I ſee!'

[*H*] *Did for her all he could have done for his own.*] This extraordinary ſhipwreck of Mr Betterton's ſmall fortune hath been very differently repreſented, and it is not an eaſy matter to come at the truth. Mr Gildon is very conciſe upon this head. 'Mr Betterton, ſays he, 'was ſo ſenſible of friendſhip, that though he loſt near 'eight thouſand pounds by the father, yet he took care 'of the daughter (23).' The like imperfect accounts we have elſewhere; but I preſume no reader can be very well ſatisfied with ſuch an abrupt hint, in relation to the moſt ſingular and extraordinary circumſtance of Betterton's life, and therefore I ſhall endeavour to give him as clear and circumſtantial an account of this matter, as at this diſtance of time can be reaſonably expected. As Mr Betterton's character in private life was extremely fair, and his company very agreeable, he had abundance of friends at all ends of the town, but more eſpecially in the city. Amongſt theſe there was a Gentleman, whom I forbear to name, of great reputation, and of conſiderable fortune, who not only honoured him with his favour and protection, but entered with him alſo into the ſtricteſt intimacy and friendſhip. This Gentleman, in the year 1692, was concerned in an adventure to the Eaſt-Indies upon the footing then allowed by the Company's Charter, which veſſels ſo employed were ſtiled interlopers. The proſpect of ſucceſs was great, the gain unuſually high; and this induced Mr Betterton, to whom his friend offered any ſhare in this buſineſs that he pleaſed, to think of ſo large a ſum as eight thouſand pounds; but it was not for himſelf, for he had no ſuch ſum in his power; and whoever conſiders the ſituation of the ſtage at that time, will need no other argument to convince him of it. Yet he had another friend, whom he was willing to oblige, which was the famous Dr Radcliffe; ſo Mr Betterton advanced ſomewhat more than two thouſand pounds, which was his all, and the Doctor made it up eight thouſand. The veſſel ſailed to the Eaſt-Indies, and made as proſperous a voyage as thoſe who were concerned in her could wiſh; and the war with France being then very warm, the Captain very prudently came home north about, and arrived ſafely in Ireland. But whether obliged by the orders of his owners, or elated by his ſucceſs hitherto, ſo it was, that in his paſſage from Ireland he was taken by the French. His cargo was worth upwards of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, which ruined Mr Betterton, and broke the fortune and the heart of his friend in the city. As for Dr Radcliffe, he expreſſed a great concern for Mr Betterton, and none at all for himſelf. It is, ſaid the Doctor wittily, only trotting up ſome hundred pair of ſtairs more, and things are as they were. The Gentleman in the city left behind him an only daughter, whom Mr Betterton took home, educated with all the care, and treated with all the tenderneſs of a parent, 'till ſhe thought fit to marry herſelf to Mr Bowman the Player, who is but very lately dead, and whoſe behaviour was ſuch, as not only recommended him to the perſonal eſteem of all that knew him, but gave credit to the reports of the excellency of the old ſtage, when Players in general were like him (24). This is a teſtimony of reſpect due to his memory, which I am very glad to have this occaſion of paying; for ſo long as this work ſhall laſt, I hope it will be of uſe in conſecrating to poſterity the fame of worthy perſons deceaſed of all ranks, as well as the candour and impartiality of thoſe to whom providence has conſigned the great charge of doing juſtice to the dead, and which it is their duty to perform with religious exactneſs.

(23) Life of Mr Betterton, p. 11.

(24) Theſe facts are many of them well known, but the whole of them was communicated by a perſon who deſires to be concealed.

[*I*] *Pointed*

render Betterton desperate, pointed out the way to his deliverance (*u*) [*I*]. The general acquaintance he had amongst persons of the first distinction, gave him an opportunity of representing his case to them, and his case was so very reasonable in itself, that being truly represented, it was sufficient to affect all great and generous minds, with a desire of procuring so worthy and so extraordinary a person, relief (*w*). But though the quality of those who sought this was great, and the thing sought very reasonable, yet for all that it was far from being easily brought about. But at length, partly through the hardship Mr Betterton and his people endured, and partly through the obstinacy of the patentees, who would listen to nothing, it was held equally legal and just, that the royal authority should interpose for the cure of an evil, which sprung entirely from an abuse of royal favour (*x*) [*K*]. King William granted this favour at the instance of the famous Earl of Dorset, the friend, the favourite, and protector of the Muses; the Nobility also, led by his example, contributed, by a voluntary subscription, to raise a Theatre

(*u*) Case of the Actors laid before the Lord Chamberlain.

(*w*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 157.

(*x*) Case of the Actors, before-mentioned.

[*I*] *Pointed out the way to his deliverance.*] It does not appear that Mr Betterton had any intention of distinguishing his own interest from those of the Patentees, 'till they convinced him by their behaviour, that they were already distinguished in their opinions. The person they fixed upon to come into Betterton's parts was one George Powell, a man as opposite to the person he thought to supplant, as nature could well form him (25). He had fire without judgment, confidence without merit, and strength of lungs which very much exceeded the strength of his understanding. With these abilities, or rather with this want of ability, he stept into Betterton's parts, and which was no less welcome to him, from forty shillings to four pounds a week salary. At the same time this step was taken amongst the men, another of the like kind was attempted in reference to the women. Mrs Bracegirdle was then a young player, but had given such an earnest of what she afterwards performed, that no scruple was made of offering her the parts of Mrs Barry, the greatest actress that had appeared upon the English stage; but Mrs Bracegirdle shewed her capacity and her virtue at the same time by a steady refusal. Mr Betterton, when things were come to this pass, thought fit to provide for his own security, by setting on foot a kind of association amongst the actors, which sufficiently demonstrated his influence and their good sense, since the ablest and most esteemed amongst them readily agreed to support him (26). The Patentees had recourse to the same method, and listed such and so many as they could on their side. But though Betterton had a visible advantage over them in this method of proceeding, yet he was a man of too much judgment and good sense, not to foresee that any conquest would be prejudicial to the victors, as well as the vanquished; and therefore the only use he made of his success was, to propose an accommodation, as a thing most for the benefit of both parties; but this the Patentees rejected with that haughtiness incident to weak minds, who fancy the desire of quiet, is a mark of want of strength, or of a want of resolution. They did not consider of how much consequence it is in all such disputes to be, and to be thought, in the right, or at least they did not reflect, that by the making this proposition, Mr Betterton and his party would secure the good opinion of the publick. They were heated with a fond presumption of their own power, and blinded by a false notion they had conceived, that it was not to be controuled. They thought they had the Law on their side, and that whatever became of the justice of their cause, the power vested in them by their royal patents would enable them to triumph over all opposition. These were their maxims, and indeed the maxims of all tyrants; and these were the steps by which they provoked and produced that rebellion which they meant to prevent, and which they might have so easily have prevented, if they had distinguished better their true interests, from what they were persuaded by their passions to mistake for their interests; a lesson which was soon after sufficiently taught them by experience, though their pride hindered them from learning it at present.

(25) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 153.

(26) History of the Stage, p. 137.

[*K*] *Which sprung entirely from the abuse of royal favour.*] It was in the winter of the year 1694, that this quarrel rose to so great a height, and the interruption it occasioned in their playing, proved the loss of a thousand pounds to the Patentees before Christmas. They flattered themselves with the hopes of going on better during the remaining part of the season, by drawing off some of those who sided with Mr Betterton, in which they met with an unforeseen disappointment by the death of Queen Mary, which occasioned a total suspension of all publick diversions (27). This gave Mr Betterton and his friends leisure to enquire upon what ground they stood, and whether it might not be in the power of the Earl of Dorset, then Lord Chamberlain, to redress their grievances. His Lordship was known to be well inclined, but it was not found that his office enabled him to compel the Patentees to do what it was reasonable they should have done in favour of the actors. Upon this the subject was canvassed at Court, and even in the circle, so that at last it reached the Royal ear (28). The King, who naturally hated oppression, signified a willingness to relieve these people from a yoke they were not able to bear, and with which the publick also was highly displeased. The Lawyers were not long in finding out how this might be done, they had indeed given their opinions that the former patents were good, but they agreed now that a new patent would be as good. By this the knot was cut that could not be untied, and Mr Betterton and his friends left at liberty to entertain the town on a stage of their own; and to enable them to do this, several persons of distinction subscribed forty guineas apiece, and it was agreed to build a new theatre, where the Tennis-court then stood, in Lincoln's Inn-Fields (29). The managers of the old patent then found, when it was too late, that they had pushed the matter too far, and that when Betterton and his party left them, they should be too weak to attempt any thing with success. They had however the good fortune to draw over Mr Williams and Mrs Mountfort from their adversaries, which did them some hurt, and the managers a great deal of good. They likewise endeavoured to obtain recruits from the country, in which they were not altogether unsuccessful, for this brought Mr Johnson and Mr Bullock to the house; nor were they altogether deprived of good actors by the going off of Mr Betterton, since they had still with them Mr Cibber, Mr Kent, Mr Verbruggen, Mr Powell, and Mr Haynes. As for women, they had only Mrs Rogers, and Mrs Verbruggen; and to these we must add Mrs Williams, and Mrs Mountfort, to whom the other company refused shares, as Mr Cibber very justly observes against that principle of equity on which they should have founded all their proceedings (30). I have been the more particular in this account, because it serves to shew how excellent the other players must have been when in this condition; the Patentees proceeded with fear and trembling, as knowing that Betterton's company would, in the opinion of all proper judges, prove infinitely superior to them; though, as we have shewn, setting this comparison aside, their company was very far from being despicable. They had indeed one advantage, which was that of opening before their rivals, and they did not fail to make use of it; but at the same time, they had the misfortune to make use of a very bad Play, which they revived upon this occasion. It was *Aldelazer*, or, *The Moors Revenge*, very poorly written by Mrs Behn, and they acted it before a numerous audience (31). The stage however appeared so indifferently filled when Mr Betterton, Mrs Barry, and Mrs Bracegirdle, were absent, that the very next night their audience sunk to nothing; so that they were not long in doubt as to the consequences of this separation with respect to themselves. The Patentees saw plainly their error, and that whatever became of the other company, their own, by dint of their wise management, was fallen as low as their bitterest enemies could wish it, without any visible prospect of their being able to raise it again.

(27) Life of King William, p. 313.

(28) See the article of SACKVILLE, (Charles) Earl of Dorset.

(29) Life of Betterton, p. 10.

(30) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 162.

(31) See Langbain's Account of English dramatick Poets, p. 23.

[*L*] *That*

Theatre for them to play in, and this produced the new Play-House, near that which is ſtill ſtanding in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields (*y*). This Theatre was opened in April 1695, with very great advantages. Mr Congreve accepted a ſhare with this company, as Mr Dryden had formerly with the King's company, and the firſt Play they acted was his admirable Comedy of *Love for Love*. The King honoured it with his preſence, there was a large and ſplendid audience, Mr Betterton ſpoke a prologue, and Mrs Bracegirdle an epilogue ſuitable to the occaſion, and it appeared plainly, by the reception they met with, the town knew how to diſcern and reward that merit, the ill-judging Patentees had treated ſo ill (*z*) [*L*]. But with all theſe vaſt advantages, Betterton's company were not able to maintain this flow of proſperity beyond two or three ſeaſons. Mr Congreve was an excellent, and therefore a ſlow, writer; the other houſe had the advantage of two authors who produced without pain, Vanbrugh and Cibber, they wrote, if not finiſhed, at leaſt taking Plays, and though they were ſometimes mauled by the criticks, they were ſure of being applauded by the people (*a*). This gave ſuch a turn in their favour, that with all their merit, Betterton's Actors had been undone, but for the ſeaſonable relief of *The Mourning Bride*, and the *Way of the World*, which came like reprieves, and ſaved them at the laſt gaſp (*b*). In a few years, however, it appearing plainly, that without a new ſupport from their friends, it was impoſſible for them to maintain their independance, the protectors of Mr Betterton ſet on foot a new ſubſcription, for building a Theatre in the Hay-Market, under the direction of Sir John Vanbrugh, which was finiſhed in 1706 (*c*). This favour was kindly received by Mr Betterton, but he was now grown old, his health and ſtrength much impaired by conſtant application, and his fortune in a condition ſtill worſe than thoſe of his perſonal circumſtances. He choſe therefore, all things conſidered, and more eſpecially an untractable ſpirit grown up amongſt his Actors, occaſioned by loſſes and diſappointments, to decline his poſt, and put the whole deſign under the conduct of Mr Congreve and Sir John Vanbrugh (*d*). The former of theſe abandoned it ſoon after to Sir John entirely, and Betterton's ſtrength failing, many of the old Players dying, and other accidents happening, a re-union of the companies became not only expedient but neceſſary, and accordingly it took place ſoon after. We are now releaſed from the taſk of purſuing the ſtage hiſtory any father, hitherto it was that of Betterton, with whom it grew, it flouriſhed, it reached perfection, it declined, it decayed; and as the ſtory of a great Prince carries in it that of his people, ſo

(*y*) Life of Betterton.

(*z*) Cibber's Life, p. 160.

(*a*) Hiſtorical Remarks on the Britiſh Theatre, p. 195.

(*b*) Cibber's Life, p. 161.

(*c*) Memoirs of Vanbrugh's Life, p. 65.

(*d*) Cibber's Life, p. 262.

[*L*] *That merit the ill-judging Patentees had treated ſo ill.*] It is very certain, that if true merit alone could have ſupported an undertaking of this kind, Mr Betterton's company would have met with conſtant and univerſal approbation. The actors he carried with him to Lincoln's-Inn-Fields were ſuch, as, together with himſelf and his wife, might have raiſed any ſtage to reputation; which may the more eaſily be credited, when we reflect that their memories are ſtill freſh, amongſt thoſe who are the beſt judges of the pieces they perſormed. Amongſt the men were Mr Underhill, Mr Smith, Mr Bowman, Mr Dogget, Mr Sandford, and Mr Bowen. Amongſt the women, Mrs Barry, Mrs Bracegirdle, Mrs Bowman, Mrs Ayliff, and Mrs Leigh (32). The Prologue at their opening was very happily written, and contains a very beautiful and eaſy compliment to thoſe who had aſſiſted them in obtaining this eſtabliſhment. The reader perhaps being now ſo well acquainted with the ſubject, will the better reliſh the following lines from it (33).

(32) From private information of a perſon then upon the ſtage.

(33) See this Prologue in the ſecond Volume of Congreve's Works.

The huſbandman in vain renews his toil
To cultivate each year a hungry ſoil,
And fondly hopes for rich and generous fruit,
When what ſhould feed the tree devours the root.
Th' unladen boughs he ſees bode certain dearth,
Unleſs tranſplanted to more kindly earth.
So the poor huſbands of the ſtage, who found
Their labours loſt upon ungrateful ground,
This laſt and only remedy have prov'd,
And hope new fruit from antient ſtocks remov'd.
Well may they hope when you ſo kindly aid,
Well plant a ſoil which you ſo rich have made.
As nature gave the world to man's firſt age,
So from your bounty we receive this ſtage.
The freedom man was born to you've reſtor'd,
And to our world ſuch plenty you afford,
It ſeems, like Eden, fruitful of it's own accord.
But ſince in Paradiſe frail fleſh gave way,
And when but two were made, both went aſtray;
Forbear your wonder, and the fault forgive,
If in our larger family we grieve
One falling Adam, and one tempted Eve (*).
We who remain would gratefully repay
What our endeavours can, and bring this day
The firſt-fruit offering of a Virgin-Play.

(*) Alluding to Mr Williams and Mrs Mountfort.

The Epilogue, ſpoke by Mrs Bracegirdle, alſo contains ſome farther remarks upon this theatrical revolution, and alludes to the players having formerly had recourſe to the ſame method, and to the ſame part of the town, in time of diſtreſs, I ſhall quote ſome lines from thence for the reaſons before given (34).

(34) Ibid. p. 175.

Sure Providence at firſt deſigned this place
To be the players refuge in diſtreſs;
For ſtill in every ſtorm they all run hither,
As to a ſhed that ſhields them from the weather.
But thinking of this change which laſt befel us,
'Tis like what I have heard our Poets tell us:
For when behind the ſcenes their ſuits are pleading,
To help their love, ſometimes they ſhew their reading;
And wanting ready caſh to pay for hearts,
They top their learning on us, and their parts.
Once of Philoſophers they told us ſtories.
Whom, as I think, they call'd—*Py—Pythagories.*
I'm ſure 'tis ſome ſuch Latin name they give 'em,
And we who know no better muſt believe 'em.
Now to theſe men, (ſay they) ſuch ſouls were giv'n,
That after death ne'er went to Hell nor Heaven;
But liv'd, I know not how, in beaſts; and then,
When many years are paſt, in men again.
Methinks we Play'rs reſemble ſuch a ſoul,
That does from bodies, we from houſes ſtrole.
Thus Ariſtotle's ſoul that was,
May now be damn'd to animate an aſs;
Or in this very houſe, for ought we know,
Is doing painful penance in ſome beau:
And thus our audience, which did once reſort
To ſhining theatres to ſee our ſport,
Now find us toſs'd into a *Tennis-court.*

so to write the life of Betterton fairly, is to give the History of the Theatre during his time (*e*). At last, indeed, they separated, but by degrees, and not with any unkindness. After Mr Betterton reached seventy, his infirmities grew on him greatly, his fits of the gout were more lasting and more severe. His circumstances also, which had not been mended by his having the conduct of the Theatre, grew daily streighter, and all this joined to his wife's ill state of health, made his condition but melancholy, at a time of life, when the highest affluence could not have made them chearful. Yet even under all these pressures he kept up his spirit, and was as serene as ever, though somewhat less active; nay, he acted still when his health would permit, which, however, was but seldom (*f*). The publick (in those days grateful) remembered the pleasure that Betterton had given them, and could not suffer, after fifty years service, so deserving a person should withdraw, without some considerable marks of their bounty. It was in the spring 1709, that a benefit, which was not then, as now, a common favour, much less a thing of right, was granted to Mr Betterton, and the Play of *Love for Love* (*g*) was acted at the Theatre Royal, on the seventh of April, for that purpose. Two of the best Actresses that ever graced our stage, and who had then quitted it, came upon that occasion to render it more advantageous, the part of *Valentine* was played by Betterton, *Angelica* by Mr Bracegirdle, and Mrs Barry performed that of *Frail*. The epilogue spoke by her was written by Mr Rowe, who had deserved the laurel he wore if it had been his single performance; and so well was this affair conducted, that we are told it produced Mr Betterton five hundred pounds, and a promise the favour should be annually continued (*h*) [*M*].

(*e*) See Betterton's Life.

(*f*) Cibber's Life, p. 331.

(*g*) See the Tatler quoted in the notes.

(*h*) Life of Betterton.

These

[*M*] *A promise that the favour should be annually continued.*] In order to justify this fact, I find myself obliged to quote a paper, in which this transaction is set in the fairest light by Sir Richard Steele, who describes every action of humanity with almost as much warmth as he felt it. After mentioning the Ladies and Mr Dogget's behaviour with just commendations, he goes on thus (35). 'There has not been known so great a 'concourse of persons of distinction as at that time; the 'stage itself was covered with Gentlemen and Ladies, 'and when the curtain was drawn, it discovered even 'there a very splendid audience. This unusual en'couragement, which was given to a play for the ad'vantage of so great an actor, gives an undeniable in'stance, that the true relish for manly entertainments 'and rational pleasures is not wholly lost. All the 'parts were acted to perfection: the actors were care'ful of their carriage, and no one was guilty of the 'affectation to insert witticisms of his own, but a due 'respect was had to the audience for encouraging this 'accomplished player. It is not now doubted but 'plays will revive, and take their usual place in the 'opinion of persons of wit and merit, notwithstanding 'their late apostacy in favour of dress and sound. 'This place is very much altered since Mr Dryden 'frequented it; where you used to see Songs, Epi'grams, and Satires, in the hands of every man you 'met, you have now only a pack of cards; and in'stead of the cavils about the turn of the expression, 'the elegance of the stile, and the like, the learned 'now dispute only about the truth of the game. But 'however the company is altered, all have shewn a 'great respect for Mr Betterton; and the very gaming 'part of this house have been so much touched with 'a sense of the uncertainty of human affairs, (which 'alter with themselves every moment) that in this 'Gentleman they pitied Mark Anthony of Rome, 'Hamlet of Denmark, Mithridates of Pontus, Theo'dosius of Greece, and Henry the Eighth of Eng'land. It is well known, he has been in the condition 'of each of those illustrious personages for several 'hours together, and behaved himself in those high 'stations, in all the changes of the scene, with suit'able dignity. For these reasons we intend to repeat 'this favour to him on a proper occasion, lest he who 'can instruct us so well in personating feigned sorrows, 'should be lost to us by suffering under real ones.' He was no less indebted to his friend Nicholas Rowe, Esq; than he was to Sir Richard Steele, for the Epilogue which he wrote for Mrs Bracegirdle was of such a nature, as could not but convey to every generous heart and elegant mind, a tender feeling for the distress of him for whose sake it was written. The passage therein, which relates to Shakespear, is very fine and very poetical, at the same time that it is very natural and very moving. The reader will hereafter see the cause that very probably suggested this thought to Mr Rowe; but in order to judge the better of it, it is requisite that he should see the piece itself. Indeed I am greatly mistaken if this method of comparing occasional poems with the narratives of the events, by which they were occasioned, is not the best way of disclosing their beauties, and doing justice to their authors. Such poems make really a part of the memoirs of that life to which they relate, and therefore are never more properly introduced than in this manner, provided they are not too numerous, and the life to which they relate has dignity enough to deserve such illustrations. That of Mr Betterton needs no apology of this kind; for if Cicero took so much pains to raise the character of the Roman Roscius, I certainly run no hazard of being censured of over fondness for him, whom the best judges have deservedly stiled the Roscius of England. But it is now time to come to the poem which gave occasion to these remarks, and which I take to be equally correct and gallant (36).

(35) Tatler, No. 1. under the head of *Will's* Coffee-House.

(36) This Epilogue is prefixed to the Life of Betterton.

As some brave Knight, who once with spear and shield
Had fought renown in many a well-fought field,
But now no more with sacred fame inspir'd,
Was to a peaceful hermitage retir'd;
There, if by chance disast'rous tales he hears,
Of matrons wrongs and captive virgins tears,
He feels soft pity urge his generous breast,
And vows once more to succour the distrest.
Buckled in mail he sallies on the plain,
And turns him to the feats of arms again.

So we to former leagues of friendship true,
Have bid once more our peaceful homes adieu,
To aid old Thomas, and to pleasure you.
Like errant damsels boldly we engage,
Arm'd, as you see, for the defenceless stage.
Time was when this good man no help did lack,
And scorn'd that any She should hold his back:
But now, so age and frailty have ordain'd,
By two at once he's forc'd to be sustain'd.
You see what failing nature brings man to;
And yet let none insult, for ought we know
She may not wear so well with some of you.
Tho' old, you find his strength is not clean past,
But, true as steel, he's mettle to the last.
If better he perform'd in days of yore,
Yet now he gives you all that's in his power;
What can the youngest of you all do more?
What he has been, tho' present praise be dumb,
Shall hap'ly be a theme in times to come,
As now we talk of Roscius and of Rome.
Had you with-held your favours on this night,
Old Shakespear's ghost had ris'n to do him right;
With indignation had you seen him frown
Upon a worthless, witless, tasteless town:

Griev'd

These extraordinary marks of publick gratitude, had a proper effect upon Mr Betterton, who, instead of indulging himself on their bounty, exerted the spirits given by this seasonable act of generosity, in their service, and appeared and acted as often as his health would permit (*i*). On the twentieth of September following in particular, he performed the character of *HAMLET*, with such vivacity, as well as justice, that it gave universal satisfaction to the best judges (*k*). This activity of his in the winter, kept off the gout longer than usual, but the fit was the more violent for it when it came upon him in the spring. This was the more unlucky, by it's being about the time of his benefit, when the success of his Play, was sure to depend, in a great measure, upon his own performance. The day fixed was April the thirteenth, and the Play he made choice of, was *The Maid's Tragedy*, in which he acted the part of *Melantius*, and notice was given accordingly by his good friend the *TATLER* (*l*), but the fit intervened, and that he might not disappoint the town, Mr Betterton was forced to allow of outward applications to reduce the swelling of his feet, which had such an effect, that he was able to appear on the stage, though he was forced to use a slipper. He acted that day with unusual spirit and briskness by which he obtained universal applause (*m*). But this could not defend him from paying a very dear price for these momentary marks of approbation, since the gouty humour, repelled by fomentations, soon seized upon the noble parts, which being, perhaps, weakened by his extraordinary fatigue on that occasion, he was not able to make a long resistance, but on the twenty-eighth of April 1710, paid that tribute to nature, from which neither heroes, nor those who play them, can be exempted (*n*). His behaviour raised his reputation and character, in his life-time, as high as he could wish; he received the strongest proofs of publick esteem, we may say, almost literally, in his last moments; and such honours were paid his memory after death, as only his memory could deserve. For on the second of May following, his corps was, with much ceremony, interred in Westminster-abbey (*o*), and such an account given of this solemnity, by the most agreeable writer of those times, as will outlast even brazen monuments, and perhaps the very Abbey itself [*N*]. As to the character of this great man, in the way of his profession, the reader

(*i*) Hist. of the Stage, p. 139.

(*k*) The Tatler, No. 71.

(*l*) Ibid. No. 157.

(*m*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 99.

(*n*) Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, Vol. V. p. 211.

(*o*) Antiquities of St Peter's Westminster, Vol. II. p. 188.

Griev'd and repining, you had heard him say,
Why are the Muses labours cast away?
Why did I only write, what only he could play?
But since, like friends to wit, thus throng'd you meet,
Go on, and make the gen'rous work complete;
Be true to merit, and still own his cause;
Find something for him more than bare applause.
In just remembrance of your pleasures past.
Be kind, and give him a discharge at last:
In peace and ease life's remnant let him wear,
And hang his consecrated BUSKIN here.

[*N*] *And perhaps the very Abbey itself.*] It would have been the easiest thing in the world to have referred the reader to the Tatlers for this fine discourse; but then we should have run the hazard of it's not being immediately read, or connected with what has been said upon the subject, which would leave this account imperfect, and hinder the reader's perceiving all the beauties of that (37). For these reasons we have judged it more expedient to give the whole a place here, as securing by that means the finest picture of this great man that was ever drawn, and the most pleasing likeness. We may add also to these another, and perhaps a stronger reason. This humane and admirable paper discovers the sentiments of those days, and how just, how grateful, and full of reverence, the publick was to those who deserved well of it in any character. They were not then satisfied to read a few lines of when and where a man was born, how long he lived, and when he died, but listened with pleasure to his whole story, admired sincerely all his good qualities, deplored his loss, and favourably received the endeavours of that writer, who aimed at doing justice to the dead, and placed his own merit in celebrating that of other men. May we on all sides emulate so laudable a practice!

(37) Tattler, No. 167.

From my own Apartment, May 2.

'HAVING received notice, that the famous 'actor Mr Betterton was to be interred this even- 'ing in the cloysters near Westminster-Abbey, I was 'resolved to walk thither, and see the last office done 'to a man whom I had always very much admired, 'and from whose action I had received more strong 'impressions of what is great and noble in human na- 'ture, than from the arguments of the most solid 'Philosophers, or the description of the most charming 'Poets I had ever read. As the rude and untaught 'multitude are no way wrought upon more effectually, 'than by seeing publick punishments and executions; 'so men of letters and education feel their humanity 'most forcibly exercised, when they attend the obse- 'quies of men who had arrived at any perfection in 'liberal accomplishments. Theatrical action is to be 'esteemed as such, except it be objected, that we 'cannot call that an art which cannot be attained by 'art. Voice, stature, motion, and other gifts, must 'be very bountifully bestowed by nature, or labour and 'industry will but push the unhappy endeavourer in 'that way, the further off his wishes.

'Such an actor as Mr Betterton ought to be recorded 'with the same respect as Roscius among the Romans. 'The greatest Orator has thought fit to quote his 'judgment, and celebrate his life. Roscius was the 'example to all that would form themselves into pro- 'per and winning behaviour. His action was so well 'adapted to the sentiments he expressed, that the youth 'of Rome thought they wanted only to be virtuous to 'be as graceful in their appearance as Roscius. The 'imagination took a lovely impression of what was 'great and good; and they who never thought of set- 'ting up for the art of imitation, became themselves 'inimitable characters.

'There is no human invention so aptly calculated 'for the forming a free-born people as that of a 'theatre Tully reports, that the celebrated player 'of whom I am speaking used frequently to say, *The 'perfection of an actor is only to become what he is do- 'ing*. Young men, who are too unattentive to re- 'ceive lectures, are irresistibly taken with performances. 'Hence it is, that I extremely lament the little relish 'the gentry of this nation have at present, for the just 'and noble representations in some of our Tragedies. 'The Operas, which are of late introduced, can leave 'no trace behind them that can be of service beyond 'the present moment. To sing and to dance, are 'accomplishments very few have any thoughts of prac- 'tising; but to speak justly, and more gracefully, is 'what every man thinks he does perform, or wishes 'he did.

'I have hardly a notion, that any performer of an- 'tiquity could surpass the action of Mr Betterton, in 'any of the occasions in which he has appeared on our 'stage. The wonderful agony which he appeared in, 'when he examined the circumstance of the hand- 'kercbief in Othello; the mixture of love that in- 'truded upon his mind upon the innocent answers 'Desdemona makes, betrayed in his gesture such a 'variety and vicissitude of passions, as would admonish

'a man

reader has seen it very fully represented, by authors every way equal to the task, and who thought it did honour to their own Genii, to do right to the great Genius of Betterton. But some other particulars there are, relating chiefly to his private life, of which I think it becomes me to take notice. He was a man of great study and application, and in regard to the subjects which employed his attention, as knowing, and as much a master, as any man could be. He was an excellent critick, more especially on Shakespear and Fletcher, not in remarking their defects, but in searching out, and producing to light, all their minute and hidden beauties. In this he was so accurate and so successful, that Mr Rowe (*p*), who was himself an excellent judge, and had also studied the same authors with deep attention, says the strongest things that man can say of Betterton's skill in this respect. His knowledge of Shakespear's merit, gave him so strong, and so perfect an esteem for him, that he made a journey, or rather a pilgrimage, into Staffordshire to visit his tomb, and to collect whatever particulars, relating to his history, tradition might have preserved, and these he freely communicated to the same friend, who acknowledges with much candour, that the memoirs of Shakespear's life he published (from which later lives have been taken) were the produce of that journey, and freely bestowed on him by the collector (*q*). Yet, extensive as his knowledge was, and high as he stood in reputation and esteem, he was the modestest man living. The young Actors revered him as a parent, but they loved him as a parent at the same time. He was gentle in his language, mild in his behaviour, ready in commendation, sincere in advice, and so indirect in his reproofs, that he had an art of shewing men their foibles without their seeing that this was what he intended, and the secret was the better kept, because he never mentioned such failings to another man. Mr Booth, who knew him only in his decline, said, he never saw him, either upon the stage or off, without learning from him, and frequently observed, that Mr Betterton was no Actor, that he put on his part with his clothes, and was the very man he undertook to be, 'till the play was over, and nothing more. So exact in following nature, that the look of surprize he put on in the character of *Hamlet*, struck him so in that of the *Ghost*, (when he first played it) as to disable him, for some moments, from going on (*r*). Yet he was so communicative, that in those parts he played highest, he would enter into the grounds of his action, and explain, as far as it was possible to explain, the principles of his art. He was admirably versed in the action of the stage, considered as independent of sentiment, and knew perfectly the dependance, connection, and business of the scenes, so as to attract, preserve, and satisfy, the attention of an audience, an art extreamly necessary to an Author, and yet the hardest to be acquired of any. He was so far from putting on assuming looks, and a supercilious air to young authors, that he always insisted on their reading his parts to him, and took their instructions in the acting them, with the utmost deference and respect (*s*). But what shewed his accurate

(*p*) Account of Mr W. Shakespear, prefixed to *His Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell.*

(*q*) Ibid.

(*r*) From Mr Booth's frequent mention of this passage at Button's.

(*s*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 95.

'a man to be afraid of his own heart, and perfectly 'convince him, that it is to stab it, to admit that 'worst of daggers, Jealousy. Whoever reads in his 'closet this admirable scene, will find that he cannot, 'except he has as warm an imagination as Shakespear 'himself, find any but dry, incoherent, and broken 'sentences: But a reader that has seen Betterton act 'it, observes there could not be a word added; that 'longer speeches had been unnatural, nay, impossible, 'in Othello's circumstances. The charming passage 'in the same tragedy, where he tells the manner of 'winning the affection of his mistress, was urged with 'so moving and graceful an energy, that while I 'walked in the cloysters, I thought of him with the 'same concern, as if I waited for the remains of a 'person who had in real life done all that I had seen 'him represent. The gloom of the place, and faint 'light before the ceremony appeared, contributed to 'the melancholy disposition I was in; and I began to 'be extremely afflicted, that Brutus and Cassius had 'any difference; that Hotspur's gallantry was so unfortunate; and that the mirth and good humour of 'Falstaff could not exempt him from the grave. Nay, 'this occasion in me, who look upon the distinctions 'amongst men to be merely scenical, raised reflections 'upon the emptiness of all human perfection and greatness in general; and I could not but regret, that the 'sacred heads which lie buried in the neighbourhood 'of this little portion of earth in which my poor old 'friend is deposited, are returned to dust as well as he, 'and that there is no difference in the grave between 'the imaginary and the real monarch. This made 'me say of human life itself with *Macbeth*:

'To-morrow, to-morrow, and to-morrow,
'Creeps in a stealing pace from day to day
'To the last moment of recorded time!
'And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
'To their eternal night! Out, out, short candle!
'Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
'That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
'And then is heard no more.

'The mention I have here made of Mr Betterton, 'for whom I had, as long as I have known any thing, 'a very great esteem and gratitude for the pleasure he 'gave me, can do him no good; but it may possibly be 'of service to the unhappy woman he has left behind 'him, to have it known, that this great Tragedian was 'never in a scene half so moving, as the circumstances 'of his affairs created at his departure. His wife, after the cohabitation of forty years in the strictest 'amity, has long pined away with a sense of his decay, as well in his person as his little fortune; and, 'in proportion to that, she has herself decayed both 'in her health and reason. Her husband's death, added to her age and infirmities, would certainly have 'determined her life, but that the greatness of her 'distress has been her relief, by a present deprivation 'of her senses. This absence of reason is her best 'defence against age, sorrow, poverty, and sickness, 'I dwell upon this account so distinctly, in obedience 'to a certain great spirit, who hides her name, and 'has by letter applied to me to recommend to her 'some object of compassion, from whom she may be 'concealed.

'This, I think, is a proper occasion for exerting 'such heroick generosity; and as there is an ingenuous 'shame in those who have known better fortune to be 'reduced to receive obligations, as well as a becoming 'pain in the truly generous to receive thanks; in this 'case both those delicacies are preserved; for the person obliged is as incapable of knowing her benefactress, as her benefactress is unwilling to be known 'by her.'

accurate and thorough skill in dramatick entertainments, was his own performances as an author, which, to those who read them, may possibly seem too high a compliment, because it will be thought, and indeed justly, that we have many better writers of Comedies than he; but yet, as to the single point I commend him for, he has been excelled by none (*t*) [O]. As he had the rare felicity of passing through life without envy or reproach, though not without misfortunes, so this felicity was also heightened by his fortunate choice of a wife, with whom he passed his days in domestick quiet, though they were of very different tempers. He was naturally chearful, and had a very high confidence in Providence; but she was of a thoughtful and melancholy temper, more especially after their great loss, and when she saw his health began to decline (*u*). She was so strongly affected by his death, which, as we have shewn, was in some measure sudden, that she ran distracted, though she appeared rather a prudent and constant, than a fond and passionate, wife. She was extreamly useful to the Theatre, and more happy in the instructing young actresses than any other had been, so that her misfortune was a great, indeed a publick, loss [*P*]. She did not long survive Mr Betterton, according to our best information, about six months, but this was long enough for Queen Anne to express her compassion, by giving her a pension, which was hardly settled upon her before it ceased. She is said to have recovered her senses a little before she expired (*w*).

(*t*) See this explained in the notes.

(*u*) From accounts of a Lady intimate with her for many years.

(*w*) Reported by the same Lady.

[O] *As to the single point for which I commend him, he has been excelled by none*] The works of Betterton, as a dramatick Poet, are but few, viz. I. *The Woman made a Justice*. II. *The Unjust Judge; or, Appius and Virginia*. This was written originally by Mr John Webster, an old Poet, who flourished in the reign of James I. It was altered only by Mr Betterton, who was so cautious and reserved upon this head, that it was by accident that the fact was known, at least with certainty (38). III. *The Amorous Widow; or, The Wan on Wife*; a play written on the plan of Moliere's *George Dandin*. The *Amorous Widow* is a second plot, interwoven to accommodate the piece more to the English taste. This comedy was acted in Mr Betterton's life-time with great applause, but notwithstanding this he could never be prevailed upon to publish it; so that the world saw it only as a posthumous performance (39). The chief merit of this, and indeed of all his performances, lay in the exact disposition of the scenes, their just length, great propriety, and natural connection; to all which was owing their being justly esteemed the best acting plays that had been brought upon the stage; and of how great consequence this is to the fate of tragedy and comedy, may be learned from all Banks's pieces, which, though they have nothing else to recommend them, seldom fail to affect an audience as much, or more, than some that are deservedly in better reputation (40). This remark may be of use to those who write for the stage, since there are many more plays lost for want of attending to this, than from any deficiency of wit or judgment.

(38) Langbain's Account of the Dramatick Poets, p. 509.

(39) It is added to his Life, written by Gildon, and consequently, first printed in 1710.

(40) See the article of CONGREVE (WILLIAM).

[*P*] *So that her misfortune was a great, indeed a publick, loss.*] All who remember the theatre in those days, and whom pains have been taken to consult, agree, that Mrs Betterton deserved in every respect the character given in the text, and was of infinite service to the English stage. We will give her praises more particularly from one of them (41). 'She was, says 'Mr Cibber, though far advanced in years, so great a 'mistress of nature, that even Mrs Barry, who acted 'Lady Macbeth after her, could not in that part, 'with all her superior strength and melody of voice, 'throw out those quick and careless strokes of terror 'from the disorder of a guilty mind, which the other 'gave us with a facility in her manner, that rendered 'them at once tremendous and delightful. Time 'could not impair her skill, tho' he had brought her 'person to decay. She was to the last the admiration 'of all true judges of nature and lovers of Shakespear, 'in whose plays she chiefly excelled, and without a 'rival. When she quitted the stage, several good 'actresses were the better for her instruction. She 'was a woman of an unblemished and sober life, and 'had the honour to teach Queen Anne, when Princess, 'the part of Semandra in Mithridates, which she 'acted at Court in King Charles's time. After the 'death of Mr Betterton her husband, that Princess, 'when Queen, ordered her a pension for life, but she 'lived not to receive more than the first half year of 'it.' Thus the reader has seen in this matchless couple, that all professions honestly and ably discharged are honourable; and that it is not at all impossible for persons of real worth, to transfer the reputation they acquire on the stage to the characters they sustain in life. E

(41) Apology for the Life of Mr Cibber, p 134, 135.

BETTS (JOHN) an eminent Physician in the XVIIth century, was son of Mr Edward Betts by his wife Dorothy, daugther of Mr John Venables of Yapley, in Hampshire. He was born at Winchester, and educated there in grammar learning. From thence he was elected a Scholar of Corpus-Christi College in Oxford, in February, 1642 (*a*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, February 9, 1646 (*b*). Being ejected by the Visitors appointed by the Parliament in 1648, he applied himself to the study of Physick (*c*), and commenced Doctor in that faculty, April 11, 1654, having accumulated the degrees (*d*). He practised with great success at London, but chiefly among the Roman Catholicks, being himself of that persuasion. He was afterwards appointed Physician in Ordinary to King Charles II. The time of his death is not certainly known. Dr Betts wrote the two physical treatises mentioned below [*A*].

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1028.

(*b*) Id. Fasti Ox. Vol. II. col. 52.

(*c*) Id. Athen. ib.

(*d*) Id. Fast. ib.

[*A*] *He wrote two Physical Treatises.*] The first is intitled, *De Ortu et Natura Sanguinis*; i. e. 'Of 'the Origin and Nature of the Blood.' Lond. 1669, in 8vo. Afterwards there was added to it, *Medicinæ cum Philosophia Naturali Consensus*; i. e. 'The Har- 'mony between Physic and Natural Philosophy.' Lond. 1662, in 8vo. Dr George Thomson, a Physician, animadverted upon our author's treatise *De Ortu et Natura Sanguinis*, in his *True way of preserving the Blood in it's integrity*. Dr Bett's second piece is intitled, *Anatomia Thomæ Parri annum centesimum quinquagesimum secundum et novem menses agentis, cum clarissimi viri Gulielmi Harvæi aliorumque adstantium Medicorum Regiorum observationibus*; i. e. 'The Anatomy 'of Thomas Parr, who died in the 152d year and 'ninth month of his age, with the Observations of 'the celebrated Dr William Harvey, and others of the 'King's Physicians, who were present (1). T

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon Vol. II. col. 1028.

BEVERIDGE (William), a learned Divine in the XVIIth century, and made Biſhop of St Aſaph in the beginning of the XVIIIth, was born at Barrow in Leiceſterſhire, in the year 1638 (*a*). On the 24th of the May, 1653, he was admitted into St John's college in Cambridge; and took his degrees, of Bachelor of Arts in 1656, of Maſter of Arts in 1660, and of Doctor of Divinity in 1679 (*b*). At his coming to the univerſity, he cloſely applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the learned languages; and, by his great diligence and application, ſoon became ſo well ſkilled, particularly in all Oriental Learning, that when he was not above eighteen years of age, he wrote a Treatiſe of the Excellency and Uſe of the Oriental Tongues, eſpecially the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Samaritan, with a Syriac Grammar, in three books; which he publiſhed when he was about twenty years of age [*A*]. He alſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf, at the ſame time, by his early piety and ſerioufneſs of mind, and by his exemplary ſobriety and integrity of life, all which procured him very great eſteem and veneration. The third day of January, 1660-1, he was ordained Deacon, in the church of St Botolph Alderſgate, by Robert, Biſhop of Lincoln: and Prieſt, in the ſame place, the 31ſt of that month (*c*). About which time (*d*), Dr Sheldon, Biſhop of London, collated him to the vicarage of Yealing in Middleſex. On the 22d of November, 1672, he was choſen, by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of London, Rector of St Peter's Cornhill, London, and then he reſigned the vicarage of Yealing (*e*). Upon his being thus placed in the metropolis of this kingdom, he applied himſelf, with the utmoſt labour and zeal, to the diſcharge of his Miniſtry in it's ſeveral parts and offices. And ſo inſtructive was he in his diſcourſes from the pulpit; ſo warm and affectionate in his private exhortations; ſo regular and uniform in the publick worſhip of the Church, and in every part of his paſtoral function; and ſo remarkable were his labours crowned with ſucceſs, that as he himſelf was juſtly ſtiled 'the great Reviver and Reſtorer of primitive piety,' ſo his pariſh was deſervedly propoſed, as the beſt model and pattern, for the reſt of it's neighbours to copy after (*f*). His ſingular merit having recommended him to the favour of his Dioceſan, Biſhop Henchman, he was collated by him, on the twenty-ſecond of December, 1674, to the prebend of Chiſwick in the cathedral of St Paul's, London (*g*). And by his ſucceſſor, Biſhop Compton, he was alſo, on the third of November, 1681, collated to the archdeaconry of Colcheſter (*h*). In this dignity he behaved, as he had done before in every ſtation of life; namely, in a moſt regular, watchful, and exemplary manner. For, not ſatisfied with the falſe, or at leaſt imperfect, reports, given in by Church-Wardens at Viſitations, he viſited every pariſh within his archdeaconry in perſon [*B*]. November the 5th, 1684, he was inſtalled Prebendary of Canterbury, in the room of Dr Du Moulin, deceaſed (*i*). He became alſo Chaplain to King William and Queen Mary. In 1691 he was offered, but refuſed, the See of Bath and Wells [*C*], then vacant by the deprivation of Dr Thomas Kenn, for not taking the oaths to King William and Queen Mary (*k*) But though he refuſed that See, becauſe, probably, being a man of a tender conſcience, he would not eat Dr Kenn's bread, according to the language of thoſe times; he afterwards accepted of that of St Aſaph, vacant by the tranſlation of Dr George Hooper to Bath and Wells, and was conſecrated July 16, 1704 (*l*). Being placed in this eminent ſtation, his care and diligence increaſed, in proportion as his power in the Church was enlarged; and as he had before diſcharged the duty of a faithful Paſtor over his ſingle fold; ſo when his authority was extended to larger diſtricts, he ſtill purſued the ſame pious and laborious methods of advancing the honour and intereſt of religion, by watching over both clergy and laity, and giving them all neceſſary direction and aſſiſtance, for the effectual performance of their reſpective duties. Accordingly, he was no ſooner advanced to the epiſcopal chair, but in a moſt pathetick and obliging Letter to the Clergy of his dioceſe, he recommended to them, the 'duty of catechiſing 'and inſtructing the people committed to their charge, in the principles of the Chriſtian 'religion; to the end they might know what they were to believe, and do, in order to 'ſalvation.' And told them, 'He thought it neceſſary to begin with that, without 'which, whatever elſe he, or they, ſhould do, would turn to little or no account, as 'to the main end of the miniſtry (*m*).' And to enable them to do this the more effectually, he ſent them a plain and eaſy *Expoſition upon the Church Catechiſm.* This good man, though worthy of a longer life, did not enjoy his epiſcopal dignity above three years, ſeven months, and twenty days: for he died at his lodgings in the cloyſters in Weſtminſter-Abbey, March the 5th, 1707-8, in the 71ſt year of his age (*n*); and was

(*a*) From his Will in the Prerogative-Office: See alſo the time of his death, below.

(*b*) From the College and Univerſity Regiſters, communicated by the learned Dr W. Richardſon.

(*c*) Regiſt. Sanderſon, Linc. See Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728. p. 353.

(*d*) Viz. Jan. 4 Kennet, ibid. or Regiſt. Sheldon. and Newcourt's Report. Eccleſiaſtic. Vol. I. p. 764.

(*e*) Newcourt, ubi ſupra, p. 526, and 93.

(*f*) Preface to his *Private Thoughts upon Religion.*

(*g*) Newcourt, ubi ſupra, p. 140.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 93.

(*i*) Le Neve, Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglican. p. 15. edit. 1716.

(*k*) Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719. fol p. 634. and Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 176.

(*l*) Le Neve, as above, p. 23.

(*m*) Preface to his Private Thoughts on Religion; and to his Sermons.

(*n*) J. Le Neve, Faſti, &c. as above, p. 23.

[*A*] *A Treatiſe of the Excellency and Uſe of the Oriental Tongues*, &c.] The whole title of it is as follows: *De Linguarum Orientalium, præſertim Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, & Samaritacæ, præſtantiâ & uſu, cum Grammaticâ Syriacâ tribus libris traditâ, per G. Beveridgium.* Lond. 1658, 8vo.

[*B*] *He viſited every pariſh within his archdeaconry in perſon.*] And took a very particular and exact account of every church he viſited; the condition it was in; what utenſils it had, or wanted; what repairs were neceſſary, and the like. The ſame method he uſed with regard to the Clergy's houſes. And all thoſe things he ſet down diſtinctly in a book, now in the poſſeſſion of his ſucceſſor, the preſent worthy Archdeacon of Colcheſter, who follows his commendable example of viſiting his archdeaconry parochially.

[*C*] *He was offered, but refuſed, the See of Bath and Wells.*] Upon which occaſion there was publiſhed, 'A Vindication of their Majeſties authority to 'fill the Sees of the deprived Biſhops. In a Letter 'out of the Country; occaſioned by Dr B———'s 'refuſal of the Biſhoprick of Bath and Wells.' Licenſed May 29, 1691, 4to.

[*D*] *Inſtitutionum*

was buried in St Paul's cathedral (o). He left the main of his eſtate to the Societies, for *Propagating the Goſpel*, and *Promoting Chriſtian Knowledge*. To the curacy of *Mount-Sorrel* in particular, and vicarage of *Barrow* in the county of Leiceſter, in a thankful remembrance of God's mercies vouchſafed to him thereabouts, he bequeathed twenty pounds a year for ever, on condition that prayers be read morning and evening every day, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, in the chapel and pariſh-church aforeſaid; with the ſum of forty ſhillings yearly, to be divided equally upon Chriſtmas-eve, among eight poor houſe-keepers of Barrow, as the Miniſter and Church-wardens ſhall agree, regard being had eſpecially to thoſe who had been moſt conſtantly at Prayers, and at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the foregoing year. And if it ſhould ſo happen, that the Common-Prayer could not be read in the church or chapel aforeſaid; his will then was, that what ſhould have been given in either place for that, be in each place allowed to one choſen by the Vicar of Barrow to teach ſchool, and inſtruct the youth in the principles of the Chriſtian religion, according to the doctrine of the Church of England (p). His works were many, and full of great variety of learning. Thoſe publiſhed by himſelf were as follows. I. *De Linguarum Orientalium, præſertim Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, & Samaritanæ, præſtantiâ & uſu*, &c. mentioned above. Lond. 1658, 8vo. II. *Inſtitutionum Chronologicarum libri duo, una cum totidem Arithmetices Chronologicæ libellis.* Lond 1669, 4to [D]. III. Συνόδικον, *ſive Pandectæ Canonum SS. Apoſtolorum, & Conciliorum ab Eccleſiâ Græca receptorum; necnon Canonicarum SS. Patrum Epiſtolarum; una cum Scholiis antiquorum ſingulis eorum annexis, & ſcriptis aliis huc ſpectantibus; quorum plurima e Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ aliarumque MSS. codicibus nunc primum edita: reliqua cum iiſdem MSS. ſummâ fide & diligentiâ collata. Totum Opus in duos tomos diviſum Guilielmus Beveregius Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Preſbyter recenſuit, Prolegomenis munivit, & Annotationibus auxit.* Oxonii, 2 vol. fol. 1672, [E]. IV. *Codex Canonum Eccleſiæ Primitivæ vindicatus & illuſtratus.* Lond. 1679, 4to [F]. V. The Church Catechiſm explained, for the uſe of the dioceſe of St Aſaph. Lond. 1704, 4to, reprinted ſeveral times ſince in a ſmaller volume. Next follow Biſhop Beveridge's works, publiſhed after his deceaſe by his executor Mr Timothy Gregory. To ſpeak the truth, they do not ſeem to have been deſigned by the author for the preſs; and therefore the publication of them was, in general, a great injury to the good Biſhop's memory. However, they are, I. 'Private Thoughts upon Religion, digeſted into twelve articles, 'with practical Reſolutions formed thereupon.' Written in his younger years, (when he was about twenty-three years old) for the ſettling of his principles and conduct of Life. Lond. 1709. II. 'Private Thoughts upon a Chriſtian Life; or, Neceſſary Directions 'for it's beginning and progreſs upon earth, in order to it's final perfection in the 'Beatifick Viſion.' Part II. Lond. 1709. III. 'The great Neceſſity and Advantage of 'publick Prayer and frequent Communion. Deſigned to revive primitive Piety; with 'Meditations, Ejaculations, and Prayers, before, at, and after the Sacrament.' Lond. 1710. Theſe have been reprinted ſeveral times in 8vo and 12mo. IV. 'One hundred 'and fifty Sermons and Diſcourſes on ſeveral Subjects,' Lond. 1708, &c. in 12 vol. 8vo; reprinted at London, 1719, in 2 volumes, fol. V. *Theſaurus Theologicus*; 'or, A com-

(o) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. Vol. II. Appendix I. p. 138.

(p) From his Will in the Prerogative-Office, London.

[D] *Inſtitutionum Chronologicarum Libri duo*, &c.] The firſt edition was publiſhed in 1669; a ſecond came out in 1705, 4to; and a third beautifully printed in 1721, 8vo. This volume is a very good introduction to Chronology. In the firſt and ſecond books the author treats of the nature and parts of Chronology, and of the terms and other particulars belonging thereto. And in the third and fourth books has given a ſhort Syſtem of *Characteriſtic* Arithmetic, (which had never been handled before by any writer) as far as is neceſſary for underſtanding Chronology thoroughly.

[E] Συνόδικον, *ſive Pandectæ Canonum*, &c.] This beautiful edition contains, in Vol. I. The Canons attributed to the Apoſtles; the Canons — of the firſt Council of Nice; of the firſt Council of Conſtantinople; of the Council of Epheſus; of the Council of Chalcedon; of the ſixth Council in Trullo; of the ſecond Council of Nice; of the firſt and ſecond Councils of Conſtantinople, held in the church of the Apoſtles; of the Council of Conſtantinople, held in the church of Sancta Sophia; of the Councils of Carthage, Ancyra, Neocæſarea, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicæa, Sardica, Carthage: And the arguments and Arabic paraphraſe of Joſeph the Egyptian, on the Canons of the four General Councils. The IId volume comprehends the Canons of Dionyſius Alexandrinus; of Petrus Alexandrinus; of Gregory Thaumaturgus; of S. Athanaſius; S. Baſil; S. Gregory Nyſſen; the Canonical Anſwers of Timothy, Biſhop of Alexandria; the Canons of Theophilus, Archbiſhop of Alexandria; the Catholic Epiſtles of Cyrill, Archbiſhop of the ſame; Verſes of St Gregory the Divine and S. Amphilochius, ſhewing what books of the Old and New Teſtament are to be read; a Circular Letter of Gennadius, Patriarch of Conſtantinople; a Letter of Taraſius, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, to Pope Adrian; a Synopſis of the Canonical Letters of Alexius Ariſtenus. Part. II. An Alphabetical Index or Syntagma, by Mathew Blaſtaris, of the Contents of all the Canons; of the Synod, which reſtored the Patriarch Photius to the See of Conſtantinople; the Acts of the eighth Synod of Conſtantinople. Laſtly, Mr Beveridge's large and learned Notes upon the whole. All the particulars above-named are printed in two columns, the Greek on one ſide, and the Latin tranſlation on the other; with the notes of Theodorus Balſamon, John Zonaras, and Alexius Ariſtenus, on ſeveral of the Canons.

[F] *Codex Canonum Eccleſiæ Primitivæ vindicatus*, &c.] This Book is a vindication of the author's opinion concerning the Authority of the Apoſtolical Canons, and the time when they were made. In his Notes on theſe Canons (1) he had fixed the date of them at *the end of the ſecond*, and *beginning of the third century* (2); taking a middle courſe between Fran. Turrianus, who affirmed that they were all made by the Apoſtles at the Council of Jeruſalem; and John Daillé, who maintained (3) that they were not compoſed 'till the fifth century, by ſome impoſtor, and did not appear 'till the end of that century. In the Notes above-mentioned, Mr Beveridge had made ſome reflexions on this opinion of Daillé, whereupon an anonymous author publiſhed *Obſervations upon Mr Beveridge's Reflections*; to which the *Codex Canonum Eccleſiæ Primitivæ vindicatus* is a reply.

(1) Page 2—8.

(2) Ibid. p. 4.

(3) *De Pſeudepigraphis Apoſtolicis*, publiſhed in 1652.

[G] *Expoſition*

'A complete Syſtem of Divinity, ſummed up in brief Notes upon ſelect places of the Old 'and New Teſtament; wherein the ſacred Text is reduced under proper heads, explain- 'ed and illuſtrated with the Opinions and Authorities of the ancient Fathers, Councils, '&c.' Lond. 1711, 4 vol. 8vo. VI. 'A Defence of the book of Pſalms, collected in- 'to Engliſh Metre by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others; with critical Ob- 'ſervations on the New Verſion, compared with the Old.' Lond. 1710, 8vo. In this book he gives the old verſion the preference to the new. VII. 'Expoſition of the 'XXXIX Articles. Lond. 1710, 1716, fol. [G]. Biſhop Beveridge's character is in general repreſented in a moſt advantageous light. He was a perſon of the ſtricteſt integrity, of true and ſincere piety, and exemplary charity, and of great zeal for religion. For all which excellent qualities he was ſo highly eſteemed, that, when he was dying, one of the chief of his order deſervedly ſaid of him, 'There goes one of the greateſt, and of 'the beſt men that ever England bred (*q*).' He is alſo celebrated as a man of extenſive and almoſt univerſal learning; furniſhed, to a very eminent degree, with all uſeful knowledge; and much to be admired for his readineſs in the Scriptures, which he had thoroughly ſtudied, ſo that he was able to produce ſuitable paſſages from them on all occaſions, and happy in explaining them to others (*r*). Mr Nelſon ſays (*s*), that he cannot forbear acknowledging the favourable diſpenſation of Providence to the preſent age, in bleſſing it with ſo many of thoſe pious diſcourſes, which our truly primitive Prelate delivered from the pulpit; and that he the rather takes the liberty to call it a favourable diſpenſation of Providence, becauſe the Biſhop gave no orders himſelf that they ſhould be printed, but humbly neglected them, as not being compoſed for the preſs. But that this circumſtance is ſo far from abating the worth of the ſermons, or diminiſhing the character of the author, that it raiſes the excellency of both, becauſe it ſhews at once the true nature of a popular diſcourſe; which is to improve the generality of hearers, and for that purpoſe to ſpeak to them in a plain and intelligible ſtile, and alſo the great talent the Biſhop had that way. Dr Henry Felton ſays (*t*), that our learned and venerable Biſhop hath delivered himſelf with thoſe ornaments alone, which his ſubject ſuggeſted to him, and hath written in that plainneſs and ſolemnity of ſtile, that gravity and ſimplicity, which give authority to the ſacred truths he teacheth, and unanſwerable evidence to the doctrines he defendeth. That there is ſomething ſo great, primitive, and apoſtolical, in his writings, that it creates an awe and veneration in our mind; that the importance of his ſubjects is above the decoration of words; and what is great and majeſtic in itſelf, looketh moſt like itſelf, the leſs it is adorned. The author of one of the Guardians (*u*), having made an extract out of one of the Biſhop's ſermons (*w*), tells us, that it may for acuteneſs of judgment, ornament of ſpeech, and true ſublime, compare with any of the choiceſt writings of the Ancients, who lived neareſt to the Apoſtles times. But the author of a pamphlet publiſhed in 1711 (*x*) paſſes a very different judgment upon Biſhop Beveridge's works; in order to ſtop, as he ſays, the miſchief they are doing, and that which the publication of his Articles may do.—With regard to the Biſhop's *Language*, he obſerves (*y*), that he delights in jingle and quibbling; affects a tune and rhyme in all he ſays, and reſts arguments upon nothing but words and ſounds.—And as to his *Principles* and *Arguings*, he eſtabliſhes, ſaith that author, falſhood and truth with equal ſtrength (*z*). His writings are full of miſtakes in Logic.—That ſome of his ſermons are a perplexed going round from one thing to another, and from that in return back again to it; and abound in contradictions (*a*). That he proves even the moſt important points by arguments that are not concluſive (*b*). That he is a downright Calviniſt; and ſpeaks in ſuch a manner of the Satisfaction of Chriſt, as would in any one elſe have been called by a man of the Biſhop's zeal no leſs than blaſphemy (*c*). That he makes many things neceſſary to ſalvation, which the Scripture ſpeaks not one word of (*d*). That, though he dares ſay the Biſhop was far enough from Popery, yet there are ſome things in him which are agreeable to it (*e*). And finally, that he deſtroys That which is the foundation of all Religion, and of all other knowledge in the world, That which is the gift of God, and the glory of our nature, our ſenſes, and our reaſon.—But perhaps this animadverter will by ſome be ranked among the perſons, of whom Dr Lupton gives the following character (*f*). 'Thoſe who are cenſorious enough to reflect with ſeverity upon the pious ſtrains, which 'are to be found in Biſhop Beveridge, &c. may poſſibly be good judges of an Ode or 'Eſſay, but do not ſeem to criticiſe juſtly upon Sermons, or expreſs a juſt value for 'ſpiritual things.' After all, whatever faults may be found in Biſhop Beveridge's poſthumous works, muſt be charged upon the avarice or injudiciouſneſs of his executor. He is not indeed to be ranked among Tillotſon, S. Clarke, Clagett, and the two Sherlocks, for cloſeneſs of reaſoning, and elegancy of ſtile; but his honeſty and goodneſs will always be had in reverence.

(*q*) Preface to *Private Thoughts upon a Chriſtian Life.*

(*r*) Preface to his Sermons.

(*s*) Life of Biſhop Bull, ſecond edit. Lond. 1714, pag. 75, 76.

(*t*) Diſſertation on reading the Claſſicks, &c. fourth edit. Lond. 1730, 8vo, p. 190.

(*u*) No. 74. Vol. I.

(*w*) Sermon on Exodus iii. 14.

(*x*) Mentioned below in note [G].

(*y*) Page 3.

(*z*) Page 7, &c.

(*a*) Page 14, 15.

(*b*) Page 17, &c.

(*c*) Page 46.

(*d*) Page 48.

(*e*) Page 57.

(*f*) In a Letter to Mr Nelſon, Nov. 25, 1712. See Biſhop Bull's Life, p. 494.

[G] *Expoſition of the XXXIX Articles*, &c.] Upon the publication of this, there came out a pamphlet, intitled, 'A ſhort view of Dr Beveridge's writings, 'which may ſerve as a preliminary diſcourſe to an 'Examination of his Articles.' Lond 1711, 8vo. A pamphlet, wherein the good Biſhop's works are ſeverely attacked, and often juſtly. The Expoſition upon the firſt Article was publiſhed at firſt by itſelf in 1710.

C

BEVERLY (JOHN OF), in Latin *Joannes Beverlacius*, Archbiſhop of York in the eighth century, was born of a noble family among the Engliſh Saxons, at *Harpham*, a ſmall town in Northumberland (*a*). He was firſt a Monk, and afterwards Abbot of the monaſtery of St Hilda (*b*). He was inſtructed in the learned languages by Theodore, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and was juſtly eſteemed one of the beſt ſcholars of his time (*c*). Alfred of Beverly, who wrote his *Life*, pretends he ſtudied at Oxford, and took there the degree of Maſter of Arts; but Biſhop Godwin aſſures us this cannot be true, becauſe ſuch diſtinction of degrees was not then known at Oxford, nor any where elſe in the Chriſtian world (*d*). Our Abbot's merit recommended him to the favour of Alfred King of Northumberland, who, in the year 685, advanced him to the See of Haguſtald or Hexham, and, upon the death of Archbiſhop Boſa, in 687, tranſlated him to that of York (*e*). This prelate was Tutor to the famous Bede, and lived in the ſtricteſt friendſhip with Acca, and other Anglo-Saxon Doctors, ſeveral of whom he put upon writing Comments on the Scriptures. He likewiſe founded, in 704, a college at Beverly for ſecular prieſts [*A*]. After he had governed the See of York thirty-four years, being tired with the tumults and confuſions of the Church, he diveſted himſelf of the epiſcopal character, and retired to Beverly; and four years after died in *the odour of Sanctity*, on the ſeventh of May, 721 (*f*) [*B*]. The day of his death was appointed a feſtival by a Synod

(*a*) Ba'eus de Script. Brit Cent. I. c. 94.

(*b*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. an. 721.

(*c*) Bale and Pits ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Archiep. Ebor. *an.* 687.

(*e*) Bede, Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Gent. Anglor. l. v. c. ii, iii. Chronic. Joan. Bromton, *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 794. & Thom. Stubbs, Act. Pontif. Ebor. *ibid.* col. 1692, 1693.

(*f*) Bale & Pits, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He built a college at Beverly for ſecular prieſts.*] Camden informs us (1), that the memory of John of Beverly was ſo ſacred among our Kings, (particularly Athelſtane, who honoured him as his guardian Saint, after he had defeated the Danes) that they endowed this college with very conſiderable immunities. Among other privileges, it had that of an *Aſylum* or ſanctuary for debtors, and perſons ſuſpected of capital crimes. Within it ſtood a chair of ſtone, with this inſcription:

(1) Britannia, by Biſhop Gibſon, laſt edit. Vol. II. col. 891.

HÆC SEDES LAPIDEA *Freedſtool* DICITUR, i. e. PACIS CATHEDRA, AD QUAM REUS FUGIENDO PERVENIENS OMNIMODAM HABET SECURITATEM.

That is,

This Stone-Seat is called Freedſtool, i. e. *the Chair of Peace, to which what criminal ſoever flies has full protection.*

The ſame author tells us, the town of Beverly had a church before the time of John of Beverly, dedicated to St John the Evangeliſt, which this Archbiſhop converted into a chapel for his new erected monaſtery. He adds, 'The Minſter here is a very fair and neat 'ſtructure. — At the upper end of the quire, on the 'right ſide of the altar-place, ſtands the *Freedſtool* a-'bove-mentioned, made of one entire ſtone, (ſaid to 'have been removed from Dunbar in Scotland) with 'a well of water behind it. At the upper end of the 'body of the church, next the quire, hangs an an-'tient table with the pictures of St John, (from whom 'the church is named) and of King Athelſtane the 'founder of it; and between them this diſtich:

'*Als free make I thee*
'*As heart can wiſh, or egh can ſee* (2).'

(2) Camden, ib. & col. 892.

But we have a more particular account of the foundation and hiſtory of the church of Beverly, in the *Appendix* to Leland's *Collectanea*, publiſhed by Mr T. Hearne. It is intitled, *Out of a looſe paper lying in a fol. MS. (containing Excerpta out of Leland's Collectanea, that I have before printed) in the hands of my learned friend, Roger Gale, Eſq*; The account is as follows. '*Out of the Great Regiſter, or Town-'Book of Beverly. The Firſt Foundation of the Col-'legiate Church of Bleſſed John of Beverly.* The 'Collegiate Church of Bleſſed John of Beverly was 'antiently founded in the county of York, in a cer-'tain country called Deyira, to wit, in the wood of 'the Deyirians, in the time of Lucious, the moſt il-'luſtrious King of (England, then called) Brittany, 'the firſt King of the ſame, the ſon of Coil, a Pagan 'King, anointed by Pope Eleutherius, the thirteenth 'after Peter, in the year of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the 'Son of God the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven 'and earth, together with the Holy Ghoſt, according 'to the computation of the Church of England, 126. 'Afterwards it was deſtroyed by the Pagans Orſe and 'Hengiſt, and is again renewed and founded by the 'aforeſaid Bleſſed John Archbiſhop of York, is or-'dained a monaſtery of black Monks, of religious 'Nuns, Virgins, ſeven ſecular Prieſts for the ſervice 'of God, and divers other miniſters, to wit, in the 'year of our Lord 704. And alſo again it is deſtroyed 'by the Pagans Hubba and Hungar, Danes, the ſons 'Swayn, King of the Danes. After that it is refoun-'ded and augmented by the moſt illuſtrious King of 'England, Athelſtane, who endowed the ſaid church 'with divers privileges, gifts, and benefices; and ſo it 'remained honourably endowed under the government 'of ſeven Canons, until the coming of William called 'the Baſtard, the Conqueror and King, and ſo untill 'the year of our Lord 1082. And then with the con-'ſent of William called Rufus of England, by Tho-'mas Archbiſhop called the Elder, by the aſſent of the 'Canons, and others whom it concerned, Thomas the 'nephew of the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop, a prieſt, was 'ordained and called the firſt Provoſt; to whom ſuc-'ceeded Thurſtan of bleſſed memory, to whom Tho-'mas called the Norman, to whom Robert, to whom, '&c. to whom the venerable father and lord, Lord 'Peter of Cheſter; who purchaſed many tenements, 'revenues, and ſervices to the ſayd Provoſtſhip and 'Provoſt thereof, and left implements of diverſe goods 'and chattels in all the mannors of the ſaid Provoſt-'ſhip, both quicke and dead; to whom, &c (3).'

(3) *See* Append. *to* Leland's Collectan. Part ii. p. 45.

[*B*] *He died*, &c.] Godwin tells us (4), he was buried in the church porch of his monaſtery; but this is not conſiſtent with what Camden tells us concerning the diſcovery of his remains about the middle of the 16th century. Let that Antiquarian ſpeak for himſelf. 'In the year 1564, upon opening a grave, they met 'with a vault of ſquared free-ſtone, fifteen feet long, 'and two feet broad at the head, but at the feet a foot 'and a half broad. Within it was a ſheet of lead four 'feet long, and in that the aſhes, and ſix beads, '(whereof three crumbled to duſt with a touch, and 'of three remaining two were ſuppoſed to be cornelians) with three great braſs pins, and four large iron 'nails. Upon the ſheet lay a leaden plate, with this 'inſcription:

(4) De Præſul. Angl. *inter* Archiep. Ebor. *an.* 687.

+ ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DOMINI MCLXXXVIII.
'COMBUSTA FUIT HÆC ECCLESIA IN MENSE SEPTEMBRI, IN SEQUENTI NOCTE POST FESTUM SANCTI MATHÆI APOSTOLI: ET IN AN. MCXCVII. VI. IDUS MARTII FACTA FUIT INQUISITIO RELIQUIARUM BEATI JOHANNIS IN HOC LOCO, ET INVENTA SUNT HÆC OSSA IN ORIENTALI PARTE SEPULCHRI ET HIC RECONDITA, ET PULVIS CEMENTO MIXTUS IBIDEM INVENTUS EST ET RECONNITUS.

In Engliſh thus:

In the year of our Lord 1188, *this church was burnt in the month of September, on the night following the feaſt of St Matthew the apoſtle; and in the year* 1197, *on the ſixth of the ides of March, enquiry was made after the reliques of St John in this place, and theſe bones were found in the eaſt part of the ſepulchre, and were buried here, and there alſo duſt mixed with mortar was found and buried.*

Synod held at London in 1416 (g). Bede, and other Monkish writers, ascribe several miracles to John of Beverly, of which we shall give the reader a taste in the remark [C]. Between three and four hundred years after his death, his body was taken up by Alfric, Archbishop of York, and placed in a shrine richly adorned with silver, gold, and precious stones (h). Bromton relates (i), that William the Conqueror, when he ravaged Northumberland with a numerous army, spared Beverly alone, out of a religious veneration for St John of that place. This prelate wrote some pieces, which are mentioned in the remark [D].

(g) Godwin, ubi supra.

(h) Tho. Stubbs, ubi supra, col. 170.

(i) Ubi supra, col. 966.

Pits helps us to another JOHN of BEVERLY, so called from the place of his nativity. He was a Carmelite Monk in the fourteenth century, a very learned man, and Doctor and Professor of Divinity at Oxford. He flourished about the year 1390, in the reign of Richard II, and wrote, I. *Questiones in Magistrum Sententiarum*; i. e. 'Questions 'on the Master of the Sentences.' In four books. II. *Disputationes ordinariæ*; i.e. 'Disputations on the usual topics.' In one book (k).

(k) Pits, ubi supra, an. 1390.

'Cross over this lay a box of lead, about seven inches 'long, six broad, and five high; wherein were several pieces of bones, mixed with a little dust, and 'yielding a sweet smell; as also a knife and beads. 'All these things were carefully re-interred in the 'middle alley of the body of the minster, where 'they were taken up. But a seal, which was also found 'therein, was not re-interred with the rest, but came into the possession of a (*) private hand: Which account agees not with what Bishop Godwin has left us 'about this Saint; namely, that he was buried in the 'church-porch. For though what is mentioned in the 'inscription was only a *re-interment* upon the inquisition made, yet it looks a little strange, that they 'should not lay the reliques in the same place where 'they found them; unless we solve it this way, that 'but part of the church was then standing, and they 'might lay him there with a design to remove him 'when it should be rebuilt, but afterwards either neglected or forgot it (5).'

(*) Marmaduke Nelson.

(5) Camden, ubi supra.

[C] *Bede, and others, ascribe several miracles to this Saint.*] A youth, that had been dumb from his infancy, being brought to the good Bishop, he ordered him to put out his tongue; and making the sign of the cross upon it, he commanded him to draw it in again. Then he bad him pronounce the letter A, which he readily did; then the letter B, and so on quite through the alphabet. Next he tried him with single words, and afterwards with sentences; and from that time the young man had the free and entire use of speech (6). A nun in the monastery of Watton, named *Quoanburg*, having been blooded in the arm, and the wound festering, was, through the violence of the pain occasioned thereby, brought in danger of death. The Abbess hereupon desired the Archbishop, who was come thither, to visit the poor girl, and assist her with his prayers; which John accordingly did, and gave her his benediction. From that instant her pain began to abate, and she was soon restored to perfect health (7). Another time, having consecrated a church, and being invited to dinner by a nobleman, named *Puch*, whose wife lay sick in bed; John sent her some of the consecrated water, ordering her to drink it; by which means she was instantly made whole, and served the good Bishop at table (8). Of the same stamp are the other miracles recorded by Bede (9). Bromton tells a story (10) of a miraculous appearance of the Holy Ghost, in the shape of a dove, and sitting on the altar, whilst the holy man was praying in the porch of St Michael's church in York. William of Malmsbury (11), and Matthew of Westminster (12), report a very strange thing, which continued to their time, and was shewn as it were for a sight. They tell us, that the people of Beverly used to bring bulls, the wildest and fiercest they could meet with. These unmanageable creatures they used to bring hampered with cords, with several strong men to drag them along; who, as soon as they entered the church-yard of Beverly, dropped their fierce and formidable nature, and were as tame as if they had been metamorphosed into sheep. And the people were so well assured of their inoffensiveness, that they used to turn them loose, and play with them.

(6) Bede, Hist. Eccles. Gent. Anglor. lib. v. cap. 2.

(7) Ibid. c. 3.

(8) Ibid. c. 4.

(9) Ib. c. 5, & 6.

(10) *Apud* X. Scriptor. col. 794.

(11) De Gest. Pontif. Angl. l. iii. p. 269. *ap.* Script. post Bedam, Francof. 1601.

(12) Flores Hist. an. 721.

[D] *He wrote some pieces.*] Bale and Pits mention the following. I. *Pro Luca exponenda*; i. e. 'An Essay towards an Exposition of St Luke,' addressed to Bede. II. *Homiliæ in Evangelia*; i.e. 'Homilies on 'the Gospels.' III. *Epistolæ ad Hildam Abbatissam*; i. e. 'Letters to the Abbess Hilda.' IV. *Epistolæ ad Herebaldum, Audenum, et Bertinum*; i. e. 'Letters to 'his disciples Herebaldus, Audenus, and Bertinus.'

T

BIDDLE (JOHN), a very eminent Socinian writer in the seventeenth century, and son of Edward Biddle, a middle sort of Yeoman, who also dealt in woollen clothes (a), was born at Wotton-Under-Edge in Gloucestershire, and baptized the 14th of January, 1615 (b). He was educated in the free-school of his native place, and being a hopeful youth, was taken notice of, particularly by George Lord Berkeley; who, for his encouragement, allowed him an exhibition of ten pounds a year, among other poorer scholars; though, being under ten years of age, he was not qualified, according to the common method, for that donation. This caused him so vigorously to apply himself to his studies, that he made a great progress therein, and whilst at school was author of some Translations that were published [A]. But the benefit of the exhibition on one hand, and perhaps his want of a sufficient maintenance at the University on the other, detained him longer in that school than was otherwise for his improvement; for he continued there 'till he was about nineteen years of age. However, having manifested even in that station a singular piety of mind, and contempt of secular affairs (c), he was sent in 1634 to the University of Oxford, and entered a Student in Magdalen-hall (d) [B]. On the 23d

(a) Short Account of the Life of J. Biddle, prefixed to the first Vol. of Socinian Tracts, printed at London, 1691, 4to. Mr Wood says, his father was a Taylor; which is much the same, Athenæ. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 300.

(b) Wood, ibid.

(c) Life, &c. as above, pag. 4, col. 1.

(d) Wood, ubi supra.

[A] *Whilst at school was author of some Translations that were published.*] Namely, of *Virgil's Bucolics*, and the *Two first Satyrs of Juvenal*. Both which were printed at London in 1634, 8vo, and dedicated to John Smith of Nibley in the county of Gloucester, Esq; He likewise composed, in the beginning of that year, and recited before a full auditory, an elaborate Oration in Latin, at the funeral of an honourable schoolfellow (1).

(1) Wood, Athenæ, ubi supra.

[B] *And entered a Student in* Magdalen-hall.] 'Here, 'as the author of his life informs us (2), he did so philosophize, as it might be observed, he was determined more by reason than authority; however, in 'divine things he did not much dissent from the common doctrine, as may be collected from a little *Tract* 'he wrote *against Dancing*.'

(2) Life, as above, p. 4. col. 2.

[C] *Those*

23d of June, 1638, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*e*), and then became an eminent Tutor in the Hall juſt now mentioned. Before he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, he was invited by the overſeers of the ſchool of his native place to ſucceed in the maſterſhip of it, but he declined that offer, and recommended to them another fit perſon, whom they accepted of (*f*). May the 20th, 1641, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*g*); ſoon after which the magiſtrates of Glouceſter, upon ample recommendations from the principal perſons in the Univerſity, choſe him Maſter of the free-ſchool of Crypt [*C*] in that city, where he went and ſettled, and was much eſteemed for his diligence in his profeſſion, and other valuable qualities (*h*). But falling into ſome opinions concerning the Trinity, different from the received ones [*D*], and expreſſing his thoughts of the ſame with too much freedom, he was accuſed to the magiſtrates of Hereſy: And, being ſummoned before them, he exhibited in writing a confeſſion, dated May 2, 1644 [*E*]; which not being thought ſatisfactory, he made another, more expreſs than the former, to avoid impriſonment, wherewith he was threatened (*i*). But, how diſtinct ſoever he might be in his conceptions concerning the Trinity, he was not determinate enough in his expreſſing of that doctrine; as he became not long after, by further ſearching the Scriptures, and converſing with his acquaintance (*k*). When he had digeſted this point, he compriſed it into 'XII Arguments drawn out of the Scripture; wherein 'the 'commonly received opinion, touching the Deity of the Holy Spirit, is clearly and fully 'refuted [*F*];' which he intended ſoon to publiſh (*l*). But an unfaithful acquaintance, who had a copy of them, betraying him to the magiſtrates of Glouceſter, and to the Parliament Committee then reſiding there, he was, after the peruſal of his book, committed on the 2d of December, 1645, to the common goal, (though at that time afflicted with a ſore fever) to remain in that place 'till the Parliament ſhould take cognizance of the matter. However, an eminent perſon in Glouceſter, who had a reſpect for him [*G*], procured his enlargement, by giving ſecurity for his appearance when it ſhould pleaſe the Parliament to ſend for him (*m*). About June, 1646, Archbiſhop Uſher paſſing through Glouceſter in his way to London, had a conference with our author about his notions, but without any ſucceſs (*n*) [*H*]. Six months after he had been ſet at liberty he was ſummoned

(*e*) Idam. Faſti, Vol. I. col. 275.

(*f*) Idem Athenæ, and Life, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 2.

(*h*) Wood, and Life of J. Biddle, as above.

(*i*) Wood, and Life, as above.

(*k*) Life, &c. as above.

(*l*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Wood, and Life, &c. as above.

(*n*) The third Part of *Gangræna*, &c. by T. Edwards, Lond. 1646, *4to.* p. 87.

[*C*] *Choſe him Maſter of the free-ſchool of* Crypt.] Not of *Criſps*, as the author of his life has it (3); but of the free-ſchool in the pariſh of St *Mary de Crypt* in that city. It was founded by one Mrs Cooke, who endowed the Maſter with ten pounds *per annum* if a prieſt, and nine pounds a year if a layman. But later benefactions have augmented the Maſter's ſalary to thirty pounds a year, and there are ſixteen pounds given for an Uſher (4).

(3) Ubi ſupra.

(4) See Sir Robert Atkyns's Glouceſterſhire, in Glouceſter.

[*D*] *But falling into ſome opinions concerning the Trinity, different from the received ones.*] The author of his life tells us (5), that 'having laid aſide the impediments of prejudice, he gave himſelf liberty to try 'all things, that he might hold faſt that which is 'good. Thus diligently reading the holy Scriptures, '(for Socinian books he had read none) he perceived 'the common doctrine concerning the holy Trinity 'was not well grounded in Revelation, much leſs in 'Reaſon. And being as generous in ſpeaking, as free 'in judging, he did, as occaſion offered, diſcover his 'reaſons of queſtioning it.' Thoſe that accuſed him were the Preſbyterian party (6). And what his particular opinions were, ſee in the next note.

(5) Ubi ſupra.

(6) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *He exhibited in writing a confeſſion, dated May* 2, 1644.] Which was as follows. 'I. I believe there is but one Infinite and Almighty Eſſence, 'called God. II. I believe, that as there is but one 'Infinite and Almighty Eſſence, ſo there is but one 'Perſon in that Eſſence. III. I believe that our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt is truly God, by being truly, really, 'and properly united to the only perſon of the In'finite and Almighty Eſſence.' But when this did not ſatisfy the Magiſtrates, and they ſtill preſſed him to acknowledge three Perſons in the divine Eſſence; he, it ſeems, knowing that the word *Perſons*, when aſcribed to God, is taken both by the antient Fathers, and by modern writers, in various ſignifications, did, about fourteen days after, confeſs, 'that there are three in 'that one divine Eſſence, commonly termed Perſons '(7).'

(7) Life, &c as above, p. 5. col. 1.

[*F*] XII *Arguments drawn out of the Scripture*, &c.] They are as follow. I. 'He that is diſtinguiſhed 'from God, is not God. The Holy Spirit is di'ſtinguiſhed from God. *Ergo.*' This he grounds upon thoſe paſſages of Scripture, where the Holy Spirit is called *the Spirit of God*, ſaid to be *ſent by God*, &c. II. 'If he that gave the Holy Spirit to the Iſ'raelites to inſtruct them, be Jehovah alone, then the 'Holy Spirit is not Jehovah, or God. But he that 'gave the Holy Spirit to the Iſraelites to inſtruct them, 'is Jehovah alone. *Ergo.*' Nehem. ix. 6, 20. III. 'He that ſpeaketh not of himſelf, is not God. The 'Holy Spirit ſpeaketh not of himſelf. *Ergo.*' John xvi. 13. IV. 'He that heareth from another what he 'ſhall ſpeak, is not God. The Holy Spirit doth ſo. '*Ergo.*' John xvi. 13. V. 'He that receiveth of 'another's, is not God. The Holy Spirit doth ſo. '*Ergo.*' John xvi. 14. VI. 'He that is ſent by an'other, is not God. The Holy Spirit is ſent by ano'ther. *Ergo.*' John xvi. 7. VII. 'He that is the 'Gift of God, is not God. The Holy Spirit is the 'Gift of God. *Ergo.*' Acts xii. 17. VIII. 'He 'that changeth place, is not God. The Holy Spirit 'changeth place. *Ergo.*' Luke iii. 21, 22. John i. 32. IX. 'He that prayeth unto Chriſt to come to 'judgment, is not God. The Holy Spirit doth ſo. '*Ergo.*' Rev. xxii. 17. X. 'He in whom men have 'not believed, and yet have been diſciples and be'lievers, is not God. Men have not believed in the 'Holy Spirit, and yet have been ſo. *Ergo.*' Acts xix. 2. XI. 'He that hath an underſtanding diſtinct 'from that of God, is not God. The Holy Spirit hath 'underſtanding diſtinct from that of God. *Ergo.*' John xvi. 13, 14, 15. XII. 'He that hath a Will di'ſtinct in number from that of God, is not God. 'The Holy Spirit hath a Will diſtinct in number from 'that of God. *Ergo.*' Rom. viii. 26, 27. Theſe ſeveral arguments are illuſtrated by reaſonings and proofs, too long to be inſerted here. At the end of them there are Expoſitions of the following texts. *Matth.* xxviii. 19. 1 *John* v. 7. *Acts* v. 3, 4. 1 *Cor.* vi. 19, 20. *Matth.* xii. 31. *Iſa.* vi. 9, 10. 2 *Cor.* iii. 17. And, 'An Anſwer to the grand Objection of 'the Adverſaries, touching the ſuppoſed Omnipreſence 'of the Holy Spirit.' Theſe 'XII *Arguments*, &c.' were firſt publiſhed, as is ſaid above, in 1647, and reprinted in 1653, and laſtly, in 1691, 4to, in a collection of Socinian Tracts, intitled, 'The Faith of 'One God, &c.' They were anſwered by Matth. Poole, M. A. the learned editor of *Synopſis Criticorum*, in his *Plea for the Godhead of the Holy Ghoſt*, &c. (8), and by Nich. Eſtwick, M. A. as alſo by Dr Cloppenburch, and Sam. Des Marcts, Profeſſors in Holland.

(8) Wood, as above, col. 301.

[*G*] *However, an eminent perſon in* Glouceſter, *who had a reſpect for him*, &c.] For Mr Wood informs us (9), that, 'except his opinions, there was little or no'thing blame-worthy in him.'

(9) Athenæ, col. 300.

[*H*] ——— *Archbiſhop Uſher* ——— *had a conference with our author about his notions, but without any ſucceſs.*] The author, from whom we have this particular

moned to appear at Weſtminſter, and the Parliament immediately appointed a Committee to examine him; before whom he freely confeſſed, 'That he did not acknowledge the 'commonly received notion of the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, as he was accuſed; but, 'however, was ready to hear what could be oppoſed to him, and if he could not make 'out his opinion to be true, honeſtly to own his error (*o*).' But being wearied with tedious and expenſive delays, he wrote, on the 1ſt of April, 1647, a letter to Sir Henry Vane [*I*], a Member of his Committee (*p*); wherein he beſought him, either to procure his diſcharge, or to make a report of his caſe to the Houſe of Commons. Sir Henry propoſed it, and ſhewed himſelf a friend to our author (*q*); but the only reſult of it was, his being committed to the cuſtody of one of their officers, (which reſtraint continued the five years following) and being referred to the Aſſembly of Divines, then ſitting at Weſtminſter for his conviction, before ſome of whom he often appeared, gave them in writing his Twelve Arguments againſt the Deity of the Holy Spirit (*r*), which were publiſhed the ſame year. Upon their coming out they made ſo great a noiſe in the world, that the author was ſummoned to appear at the bar of the Houſe of Commons; where being aſked, 'Whether he owned that book, and the opinions therein,' he anſwered in the affirmative. Whereupon being remanded to priſon (*s*), the Houſe ordered, on the 6th of September, 1647, that the ſaid book, as blaſphemous againſt the Deity of Chriſt, ſhould be called in and burnt by the hangman, and that the author ſhould be examined by the Committee of plundered Miniſters; accordingly the book was burnt the 8th of the ſame month (*t*). But Mr Biddle drew a freſh and more dangerous ſtorm upon himſelf, by two Tracts he publiſhed in the year 1648 [*K*]. For, upon their appearing, the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter

(*o*) Life, &c. as above.

(*p*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*q*) Ibid.

(*r*) Life, &c. as above, p. 5. col. 2.

(*s*) Wood, &c. as above.

(*t*) Whitelock's Memorials, &c. edit. 1732, p. 268.

particular (10), tells us, that 'Biſhop Uſher, that 'learned and godly Divine, coming through Gloceſter, ſpake with him [Biddle], and uſed him with 'all fairneſſe and pitty, as well as ſtrength of arguments, 'to convince him of his dangerous error. A miniſter 'of the city of Gloceſter told me, the Biſhop laboured to convince him, telling him that either he 'was in a damnable error, or elſe the whole Church 'of Chriſt, who had in all ages worſhipped the Holy 'Ghoſt, had been guilty of idolatry; but the man 'was no whit moved either by the learning, gravity, 'piety, or zeal of the good Biſhop, but continued obſtinate.'

(10) T. Edwards, ubi ſupra.

[*I*] *He wrote on the 1ſt of April, 1647, a letter to Sir Henry Vane.*] It was publiſhed before his *Twelve Arguments*, &c. in 1647, under the title of, 'A Letter 'written to a certain Knight, a Member of the Honourable Houſe of Commons.' And reprinted in the collection of Socinian Tracts, Lond. 1691, 4to, where it is intitled, 'A Letter written to Sir H. V. a 'Member of the Honourable Houſe of Commons.' It begins thus: 'Sir, having now attended for the 'ſpace of ſixteen months, partly in the country, and 'partly in Weſtminſter, that I might come to my anſwer before the Parliament; and finding, after all 'this tarriance, that I am ſtill as far from having my 'cauſe determined as ever, I am even forced to make 'my addreſs to you, and to beſeech you, if you have 'any bowels towards them that are in miſery, that 'you would either procure my diſcharge, or at leaſt 'make report to the Houſe, touching *my denial of the 'ſuppoſed Deity of the Holy Spirit. For that this only 'is the matter in conteſtation*, you very well know, 'having both heard my confeſſion before the Committee, and remembring how, when I was urged to 'declare my judgment concerning the Deity of Chriſt, 'I waved the queſtion, as neither being that I was accuſed of, nor which I had yet ſufficiently ſtudied, to 'engage myſelf publickly therein.' —— Then he proceeds to deliver his opinion touching the Holy Spirit, which he confirms by ſeveral paſſages of Scripture. And complains of his adverſaries, who being unable to juſtify their practice by argument, reſorted to the arm of fleſh, and inſtigated the Magiſtrate againſt him.

[*K*] *Two Tracts he publiſhed in the year* 1648.] They were, 'A Confeſſion of Faith touching the 'Holy Trinity, according to the Scripture.' And 'the Teſtimonies of *Irenæus*, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Novatianus*, *Theophilus*, *Origen*, (who lived 'in the two firſt centuries after Chriſt was born, or 'thereabouts). As alſo of *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius*, *Hilary*, and *Brightman*; concerning that 'One God, and the Perſons of the Holy Trinity. 'Together with Obſervations on the ſame.' Theſe were reprinted in 1653, 8vo, and in the collection of Socinian Tracts, Lond. 1691, 4to. The *Confeſſion of* his *Faith* is comprized in the ſix following articles. 'I. I believe that there is one moſt High God, Creator 'of Heaven and Earth, and firſt Cauſe of all things 'pertaining to our Salvation, and conſequently the ultimate object of our Faith and Worſhip; and that 'this God is none but the Father of our Lord Jeſus 'Chriſt, the firſt perſon of the Holy Trinity. II. I 'believe that there is one chief Son of the moſt High 'God, or Spiritual, Heavenly, and perpetual Lord and 'King, ſet over the Church by God, and ſecond Cauſe 'of all things pertaining to our Salvation, and conſequently the intermediate object of our Faith and Worſhip; and that this Son of the moſt High God is none 'but Jeſus Chriſt, the ſecond Perſon of the Holy Trinity. 'III. I believe that Jeſus Chriſt, to the intent he 'might be our brother, and have a fellow-feeling of 'our infirmities, and ſo become the more ready to 'help us, (the conſideration whereof is the greateſt 'encouragement to piety that can be imagined) hath 'no other than a Human Nature, and therefore in this 'very nature is not only a Perſon, (ſince none but a 'Human Perſon can be our brother) but alſo our Lord, 'yea our God. IV. Whence, though he be our 'God, by reaſon of his Divine Sovereignty over us, 'and Worſhip due to ſuch Sovereignty, yet is he not 'the moſt High God, the ſame with the Father, but 'ſubordinate to him. V. Again; Though he be a 'God, ſubordinate to the moſt High God, as having 'received his Godhead, and whatſoever he hath, from 'the Father; yet may not any one thence rightly infer, that by this account there will be another God, 'or two Gods. For though we may, with allowance 'of the Scripture, ſay, that there are many Gods, 'yet neither will the Scripture, nor the thing itſelf, 'permit us to ſay, that there is another God, or two 'Gods; becauſe when a word in it's own nature common to many, hath been appropriated, and aſcribed 'to one by way of excellency, (as that of God hath 'been to the Father); albeit this doth not hinder 'us from ſaying, that there are many of that name: 'yet doth it from ſaying, that there is another, or 'two, ſince that would be all one as if we ſhould ſay, 'that there is another, or two moſt excellent, (which 'is abſurd); for when two are ſegregated in this manner out of many, they claim excellency to themſelves alike. Thus though ſome faithful man be a 'Son of God, ſubordinate to the chief Son of God 'Chriſt Jeſus, yet we may not thereupon ſay, that 'there is another Son of God, or two Sons of God, '(ſince that would be to make another, or two Sons 'of God by way of excellency, whereas there can be 'but one ſuch a Son) howbeit otherwiſe the Scripture 'warrants us to ſay, that there are many Sons of God. 'VI. I believe that there is one principal Miniſter of 'God and Chriſt, peculiarly ſent from Heaven to 'ſanctify the Church, who, by reaſon of his eminency and intimacy with God, is fingled out of the 'number of the other heavenly Miniſters or Angels, 'and compriſed in the Holy Trinity, being the Third 'Perſon thereof; and that this Miniſter of God and

'Chriſt

Weſtminſter ſollicited the Parliament, in whoſe hands was the ſupreme power at that time; and procured a ſevere Ordinance, May 2, 1648 [*L*], for inflicting the puniſhment of death upon thoſe that held opinions contrary to the eſtabliſhed ones about the Trinity, and other doctrines accounted blaſphemies and hereſies, and ſevere penalties upon thoſe who differed in leſſer matters. This ſeemed a damnatory ſentence againſt our author, which there was no eſcape from. But he was ſaved by a diſſenſion in the Parliament itſelf; to the greateſt part of which the army joined it's power, for this reaſon among others, becauſe there were many, both officers and ſoldiers, liable to the ſeverities of the Ordinance abovementioned, which therefore from that time lay unregarded for ſeveral years. After the death of King Charles I, when a kind of univerſal toleration was introduced, our author had more liberty allowed him by his keeper, who ſuffered him, upon ſecurity given, to go into Staffordſhire (*u*), where he lived ſome time with a Juſtice of Peace (*vv*), who not only entertained him courteouſly, but at his death left him a legacy; which was a very ſeaſonable ſupply to him, as he had already ſpent in a manner all he had gotten at Glouceſter, or elſewhere, though not inconſiderable, in now about four years chargeable reſtraint. But he could not continue long here, before notice was given to Serjeant John Bradſhaw, Preſident of the Council of State, his mortal enemy, who cauſed him to be re-called by his keeper, and to be kept more ſtraitly. In this long confinement, what proved moſt grievous to him was, that by reaſon of his lying under the imputation of blaſphemy and hereſy, all people in general were ſo alienated from him, that he could hardly have any one to converſe with: And of the Divines, whoſe duty it was to have endeavoured his information, not one vouchſafed him a viſit in his ſeven years confinement, except Mr Peter Gunning, afterwards Biſhop of Ely. Here he ſpent his whole ſubſtance; ſo that not having wherewithal to pay for an ordinary meal, he was glad of the cheaper ſupport, of drinking a draught of milk from the cow morning and evening (*x*). Being thus in a manner reduced to great indigence, he was, through the recommendation of a learned man, employed by Roger Daniel of London, to correct the impreſſion of the Greek Septuagint Bible, which that Printer was about to publiſh with great accuracy. And this employment, with another in private, gained him for a time a comfortable

(*u*) Life, &c. as above, p. 5, 6.

(*vv*) Who made him his Chaplain, and alſo Preacher of a church there. Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 302.

(*x*) Life, &c. p. 6.

'Chriſt is the Holy Spirit.' —— Theſe ſix articles he endeavours to confirm by texts of Scripture, and by ſeveral other arguments. —— At the end of his *Teſtimonies out of Irenæus*, &c. he makes this remark. 'Thoſe Human Teſtimonies abovewritten have I alledged, not that I much regard them as to myſelf (who make uſe of no other rule to determine controverſies about religion, than the *Scripture*; and of no other *Authentick Interpreter*, if a ſcruple ariſe concerning the ſenſe of the Scripture, than *Reaſon*); but for the ſake of the adverſaries, who continually crake, *the Fathers, the Fathers* (11).' Nich. Eſtwick wrote an Examination of this confeſſion of Faith, Lond. 1656, 4to.

(11) Socinian Tracts, entitled, *The Faith of One God*, &c. Lond. 1691, 4to.

[*L*] *And procured a ſevere Ordinance, May* 2, 1648.] This Ordinance declared all ſuch perſons guilty of *Felony*, as ſhould 'willingly, by preaching, teaching, printing, or writing, maintain and publiſh, that there is no God, or that God is not preſent in all places, doth not know and foreknow all things, or that he is not almighty, that he is not perfectly holy, or that he is not eternal, or that the Father is not God, the Son is not God, and the Holy Ghoſt is not God, or that they Three are not one eternal God; or that ſhall in like manner maintain and publiſh, that Chriſt is not God, equal with the Father; or ſhall deny the Manhood of Chriſt, or that the Manhood or Godhead of Chriſt are ſeveral natures, or that the Humanity of Chriſt is not pure and unſpotted of all ſin; or that ſhall maintain and publiſh, as aforeſaid, that Chriſt did not die, nor riſe from the dead, nor is aſcended into Heaven bodily; or that ſhall deny his death is meritorious in the behalf of believers; or that ſhall maintain and publiſh, as aforeſaid, that Jeſus Chriſt is not the Son of God; or that the Holy Scripture, of the Old and New Teſtament, is not the word of God; or that the bodies of men, after they are dead, ſhall not riſe again; or that there is no day of judgment after death. ——— All ſuch perſons, upon complaint and proof made of the ſame, before any two of the next Juſtices of the Peace for that place or county, by the oaths of two witneſſes, or confeſſion of the party; the ſaid party ſo accuſed ſhall be by the ſaid Juſtices committed to priſon without bail or mainprize, until the next gaol-delivery, and the witneſſes bound over to give their evidence at the ſaid gaol-delivery; at which time the party ſhall be indicted for ſelonious publiſhing and maintaining ſuch error. And in caſe the indictment be found, and the party upon his trial ſhall not abjure his ſaid error, and defence and maintenance of the ſame, he ſhall *ſuffer the pains of death*, as in caſe of felony, without benefit of Clergy; but in caſe he ſhall recant, he ſhall nevertheleſs remain in priſon, until he finds two ſureties to be bound with him, before two or more Juſtices of the Peace, that he ſhall not thenceforth publiſh or maintain the ſaid errors any more, and the Juſtices ſhall have power to take bail. And if any perſon indicted formerly for maintaining and publiſhing erroneous opinions, ſhall again publiſh and maintain the ſame, he ſhall ſuffer *death*, as in caſe of felony, without benefit of Clergy.' —— The Ordinance further enjoins, that all perſons who ſhould publiſh or maintain, 'That all men ſhall be ſaved; or that man by nature hath free-will to turn to God; or that God may be worſhipped in or by pictures or images; or that the ſoul of any man after death goeth to Purgatory: —— or that Revelations, or the workings of the Spirit, are a rule of Faith or Chriſtian life, though diverſe from, or contrary to, the written word of God; or that man is bound to believe no more than by his reaſon he can comprehend; or that the moral Law of God, contained in the Ten Commandments, is no rule of Chriſtian life; or that a Believer need not repent, or pray for pardon of ſins; or that the two Sacraments are not commanded by the word of God, or are unlawful; — or that the Churches of England are no true Churches, nor their Miniſters and Ordinances true Miniſters and Ordinances; or that the Church-Government by Preſbytery is unchriſtian or unlawful; or that all uſe of arms, though for the publick defence, (and be the cauſe never ſo juſt) is unlawful: — That all perſons, I ſay, who ſhould publiſh or maintain any of the ſaid errors, and be convicted thereof, ſhould be ordered to renounce them in the publick congregation of the ſame pariſh from whence the complaint comes, or where the offence was committed. And in caſe of refuſal, to be committed to priſon by two of the next Juſtices, until he find two ſufficient ſureties, that he ſhall not maintain or publiſh the ſaid errors any more.' This Ordinance was publiſhed in 1648, 4to, and is preſerved in the *Introduction* prefixed to an edition of Fr Cheynell's *Chillingworthi Noviſſima*; the author of which Introduction juſtly obſerves, that though 'the Preſbyterians were poſſeſſed of their power but a very ſhort time, yet in that ſpace they were for carrying their Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny beyond what themſelves charged on their former oppreſſors.'

a comfortable subsistence. In 1651, the Parliament published a general Act of Oblivion, that restored, among others, our author to his full liberty; which he improved among those friends he had gained in London, in meeting together every Sunday for expounding the Scripture, and discoursing thereupon; by which means his opinions concerning the Unity of God, Christ his only Son, and his Holy Spirit, were so propagated, that the Presbyterian Ministers at London became exceedingly uneasy at it, but could not hinder it's progress by the secular power, which then admitted an universal liberty of religion and conscience. In the year 1654 he had three public disputations in his Meeting with Mr P. Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely, concerning the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and of Christ, and concerning Punitive Justice (*y*). The same year he published his Twofold Scripture-Catechism [*M*], which coming into the hands of some of the Members of Oliver Cromwell's Parliament, which met September 3, 1654, a complaint was made against it in the House of Commons. Whereupon the author being brought to the bar in the beginning of December, and asked, Whether he wrote that book? He answered by asking, Whether it seemed reasonable, that one brought before a judgment-seat as a criminal, should accuse himself? After some debates and resolutions [*N*], he was, on the 13th of December, committed close prisoner to the Gatehouse; prohibited the use of pen, ink, and paper, or the access of any visitant, and his books were ordered to be burnt; which was accordingly done the 14th of the same month (*z*). A bill likewise was ordered to be brought in for punishing him; so that he had nothing less than capital punishment to expect. But, after about six months imprisoment, he obtained his liberty at the Court of the Upper, or King's, Bench, May 28, by due course of Law (*a*). Scarce was a year expired, when another no less formidable danger overtook him, by his rashly engaging in a dispute with an Anabaptist Teacher [*O*]. For he was upon that account first cast into the Poultry-Compter, July 3, 1655, and afterwards into Newgate; and tried for his life the next sessions, on the Ordinance against blasphemy, mentioned above. After the reading of the indictment, he prayed that Counsel might be allowed him to plead the illegality of it; which being denied him by the Judges, and the sentence of a Mute threatened, he at length gave into Court his exceptions ingrossed in parchment, and with much struggling had Counsel allowed him, but the trial was deferred to the next day. In the mean time, the Protector well knowing it was not for the interest of his Government to have him either condemned or absolved [*P*], took him out of the hands, of

(*y*) Life, &c. p. 6, 7, and Wood, ubi supra, col. 502. The author of his Life tells us, that J. Biddle acquitted himself with so much learning, judgment, and knowledge in the sense of the Holy Scriptures, that instead of losing, he gained much credit both to himself and his cause.

(*z*) Whitlock's Memorials, as above, p. 609. Life, &c. and Wood, ubi supra.

(*a*) Wood, and Life, ibid.

[*M*] *The same year he published his Twofold Scripture Catechism.*] That is, a larger, and a shorter Catechism, in which the answers are expressed in the very words of Scripture. The title of the first is, 'A Scripture 'Catechism; wherein the chiefest points of the Chri-'stian Religion being question-wise proposed, resolve 'themselves by pertinent answers taken word for word 'out of the Scripture, without either consequences or 'comments. Composed for their sakes that would be 'mere Christians, and not of this or that sect, in as 'much as all sects of Christians, by what names so-'ever distinguished, have either more or less departed 'from the simplicity and truth of the Scripture.' Lond. 1654, 8vo The title of the other is, 'A brief 'Scripture Catechism for Children; wherein, not-'withstanding the brevity thereof, all things necessary 'unto life and godliness are contained. By John 'Biddle, Master of Arts, of the University of Oxford.' In three sheets, small octavo. This Twofold Catechism was animadverted upon by Dr John Owen, in his *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ*, or Mystery of the Gospel vindicated, &c. Oxon 1655, 4to.

[*N*] *After some debates and resolutions*]. The matter was referred to a Committee, by whom Biddle was examined, and in conclusion he adhered to the answer he had before given to the House. Report being made of it by the Committee, the House voted, on the 12th of December, 'That the whole drift and 'scope of the said Twofold Catechism, is to teach and 'hold forth many blasphemous and heretical opinions; 'and that, in the Preface of the said Catechism, the 'author thereof doth maintain and assert many blas-'phemous and heretical opinions, and doth therein 'cast a reproach upon all the Catechisms now extant.' And therefore, that all the printed copies of the said Catechism should be burnt by the common hangman; that the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex should see it done; and that the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers should search for the said printed copies, and deliver them to the Sheriffs. — But this was not all, for the matter was agitated again in January following by the Committee, who resolved on the 16th of the same month, as above. And the matter being reported to the Parliament, they ordered a bill to be brought in for punishing Biddle; but they came at last to no resolution, though pressed eagerly by the Presbyterian Ministers to take away his life (12).

(12) Wood, ubi supra, col. 303.

[*O*] *By his rashly engaging in a dispute with an Anabaptist Teacher.*] That Teacher was one John Griffin; many of whose congregation having embraced Biddle's opinion concerning the Trinity, he thought the best way to regain them, and to stop the spreading of their errors, would be openly to confute their seducer. For that purpose he challenges Biddle to a publick disputation at his Meeting in the stone chapel in St Paul's Cathedral, on this question, 'Whether Jesus Christ be the most High, or Almighty 'God?' Biddle would have declined the dispute, as knowing Griffin to be inferior to him in learning, &c. but at last accepted it: And they two meeting, amongst a numerous audience, some of whom were greatly prejudiced against our author; Griffin, either imprudently, or for some worse end, repeats the question, asking, 'If any man there did deny, that Christ was 'God most High?' To which Biddle resolutely answers, 'I do deny it.' And by this open profession gave his adversaries the opportunity of a positive and clear accusation, which they soon laid hold of. But Griffin being baffled, for want of knowing the true way of arguing, the disputation was deferred 'till another day; and Griffin, though not able to cope with Biddle, had the confidence to consent to a second meeting, when Biddle was to take his turn of proving the negative of the question between them. In the mean while, Griffin and his party not thinking themselves a match for our author, they accused him of fresh blasphemies, and procured an order from the Protector to apprehend him on the 3d of July, (being the day before the intended second disputation) and to commit him to the Compter, &c. as is related above (13).

(13) Life, and Wood, as above.

[*P*] *The Protector well knowing it was not for the interest of his Government to have him either condemned or absolved.*] For, on the one hand, the Presbyterians, and all enemies to liberty of religion, of which there appeared a great number at his trial, would be offended at his release; and all that were for liberty, especially many congregations of Anabaptists, had petitioned the Protector for his discharge from prosecution upon the Ordinance abovementioned, by which their liberties

were

of the Law, and detained him in prison, intending to dispose of him otherwise (*b*). But being wearied with receiving petitions for and against him [*Q*], he banished him for life to St Mary's castle in the isle of Scilly, and sent him thither in the beginning of October, 1655 (*c*). Soon after he allowed him a hundred crowns a year for his subsistence (*d*). In this exile Biddle continued about three years, during which time he employed himself in studying several intricate matters, particularly the Revelation of St John [*R*]. When he had continued a prisoner 'till the beginning of the year 1658, the Protector, at length, through the intercession of many friends, suffered a writ of Habeas Corpus to be granted out of the Upper-Bench Court, (as it was then called) and to be obeyed by the Governor of Scilly, whereby the prisoner was brought back, and nothing being laid to his charge, was set at liberty. Upon his return to London, he resumed his long-interrupted exercises among his friends; and, according to some [*S*], was Pastor of an Independent Church of that city. But he could not long continue there, for Oliver Cromwell dying September 3, 1658, his son Richard succeeded, and called a Parliament, dangerous certainly to J. Biddle, if any other; as consisting chiefly of Presbyterians, whom, of all men, he most dreaded: Therefore, by the advice of a noble friend, he retired privately into the country. That Parliament being soon dissolved, he returned to his former station 'till the restoration of King Charles II (*e*), when the liberty of Dissenters was taken away, and their Meetings punished as seditious. On which account our author restrained himself from public to more private assemblies. But he could not even so be safe; for on the first of June, 1668, he was seized in his lodgings in London, where he and some few of his friends were met for divine worship, and carried before a Justice of Peace, who committed them all to prison, without admitting them to bail. There they lay, 'till the Recorder took security for their answering to the charge brought against them at the next sessions. But the Court not being then able to find a Statute whereon to form any criminal indictment, they were referred to the sessions following, and therein proceeded against at Common Law; when every one of the hearers was fined in twenty pounds, and J. Biddle in one hundred, to lie in prison 'till paid (*f*) [*T*]. But in less than five weeks after, through the noisomness of the place, and the pent air (very offensive to him, whose only recreation and exercise had been for many years to walk daily into the open air), he contracted a disease [*U*], which put an end to his life on the 22d of September, 1668, in the 47th year of his age (*g*). He was buried in the cœmetery near Old Bethlem in Morfields, London; and an altar-monument of stone was erected over his grave, with an inscription, shewing 'that he was Master of Arts of the University of Oxford, 'and had given the world great specimens of his learning and piety, &c. (*h*).' As for his

(*b*) Wood, and Life, ibid.

(*c*) Ibid. Wood, col. 304.

(*d*) Life, pag. 8. col. 1.

(*e*) Life, &c. as above.

(*f*) Ibid. & Wood, ubi supra;

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Wood, col. 305.

were threatened, and the capital article of the Protector's Government infringed; which runs thus: 'That 'such as profess Faith in God by Jesus Christ, (though 'differing in judgment from the Doctrine, Worship, 'or Discipline, publickly held forth) shall not be re'stained from, but protected in, the profession of their 'Faith, and exercise of their Religion, &c.' Art. 37. And, 'That all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, &c. to 'to the contrary of the aforesaid liberty, shall be 'esteemed as null and void.' Art. 38 (14).

(14) Life, &c. p. 8. and Whitelock, as above, p. 576.

[*Q*] *But being wearied with receiving petitions for and against him.*] For several of the leaders among the Anabaptists, who had embraced his opinions, drew up a petition in his behalf, in September 1655, and presented it to Cromwell: But, instead of complying with their desires, he represented to them, 'how in'consistent it was for them, who professed to be mem'bers of the Church of Christ, and to worship him 'with the worship due to God, to give any counte'nance to one who reproached themselves, and all the 'Christian Churches in the world, as being guilty of 'of Idolatry.'—Shewing also, that if it be true, which Biddle holds, 'That Jesus Christ is but a Creature, 'then all those that worship him with the worship due 'to God, are Idolaters, and that the maintainers of 'that opinion of Biddle are guilty of great blasphemy 'against Christ (15).'— To the famous Mr Thomas Firmin, who likewise presented a petition for his release from Newgate (16), the Protector gave this short answer. 'You curl-pate boy, you, do you think I'll shew 'favour to a man that denies his Saviour, and disturbs 'the Government (17).'— At length, his Highness yielded to the repeated sollicitations of the Presbyterian and Independent Ministers, who were continually teazing and importuning him to send him into banishment (18).

(15) Wood, ubi supra, col. 304.

(16) This Mr Firmin was a disciple of our author's, and gave him bed and board for a while before he was sent to Scilly. Life of T. Firmin, Lond. 1698, p. 10.

(17) Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 760.

(18) Wood, as above, col 304.

[*R*] *Particularly the Revelation of St* John.] After his return to London, he published 'An Essay to the 'explaining of the Revelation; or, Notes on some of 'the chapters of the Apocalyps.' In which he treats of the Beast in the Apocalyps, Antichrist, the personal reign of Christ on earth, &c. (19).

(19) Idem, col. 305.

[*S*] *And, according to some, was Pastor of an Independent Church,* &c.] The person who relates this, is Sir Peter Pett, in the Preface to his *Happy Future State of England* (20); where he further tells us, that this congregation held the following notions: 'That the Fa'thers under the old covenant had only temporal pro'mises; that the universal obedience performed to the 'commands of God and Christ was the saving Faith; 'that Christ rose again only by the power of the Fa'ther, and not his own; that justifying Faith is not 'the pure gift of God, but may be acquired by men's 'natural abilities; that Faith cannot believe any thing 'contrary to, or above, reason; that there is no Origi'nal Sin; that Christ hath not the same body now in 'glory, in which he suffered and rose again; that the 'Saints shall not have the same body in Heaven which 'they had on earth; that Christ was not Lord or King 'before his resurrection, or Priest before his ascension; 'that the Saints shall not before the day of judgment 'enjoy the bliss of Heaven; that God doth not cer'tainly know future contingencies; that there is not 'any authority of Fathers or General Councils in de'termining matters of Faith; that Christ before his 'death had not any dominion over the Angels; and 'that Christ by dying made no satisfaction for us.'

(20) Lond. 1688, fol.

[*T*] *And* J. Biddle *in one hundred, (pounds) to lie in prison 'till paid.*] One of the Sheriffs would have been satisfied with ten pounds for him, and even have paid it; but Sir Richard Brown, the Justice who had committed him, could not be induced to consent thereto upon any terms; but threatened him with a seven years imprisonment, though he should pay the whole hundred pounds. This was the cause of his continuing in prison (21).

(21) Life, &c. p. 9.

[*U*] *He contracted a disease,*] Notwithstanding the violence of it, Sir Richard Brown could not be moved to grant the sick prisoner the present comfort of a removal, in order to a recovery; but Sheriff Maynel did grant it. However, the second day after his removal, between five and six o'clock in the morning, Sept. 22, he expired, as is related above (22).

(22) Ibid.

[*W*] *As*

his character, bating his miſtaken opinions, he is, in general, acknowledged to have been a man moſt eminent for piety and virtue, as well as learning and knowledge; as will appear by the inſtances which we ſhall give in the note [*W*].

[*W*] *As will appear by the inſtances which we ſhall give.*] Theſe we take from his *Life*, which, as Mr Wood informs us (23), was written by John Farrington of the Inner-Temple, and publiſhed in Latin at London in 1682, 8vo. The author of that Life, highly commends J. Biddle for 'his great *zeal for promoting holineſs of life* and manners; for (ſays he) 'this was always his end and deſign in what he taught. 'He valued not his doctrines for ſpeculation, but 'practice; inſomuch that he would not diſcourſe of 'thoſe points wherein he differed from others, with 'thoſe that appeared not religious according to their 'knowledge. Neither could he bear thoſe that diſ-'ſembled in profeſſion for worldly intereſts. He was 'a ſtrict obſerver himſelf, and a ſevere exactor in 'others, *of reverence in ſpeaking of God, and Chriſt, and holy things*; ſo that he would by no means hear 'their names, or any ſentence of holy Scripture, uſed 'vainly or lightly, much leſs any fooliſh talking, or 'ſcurrility. He would often tell his friends, that no 'religion would benefit a bad man, and call upon them 'to reſolve, as well to profeſs and practiſe the truth 'that is according to godlineſs, as to ſtudy to find it 'out. —— His *Learning* in matters of religion was 'gained by a diligent ſtudy of the holy Scriptures, 'eſpecially of the New Teſtament; wherein he was 'ſo converſant, that he retained it all in his memory 'word for word, not only in Engliſh, but in Greek, as 'far as the 4th chapter of the Revelation of St John. 'This thorough knowledge in the Scriptures, joined 'to a happy and ready *memory*, whereby he retained 'alſo the ſum of what he had read in other authors, 'gave him great advantage againſt all opponents, and 'in all diſcourſes, but without the leaſt appearance of 'boaſting —— No tincture of *Ambition* appeared in 'him, nor the leaſt degree of *Covetouſneſs*; for he al-'ways ſuſtained himſelf by his own induſtry, when 'he was in a capacity of uſing it; and would never 'accept of any ſupplies, though offered, but when his 'neceſſities, ariſing from impriſonment, ſickneſs, or 'the like, forced him to it; for he had learned to be 'contented with a little, and ſought not more, yea, 'out of that little would contribute to the neceſſities 'of others. *Temperance* was at all times moſt con-'ſpicuous in him, as well in eating as in drinking; 'and he thought it not enough to be very chaſte, but 'that he ought to avoid all ſuſpicion of unchaſtity, 'inſomuch that he would not willingly look upon a 'woman without juſt occaſion; and was very uneaſy 'if left in a room with one alone, 'till relieved by 'more company. —— He would be merry and plea-'ſant, and liked well that the company ſhould be ſo 'too; yet even in his common converſation he al-'ways retained an awe of the Divine Preſence, and 'was ſometimes obſerved to lift up his hand ſudden-'ly, which thoſe that were intimate with him knew to 'be an effect of a ſecret ejaculation. But in his cloſet-'devotions he was wont to proſtrate himſelf upon the 'ground, after the manner of our Saviour in his ago-'ny, and would commend that poſture of worſhip al-'ſo to his moſt intimate friends. Finally, he was as 'eminent for his juſtice and charity towards men, as 'he was for his piety towards God.' C

(23) Athenæ, ubi ſupra, col. 306.

BILSON (Thomas), a learned writer, and Biſhop, in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth, century, was born in the city of Wincheſter (*a*); being the ſon of Harman Bilſon, the ſame probably who was Fellow of Merton-college in 1536 (*b*); and derived his deſcent by his grandmother, or great-grandmother, from the Duke of Bavaria [*A*]. Thomas, of whom we are now writing, was educated in Wykeham's ſchool near Wincheſter; and in 1565 admitted perpetual Fellow of New-college, after he had ſerved two years of probation (*c*). October 10, 1566, he took his degree of Bachelor, and April 25, 1570, that of Maſter of Arts (*d*). Alſo, that of Bachelor of Divinity, June 24, 1579, and finally the degree of Doctor of Divinity on the 24th of January 1580 (*e*). In his younger years, he was a great lover of, and extremely ſtudious in, Poetry [*B*], Philoſophy, and Phyſick (*f*). But when he entered into Holy Orders, and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, which his genius chiefly led him to, he became a moſt ſolid and conſtant preacher; and ſo compleat, for ſkill in languages, for readineſs in the Fathers, and for judgment to make uſe of his reading (*g*), that he was one of the moſt accompliſhed ſcholars of his time. The firſt preferment he had was that of Maſter of Wincheſter-ſchool [*C*]; next he was made Prebendary of Wincheſter, and afterwards Warden of the college there (*b*). To which college he did a very important ſervice, about the year 1584, by preſerving the revenues of it (*i*), when they were like to be ſwallowed up by a notorious forgery [*D*]. In 1585, he publiſhed his book of 'The 'true difference betweene Chriſtian Subjection and Unchriſtian Rebellion [*E*],' and dedicated

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies in Hantſhire, p. 7. A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 142. and Athen. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 403.

(*b*) Wood, Athen. ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 97, 104.

(*e*) Ibid. col. 119, 121.

(*f*) Briefe View of the State of the Church of England, &c. by Sir John Harrington, Kt. Lond. 1653, 12mo, p. 72. and Wood, Athen. col. 403.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*i*) See Epiſtle to the Reader, before Dr Bilſon's *True Difference between Chriſtian Subjection and Unchriſtian Rebellion*, London, 1585, 8vo.

[*A*] *And derived his deſcent, by his grandmother, or great-grandmother, from the Duke of Bavaria.*] Harman's father was Arnold Bilſon, ſon and heir of Arnold Bilſon, by his wife, the daughter of the Duke of Bavaria; but whether natural or legitimate is unknown (1).

(1) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra. Strype's Life of Archbiſh. Whitgift, Lond. 1718, fol. p. 497.

[*B*] *In his younger years, he was a great lover of, and extremely ſtudious in, Poetry*, &c.] He compoſed ſeveral Poems, Orations, and other things, in Latin; which were in manuſcript in Mr Wood's library (2), but have never been publiſhed.

(2) Wood, ibid. col. 405.

[*C*] *The firſt preferment he had, was that of Maſter of Wincheſter-ſchool.*] While he was in that ſtation, Garnet, who was afterwards executed for being concerned in the Gunpowder-plot, reſolved, with ſome other of the ſcholars, to cut off their Maſter's right hand [Bilſon's], but their wicked deſign was happily diſcovered, and prevented in time (3).

(3) Church Hiſt. by T. Fuller, book x. p. 39.

[*D*] *He did a very important ſervice to Wincheſter-college, by preſerving the revenues of it, when they were like to be ſwallowed up by a notorious forgery.*] Of which take an account in his own words. '— There 'hapned an injurie to be offered to the *Inheritance of* '*the College* where I am, by *a falſe title derived from* '*before the foundation of the Houſe*, and ſo ſtrenghtened 'on every ſide with ancient Deeds and Evidences, that 'the forgerie was hard to be diſcerned, and harder to 'be convinced, but by infinite ſearching in the muni-'ments of many Churches and Biſhopricks, as well as 'in our owne, and re examining ſundrie large and la-'borious commiſſions which they had taken out before 'my time, to teſtifie the keeping, and juſtifie the de-'livering, of theſe ſuſpected Deeds and Ligiers. To 'the detecting and impugning of this, no perſon was, 'or would be uſed, but myſelfe, the Cauſe was ſo 'huge, the comparing of the circumſtances and con-'trarieties both of Deeds and Witneſſes, ſo tedious: 'the Proofe ſo perplexed and intricate: and the Dan-'ger ſo neerly touched the whole State of the Houſe: 'I w's forced for two years to lay all Studies aſide, 'and addict myſelf wholly, firſt to the deprehending, 'and then to the purſuing of this falſehood (4).'

(4) Epiſtle to the Reader, before *The true Difference between Chriſtian Subjection*, &c.

[*E*] *The true difference betweene Chriſtian Subjection and Unchriſtian Rebellion.*] The reſt of the title is as follows: '— Wherein the Princes lawful Power to 'command

dedicated it to Queen Elizabeth. In 1593, came out his book entitled, 'The perpetuall 'Government of Chriſtes Church: Wherein are handled, The fatherly Superioritie which 'God firſt eſtabliſhed in the Patriarkes for the guiding of his Church, and after conti- 'nued in the tribe of LEVI and the Prophetes: and laſtlie confirmed in the New 'Teſtament to the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors: As alſo the points in queſtion at this 'day, Touching the Jewiſh Synedrion: the true kingdome of Chriſt: the Apoſtles 'commiſſion: the Laie Preſbyterie: the Diſtinction of Biſhops from Preſbyters, and 'their ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles times and hands: the calling and moderating of 'Provinciall Synods by Primates and Metropolitanes: the allotting of Dioceſes, and the 'Popular electing of ſuch as muſt feede and watch the flock: And divers other points 'concerning the paſtoral regiment of the houſe of God [F]' On the 20th of April, 1596, he was elected, confirmed June the 11th, and the 13th of the ſame month, conſecrated Biſhop of Worceſter [G]; and tranſlated in May following to the biſhoprick of Wincheſter, and made a Privy-Counſellor (k). In 1599, he publiſhed, 'The Effect 'of certaine Sermons (l) touching the full redemption of Mankind by the Death and 'Bloud of Chriſt Jeſus; wherein beſides the Merite of Chriſts Suffering, the Manner of 'his Offering, the Power of his Death, the Comfort of his 'Reſurrection, Are handled, What Paines Chriſt ſuffered in his Soule on the Croſſe: 'Together, with the place and purpoſe of his deſcent to hel after death:' &c. Lond. 4to. Theſe Sermons being preached at Paul's Croſs in Lent 1597, by the encouragement of Archbiſhop Whitgift (m), greatly alarmed moſt of the Puritans (n), becauſe they contradicted ſome of their tenets [H]. Whereupon, they uniting their forces, and making their obſervations thereon, ſent them to Henry Jacob, a learned Puritan (o), who publiſhed them with his Collections, and under his own name [I]. The Queen being at Farnham-caſtle (p); and, to uſe the Biſhop's words, 'taking knowledge of the things 'queſtioned between him and his opponents, directly commanded him neither to deſert 'the doctrine, nor to let the calling which he bore in the Church of God, to be 'trampled

(k) Godwin, de Præſulibus, Lond. 1616, 4to, p. 124, & 302. Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c by Br. Willis, Eſq; Lond. 1727, p. 648.

(l) On *Galatians* vi 4.

(m) Life and Acts of Archbiſhop Whitgift, by J. Strype, book iv. p. 502, edit 1718.

(n) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 404.

(o) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra, col. 404, 464.

(p) Which belongs to the Biſhops of Wincheſter.

'command for truth, and indepriveable Right to beare 'the Sword, are defended againſt the Pope's Cenſures, 'and the Jeſuits Sophiſmes, uttered in their Apologie, 'and Defence of Engliſh Catholikes: With a Demon- 'ſtration, that the things Reformed in the Church of 'England, by the Lawes of this Realm, are truly Ca- 'tholike, notwithſtanding the vaine ſhew made to the 'contrarie in their late Rhemiſh Teſtament.' Oxford, 1585, 4to; London, 1585, 8vo. The book is divided into four parts, and written dialogue-wiſe. In the *firſt and ſecond part* Dr Bilſon anſwers Dr Allen's 'Apology and true Declaration of the Inſtitution and 'Endeavours of the two Engliſh Colleges.' [at Rome and Rhemes] Wherein Queen Elizabeth's Government was charged with Herefy, Tyranny, and Blaſphemy. And it was aſſerted, that none of her Eccleſiaſtical Laws were orderly or duly made. — That her Sovereignty was a thing improbable, unreaſonable, unnatural, impoſſible; and the Oath of Allegiance to her intolerable, repugnant to God, the Church, her Majeſty's honour, and all mens conſciences. The *third part* contains an Anſwer to 'A Defence of the Engliſh Catholicks that 'ſuffer for their Faith.' In which it was affirmed, that ſubjects bearing arms againſt their natural Princes, upon the Pope's warrant, do a holy, juſt, and honourable ſervice. In oppoſition to which, Dr Bilſon ſhews, that Princes are placed by God, and ſo not to be diſplaced by man, and ſubjects threatened damnation by God's own mouth, if they reſiſt. The *fourth part* is an anſwer to the Rhemiſh Teſtament. —— In this book are many paſſages in favour of *the Right of Subjects in ſome Caſes to reſiſt their Princes*; which have very much puzzled the patrons of Paſſive Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance (5). Nay one affirms, that Dr Bilſon was employd by Queen Elizabeth to write it, when ſhe deſigned to take the Low-Countries into her protection; and that to juſtify the revolt of Holland, he gave ſtrange liberty in many caſes, eſpecially concerning religion, for ſubjects to caſt off their obedience (6).

(5) See Hiſt. of Paſſive-Obedience, Amſt. 1689, p. 27. Mr Collier ſays, that it gives a dangerous liberty to ſubjects in many caſes. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 709, edit. 1714, fol.

(6) Creſſy's Exomologeſis, ch xii.

[F] *The perpetual Government of Chriſt's Church.*] It was printed at London, 4to, in the old Engliſh letter. In this book the author ſhews, that the Church of God hath been always governed by an inequality and ſuperiority of paſtors and teachers among themſelves It is one of the beſt books written in favour of Epiſcopacy.

[G] *On the 20th of April, 1596, he was elected, confirmed June the 11th, and the 13th of the ſame month conſecrated, Biſhop of Worceſter.*] His competitor to that See was the learned Dr Thomas James, Keeper of the public library at Oxford, recommended by Archbiſhop Whitgift; but the Lord Treaſurer's intereſt prevailed in favour of Dr Bilſon (7).

(7) See Life and Acts of Archbiſhop Whitgift, by J. Strype, p 495, 496, edit 1718, fol.

[H] *Theſe Sermons — greatly alarmed moſt of the Puritans, becauſe they contradicted ſome of their tenets.*] The Puritans notions reflected upon, and contradicted, in theſe Sermons, were, 1. That Chriſt ſuffered for us in his Soul the Wrath of God, and the Pains of Hell, and finiſhed all his Sufferings upon the Croſs before he died. 2. That Chriſt, after his death, went not into Hell in his Soul, to triumph there (as was imagined) over Satan, as he had done on the Croſs over Death and Sin; and that the word *Hades*, which was commonly rendered Hell, did not ſignify the place of the damned, but only the ſtate of the dead, or the inviſible world (8). —— In oppoſition to that, Biſhop Bilſon maintained, 1. That it is no where recorded in the holy Scripures, nor juſtly to be concluded from thence, that Chriſt ſuffered the true pains of Hell. 2. That as the Scriptures deſcribe to us the paines of the damned, and of Hell; there are manie terrors and torments, which without evident impietie cannot be aſcribed to the Sonne of God. 3. That the death and bloud of Chriſt Jeſus were evidently, frequently, conſtantly ſet downe in the writings of the Apoſtles, as the ſufficient price of our Redemption, and true meane of our reconciliation to God, and ſealed with the Sacraments of the New Teſtament, as the verie groundworke of our Salvation by Chriſt, and ſo have been received, and believed in the Church of God, 1400 years before ever any man made mention of hell-paines to be ſuffered in the Soule of Chriſt. Laſtly, Where the Scriptures are plain and pregnant, that Chriſt died for our ſinnes, and by his death deſtroyed him that had the power of death, even the divell, and reconciled us when we were ſtrangers and enemies *in the body of his fleſh* through death: beſides, that the Holie Ghoſt in theſe places by expreſſe words nameth the *bodily death* of Chriſt, as the meane of our Redemption and reconciliation to God; no conſiderate Divine might affirme or imagine Chriſt ſuffered the death of the Soule; for ſo much as the death of the Soule muſt exclude Chriſt from the Grace, Spirit, and Life of God, and leave in him neither faith, hope, nor love, ſanctitie, nor innocencie, which God forbid any Chriſtian ſhould ſo much as dreame (9).

(8) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Lond. 1732, 8vo, Vol. I. p. 584.

(9) Preface to thoſe Sermons, p. 2.

[I] *Who publiſhed them with his Collections, and under his own name.*] With this title, 'A Treatiſe of 'the Sufferings and Victory of Chriſt in the work of 'our Redemption, &c. Written againſt certain Er- 'rors in theſe points publickly preached in London, '1597.' Lond. 1598, 8vo. —— In 1606 he publiſhed 'A Defence of this Treatiſe, &c.' Lond 4to, to which Biſhop Bilſon's *Survey*, &c. abovmentioned is an Anſwer (10).

(10) Wood, Ath. Vol I. col. 455.

'trampled under foot by ſuch unquiet Refuſers of trueth and authoritie (*q*).' Upon which royal command, he writ that moſt learned treatiſe, chiefly delivered in Sermons, which was publiſhed in 1604, under the title of 'The Survey of Chriſts Sufferings for 'Mans redemption: And of his Deſcent to Hades or Hel for our deliverance.' Lond. fol. [*K*]. It was this learned perſon alſo, that preached the Sermon at Weſtminſter before King James I and his Queen, at their Coronation on St James's day, 25 July, 1603, from *Rom.* xiii. 1. which was publiſhed at London, 1603, 8*vo* (*r*). In January, 1603-4. he was one of the Speakers and Managers at the Hampton-Court Conference, in which he ſpoke much, and, according to Mr Fuller (*s*), moſt learnedly. And, in general, he was one of the chief maintainers and ſupports of the Church of England; as were alſo Dr Richard Field of Oxford, and Dr William Whitaker, and Mr Fulke of Cambridge; while John Rainolds and Tho. Sparke were promoters of Non-conformity (*t*). The care of reviſing, and putting the laſt hand to, the new Tranſlation of the Engliſh Bible in King James Iſt's reign, was committed to our author, and to Dr Miles Smith afterwards Biſhop of Glouceſter (*u*). His laſt publick act, recorded in Hiſtory, was, the being one of the Delegates (*w*) that pronounced and ſigned the ſentence of Divorce between Robert Devereux Earl of Eſſex, and the Lady Frances Howard, in the year 1613 [*L*]: And his ſon being knighted ſoon after, upon this very account as was imagined, the world was ſo malicious as to give him the title of Sir Nullity Bilſon (*x*). This learned Biſhop, after having gone through many employments, and lived in continual drudgery for the publick good, departed this life on the 18th of June in 1616 (*y*), and was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey, near the entrance into St Edmund's chapel, on the ſouth-ſide of the monument of King Richard II (*z*). His character is repreſented to the utmoſt advantage by ſeveral perſons. Sir Anth. Weldon calls him 'an excellent 'Civillian, and a very great Scholler (*a*):' Mr Th. Fuller, 'a deep and profound Scholar, 'excellently well read in the Fathers (*b*).' Biſhop Godwin, 'a very grave man; and 'how great a Divine (adds he) if any one knows not, let him conſult his learned 'writings (*c*).' Sir John Harrington, 'I find but foure lines [in Biſhop Godwin's book] 'concerning him; and if I ſhould give him his due, in proportion to the reſt, I ſhould 'ſpend foure leaves. Not that I need make him better known, being one of the moſt 'eminent of his ranck, and a man that carried prelature in his very aſpect. His riſing 'was meerly by his learning, as true Prelates ſhould riſe. *Sint non modo labe mali ſed ſuſpicione carentes*, not onely free from the ſpot, but from the ſpeech of corruption (*d*).' He writ in a more elegant ſtyle, and in fuller and better-turned periods, than was uſual in the times wherein he lived.

(*q*) Preface to the King's Majeſtie, before *The Survey of Chriſt's Sufferings for Man's Redemption*, &c. p. 7.

(*r*) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra, col. 404.

(*s*) Church Hiſt. book x. p. 71.

(*t*) Wood, Athen. col. 403.

(*u*) Fuller's Worthies, in Hantſhire, p. 7.

(*w*) A. Wilſon's Life and Reign of King James I. p. 692. in Compleat Hiſt. edit. 1706. Frankland's Annals, p. 1, &c. *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, &c. Lond. 1650, 12*mo*. p. 113, &c.

(*x*) The Court and Character of King James, by Sir Anth. Weldon, Lond. 1650. 12*mo*. p. 77. and Rapin's Hiſt. of England, fol. Vol. II. p. 184.

(*y*) Mr Fuller, by Miſtake, ſays it was in 1618. *Worthies*, ubi ſupra.

(*z*) Wood, Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 172. and Athen. Vol. I. col. 403.

(*a*) Court and Character of King James, ubi ſupra, p. 77.

(*b*) Church Hiſt. book x. p. 71.

(*c*) De Præſulibus, as above, p. 302.

(*d*) Briefe View, &c. as above, being a Character and Hiſtory of ſome of the Biſhops, p. 71.

[*K*] *The Survey of Chriſt's Sufferings for Man's redemption; and of his deſcent to Hades or Hel for our deliverance.*] This book, as was obſerved in the laſt note, contains an Anſwer to Henry Jacob's 'Defence 'of a Treatiſe touching the Sufferings and Victory of 'Chriſt in the work of our Redemption (11).' And is a full and learned vindication of the Sermons, and the Doctrine, mentioned above in the note [*H*]. The author gives us (12) the ſubſtance of this Survey in the following words. 'The maine ground of the Goſpel 'was this, that Chriſt died for our Sinnes according to 'the Scriptures, and was buried, and roſe the third 'day. Since then we are reconciled to God by the 'death of his Sonne, we muſt acknowledge no other 'death of Chriſt, than that which he ſuffered in the 'bodie of his fleſh, which death the Scriptures moſt 'apparently deſcribe to be the death of Chriſt's body. '——The Scriptures do no where teach, nor mention 'the death of Chriſt's Soul, or the death of the damned, which is the ſecond death, to be needful for 'our Redemption. —— The true and full Satisfaction 'for our ſins, muſt not be derived from the ſingularity 'and infinity of Chriſt's pains, longer and greater 'than which the divels and damned do every one ſuffer; but from the dignity of the perſon, who being 'the only and eternal Son of God that made us, humbled himſelf in our ſtead, and in our nature, to reſtore 'us, and offered recompenſe for our ſins, which was 'his ſubmiſſion and obedience unto the death of the 'Croſs, more pleaſing to God than our condemnation 'to hell could have been.' In the ſecond part, treating of Chriſt's deſcent into hell, he ſhews that Chriſt's Soul did not, at his death, aſcend to heaven, and there remained 'till his reſurrection, but actually went into hell; to 'deſtroy the divel's kingdom, triumph over 'powers and principalities, ſpoil them by delivering 'all his elect, dead, living, and yet unborn, from 'the right, power, and fear of eternal death; taking 'into his hands the keys of death and hell, that he 'might be Lord of all, in Heaven, Earth, and Hell.' In the ſame part he endeavours to prove, that *Sheol*, or Hades, when diſtinguiſhed from the death of the body, or referred to the foul after death, apparently ſignifieth Hell.

(11) Wood, ibid.

(12) Reſolutions of the Survey, in the beginning of it.

[*L*] *He was one of the Delegates that pronounced and ſigned the ſentence of divorce between the Earl of Eſſex, and the Lady Frances Howard.*] That affair is ſo well known, and related by ſo many of our Hiſtorians, that it need not be enlarged upon here. However, beſides the authors cited above in the margin, ſee a book intitled, *Truth brought to light by Time* (13). Two ſeveral commiſſions were iſſued out upon this occaſion, which is not commonly taken notice of. In the firſt Biſhop Bilſon was not put in, but he was in the ſecond (14).

(13) Lond. 1651, 4*to*, p. 79.

(14) See *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, ubi ſupra.

C

BINGHAM (Joseph) the learned author of *Origines Eccleſiaſticæ*, or, the Antiquities of the Chriſtian Church, was born at Wakefield in Yorkſhire in September 1668: and learned the firſt rudiments of Grammar at a ſchool in the ſame town, under Mr Edward Clarke. In 1683, at the age of fifteen, he was admitted into Univerſity-College in Oxford; where he behaved in a very ſober and ſtudious manner. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1687, and ſoon after was choſen Fellow of the college juſt now mentioned. He proceeded to his Maſter's degree in the year 1690 (*a*). Not long after [*A*], he was preſented by the moſt famous John Radcliffe, M. D. to the rectory

(*a*) For theſe particulars we are obliged to his ſon, the Rev. R. Bingham, Rector of Havant.

[*A*] *Not long after*, &c.] This I infer from a paſſage in the Preface to the firſt volume of his *Origines Eccleſiaſticæ*, where he ſays, that 'Providence removed 'him *early* from the Univerſity.'

[*B*] *With*

rectory of Headbourn-worthy, a living of an hundred pounds a year, near Winchester in Hamshire; without any importunity or seeking of his own (*b*). In that country-retirement, with all the disadvantages he lay under for want of many useful and necessary books [*B*], he undertook a very learned and laborious work, of which he published the first Volume in 1708, under this title, '*Origines Ecclesiasticæ*; Or, The Antiquities of 'the Christian Church [*C*]:' And which he compleated afterwards in nine volumes more,

(*b*) From the same information. See also Preface to Vol. I. of our Author's Origines Ecclesiasticæ.

[*B*] *With all the disadvantages he lay under for want of many useful and necessary books.*] Of this he complains in the following words (1). 'I confess, indeed, 'this work will suffer something in my hands for want 'of several books, which I have no opportunity to 'see, nor ability to purchase; but that perhaps may 'tempt some others, who are at the fountains of learn-'ing, and have all manner of books at command, to 'add to my labours, and improve this Essay to a much 'greater perfection. — The chief assistance I have hi-'therto had, is from the noble benefaction of —— the 'renowned Bishop Morley; who, among many other 'eminent works of charity and generosity, — has be-'queathed a very valuable collection of books to the 'church of Winchester, for the advancement of learning 'among the parochial Clergy: And I reckon it none 'of the least part of my happiness, that Providence 'removing me early from the University (where the 'best supplies of learning are to be had) placed me by 'the hands of a generous benefactor (2), without any 'importunity or seeking of my own, in such a station, 'as gives me liberty and opportunity to make use of 'so good a library, though not so perfect as I could 'wish.' —— He complains likewise elsewhere (3) 'of 'his own difficult circumstances, under which he was 'forced to labour for want of proper assistance of a-'bundance of books.' — And yet, what vast numbers he used and consulted, see in the *Index Auctorum* at the end of the work.

(1) Preface to Vol. I.

(2) Dr Radcliffe.

(3) Dedication to Vol. I.

[*C*] *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*; or, *The Antiquities of the Christian Church*, &c.] The Contents of the several books and chapters of this curious work are as follow. Book I. Of the several names and orders of men in the Christian Church. Ch. 1. Of those titles and appellations which Christians owned and distinguished themselves by. Ch. 2. Of the names of reproach which Jews, Infidels, and Hereticks, cast upon the Christians. Ch. 3. Of the several orders of men in the Christian Church. Ch. 4. A more particular account of the Believers, and their several titles of honour and privileges above the Catechumens. Ch. 5. Of the distinctions of Believers from the Rulers; where, of the distinction observed in the names and offices of Laity and Clergy, and of the antiquity of these distinctions. Book II. Of the several superior orders of the Clergy in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Of the original of Bishops, and that they were a distinct order from Presbyters in the primitive Church, Ch. 2. Of the several titles of honour given to Bishops in the primitive Church. Ch. 3. Of the offices of Bishops, as distinct from Presbyters. Ch. 4. Of the power of Bishops over the Laity, Monks, subordinate Magistrates, and all persons within their diocese; and of their office in disposing of the revenues of the Church. Ch. 5. Of the office of Bishops, in relation to the whole Catholick Church. Ch. 6. Of the independency of Bishops, especially in the Cyprianick, and in the African Churches. Ch. 7. Of the power of Bishops in hearing and determining secular causes. Ch. 8. Of the privilege of Bishops to intercede for criminals. Ch. 9. Of some particular honours, and instances of respect, shewed to Bishops by all persons in general. Ch. 10. Of the age, and some other particular qualifications required in such as were to be ordained Bishops. Ch. 11. Of some particular laws and customs observed about the ordination of Bishops. Ch. 12. Of the rule which prohibits Bishops to be ordained in small cities. Ch. 13. Of the rule which forbids two Bishops to be ordained in one city. Ch. 14. Of the *Chorepiscopi*, Περιοδευταὶ, and Suffragan Bishops; and how these differed from one another. Ch. 15 Of the *Intercessores* and *Interventores* in the African Churches. Ch. 16. Of Primates or Metropolitans. Chap. 17. Of Patriarchs. Ch. 18. Of the Αυτοκέφαλοι, or Independent Bishops. Ch. 19. Of Presbyters. Ch. 20. Of Deacons. Ch. 21. Of Archdeacons. Ch. 22 Of Deaconesses. Book III. Of the inferior orders of the Clergy in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Of the first original of the inferior orders, and the number and use of them; and how they differed from the superior orders of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons. Chap. 2. Of Subdeacons. Ch. 3. Of Acolythists. Ch 4. Of Exorcists. Ch. 5. Of *Lectors*, or Readers. Ch. 6. Of the *Ostiarii*, or Door-keepers. Ch. 7 Of the *Psalmistæ*, or Singers. Ch. 8. Of the *Copiatæ*, or *Fossarii*. Ch. 9. Of the *Parabolani*. Ch. 10. Of the Cathechists. Ch. 11 Of the *Defensores*, or Syndicks of the Church. Ch 12. Of the *Oeconomi*, or Stewards and Guardians of the Church. Ch. 13. A brief account of some other inferior Officers in the Church. Book IV. Of the elections and ordinations of the Clergy, and the particular qualifications of such as were to be ordained. Ch. 1. Of the several ways of designing persons to the Ministry, in the Apostolical and primitive ages of the Church. Ch. 2. A more particular account of the antient manner and method of elections of the Clergy. Ch. 3. Of the examination and qualifications of persons to be ordained in the prmitivie Church; and first of their Faith and Morals. Ch. 4. Of the qualifications of persons to be ordained, respecting their outward state and condition in the world. Ch. 5. Of the state of Digamy and Celibacy in particular; and of the laws of the Church about these in reference to the antient Clergy. Ch. 6. Of the ordinations of the primitive Clergy, and the laws and customs generally observed therein. Ch. 7. The case of forced ordinations and re-ordinations considered. Book V. Of the privileges, immunities, and revenues of the Clergy in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Some instances of respect which the Clergy paid mutually to one another. Ch. 2. Instances of respect shewed to the Clergy by the Civil Government; where particularly of their exemption from the cognisance of the secular Courts in Ecclesiastical Causes. Ch. 3. Of the immunities of the Clergy in reference to Taxes and civil Offices, and other burthensome employments in the Roman Empire, Ch. 4. Of the Revenues of the antient Clergy. Ch. 5. Of Tithes and First fruits in particular. Ch. 6. Of the management and distribution of the Revenues of the antient Clergy. Book VI. An account of several Laws and rules relating to the employment, life and conversation of the primitive Clergy. Ch. 1. Of the excellency of these rules in general, and the exemplarinefs of the Clergy in conforming to them. Ch. 2. Of Laws relating to the life and conversation of the primitive Clergy. Ch. 3. Of Laws more particularly relating to the exercise of the duties and offices of their function. Ch 4. An account of some other Laws and rules, which were a sort of out-guards and fences to the former. Ch 5. Some reflections on the foregoing Discourse, concluding with an Address to the Clergy of the present Church. Book VII. Of the Ascetick in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Of the difference between the first Ascetick and Monks; and of the first original of the Monastick Life. Ch. 2. Of the several sorts of Monks, and their different ways of living in the Church. Ch. 3. An account of such ancient Laws and Rules as relate to the Monastick life, and chiefly that of the Cenobites. Ch. 4. The case and state of Virgins and Widows in the antient Church. Book VIII. An account of the antient Churches, their original, names, parts, utensils, consecrations, immunities, &c. Ch. 1. Of the several names and first original of Churches among Christians. Ch. 2. Of the difference between Churches in the first ages, and those that followed; and of Heathen Temples and Jewish Synagogues turned into Christian Churches. Ch. 3. Of the different forms and parts of the antient Churches; and first of the exterior *Narthex*, or outward Ante-Temple. Ch. 4. Of the interior *Narthex*, and the parts and uses of it. Ch. 5. Of the *Naos*, or Nave and body of the Church, and it's parts and uses. Ch. 6. Of the *Bema*, or third part of the Temple, called the Altar part, or Sanctuary, and the parts and uses of it. Ch. 7. Of the Baptisteries, and other outer buildings, called the *Exedræ* of the Church. Ch. 8.

Of

more, 8vo, containing in the whole XXIII books. He diſcovers in that work a prodigious

Of the *Donaria* and *Anathemata*, and other ornaments of the antient Churches. Ch. 9. Of the conſecration of Churches, Ch. 10. Of the reſpect and reverence which the primitive Chriſtians paid to their Churches. Ch. 11. Of the firſt original of *Aſylums*, or places of Sanctuary and refuge, with the Laws relating to them in Chriſtian Churches. Book IX. A Geographical deſcription of the Diſtricts of the antient Church, or an account of it's diviſion into Provinces, Dioceſes, and Pariſhes; and of the firſt Original of theſe: With ſeveral Maps. Ch. 1. Of the ſtate and diviſion of the Roman Empire, and of the Church's conformity to that in modelling her own external polity and government. Ch. 2. A more particular account of the nature and extent of Dioceſes, or Epiſcopal Churches, in Africa, Egypt, Arabia, Paleſtine, Syria, Phœnicia, and other Eaſtern provinces. Ch. 3. A continuation of this account of Dioceſes in the Provinces of Aſia Minor. Ch. 4. A continuation of the former account in the European Provinces of Thracia, Macedonia, Greece, Illyricum, &c. Ch. 5. A particular account of the ſeventeen Provinces of the Roman and Italick Dioceſes, and of the Epiſcopal Dioceſes contained in them. Ch. 6. Of the Dioceſes in France, Spain, and the Britiſh Iſles. Ch. 7. The *Notitia*, or Geographical deſcription of the Biſhopricks of the antient Church, as firſt made by the order of Leo Sapiens in the IXth century, compared with ſome others. Ch. 8. Of the diviſion of the Dioceſes into Pariſhes, and the firſt original of them. The Concluſion, wherein is propoſed an eaſy and honourable method for eſtabliſhing a primitive Dioceſan Epiſcopacy (conformable to the model of the ſmaller ſort of antient Dioceſes) in all the Proteſtant Churches. With an Appendix, containing a Catalogue of the antient Dioceſes in the ſix African Provinces. Book X Of the inſtitution of the Catechumens, and the firſt uſe of the Creeds in the Church. Ch. 1. Of the ſeveral names of the Catechumens, and the ſolemnity that was uſed in admitting them to that ſtate in the Church; alſo of Catechizing, and the time of their continuance in that exerciſe. Ch. 2. Of the ſeveral claſſes or degrees of Catechumens, and the gradual exerciſes and diſcipline of every order. Ch. 3. Of the original, nature, and names of the antient Creeds of the Church. Ch. 4. A collection of ſeveral antient forms of the Creed out of the primitive records of the Church. Ch. 5. Of the original, nature, and reaſons, of that antient diſcipline, of concealing the ſacred myſteries of the Church from the ſight and knowledge of the Catechumens, Book XI. Of the Rites and Cuſtoms obſerved in the adminiſtration of Baptiſm in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Of the ſeveral names and appellations of Baptiſm in the primitive Church. Ch. 2. Of the matter of Baptiſm; with an account of ſuch Hereticks as rejected and corrupted Baptiſm by water. Ch. 3. Of the ancient form of Baptiſm; and of ſuch Hereticks as altered or corrupted it. Ch. 4. Of the ſubject of Baptiſm, or an account of what perſons were antiently allowed to be baptized. Where particularly of Infant-baptiſm. Ch 5. Of the Baptiſm of adult perſons. Ch. 6. Of the time and place of Baptiſm. Ch. 7. Of the renunciations and profeſſions made by all perſons immediately before their Baptiſm. Ch. 8. Of the uſe of Sponſors or Sureties in Baptiſm. Ch. 9. Of the unction and the Sign of the Croſs in Baptiſm. Ch. 10. Of the conſecration of the water in Baptiſm. Ch. 11. Of the different ways of baptizing by immerſion, trine immerſion, and aſperſion in the caſe of Clinick Baptiſm. Book XII. Of Confirmation, and other ceremonies following Baptiſm, before men were made partakers of the Euchariſt. Ch. 1. Of the Time when, and the perſons to whom Confirmation was adminiſtered. Ch. 2. Of the Miniſter of Confirmation. Ch. 3. Of the manner of adminiſtring Confirmation, and the ceremonies uſed in the celebration of it. Ch. 4. Of the remaining ceremonies of Baptiſm following Confirmation. Ch. 5. Of the Laws againſt re-baptization both in Church and State. Book XIII. General obſervations relating to Divine Worſhip in the antient Church. Ch. 1. Some neceſſary remarks upon the antient names of Divine Service, which modern corruptions have rendered ambiguous. Ch. 2. That the devotions of the antient Church, were paid to every perſon of the Bleſſed Trinity. Ch. 3. That in the antient Church religious worſhip was given to no Creature, Saint, or Angel, Croſs, Image, or Relick, but to God alone. Ch. 4. That antiently Divine Service was always performed in the Vulgar Tongue, underſtood by the people. Ch. 5. Of the original and uſe of Liturgies, in ſtated and ſet Forms of Prayer, in the primitive Church. Ch. 6. An Extract of the ſeveral parts of the antient Liturgy out of the genuine writings of St Chryſoſtom, following the order of his works. Ch. 7. Of the uſe of the Lord's Prayer in the Liturgy of the antient Church. Ch. 8. Of the uſe of habits and geſture, and other rites and ceremonies in the antient Church. Ch. 9. Of the times of their religious Aſſemblies, and the ſeveral parts of Divine Service performed in them. Ch. 10. The Order of their daily Morning Service. Ch. 11. The Order of their daily Evening Service. Book XIV. Of that part of Divine Service which the Antients comprized under the general name of *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, the Service of the Catechumens, or Ante-Communion Service of the Lord's Day. Ch. 1. Of the Pſalmody of the antient Church. Ch. 2. A particular account of ſome of the moſt noted Hymns uſed in the Service of the antient Church. Ch. 3. Of the manner of reading the Scriptures in the publick Service of the Church. Ch. 4. Of Preaching, and the uſages relating to it in the antient Church. Ch. 5. Of the Prayers for the Catechumens, Energumens, Competentes, or Candidates of Baptiſm, and the Penitents. Book XV. Of the *Miſſa Fidelium*, or Communion-Service. Ch. 1. Of the Prayers preceding the Oblation. Ch. 2. Of the Oblations of the people, and other things introductory to the conſecration of the Euchariſt. Ch. 3. Of the Obligation or Conſecration Prayers, and the ſeveral parts of them. Ch. 4. Of Communicants, or perſons who were allowed to receive this Sacrament, and the manner of receiving it. Ch. 5. A reſolution of ſeveral queſtions relating further to the manner of communicating in the antient Church. Ch. 6. Of their Poſt-Communion-Service. Ch. 7. How the remains of the Euchariſt were diſpoſed of; and of the common entertainment called *Agape*, or Feaſt of Charity. Ch. 8. Of the preparation which the Antients required as neceſſary in Communicants, to qualify them for a worthy reception. Ch. 9. Of frequent Communion, and the times of celebrating it in the antient Church. Book XVI. Of the unity and diſcipline of the antient Church. Ch. 1. Of the union and communion obſerved among Catholicks in the antient Church. Ch 2. Of the diſcipline of the Church, and the various kinds of it; together with the various methods obſerved in the adminiſtration of it. Ch. 3. Of the objects of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, or the perſons on whom they might be inflicted; with a general account of the crimes for which they might be inflicted. Ch. 4. A particular account of thoſe called *Great Crimes*. Of tranſgreſſions of the firſt and ſecond commandments. Of the principal of theſe, viz. Idolatry. Of the ſeveral ſpecies of Idolatry, and degrees of puniſhment allotted to them, according to the proportion and quality of the offences. Ch. 5. Of the practice of curious and forbidden arts, Divination, Magick, and Inchantment; and of the Laws of the Church made for the puniſhment of them. Ch. 6. Of apoſtacy to Judaiſm and Paganiſm; of Hereſy and Schiſm; and of Sacrilege and Simony. Ch. 7. Of Sins againſt the third commandment, Blaſphemy, profane Swearing, Perjury, and breach of Vows. Ch. 8. Of Sins againſt the fourth commandment, or violations of the Laws enjoining the religious obſervation of the Lord's Day. Ch 9. Of great tranſgreſſions againſt the fifth commandment, viz. diſobedience to Parents and Maſters; treaſon and rebellion againſt Princes; and contempt of the Laws of the Church. Ch. 10. Of great tranſgreſſions againſt the ſixth commandment; of murder and manſlaughter, parricide, ſelf murder, diſmembring the body, expoſing of infants, cauſing abortion, &c. Ch. 11. Of great tranſgreſſions againſt the ſeventh commandment, fornication, adultery, inceſt, polygamy, &c. Ch. 12. Of great tranſgreſſions of the eighth commandment, theft, oppreſſion, fraud, &c. Ch. 13 Of great tranſgreſſions againſt the ninth commandment, falſe accuſation, libelling, informing, calumny and ſlander, railing and reviling.

prodigious fund of reading, especially in the Fathers; as likewise a great deal of judgment, sincerity, and candour: And gives, at the same time, a specimen of what industry and a diligent application, are capable of doing (*c*). But, besides this difficult and voluminous undertaking, he published other books: Namely, 'The French Church's Apology for the Church of England: Or, the Objections of Dissenters against the Articles, Homilies, Liturgy, and Canons of the English Church, considered, and answered upon the Principles of the Reformed Church of France. A work chiefly extracted out of the authentick Acts and Decrees of the French National Synods, and the most approved writers of that Church [*D*],' Lond. 1706, 8*vo*. And, 'A Scholastical History of the Practice of the Church, in reference to the Administration of Baptism by Laymen. Wherein an Account is given of the practice of the Primitive Church, the Practice of the Modern Greek Church, and the Practice of the Churches of the Reformation. With an Appendix, containing some Remarks on the Historical Part of Mr Lawrence's Writings touching the Invalidity of Lay-Baptism, his Preliminary Discourse of the various Opinions of the Fathers concerning Rebaptization, and invalid Baptisms, and his Discourse of Sacerdotal Powers.' Part I. Lond. 1712, 8*vo*. 'A Scholastical History of Lay-Baptism. Part II. With some Considerations on Dr Brett's and 'Mr

(*c*) See Preface to Vol. X.

reviling. Ch. 14. Of great transgressions against the tenth commandment, envy, covetousness, &c. Book XVII. Of the Exercise of Discipline upon the Clergy in the antient Church. Ch. 1. Of the difference of Ecclesiastical Censures inflicted on Clergymen and Laymen. Ch. 2. Of reducing the Clergy to the state and communion of Laymen, as a punishment for great offences Ch. 3. Of the punishment, called *Peregrina Communio*, or reducing Clergymen to the communion of Strangers. Ch 4. Of some other special and peculiar ways of inflicting punishment on the Clergy. Ch. 5. A particular account of the crimes for which Clergymen were liable to be punished with any of the forementioned kinds of Censure. Book XVIII. Of the several Orders of Penitents, and the method of performing publick Penance in the Church, by going through the several stages of Repentance. Ch. 1. A particular account of the several Orders of Penitents in the Church. Ch. 2. Of the Ceremonies used in admitting Penitents to do publick Penance, and the manner of performing publick Penance in the Church. Ch. 3. A particular account of the *Exomologesis*, or penitential Confession of the antient Church; shewing it to be a different thing from the private or auricular Confession introduced by the Church of Rome. Ch. 4. Of the great rigour, strictness, and severity, of the Discipline and Penance of the antient Church. Book XIX. Of Absolution, or the manner of re-admitting Penitents into the Communion of the Church again. Ch. 1. Of the nature of Absolution, and the several sorts of it; more particularly of such as relate to the penitential Discipline of the Church. Ch. 2. Of the circumstances, rites and customs antiently observed in the publick Absolution of Sinners. Ch. 3. Of the Minister of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and particularly of the Minister of Absolution. Two Sermons, and two Letters to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Winchester, concerning the Nature and Necessity of the several sorts of Absolution; shewing how far that Necessity extends, and where it ceases. Book XX. Of the Festivals observed in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Of the distinction to be made between Civil and Ecclesiastical Festivals. Ch. 2. Of the original and observation of the Lord's Day among Christians. Ch. 3. Of the observation of the Sabbath, or Saturday, as a weekly Festival. Ch. 4. Of the Festival of Christ's Nativity and Epiphany. Ch. 5. Of Easter, or the Paschal Festival. Ch. 6. Of Pentecost, or Whitsuntide. Ch. 7. Of the Festivals of the Apostles and Martyrs. Ch. 8. Of some other Festivals of a later date and lesser observation. Book XXI. Of the Fasts in use in the antient Church. Ch. 1. Of the Quadragesimal, or Lent Fast. Ch. 2 Of the Fasts of the Four Seasons; of monthly Fasts; and the original of Ember-Weeks and Rogation-Days. Ch. 3. Of the weekly Fasts of Wednesdays and Fridays, or the Stationary days of the antient Church. Book XXII. Of the Marriage-Rites observed in the antient Church. Ch. 1. A short account of the Hereticks who condemned or vilified Marriage antiently, under pretence of greater purity and perfection; and of such also as gave licence to community of Wives, and Fornication. Ch. 2. Of the just impediments of Marriage in particular cases, shewing what persons might, or might not, be lawfully joined together; and of the times and seasons when the celebration of Marriage was forbidden. Ch. 3. Of the manner of making espousals preceding Marriage in the antient Church Ch. 4. Of the manner of celebrating marriage in the antient Church. Ch. 5. Of Divorces; how far they were allowed or disallowed by the antient Christians. Book XXIII. Of Funeral Rites, or the Custom and Manner of burying the Dead, observed in the antient Church. Ch. 1. Of Cemeteries or Burying-places; with an enquiry, how and when the custom of burying in Churches first came in. Ch. 2. Some farther observations concerning the place, and manner, and time of burying. Ch. 3. How they prepared the Body for the Funeral, and with what religious ceremonies and solemnities they interred it Ch. 4. An account of the Laws made to secure the Bodies and Graves of the dead, from the violence of robbers and sacrilegious invaders, and buyers and sellers of relicks, and their worshippers.

[*D*] *The* French *Church's Apology for the Church of* England.] He informs us in the Preface, that what first put him upon compiling this work, and furnished him with the principal part of the materials for it, was the perusal of a book, intitled, '*Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*; or, The Acts, Decrees, and Canons of the National Councils of the Reformed Churches in France.' Published in two volumes, fol. Lond. 1692, by Mr John Quick, Minister of the Gospel (that is, a Dissenting Minister among the Presbyterians). The whole collected out of the original manuscript Acts of those Synods; being a work never before extant in any language; wherein are contained many excellent expedients for preventing and healing of schisms in the Churches, and for re-uniting the dismembered body of divided Protestants. Our author considered therefore, that if these Synods afforded any such expedients, they were likely to weigh as much with Dissenters, especially those of the Presbyterian Party, as any other arguments: Considering, 1. That they themselves have commonly made their appeals to the Foreign Churches against the Church of England; blaming her establishments and methods, and measures of Reformation; and requiring her to be reformed in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, according to the example of the best Reformed Churches; which are the very words of the Solemn League and Covenant. 2. That in all probability they will freely own the French Church to be one of the best Reformed Churches, and let her authority be of some consideration with them. 3. That the Translator and Publisher of these Synods being (one of themselves) a professed Dissenting Minister, cannot by them be suspected to have translated any thing partially in favour of the Church of England. Mr Bingham endeavours therefore to make appear to them out of these very Synods, (which are the most publick and authentick rule of the French Church) in Book I. That the methods and measures of Reformation in the Church of England, are the same that the French Church did take, or would have taken if she could; and that our expedients for preventing and healing schisms in the Church, are no other than what are laid down and prescribed in these Synods. Book II. That our Articles and Homilies contain no other Doctrine, but what is publickly taught in the Articles and Homilies of the French Church. Book III. That the objections against our Liturgy and Rubricks, will

(d) Lawrence's; an ingenious Layman.

'Mr L———'s (*d*) Anſwers to the firſt Part.' Lond. 8vo [*E*]. To which is prefixed, 'The State of the preſent Controverſy.' And, at the end there is 'An Appendix 'containing ſome Remarks on the Author of the Second Part of Lay-Baptiſm invalid.' He publiſhed likewiſe 'A Diſcourſe concerning the Mercy of God to Penitent Sinners: In-'tended for the uſe of Perſons troubled in mind.' Being a Sermon on *Pſalm* ciii. 13. Printed ſingly at firſt: and reprinted among the reſt of his Work, in two Volumes, fol. Lond. 1725. Notwithſtanding his great learning, merit, and other excellent qualifications, he continued only Rector of Headbourne-worthy, 'till the year 1712, when he was collated to the rectory of Havant near Portſmouth, by Sir Jonathan Trelawney Biſhop of Wincheſter, to whom he dedicated ſeveral of his books. This learned and induſtrious perſon died Aug. 17, 1723, in the 55th year of his age; and was buried in the church-yard of Headbourne-worthy. He expreſſed, in his Will, a diſlike to any ſuch thing as a monument over his grave; which is the reaſon why none is yet erected to his memory. But there was one intended, with an inſcription which we ſhall give in the note [*F*]. As to his character; Though he had not the ſtrongeſt conſtitution (*e*), he was a perſon of very great induſtry, and indefatigable application, as his works abundantly teſtify. He was at the ſame time a great lover of truth (*f*); and of ſo free and diſintereſted a temper, that 'though 'he loved not to enter into diſpute with any men, yet he did not think any Great Names 'ſo venerable, as to be of ſufficient Authority to lead others by their Dictates only, eſpe-'cially in Matters of Fact and Hiſtory, unleſs they aſſign juſt Grounds and Reaſons for 'their Aſſertions (*g*).'

(e) See his Works in folio, Vol. II. p. 417.

(f) Ibid. p. 587, 701, &c.

(g) Ibid. p. 523.

will hold as well againſt the Liturgy and publick Offices that are uſed among them. Book IV. That our Canons require but the ſame things, or things equivalent to what the Canons of theſe Synods enjoin. In theſe three laſt Books, the Diſſenters objections againſt the Articles and Homilies, Liturgy and Canons of the Church of England, are conſidered and anſwered from the principles and practice of the Reformed Church of France. The principal perſon whom he takes objections from, and anſwers them upon the principles and grounds of the French Church, is Mr Rich. Baxter, in one of his books, intitled, 'Engliſh Nonconformity, 'as under King Charles II and King James II, ſtated 'and argued,' 4to, Lond. 1689, where he has ſummed up their principle reaſons for their Nonconformity. To theſe our author returns anſwers, either from the French Synods, or their moſt approved writers, as the ſubject requires. Towards the concluſion of his Preface, he makes this pertinent remark. —— 'I cannot 'think the true method of preventing the dangers '*ariſing from our diviſions*, is to make ſuch conceſſions 'to Diſſenters, as will ſhake and deſtroy the preſent 'Conſtitution; but to reaſon them into Union upon 'ſuch principles as are common to all the Churches of 'the Reformation.'

[*E*] *A Scholaſtical Hiſtory of the practice of the Church, in reference to the adminiſtration of Baptiſm by Laymen*, &c.] His deſign in this work, briefly, is to ſhew, that although Laymen were always prohibited to baptize in ordinary caſes, yet they were allowed to do it in *caſes extraordinary*; and this extraordinary Baptiſm of theirs was counted valid, without any need of Rebaptization.

[*F*] *But there was one intended, with an inſcription*, &c.]

The Inſcription is as follows.

Obſtupeſce Viator!
Venerandi hic conduntur Cineres
Joſephi Bingham A. M.
Nati Wakefeldiæ apud Eboracenſes
Collegii Univerſitatis apud Oxon.
quondam Socii.
Cujus multiplicem ſi ſpecies Doctrinam
Quam Scriptis prodidit,
Si exactam veteris Diſciplinæ et
Conſuetudinum Eccleſiaſticarum
Notitiam,
Cyprianicâ ætate vel etiam Ignatianâ
Moribus quoque primævis
Vixiſſe agnoſcas,
Niſi quod non eſſet Epiſcopus.
At væ Sæculo meritorum immemori
Et ingrato!
Cum qui Patriarchatum in Eccleſiâ
Meruit,
Nonniſi Headbourn-Worth & Havanti in Agro Hanton.
Parochus, obiit
Decimo Septimo die Aug.
Anno { Chriſti 1723. / Ætatis 55.

C

(a) Winſtanley's Lives of the Engliſh Poets, p. 180.

(b) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 639.

(c) A ſeaſonable Argument to perſwade all Grand Juries to petition for a new Parliament. London, 1677, *4to.* p. 19.

(d) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 639.

(e) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 282.

BIRKENHEAD or BERKENHEAD (Sir JOHN) a very famous political author in the XVIIth century (*a*). He was the ſon of Richard Birkenhead, of Northwych in the county of Cheſter, an honeſt Sadler (*b*), and if ſome authors may deſerve credit, he kept alſo a little alehouſe (*c*). Our author was born, as the univerſity regiſters ſhew, about the year 1615, and having received ſome tincture of learning in the common grammar ſchools, came to Oxford, and was entered, in 1632, a Servitor of Oriel-college, under the tuition of the learned Dr Humphrey Lloyd, afterwards Biſhop of Bangor (*d*), by whom being recommended to Dr William Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he became his Amanuenſis, and in that capacity diſcovered ſo great parts and diligence, that the Archbiſhop, by his diploma, created him Maſter of Arts in 1639, and the year following, by letter commendatory, from the ſame great Prelate, he was choſen Probationer-Fellow of All-Souls-college in the ſame univerſity (*e*). This preferment brought him to reſide conſtantly in Oxford; and on King Charles I. making that city his head quarters, during the Civil War, our author was made choice of to write a kind of Journal, in defence or ſupport of the Royal Cauſe, by which he gained great reputation (*f*) [*A*]. His labours in this way being equally uſeful and acceptable to the Royaliſts,

(f) Grey's Examination of Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. II and III, in a multitude of places.

[*A*] *By which he gained great reputation.*] In thoſe days, the Preſs being entirely at liberty on both ſides, the war was carried on from thence with the greateſt vigour. The work, under the care of Mr Birkenhead, was intitled, I. 'Mercurius Aulicus; com-'municating the intelligence and affairs of the Court 'to the reſt of the kingdom.' It was printed weekly in one ſheet, and ſometimes more, in quarto; and was

Royaliſts, his Majeſty was pleaſed to recommend him to be choſen Reader in Moral Philoſophy, which was accordingly done, and he enjoyed this employment, though with very ſmall profit, 'till 1648, when he was expelled by the Parliament Viſitors (*g*). He retired afterwards to London, where adhering ſteadily to his principles, he acquired, amongſt thoſe of his own ſentiments, the title of *the Loyal Poet*, and ſuffered, from ſuch as had then the power in their hands, ſeveral impriſonments, which ſerved only to ſharpen his ſpleen, without abating his courage. He publiſhed, while he thus lived in obſcurity, and, as Wood ſays, by his wits (*h*), ſome very tart performances, which were then very highly reliſhed, and are ſtill admired by the curious. Theſe were like his former productions, levelled againſt the Republican grandees, and were all written with the ſame vindictive poignancy that was then faſhionable [*B*]. Upon the Reſtoration of King

(*g*) Liſt of the reverend and worthy Perſons who ſuffered for their loyalty in the Univerſity of Oxford.

(*h*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 640. Winſtanley's Lives of the Engliſh Poets, pag. 180.

was chiefly calculated to raiſe the reputation of the King's friends and commanders, and run down and ridicule thoſe who ſided with the Parliament. They came out regularly, from the beginning of 1642 to the latter end of 1645, and afterwards occaſionally. When Mr Birkenhead was otherwiſe engaged, Dr Peter Heylyn ſupplied his place, but was not thought ſo capable of that kind of writing, that is to ſay, he did not excel in that ſort of low, popular wit, which is neceſſary to render ſuch kind of pieces acceptable to the publick, the only method of making them anſwer their intention (1). The Parliament thought fit to oppoſe this Court-Journal by another of their ſide of the queſtion, under the title of *Mercurius Britannicus*, written by one Marchmont Needham, to whom the Royaliſts gave the name of *foul-mouthed Needham*; who, finding himſelf ſomewhat unequal to the Oxford writer, thought fit to aſcribe the *Mercurius Aulicus* to ſeveral perſons, that his deficiency might do the leſs prejudice to his party (2). 'The penning, ſays he, of theſe 'Mercurii Aulici was the act of many, viz. *Birkenhead* 'the Scribe, Secretary *Nicholas* the Informer, and 'George Digby the Contriver,' But to make the inequality appear ſtill greater, he (3) inſinuated farther, *that a weekly aſſeſſment of wit was impoſed on every college in the Univerſity, for the better furniſhing this performance*. There has been a very ſtrange miſtake committed by a late writer upon this ſubject. He had heard that this gentleman was a Poet, and from thence took it for granted, that whatever he wrote muſt be in verſe; this induced him to give the following character, which ſhews how neceſſary it is to ſupply the defects of ſuch collections by a work of this nature (4).

'The ſteadfaſt adherence, ſays he, of this gentleman 'to the *Royal Cauſe*, procured him the title of the 'Loyal Poet; and though the reward of his loyalty 'was the moſt ſevere impriſonment, yet his principles 'were immoveable in all changes of fortune. Among 'his other pieces, the poem, intitled *Mercurius Auli-* 'cus, will do him immortal honour, which a writer 'of that time thus juſtly celebrates:

'Whilſt laurel ſprigs another's head ſhall crown,
'Thou the whole grove may'ſt challenge as thy own.

'This worthy patriot lived to ſee the Reſtoration, and 'had not only that happineſs, but likewiſe to be a 'ſpectator of the deſerved execution of ſome of the re- 'bels, who had ſo baſely conſpired to take away his 'life, and whom he had ſo truly delineated in his ad- 'mirable poem above-mentioned.'

[*B*] *All written with the ſame vindictive poignancy, that was then faſhionable.*] It would be a very difficult thing to give a correct catalogue of this gentleman's writings; but, however, it may not be amiſs to mention ſome of the moſt conſiderable, the rather, becauſe at preſent remarkably ſcarce; and ſuch as have mentioned them don't always ſpeak of them with tolerable accuracy or exactneſs.

II. *The Aſſembly-man.* This was written by our author in the year 1647, but was printed, as Mr Wood tells us, in 1662-3. It was printed again in 1681-2; and the reader may form a tolerable notion of it from the ſubſequent quotation, in which he gives us an account, after his manner, of the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter, which was, properly ſpeaking, the Parliament's Convocation (5).

'This Aſſembly at firſt was a full *century*, which ſhould 'be reckoned, as the Scholiaſt's *Hecatomb*, by their 'feet, not heads; or count them by ſcores, for in 'things without heads ſixſcore go to an hundred. They 'would be a new *Septuagint*; the old tranſlated ſcrip- 'tures out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, theſe turn them into 'four *ſhillings* a day. And theſe *Aſſemblers* were begot 'in one day, as *Hercules*'s fifty baſtards all in one night. 'Their firſt liſt was ſprinkled with ſome names of ho- 'nour (Dr *Sanderſon*, Dr *Morley*, Dr *Hammond*, &c.); 'but theſe were Divines too worthy to mix with ſuch 'ſcandalous Miniſters, and would not aſſemble without 'the *Royal Call*. Nay, the firſt liſt had one Archbi- 'ſhop, and a Biſhop and an half (for Biſhop *Browning* 'was then but elect): But now their aſſembly (as Philo- 'ſophers think the world) conſiſts of *atoms*, petty ſmall 'Levites, whoſe parts are not *perceptible* And yet 'theſe inferior poſtern teachers have intoxicated *Eng-* 'land (for a man ſometimes grows drunk by a gliſter). 'When they all meet they ſhew beaſts in *Affrick*, by 'coupling together monſters. Mr *Selden* viſits them '(as Perſians uſe) to ſee wild aſſes fight. When the 'Commons have tired him by their *new Laws*, theſe 'Brethren refreſh him by their *mad Goſpel* They 'lately were gravelled 'twixt *Jeruſalem* and *Jericho*: 'They knew not the diſtance 'twixt thoſe two places; 'one cried twenty miles, another ten. 'Twas con- 'cluded ſeven, for this reaſon, that fiſh was brought 'from Jericho to Jeruſalem market. Mr *Selden* ſmiled, 'and ſaid, *perhaps the fiſh was ſalt-fiſh*, and ſo ſtopped 'their mouths. Earl Philip goes thither to hear them 'ſpend; when he heard them toſs their *National*, 'Provincial, Claſſical, Congregational, he ſwore dam- 'nably that a pack of good dogs made better muſick.'

III. 'News from *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*; or, 'Oxford Manchеſter'd, &c. 1648; conſiſting of a ſingle 'ſheet in quarto.' This is a ſpeech which our author was pleaſed to put into the mouth of Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, upon his being ſent by the Parliament to new model the univerſity of Oxford, in the ſame manner that Edward Earl of Manchеſter had treated Cambridge, when he viſited it as Chancellor. This ſpeech is ſuppoſed to have been delivered by the Earl in the Convocation-houſe at Oxon, on the 12th of April, 1648, and is beyond queſtion a very humorous performance, in which that Peer's wild way of talking is happily imitated, and the purpoſe our author meant to ſerve, as effectually proſecuted as in that ſatyrical method could be done.

IV. 'Paul's Church-yard; *Libri Theologici, Poli-* 'tici, Hiſtorici, nundinis Paulinis (una cum templo) pro- 'ſtant venales, &c. printed in three ſheets, quarto 1649.' Theſe ſheets were publiſhed ſeparately, as if they had been parts of one general catalogue. They conſiſted of the feigned titles of books, and of Acts of Parliament, with ſeveral queries upon the times. They were written with great wit and ſpirit (6), allowing for the taſte of that age, had a very quick ſale, and contributed not a little to make thoſe laughed at for the uſe of their power, who were otherwiſe very terrible from their poſſeſſion of it.

He wrote beſides ſeveral other ſmall pieces in the ſame way, particularly *The four-legged Quaker*, a ballad, to the tune of *the Dog and Elder's Maid*. A New Ballad of a famous *German Prince*, without date. Some other pamphlets publiſhed in thoſe times, ſeem from their ſtile and manner to be of his compoſition, though never owned by him either at the time they were publiſhed, or after the Reſtoration, when it was ſafer as well as more honourable. Perhaps he had private reaſons for not owning them, as they were moſt of them perſonal ſatires againſt men, ſome of whom, having changed their principles, were not without power in the reign of King Charles II.

Our author has alſo ſeveral copies of verſes and tranſlations extant, to which are vocal compoſitions ſet by Mr Henry Lawes; as particularly Anacreon's Ode, called the *Lute*, tranſlated from the Greek, and to be ſung

(1) Life of Dr Heylyn. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 639. Winſtanly's Lives of Engliſh Poets, p. 182.

(2) Mercur. Britan. No. xvi.

(3) Id. ibid.

(3) Jacob's Lives and Characters of Engliſh Poets, Vol. I. p. 8, 9, all, but the blunder of making *Mercurius Aulicus* a Poem, being ſtolen from the Account given by Winſtantley.

(5) Aſſembly-Man, p. 1.

(6) Grey's Examination of Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. III. p. 98, 170, 261, &c.

King Charles II, our ingenious author came to be as eminently distinguished as his great merit deserved. He was created, April 6, 1661, on the King's letters sent for that purpose, Doctor of the Civil Law by the University of Oxford (*i*), and, in that quality, was one of the eminent Civilians consulted by the Convocation on the question, *Whether Bishops ought to be present in capital cases?* and with the rest, Feb. 2, 1661-2, gave it under his hand, they ought and might (*k*). He was, about the same time, elected a Burgess, to serve in Parliament for Wilton in the county of Wilts, and continuing his services to his Master, was by him promoted, on the first vacancy, to some office at Court, which he quitted afterwards, and became Master in the Faculty Office (*l*). He was knighted November 14, 1662, and upon Sir Richard Fanshaw's going with a publick character to the Court of Madrid, Sir John Birkenhead succeeded him as Master of Requests (*m*). These were the rewards of his wit and loyalty; but it may not be amiss to mention another evidence of his good sense and learning, which is his being elected a Member of the Royal Society (*n*), an honour done to none who were not well known in the Republick of Letters, as men capable of promoting the truly noble designs of that most learned and famous Body. He lived afterwards in credit and esteem with witty and learned men, and received various favours from the Court, in consideration of the past, and to instigate him to other services (*o*); which, however, drew upon him some very severe attacks from those who opposed the Court, and hated all who favoured it. Anthony Wood has not only preserved some of their coarsest imputations, in what he is pleased to say of our author, but is also disposed to throw some unkind insinuations himself to hurt his reputation (*p*); but this will probably have the less effect, since his memory has been transmitted with honour to posterity by others (*q*) [C]. He died in Westminster,

(*i*) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 144.

(*k*) Gibson's Cod. Jur. Vol. I. p. 145. Kennet's Register, p. 620.

(*l*) History of the Restoration, p. 195.

(*m*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 639.

(*n*) Sprat's Hist. of the Royal Society, p. 431.

(*o*) A seasonable Argument, &c. ubi supra.

(*p*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 639, 640, 641.

(*q*) Ibid. ubi supra.

sung by a Base alone; and an Anniversary on the *Nuptials* of *John* Earl of *Bridgewater*, 22 July, 1652. He wrote likewise a poem *on his staying in London*, after the Act of banishment for Cavaliers; and another called the *Jolt*, made upon Cromwell the Protector's being thrown out of his coach-box in Hyde-Park.

He published Mr Robert Waring's (7) *Effigies Amoris sive quid sit Amor effigitanti responsum.* London, 1649, in 12mo, from the original at the author's desire, who was willing to be concealed. The third edition was published after the Restoration by William Griffith of Oxford, with an epistle before it, written by him to Sir John Birkenhead; wherein he gives the character of that gentleman as well as of the author. This was the same piece afterwards translated into English by the famous Mr Norris of Bemerton (8), and published under the title of *The Picture of* LOVE *unveiled.*

(7) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 224.

(8) Printed at London, 1682, 8vo.

We meet also with several copies of verses written by this gentleman, and prefixed to the works of the most eminent wits and greatest Poets of his time; and they are such as shew he was a person who excelled in that way himself, as well as one who admired the good sense of other men. The following lines are from a poem of his prefixed to the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, in which he speaks thus of the death of the former.

—— But as when fate one eye deprives,
The other strives to double that survives:
So Beaumont died, yet left in legacy
His rules and standard wit (Fletcher) to thee.
Still the same planet, though not fill'd so soon,
A two-horn'd crescent then, now one full moon;
Joint love before, now honour doth provoke;
So the twin-giants forcing a huge oak,
One slipp'd his footing, th' other sees him fall,
Grasp'd the whole tree, and single held up all, &c.

Of Beaumont's performances he gave this commendation.

I grieve not now that old *Menander*'s vein
Is ruin'd to survive in thee again:
Such in his time was he, of the same piece,
The smooth, even natural wit, and love of Greece;
Whose few sententious fragments shew more worth,
Than all the Poets *Athens* e'er brought forth.

But his Latin lines under Fletcher's picture are justly considered as doing him as much honour as any that ever fell from his pen, and shall therefore be here preserved.

Felicis ævi, ac *Præfulis* natus; comes
Beaumontio; sic quippe Parnassus, *Biceps*;
Fletcherus unam in pyramida furcas agens.
Struxit chorum plus simplicem vates duplex;
Plus duplicem solus: nec ullum transtulit;
Nec transferrendus: Dramatum æterni sales,
Anglo theatro, orbi, sibi, superstites.
Fletchere, facies absque vultu pingitur;
Quantus! vel *umbram* circuit nemo tuam.

[C] *Has been transmitted with honour to posterity by others.*] It is not easy to conceive why Mr Wood, who is otherwise ready enough to bestow praises upon men of this gentleman's principles, should be notwithstanding inclined to treat him very harshly, and with great disrespect. In speaking of his conduct, after he was driven from Oxford to London, he makes use of the following terms (9). *He lived by his wits in helping young gentlemen out at dead lifts, and making Poems, Songs, and Epistles on and to their respective mistresses; as also in translating and writing several little things, and other petite employments.* He afterwards cites more gross abuse than his own, from a pamphlet written with an avowed design of abusing every body that is mentioned in it; and, not satisfied with this, he has also written a Comment upon this abuse in the following terms. 'The truth is, had he not been given to 'so much bantering, which is now taken up by vain 'and idle people, he might have passed for a good 'wit. And had he also expressed himself grateful and 'respectful to those who had been his benefactors in 'the time of his necessity, which he did not, but rather slighted them (shewing thereby the baseness of 'his spirit), he might have passed for a friend and a 'loving companion.' One would imagine from hence, that Mr Wood must have been acquainted with these facts of his own knowledge; and yet in his life written by himself, and in which abundance of little circumstances relating to almost every body that he knew are set down, there is not one word of our author, which induces me to believe, that he took this upon trust from papers that were sent him; for I find in this life, as in most others, he sets down many things as his own opinion in the words of other persons, without taking the least notice of those from whom he transcribed. But men of as great reputation as Mr Wood, and who had an opportunity of knowing Sir John Birkenhead to the full as well as he, mention him in very different terms, and as a person of quite another character. The celebrated Mr Dryden calls him his learned and worthy friend (10). He is mentioned with great respect by Langbaine in his Account of English dramatick Poets (11). And another author, who has treated upon the same subject, excuses his giving us but a very short account

(9) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 639, 640.

(10) Defence of an Essay upon Dramatick Poetry, prefixed to *The Indian Emperor.*

(11) Account of English Dramatick Poets, pag. 206.

Westminster, December 4, 1679, and was interred at St Martin's in the Fields (*q*), leaving his executors, Sir Richard Mason and Sir Muddiford Bamston, a large and curious collection of pamphlets on all subjects. (*q*) Obituarium, by J. Beauchamp, MS. p. 195.

(12) Winstanley's Lives of English Poets, p. 181.

account of his performances, by saying, that (12) *as for his learned writings, those who were ignorant of them, must plead ignorance both to wit and learning.* There might be much more said upon this subject, but that we are not at all inclined to tire the reader with a tedious train of laboured commendations. It is enough if we have set this life in a clearer light than that in which it has hitherto stood, and vindicated the author's merit from the prejudices of a peevish writer, or of one who willingly employed his pen in transcribing the effects of other people's malice. E

BLACKALL (OFFSPRING) (*a*), Bishop of Exeter at the beginning of the present century, was born in London in the year 1654, and was educated at Katharine-Hall in the university of Cambridge. In 1690, he was promoted to the living of St Mary Aldermanbury in London. In 1695, he was chosen Lecturer of St Olave in the Old Jewry; which lectureship he resigned, in 1698, for that of St Dunstan's in the West. He was likewise one of King William's Chaplains in Ordinary; though it is said, he had refused for two years to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary [*A*]. In 1699, he animadverted upon Mr Toland for maintaining, that King Charles I. was not author of the *Icon Basilike* [*B*]. In 1700, he preached a course of Sermons at Mr

(*a*) *The particulars of the text of this article, excepting what relates to the Bishop's writings, are extracted from the authors of the* General Dictionary, *to whom they were communicated by his widow, &c.*

[*A*] *It is said, he had refused for two years to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary.*] This is asserted in a pamphlet published in 1705, intitled, *Dr Blackall's Offspring.*

Aut pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo. Juv.

London, printed for the use of the Vestry of St Dunstan's in the West. It was occasioned by a *Sermon* of the Doctor's on *Proverbs* xxiv 21. intitled, *The Subjects Duty*, preached at the parish-church of St Dunstan's in the West, Tuesday, March the 8th, being the anniversary of her Majesty's happy accession. The pamphlet pretends, that the principles advanced in the Sermon seem *altogether irreconcileable to a gentleman's character, who made a keck in a late reign at the oath of allegiance to the people's election*; and calls upon the Doctor to reconcile his *sticking out two years against taking the oath of allegiance to the late King and Queen, with his reasons of compliance afterwards* (1).

(1) Page 3, 4, 5.

[*B*] *He animadverted upon Mr Toland for maintaining, that King Charles* I. *was not author of the* Icon Basilike.] That author, in his *Life of Milton*, having stated the proofs, that Dr Gauden, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, was the true author of the book in question, makes the following reflection. 'When I seriously 'consider how all this happened among ourselves, 'within the compass of forty years, in a time of great 'learning and politeness, when both parties so nar- 'rowly watched over one another's actions, and what 'a great revolution in civil and religious affairs was 'partly occasioned by the credit of that book, I cease 'to wonder any longer how so many suppositious pieces 'under the name of Christ, his Apostles, and other 'great persons, should be published and approved in 'the primitive times, when it was of so much im- 'portance to have them believed; when the cheats 'were too many on all sides for them to reproach one 'another, which yet they often did; when commerce 'was not near so general as now, and the whole earth 'entirely overspread with the darkness of superstition. 'I doubt rather the spuriousness of several more 'such books is yet undiscovered, through the re- 'moteness of those ages, the death of the persons 'concerned, and the decay of other monuments, 'which might give us true information.' This observation gave offence to many; and, among the rest, Mr Blackall, in a Sermon preached on the 30th of January before the House of Commons, upon *John* ix. 3. particularly took notice of it in these words. *We may cease to wonder, that he should have the boldness, without proof, and against proof, to deny the authority of this book, who is such an Infidel as to doubt, and is shameless and impudent enough, even in print, and in a Christian country, publickly to affront our Holy Religion, by declaring his doubt, that several pieces under the name of Christ and his Apostles (he must mean those now received by the Christian Church, for I know of no other) are suppositious, though, through the remoteness of those ages, the death of the persons concerned, and the decay of other monuments, which might give us true information, the spuriousness thereof is yet undiscovered.* Mr Toland, in his *Amyntor* (2), endeavoured to vindicate himself by shewing, that, in the passage animadverted upon, his meaning was, that 'a great many 'spurious books were early fathered upon Christ, his 'Apostles, and other great names, part whereof are 'still acknowledged to be genuine, and the rest to be 'forged;' *in neither of which assertions*, says he, *I could be justly supposed to mean any books of the New Testament.* This occasioned our author to publish a little pamphlet in 12mo, intitled, *Mr Blackall's Reasons for not replying to a book lately published, intitled*, Amyntor; *in a Letter to a Friend*, April 21, 1699. And the principal reason assigned is, because Mr Toland, in explaining his meaning, had agreed with him, that the books of the New Testament are genuine; which was all he (Mr Blackall) ever meant to contend for (3). In this piece Mr Blackall mentions an objection made by Mr Toland, in the conclusion of his *Amyntor*, against the observation of the 30th of January, and the Sermons which have been preached on that day; *a subject* (he says) *more proper to be debated in Parliament, than by private persons* (4). But he speaks directly to another remark of the same author's, who pretended, that several persons took offence at his calling King Charles I, in that Sermon, *the best of Kings, and the best of men*, and especially, *because he had not excepted his* (then) *present Majesty.* 'He 'might have added, *says our author* (5), that it was a 'greater fault in me, than it would have been in an- 'other, because I write myself *Chaplain to his Ma- 'jesty.* But the author, I think, does not say, he him- 'self was offended at this expression; and I suppose 'those several (if indeed there were any that upon this 'account only were angry at it) were only such as not 'only have not been conversant in antient authors, but 'are not yet so far read even in their Testament, as to 'the beginning of St Luke's Gospel, where, *verse* 3, 'he stiles Theophilus *most excellent*, by which, I sup- 'pose, few, even of these beginners to read, do think 'that St Luke meant to make a comparison between 'him and other excellent persons, and much less to 'prefer Theophilus before all other men, the holy 'Apostles of our Lord not excepted. And therefore 'this being so manifestly an invidious cavil, I think, 'needs no answer, especially when, in the Sermon it- 'self, though I commend King Charles I. for his vir- 'tues, I did allow, that he had faults. But the faults 'that were then, and have been since charged upon 'him, being only such as he might be, and I believe 'was, led into by misinformation, and a mistake of 'the extent of his power and prerogative, I said, 'they were only such as were consistent with integrity 'of mind; and such faults as these can hardly, I 'think, be called Vices and Immoralities.' *As to the reflections* (adds Mr Blackall) *which he has almost in every page made upon me, particularly as to the meanness of my parts, and my great want of learning, I value them not. Let the world believe of me as it pleases: or if I was minded to make any answer to these parts of his book, it should be only this: That my natural parts are such as God was pleased to give me, to which I can no more add, than to my stature. How-*

(2) *Published in* 1699, p. 15.

(3) Dr *Blackall's Reasons*, &c. p. 10.

(4) Ibid. p. 16.

(5) Ibid. p. 17.

Mr Boyle's Lecture in the cathedral church of St Paul's. He was conſecrated Biſhop of Exeter the 8th of February, 1707. In 1709, he was engaged in a controverſy with Mr Hoadly [C], the preſent Biſhop of Wincheſter (b), concerning the inſtitution of Civil Government, and the meaſures of ſubmiſſion. This worthy Prelate died at Exeter, the 29th of November, 1716, and was buried in the cathedral there. His Sermons [D] were collected and publiſhed together, in two volumes in *folio*, Lond. 1723. Sir William Dawes, late Archbiſhop of York, gives (c) our author a moſt excellent character [E].

(b) *In* 1709.

(c) In his *Preface* to Biſhop Blackall's *Sermons.*

ever, ſuch as they are, I am contented with them, and thankful for them: And that my learning is as much, as by moderate ſtudy with ſuch parts I have been able to attain. And to this perhaps I ſhould ſubjoin a prayer, in which I make no doubt J. T. (*) *would think himſelf included (as well as he is thought by ſome to be in the prayer for Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Hereticks), viz. That they, who have better parts and more learning, may uſe and improve them to the glory of him that gave them, and do more good in the world than I am able to do.*

(*) J. Toland.

[C] *He was engaged in a controverſy with Mr Hoadly.*] It was occaſioned by his Sermon upon *Rom.* xiii. 3, 4. intitled, *The Divine Inſtitution of Magiſtracy, and the gracious deſign of it's inſtitution*, preached before the Queen at St James's on Tueſday, March 8, 1708, being the anniverſary of her Majeſty's happy acceſſion to the throne, and publiſhed by her Majeſty's ſpecial command. The next year, 1709, Mr Hoadly animadverted upon the Biſhop's Sermon, in a piece, intitled, *Some Conſiderations humbly offered to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Exeter, occaſioned by his Lordſhip's Sermon before her Majeſty, March* 8, 1708 (6). Upon which the Biſhop publiſhed *An Anſwer to Mr Hoadly's Letter*, dated from Bath, May the 10th, 1709. Mr Hoadly endeavoured to vindicate himſelf in *An Humble Reply to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Exeter's Anſwer; in which the Conſiderations offered to his Lordſhip are vindicated, and an Apology is added for defending the foundation of the preſent Government.* London, 1709, in 8vo. For the ſubject matter of this controverſy, the reader is referred to the pieces themſelves. It need only be obſerved here, that Biſhop Blackall defends the *High-Church, Tory*, principles (as they are uſually called), of the *Divine Inſtitution* of *Magiſtracy*, and unlimited *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-reſiſtance*; which Mr Hoadly oppoſes. There were ſeveral pamphlets wrote on the ſide of the Biſhop againſt Mr Hoadly; particularly one, intitled, *The beſt Anſwer that ever was made, and to which no Anſwer will be made*; ſuppoſed to be written by Mr Leſley, a Nonjuring Clergyman, and which Mr Hoadly animadverts upon in the *Poſtſcript* to his *Humble Reply.*

(6) It is extant in Mr Hoadly's *Tracts*, p. 307, Lond. 1715, 8vo.

[D] *His Sermons.*] Dr Felton, ſpeaking of the *celebrated authors in Divinity* (7), ſays, 'Biſhop Fleetwood's *ſoftneſs*, and Biſhop Backall's *plainneſs*, are 'their characters: excellent writers both!' And Sir William Dawes, archbiſhop of York, in his *Preface* to theſe *Sermons*, tells us, *it might ſeem abundantly ſufficient to recommend them to the world, only to aſſure it, that they are indeed the Sermons of our author, whoſe conſtant way of preaching was well known in the city of London, to have been ſo* excellent, eaſy, clear, judicious, ſubſtantial, pious, affecting, and *upon all accounts truly* uſeful *and* edifying, *that he had univerſally acquired the reputation of being one of the beſt preachers, which the laſt century, above all others fruitful of good ones, had bred: That they are a complete ſet of Diſcourſes upon one of the nobleſt and moſt important ſubjects of our Holy Religion*, viz. *a Syſtem of Chriſtian Morality, according to it's utmoſt improvement and perfection, delivered by our Lord himſelf in his Sermon on the Mount.*

(7) In his *Diſſertation on reading the Claſſicks*, &c. Lond. 1730, in 12mo, p. 188.

[E] *Sir William* ——— *gives our author a moſt excellent character.*] Having told us, that his Sermons contain a complete Syſtem of Chriſtian Morality (8), he adds, 'The author was, by his 'happy temper of mind, and truly Chriſtian converſation of life, peculiarly fitted to treat well on this 'ſubject; and was indeed himſelf all that he preached, 'and had lived over every rule of this divine Philoſophy, before he preſumed to teach it to others; and 'by ſo doing he had feelingly and experimentally 'learned it's reaſonableneſs, uſefulneſs, neceſſity, practicableneſs, and true way of practiſing it, and it's 'conduciveneſs to attain that bleſſed ſtate, which it 'propoſed and promiſed to mankind.' *I*, continues the Archbiſhop, *who had the happineſs of a long and intimate friendſhip with him, do ſincerely declare, that, in my whole converſation, I never met with a more perfect pattern of a true Chriſtian life in all it's parts, than in him; ſo much primitive ſimplicity and integrity; ſuch conſtant evenneſs of mind, and uniform conduct of behaviour; ſuch unaffected, and yet moſt ardent piety towards God; ſuch orthodox, and ſtedfaſt faith in Chriſt; ſuch diſintereſted and fervent charity to all mankind; ſuch profound modeſty, humility, and ſobriety; ſuch an equal mixture of meekneſs and courage, of chearfulneſs and gravity, of pleaſing and profiting all he converſed with; ſuch an exact diſcharge of all the relative duties; and, in one word, ſuch an indifferency to this lower world, and the things of it; and ſuch an entire affection and joyous hope and expectation of the things which are above; as are rarely to be found altogether even in very good Chriſtians.*

(8) *See the preceding Remark.*

T

BLAGRAVE (John) a very eminent Engliſh Mathematician, who flouriſhed in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. He deſcended from an antient and honourable family in Berkſhire, and was ſecond ſon to John Blagrave, of Bulmarſh-Court, near the town of Sunning in that county, by Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Hungerford, of Down-Ampney in Glouceſterſhire, Knight, but when born is uncertain (a). His family having been long ſettled near Reading, and having a good eſtate in that neighbourhood, where it ſtill flouriſhes (b) [A], he was bred to the firſt rudiments of learning in the ſchool

(a) See the Genealogy of this family in Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. III. p. 329.

(b) Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, Vol. I. p. 43—48.

[A] *A good eſtate in that neighbourhood, where it ſtill flouriſhes.*] This family, according to a very antient pedigree, ſeems to have been originally from Staffordſhire; at leaſt Ralph Blagrave was of that county, and removed from thence into Berkſhire, where he ſettled at Bulmarſhe, or, as it written in ſome authors, Bulnaſhe; but the time is not very certain (1). He had two ſons, Richard and Robert; the latter fixed in London, and married Anne, the daughter of Mr Pyke of Surrey, by whom he had John Blagrave; to whom, leaving a conſiderable eſtate, he alſo thought fit to follow the eldeſt branch of his family, and to ſettle near Reading (2). This gentleman married Anne, daughter to Sir Anthony Hungerford, by whom he had four ſons and one daughter. The name of the eldeſt ſon was Anthony; of the ſecond, John, of whom we are now ſpeaking; of the third, Edward; of the fourth, Alexander; and the daughter's name was Dorothy (3). Our author's eldeſt brother, Anthony, was High-Sheriff of Berkſhire in the ſecond year of King James I. (4), and had ſerved as Burgeſs for Reading in the laſt Parliament of Queen Elizabeth (5). I cannot preciſely ſay in what degree of relation Sir John Blagrave ſtood to our author, who was Sheriff of Berkſhire in the 22d of King James I. (6), and who, I believe, was a Lawyer, but it is very probable he was very nearly allied to him. The family have continued ever ſince in that neighbourhood, and one of the Repreſentatives of the Borough of Reading has been of this family in every reign down to the preſent.

(1) See the Genealogy of this family in Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. III. p. 329.

(2) From private information.

(3) See the Genealogy above referred to.

(4) Fuller's Worthies, Berkſhire, p. 110.

(5) Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, Vol. I. p. 47.

(6) Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupra.

[E] *Their*

ſchool there, and afterwards removed to St John's-college in Oxford, then very lately founded by his countryman Sir Thomas White (*c*). It does not appear that he was ſo ſollicitous about the fame of learning, as about the thing itſelf; for having acquired this, he ſoon quitted the Univerſity, without ſo much as taking a degree, and retired to his own patrimonial ſeat, at South-cote-Lodge within the Pariſh of St Mary at Reading, where he enjoyed a learned privacy, but not inglorious eaſe (*d*). His bent was towards the Mathematicks, which he ſtudied with much aſſiduity while at Oxford, and for the ſake of ſtudying which without interruption, he addicted himſelf to a retired life (*e*). But in doing this he had a due regard for the publick, and employed himſelf in compiling ſuch laborious and uſeful works, as might ſerve to render ſpeculative Mathematicks accurate, and practical parts of them eaſy (*f*). As theſe are things which uſually require the whole man, and are not to be accompliſhed without ſtrict and conſtant application; ſo our author, being conſcious of his genius for ſuch enquiries, and deſirous of aſſiſting others to the utmoſt of his power, ſpent ſeveral years in this way, and finiſhed ſome large, learned, and inſtructive volumes, for the times in which they were wrote, and ſuch as were juſtly admired and commended by poſterity (*g*). Their titles may be ſeen in the notes, with ſome account of them [*B*]. He was alſo a perſon of much virtue, candour, and beneficence in private life. Having a very ſincere affection for his family, and foreſeeing it would be numerous, though he thought proper not to enter into the married ſtate, he took provident care of them, as far as was in his power (*h*). His father had beſtowed upon him the leaſe of the lands of Southcote for ninety-nine years, commencing in 1591, and he left all the poſterity of his three brothers the ſum of fifty pounds each, payable at the age of twenty-ſix, and he calculated this donation ſo well, that very near fourſcore of his nephews, and their deſcendants, were the better for his legacy (*i*), which was always regularly paid. Beſides this proviſion for futurity, he was very liberal towards thoſe in his life-time with whom he was acquainted. His tenderneſs for his relations did not, however, exceed his charity for the poor, and as he provided for his kindred to the utmoſt verge of his leaſe-hold eſtate, ſo he ſettled certain lands he had at Swallowfield in the ſame county, for the proviſion of the poor for ever; and this too was a charity which ſhewed the prudence as well as piety of the donor (*k*) [*C*]. We have no farther particulars of this gentleman's life worth mentioning, only it may not be amiſs to obſerve, he is omitted by Fuller in his Worthies, though a more conſiderable and remarkable perſon than many he has mentioned. Our author deceaſed at his own houſe near Reading, Auguſt 9, 1611, and lies interred near his mother in the church of St Lawrence there, with a fine monument to his memory, and an inſcription (*l*) which is not exactly copied by Anthony Wood, and therefore is preſerved in the notes

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 370.

(*d*) See his Character in Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. III. p. 371.

(*e*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 370.

(*f*) See the titles of his books in note [*B*].

(*g*) See the monumental Inſcription in note [*D*].

(*h*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 370.

(*i*) Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. III. p. 372.

(*k*) See the Inſcription in note [*D*].

(*l*) Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. II. p. 359.

[*B*] *Their titles may be ſeen in the notes, with ſome account of them.*] The worthy end which this learned and ingenious gentleman propoſed in all his writings, was to render thoſe ſciences familiar to his countrymen, which hitherto had been but in a few hands, and were rather ſuperſtitiouſly admired than thoroughly underſtood. That he might effect this the more eaſily, he made it his buſineſs to ſhew the general uſefulneſs of ſuch ſtudies, and to convince his readers, that inſtead of being amuſements only fit for ſcholars and ſpeculative perſons, they were of general advantage, and in truth of indiſpenſible neceſſity for providing the conveniencies of common life. He likewiſe ſhewed, that they were very far from being ſo hard and difficult to be acquired, or ſo much exalted above ordinary underſtandings, as was commonly imagined; and that moderate abilities, and a reaſonable ſhare of application, would enable men to conquer thoſe difficulties which vulgar prejudices had repreſented as inſuperable. Amongſt theſe practical treatiſes were theſe that follow.

I. A *Mathematical Jewel*, ſhewing the making and moſt excellent uſe of an inſtrument ſo called; the uſe of which Jewel is ſo abundant, that it leadeth the direct path-way through the whole art of Aſtronomy, Coſmography, Geography, &c. London, 1585, fol.

II. Of the making and uſe of the *Familiar Staff*; ſo called, for that it may be made uſeful and familiarly to walk with, as for that it performeth the Geometrical menſuration of all Altitudes. London, 1590, 4to.

III. *Aſtrolabium Uranicum generale*; A neceſſary and pleaſant ſolace and recreation for Navigators in their long journeying; containing the uſe of an inſtrument, or Aſtrolabe, &c. London, 1596, in quarto.

IV. *The Art of Dialing*, in two parts. London. 1609, in 4to. Mr Wood ſeems to intimate, that he alſo wrote ſeveral other things (7), which may very poſſibly be true; but I have never met with any of them, or ſo much as their titles; and conſidering he did not ſurvive above two years after publiſhing the book laſt mentioned, the fact may admit of ſome doubt, unleſs the reader ſhould be of opinion, that what is contained in the ſucceeding note [*D*], amounts to an argument of the truth of Mr Wood's conjecture, ſince the Inſtruments therein mentioned, might very well refer to other works than thoſe of which we have ſet down the titles.

(7) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 370.

[*C*] *A charity which ſhewed the prudence as well as piety of the donor.*] As he was born in, and had ſpent moſt of his days near, the town of Reading in Berks, he was very deſirous of leaving therein ſome laſting monuments of his beneficent diſpoſition, which might have equal reference to each of the three pariſhes in their town, viz. St Mary's, ſuppoſed to be built where the nunnery ſtood in the Saxon times: St Lawrence, which ſtands beyond the river Kennet; and that of St Giles, at the fartheſt end of the town (8). The legacies he bequeathed were equally calculated for the benefit of thoſe who were to receive them, and of the inhabitants of that antient Borough in general. The beſt account we have, is that preſerved by Mr Aſhmole, in the following words (9).

(8) Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, Vol. I. p. 43.

(9) Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. III. p. 372.

'You are to note, that he doth deviſe that each 'Church-warden ſhould ſend on Good-Friday, one vir- 'tuous maid that has lived five years with her maſter. 'All three maids appear at the town-hall before the 'Mayor and Aldermen, and caſt dice. She that throws 'moſt has ten pounds put in a purſe, and ſhe is to be 'attended with the other two that loſt the throw. The 'next year come again the two maids, and one more 'added to them. He orders in his Will, that each 'maid ſhould have three throws before ſhe loſes it; 'and if ſhe has no luck in the three years, he orders 'that ſtill new faces may come and be preſented. On 'the ſame Good-Friday he gives eighty widows money 'to attend, and orders ten ſhillings for a good ſermon; 'and ſo he wiſhes well to all his countrymen. It is 'lucky money, for I never heard but the maid that had 'the ten pounds ſuddenly had a good huſband.'

[*D*] *The*

notes [*D*]. There was a learned Lawyer of both our author's names, *viz.* Sir John Blagrave, who read upon the Statute of 32 Hen. VIII. cap. x. concerning Jointures, which work was publiſhed, and very probably he was of the ſame family (*m*). There was alſo one Joſeph Blagrave, who publiſhed the *Aſtrological Practice of Phyſick* (*n*), but him I take to have been beholden to our author's books for his knowledge, though not for his opinions. I cannot tell whether we ought to attribute to him, or to ſome other perſon of his name, a Diſcourſe upon the ſame ſubject, which was never printed, but had been in the hands of ſome very learned perſons, who have borrowed from it largely in their writings on this topick; and I mention it the rather, becauſe, if it be ſtill in being, the poſſeſſor may be encouraged to make it publick, as it contains abundance of very curious, and ſome very uſeful remarks on things which were formerly the objects of ſuperſtition, as they are now of contempt [*E*].

(*m*) Hyde's Catal. libror. impreſſ. Bibliothec. Bodleian. edit. 1674, p. 92.

(*n*) Catalogue of Books printed from 1636 to 1673, by B. C.

[*D*] *Therefore is preſerved in the notes.*] The following account is taken from the indefatigable Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; who had it from his own inſpection of the monuments and inſcriptions in the pariſh-church of St Lawrence in Reading; and from the circumſtances before related, the whole is rendered perfectly clear and perſpicuous; whereas in Wood it is ſo mangled, as to be ſcarce intelligible, eſpecially as he has no diſtinct relation of the charity left to the maids, upon which the verſe part of the inſcription chiefly turns (10).

(10) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 359.

'On the north ſide againſt the wall is a noble monument, repreſenting a man under an arch to the middle, holding one hand on a globe, the other on a quadrant. He is habited in a ſhort cloak, a caſſock and a ruff, ſurrounded with books on each ſide of him. On one ſide of him is the figure of a woman to the breaſts naked, holding an inſtrument in her hand, as offering it to him, and under her feet the word CUBUS. On the other ſide is another woman, ſomewhat naked, though with a ſcarf thrown cloſely round her, and offering in like manner; under her feet, ΤΗΤΡΑΓΑΠΟΝ. On the top are two women leaning on their arms, inſcribed ΟΚΤΑΗΔΡΟΝ — ΔΟΔΙΚΑΔΡΟΝ. In the middle of them a perſon armed, cap a pee, intitled ΙΚΟΤΗΔΡΟΝ.' And under the firſt figure mentioned, this inſcription following in an oval.

JOHANNES BLAGRAVE,
totus Mathematicus,
cum matre ſepultus.

Here lies his corps, which living had a ſpirit,
Wherein much worthy knowledge did inherit;
By which with zeal our GOD he did adore,
Left for maid-ſervants, and to feed the poor.
His virtuous mother came of worthy race,
A Hungerford, *and buried near this place.*
When GOD ſent Death their lives away to call,
They liv'd belov'd, and dy'd bewail'd of all.

[*E*] *Formerly the objects of ſuperſtition, as they are now of contempt.*] This treatiſe I formerly ſaw in the hands of a perſon who bought it at the ſale of the library of an eminent Phyſician near Covent Garden, and read it over with great ſatisfaction. In the firſt leaf it was ſaid to be written by Mr J. Blagrave, and is addreſſed to Mr B. of Swallowfield. The title was, *A Remonſtrance in favour of* Antient Learning, *againſt the proud pretenſions of* the Moderns, *more eſpecially in reſpect to the* Doctrine *of the* Stars. The ſize of the book was a middling quarto, the character ſmall, but very fair; and from the mentioning more than once the Royal Society, and ſome of it's members, it appeared to have been written about 1669, or 1670. It was divided into five chapters, and thoſe chapters into ſeveral ſections, the ſubſtance of which is as follows:

I. *Of the different* Objects *of antient and modern learning.* Under this head he endeavours to maintain, that the Antients were rather given to practical and uſeful, than refined and ſpeculative ſciences. He inſtances in Architecture, of which they wrote but few books, and thoſe too very conciſe; but they left behind them buildings, which are allowed to be maſterpieces in their kind, and which the greateſt of modern artiſts boaſt of imitating. He next mentions Phyſick, in regard to which he confeſſes they did not cultivate Anatomy, Pharmacy, or Chemiſtry, ſo aſſiduouſly as thoſe that came after them; but for the art of curing diſeaſes, he thinks it was never carried much farther than by Hippocrates. He inſtances laſtly in Tacticks, or the art of ranging armies in the field; in reſpect to which he obſerves, that though there are no ſyſtems left of this art, yet hiſtory ſhews us the Antients were perfectly acquainted with it. He then proceeds to the Doctrine of the Stars, and labours to prove that the Antients did not think an enquiry into the motions of the heavenly bodies of ſo great uſe to mankind, as the diſquiſition of their influences; and in this he defends them by many ingenious arguments.

II. *Of the* Aſtrology *of the* Antients *conſidered as a* Science. He obſerves, that the true meaning of the word is no more than the Doctrine of the Stars, and that the confining it to the ſignification of their aſpects is a late diſtinction, and ought not therefore to prejudice the notions of thoſe great men, who meant to ſignify thereby the entire knowledge of the heavenly bodies, ſo far as it was attainable by the human underſtanding. He farther takes notice, that the obſervation of the motions of the heavenly bodies conſidered abſtractedly, is a ſcience of far leſs uſe to mankind, than the application of it for the perfecting other branches of knowledge. He gives an inſtance of this in the art of Navigation, to which it hath been applied both by the Antients and Moderns; from whence he concludes, that the application of this kind of ſcience to Phyſical purpoſes is equally rational, and that there is no abſurdity in ſuppoſing, that by due attention it may be improved to equal advantage. He concludes this chapter with ſeveral curious comparative inſtances drawn partly from the writings of other men, but chiefly from his own obſervation and experience.

III. *Of the* diſadvantages *the* Antients *were under in their* writings. In reference to this the author lays it down, that the wiſe men among the Antients laboured under great difficulties, particularly from the prevailing of falſe religion, which obliged them to accommodate their thoughts to the prevailing ſuperſtitions of their reſpective countries, from the conſtant practice of concealing all kind of ſublime ſcience, from the knowledge of the vulgar, which induced them to make uſe of fables, allegories, and other ſuch like kind of writings, as always diſguiſed, and too often irretrievably darkened the truth; from the ſubjection, that they laboured under to the Civil powers, who either from views of their own, or to gratify the univerſal ſuperſtition of their ſubjects, diſcouraged all ſuch as were inclined to ſpeak plainly, or to write clearly. On each of theſe points he juſtifies his own ſentiments by thoſe of the learned in all ages, and produces a vaſt variety of inſtances, as proofs of what he has advanced. He concludes upon the whole, that the greateſt advantage the Moderns have over the Antients, is their embracing the Chriſtian religion, which allows them to think, argue, and write freely. But notwithſtanding all this he is of opinion, that great uſe may be made of what was delivered by the Antients, when the hidden ſenſe of their works can be extracted; and of this alſo he gives many curious and inſtructive examples, after the manner in which the famous Lord Bacon has explained the fables, and thereby juſtified the wiſdom of the Antients.

IV. *Of the* Hypotheſes *in uſe amongſt the* Antients. He obſerves with reſpect to theſe, that the Moderns have not ſo great advantages as is generally imagined; ſince the old ſyſtems of Democritus and Ptolemy contain in every reſpect all that has been ſince advanced, as to the diſtribution of the univerſe, or rather of the ſeveral bodies of which it is compoſed; ſo that later writers are rather revivers than inventors, if we except Tycho Brahe, whoſe ſyſtem however never met with general approbation. He then ſhews, that the

Aſtrological

Aſtrological *ſcheme* of *the twelve houſes*, is as much an hypotheſis as any of the reſt; and that if it has faults or imperfections, they ought rather to be enquired into and amended, than exploded and rejected with ſcorn and contempt. He takes care however to qualify this, by ſhewing, that thoſe abſurdities which have brought the Phyſical Doctrine of the Stars into deriſion, are not juſtly chargeable upon the Antients, but were introduced in later times by men of far leſs capacity, and who had recourſe to notion and fancy inſtead of reaſon and experiment. He gives various inſtances in ſupport of his opinion, and with great judgment and diſcretion, diſtinguiſhes between the follies of Judicial Aſtrology, and the true knowledge of Aſtral Influences, without which, as he remarks, no juſt account can be given of the variations of ſeaſons, of the difference of the tides, of periods in diſeaſes, and of many other things; with reſpect to which, the doctrines of the Antients, however perplexed and obſcure, are to the full as reaſonable and intelligible as thoſe of the Moderns, who, by endeavouring to reject them, have been frequently obliged to diſpute againſt, and ſometimes abſolutely to deny certain and evident truths. In proof of this alſo he brings many inſtances, which ſhew a very unuſual extent of learning.

V. *Of the* true Method *of proſecuting* uſeful Science. In this chapter he takes a great deal of pains to prove, that it is not agreeable either to the dictates of reaſon, or the lights of experience, to deſtroy, without reſerve, thoſe edifices that have been erected in antient times, and have been preſerved and repaired through a long courſe of ages. And he labours to prove, that the Phyſical Doctrine of the Stars ought to be conſidered in this light. He ſhews, that the celebrated Roger Bacon, whom he honours with the title of the Parent of Modern Learning, was of this opinion, and that he has written upon the ſubject with much learning and good ſenſe. He obſerves, that Tycho Brahe concurred likewiſe in this ſentiment; as did alſo the famous Kepler, whom he calls the Father of Modern Aſtronomy; and he produces alſo ſeveral paſſages from the writings of the learned Verulam to the ſame purpoſe. From all which he concludes, that inſtead of decrying Aſtrology as falſe and fallacious, we ought to ſtudy how to render it reaſonable and intelligible, by eſtabliſhing right principles, and reaſoning upon them in a proper manner; for want of which, he ſays, one of the nobleſt and moſt elevated branches of human knowledge is in danger of being loſt, and laughed out of doors.

As the matter and the manner of this learned work ſeem both of them to render it worthy of publick notice, and as the very memory of it, as well as the piece itſelf, was in danger of being loſt, if this ſhort extract of it had not been accidentally made ſeveral years ago, we judge the inſerting it here could not fail of being agreeable to our readers in general, at the ſame time that it will ſerve to ſecure to the real author the honour of his performance, in caſe at any time hereafter it ſhould ſee the light. E

BLAKE (ROBERT), one of our moſt famous Admirals in the laſt century, was deſcended from the antient family of Blakes, of Plansfield, in the pariſh of Spaxton in the county of Somerſet (*a*). His father's name was Humphrey, and his occupation that of a Merchant, being ſettled at Bridgwater, in the neighbourhood of which he had purchaſed an eſtate, having, by the Spaniſh trade, raiſed a conſiderable fortune for thoſe times (*b*). He had ſeveral children, of whom the eldeſt, Robert, was born in the month of Auguſt, 1589, and educated, during his father's life-time, at a free-ſchool in Bridgwater. He removed himſelf to Oxford, where he was matriculated, in Lent term 1615, as a Member of St Alban's Hall (*c*). Some time after he ſtood for a Scholarſhip of Chriſt-Church, but loſt it. From Alban-Hall he tranſlated himſelf to Wadham-college, in which many of his countrymen ſtudied. On the tenth of February, 1617, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*d*). In 1619, being then about twenty-one years of age, he was candidate for a Fellowſhip in Merton-college, but miſſed again of his hopes, as ſome thought, on account of his low ſtature, for Sir Henry Savile, who was then Warden of that college, had great reſpect to the comelineſs of ſtudents perſons (*e*). A ſtrange foible in ſo great a man! In 1623, Mr Blake wrote a copy of verſes on the death of Mr Camden (*f*), and ſome time after left the univerſity [*A*]. While he continued there, he was taken notice of as an early riſer and a very ſtudious young man, yet he was not ſo much given up to his books, but that he took a great deal of exerciſe delighted in fiſhing, and fowling, with other ſuch like ſports, and if the ſcandal of thoſe times might be credited, would now and then ſteal ſwans (*g*). He could not be leſs than five and twenty when he left Oxford, which would incline one to credit, what we are told by ſeveral authors, that he was Maſter of Arts, if Wood did not poſitively aſſert the contrary (*h*). Mr Blake lived at Bridgwater in a private manner, and was diſtinguiſhed among the good fellows in his neighbourhood, as a plain-dealer. He was naturally of a grave, ſevere temper, but would readily unbend in an evening, when he diſcovered an humorous bluntneſs in his converſation,

(*a*) Lives Britiſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 75, Lond. 1704, 8vo.

(*b*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 203.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

(*e*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 75.

(*f*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

(*g*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 75. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Oxf. 1717, 8vo. Vol. III. P. ii. p. 601. Bates, Elench. Mot. p. 228. Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 203.

[*A*] *Some time after left the univerſity*] It is a little ſtrange, and in my judgment much to be regretted, that no better account is to be had of Mr Blake's family; and I think it ſo much the more ſo, conſidering it as a proof of the little care taken by our anceſtors to preſerve the memory of worthy men, when they had it ſo much in their power, as it muſt have been in this caſe, though now, by the particular accidents which have befallen this family, it is become a thing not eaſy to be rectified. Mr Wood, in his account of our author (1), ſays, that he was deſcended from the Blakes of Blanchfield in Somerſetſhire; and I confeſs that I have not been able to find any ſuch place in that county, whence I am inclined to think another author more in the right, who calls it Plansfield, and ſays, it is in the pariſh of Spaxton (2), for ſuch a place there is, and at no great diſtance from Bridgwater (3). The author of his life ſays expreſsly, that his father ſent him to the univerſity (4); but I am inclined to think, that he was dead before that time, and this from the following paſſage in Lord Clarendon's character of our Admiral. *He was*, ſays his Lordſhip, *a man of a private extraction, yet had enough* left *him by his father to give him a good education, which his* own inclination *diſpoſed him to receive in the univerſity of Oxford* (5). The reader will determine how far this paſſage will ſupport what is advanced in the text. With reſpect to his ſcholarſhip, Mr Wood delivers himſelf pretty oddly; he was put aſide, ſays he, from his ſcholarſhip, whether for want of merit or friends, he could not tell. And when he ſpeaks of his diſappointment as to a fellowſhip, he adds, whether it was want of ſcholarſhip, or that his perſon was not handſome, he could not ſay (6). The noble Hiſtorian, with greater freedom and dignity, tells us, *that* Blake *was enough verſed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profeſſion, having ſufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a greater man than he was* (7). His own verſes on the death of Mr Camden may poſſibly clear up this diſpute.

(1) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 203.

(2) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 75.

(3) Speed's Map and Table of Somerſetſhire.

(4) Ubi ſupra.

(5) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 601.

(6) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

(7) Clarendon's Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 601.

converſation, which was very agreeable and entertaining (*i*). He was tinctured pretty early with Republican principles, and diſliking that ſeverity with which Dr Laud, then Biſhop of Bath and Wells, preſſed Uniformity in his dioceſe, he began to fall into thoſe opinions which were ſtiled Puritannical. His innate roughneſs and ſincerity led him to ſpeak freely upon all occaſions; inſomuch that his ſentiments were generally known, which inclined the Puritan party to procure his being elected Member for Bridgwater, in that Parliament which ſat in April 1640 (*k*). It was diſſolved too early for him to make any figure, and in the next, which was the Long Parliament, he loſt his election. When the war broke out between the King and Parliament, he declared, according to his principles, for the latter, and entered very early into their ſervice, though it does not appear exactly when, or in what quality, but he was ſoon made Captain of dragoons (*l*). In 1643, however, we find him at Briſtol, under the command of Col. Fiennes, who intruſted him with a little fort on the line, in which he firſt gave the world a proof of his military virtues; for on the twenty-ſixth of July, when Prince Rupert attacked that important place, and the Governor had agreed to ſurrender it upon articles, Mr Blake ſtill held out his fort, and killed ſeveral of the King's forces, which exaſperated Prince Rupert to ſuch a degree, that he talked of hanging him, had not ſome friends interpoſed, and excuſed him on account of his want of experience in war, at whoſe requeſt, though not without much difficulty, he was at laſt prevailed upon to give up the fort (*m*). After this he ſerved in Somerſetſhire, under the command of Popham, who was Governor of Lyme, to whoſe regiment Blake was Lieutenant-Colonel. As he was much beloved in his country, and as the greateſt part of the regiment were Somerſetſhire men, he had ſo good an intelligence in thoſe parts, that he, in conjunction with Sir Robert Pye, ſurprized Taunton for the Parliament (*n*), where he found ten pieces of cannon, and a great deal of ammunition. In 1644, he was conſtituted Governor of that place, which was of the utmoſt importance, being the only garriſon the Parliament had in the Weſt. The works about it were far from being ſtrong, he had no very numerous garriſon, yet by keeping a ſtrict diſcipline, and treating the townſmen well, he made a ſhift to keep it, though no great care was taken to furniſh him with ſupplies, and notwithſtanding he was ſometimes beſieged, and often blocked up by the King's forces. At length, Goring came before the place with near ten thouſand men, and preſſed Blake ſo cloſe, that in ſpight of a vigorous reſiſtance he made a breach, and actually took from him a part of the town; however, he held out the reſt of it, and the caſtle, with wonderful obſtinacy 'till relief came. For which extraordinary ſervice, the Parliament gave the garriſon a bounty of two thouſand pounds, and Col. Blake a preſent of five hundred. All who have wrote of that unhappy war, allow this to have been a very gallant and ſoldier-like action [*B*]. In April 1646, Col. Blake, with part of his garriſon, reduced Dunſter-

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 602.

(*k*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 76.

(*l*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 602.

(*n*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. V. p. 685.

[*B*] *A very gallant and ſoldier-like action.*] We have a very diſtinct account of this matter in the life of Blake, out of which we will take ſome particulars which are perſonal. The Parliament having notice of the ill condition Blake was in, ordered relief to be immediately ſent him, who, though he was in great want of ammunition and proviſions, yet held out both town and caſtle to admiration. Colonel Windham, Governor of Bridgwater for the King, was then in the Royal army, and knowing Colonel Blake, he undertook to manage the buſineſs with him; he firſt ſent a threatening ſummons to ſurrender on pain of fire and ſword; and by a ſecond trumpeter he mildly endeavoured to perſuade him to it, for that the works were inconſiderable, the place indefenſible, and to prevent the effuſion of Chriſtian Blood. Blake returned this anſwer: 'Theſe are to let you know, that as we neither 'fear your menaces, nor accept your proffers, ſo we wiſh 'you for time to come to deſiſt from all overtures of the 'like nature to us, who are reſolved to the laſt drop of 'our blood to maintain the quarrel we have undertaken, 'and doubt not but the fame God, who has hitherto 'protected us, will, e'er long, bleſs us with an iſſue 'anſwerable to the juſtice of our cauſe: However, to 'him alone we ſhall ſtand or fall.' Soon after the receipt of this letter, the beſiegers were charged by a body of the Parliament's forces, who broke through the King's, and ſupplied the town with proviſions, and what other neceſſaries they wanted. However, the Parliament's main army could not advance ſo faſt as Colonel Blake's neceſſities required; the ſelf-denying ordinance had newly paſſed, Eſſex was out, and Sir Thomas Fairfax made General, all Colonels and other Officers, who were Members of Parliament, were obliged to lay down their commiſſions, and attend the ſervice of the Houſe. The army was modelled, and all this took up ſo much time, that Blake was hard put to it to defend the caſtle of Taunton. The beſiegers had deſtroyed the ſuburbs and half the town; Sir Richard Greenvill had taken Colonel Popham's houſe at Wellington, which was ſome ſmall help to Blake while it was in the Parliament's hands. Theſe things being repreſented to the Houſe, they ordered Major-General Skippon to join Sir Thomas Fairfax, and haſten to the relief of Taunton with 8000 men, horſe and foot; money, proviſions, and a train of artillery, were ſent after them. In the mean while Colonel Blake was in great ſtreights, and the beſiegers knowing his diſtreſs, ſummoned him again to ſurrender; but he anſwered, *he would eat his boots firſt*; and though the Royaliſts had poſted themſelves in part of the town, he hindered their penetrating farther. He barricaded that part of it, which he ſtill held, with all ſorts of lumbers, and made the Cavaliers pay dearly for every inch of ground they got of them. Prince Rupert and Goring having left the ſiege with a conſiderable body of troops, General Fairfax thought that Colonel Weldon and Colonel Greaves, with three thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, might be able to relieve Taunton. They accordingly performed it on the 11th of May, 1645, ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the inhabitants, that they appointed a kind of anniverſary thankſgiving for this deliverance, which is ſtill kept up (8). The Royaliſts loſt a thouſand men before the place, beſides which they carried off twelve waggons full of the wounded. This however did not hinder a ſecond ſiege of that place, wherein not only Blake, but Weldon was now beſieged. The latter being at the head of five thouſand men, ſcorned to be cooped up, and therefore attempted to break through the Royaliſts, which however he could not effect. Blake being informed of his diſtreſs, and that he was retiring precipitately towards Taunton, ſallied from thence at the head of two troops of horſe; vigorouſly charged the purſuers, and thereby gave Colonel Weldon's men time to retire into the town; after which he made good his own retreat, but was preſſed cloſely by the beſiegers. The Common-Council, and many eminent citizens of London, on news of the ſecond diſtreſs of Taunton, voluntarily raiſed 4000 *l.* to mount a thouſand horſe to join Major-General

(8) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 81, 82.

Dunſter-caſtle, an antient ſeat belonging to the family of Lutterel, after which he returned in triumph to Taunton. This was one of the laſt actions in the war (o). Some time after this, when the Parliament had voted, No farther addreſſes ſhould be made to the King, Col. Blake joined in an addreſs from the borough of Taunton, expreſſing their gratefulneſs for this ſtep taken by the Houſe of Commons (p). Yet the writer of his Life tells us, that when the King came to be tried, Blake diſapproved that meaſure as illegal; and was frequently heard to ſay, that he would as freely venture his life to ſave the King's, as ever he did to ſerve the Parliament (q). But this muſt be entirely imputed to the generoſity of his temper, for after the King was murdered, he fell in roundly with the Republican party, and indeed, next to Cromwell, he was the ableſt and moſt ſucceſsful officer the Parliament had. He ſatisfied himſelf in all the changes of thoſe times, with adhering, as far as he was able, to his country's intereſt, and doing all he could to exalt her glory, of which he was paſſionately fond, a circumſtance which gave men of leſs honour and more cunning, an opportunity of uſing his great abilities and undaunted courage to ſerve their own purpoſes [C]. Feb. 12, 1648-9, he was appointed, in conjunction with Col. Deane and Col. Popham, to command the fleet (r). Soon after, he was ordered to ſail, with a ſquadron of men of war, in purſuit of Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, who were in the Iriſh ſeas to aſſiſt the Marquis of Ormond, then in arms for King Charles II. in Ireland (s). Blake arrived, in June 1649, before Kingſale, where

(o) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 85.

(p) Ibid. p. 87.

(q) Ibid.

(r) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 204. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 87.

(s) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars, p. 256.

neral Maſſey, whom the Houſe ordered to attempt the relief of the place. The Committee of Kent raiſed two troops of horſe and dragoons for the ſame ſervice; and all was not enough, conſidering the danger Blake and Weldon were in. The Governor wrote to the Parliament, that he ſhould be put to great ſtreights if ſuccour came not ſpeedily; he aſſured them he would never hear of a parley with the enemy: That the garriſon had ſome ammunition, and reſolved to feed upon their horſes. He deſired the houſe to take their ſtate into conſideration, and left all to God and them. The Parliament anſwered, that he ſhould be ſpeedily relieved; that they would pay what money he took up. They deſired him and his men to go on in their vigilance and valour, and they ſhould never want encouragement. Accordingly a regiment of dragoons was ordered to be raiſed, and to march with Maſſey towards Taunton. In the mean while their affairs went ill in the Weſt; Colonel Blake could get no intelligence of the progreſs made by the two Houſes for his relief, at laſt Colonel Ciely, Governor of Lyme, found a way to inform him of Maſſey's advancing weſtward, and at the ſame time convey'd a ſmall ſupply of powder into the town. On this, Blake commanded a party of the garriſon to ſally out on the beſiegers; theſe, with the loſs of one hundred men, killed four hundred of Goring's, drove the enemy back, and enlarged their quarters five or ſix miles in compaſs. In another ſkirmiſh he had yet greater ſucceſs, and ſoon after he was entirely relieved, the King's affairs being totally ruined (9). It may not be amiſs to obſerve, for the ſake of truth, that Blake's obſtinate defence of this town was one great cauſe, if not the principal cauſe, of the Parliament's ſucceſs in this war. It was upon a report of the great diſtreſs of the place, and the moral certainty there was that it could not hold out above a few days, that his Majeſty detached a conſiderable body of troops into Somerſetſhire, which proved the loſs of the deciſive battle of Naiſby, which in all probability Sir Thomas Fairfax would never have hazarded, if the King's army had been entire (10). The Parliament therefore had reaſon to ſtile this gentleman, as Wood ſays they did, their *inæſtimable Commander* (11); and this circumſtance conſidered, few readers will think this note tedious, though it is a long one.

(9) Ibid. p. 84, 85. Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. VI. p. 28.

(10) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 85.

(11) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

[C] *His undaunted courage, to ſerve their own purpoſes.*] We ſhall take occaſion in this note to examine a little into Mr Blake's political principles, as far as facts and good authority can lead us. Wood tells us roundly, that before the civil war he was obſerved to be puritannically inclined, that afterwards he ſided with the Preſbyterians, and took arms for the Parliament (12). The Earl of Clarendon tells us, that they who knew him inwardly diſcovered that he had an antimonarchical ſpirit, when few men thought the Government in any danger (13). As to his being puritannically inclined we need the leſs wonder at it, ſince there was always a ſtrong party of that ſort of people in his native town of Bridgwater. It is poſſible he might receive ſome tincture from his countrymen in the univerſity, for I find many of his ſtanding among the Nonconformiſts, who were ejected after the Reſtoration (14). It is not impoſſible that he might be ſoured by the treatment he met with, when he fought academical preferment. It appears from many of his own declarations, that he loved his country and hated arbitrary power, which ſeemed to have been the governing maxims in all his conduct. There were many of his ſentiments at this time in the nation, and one of the wiſeſt things Cromwell ever did, was his providing proper employments for ſuch ſpirits. Thus he early diſpoſed of Monk into Scotland, and of Blake to Sea: I ſay he diſpoſed of them, for though he had not as yet aſſumed the ſupreme power, yet by his arts he chiefly directed all the publick Councils, and pointed out ſuch as he thought proper for all publick employments. Had it been otherwiſe, Blake in all probability had not been ſent to ſea, ſince it is certain the Parliament had ſome diffidence of him at the time of the King's murder, when they ſent him five hundred pounds, with directions to diſband part of his forces (15). Yet after the thing was done, and a Commonwealth eſtabliſhed, there is no great wonder that Blake fell in with this new Government, ſince it was agreeable to his own way of thinking, influenced probably by obſerving to what high reputation republicks antiently roſe. This is Mr Hobbes's ſentiment, who thinks it was one great ſource of our publick troubles, that men were bred in ſuch high opinions of the heroes of Greece and Rome, at the ſame that the conſtitution of their country differed ſo much from the Governments under which thoſe great men flouriſhed (16). If this remark could be applied to any man, it might certainly to Blake, of whom Dr Bates ſays juſtly, as well as elegantly, that *there was nothing blameable in his conduct, but that he joined with the parricides* (17). His anxiety for the glory of his country determined him to ſerve her under what Government ſoever prevailed; and this maxim he always ſtuck to, behaving bravely wherever he was truſted, never canvaſſing for any employment, much leſs diſturbing the State by his intrigues. This made him beloved by all parties, and even by the Royaliſts, to whom he was alſo recommended by the tenderneſs he ſhewed for them upon all occaſions, granting them better articles than any other officer either would or durſt (18), except Sir George Ayſcue, who ſuffered for his generoſity towards the Lord Willoughby, the King's Governor of Barbadoes (19). As theſe were Blake's own notions, ſo he endeavoured to inculcate them into his officers, adviſing them to wiſh their country always well, and to ſerve the publick aſſiduouſly without diſturbing it; which doctrine very probably diſpoſed them to act as occaſion required, when after Blake's death his colleagues, Monk and Montague, brought about the King's Reſtoration (20). In ſhort, our Admiral was a man, who with all the courage and conduct of a great Commander, never affected the character of a Politician, but contented himſelf with doing his utmoſt to execute whatever orders were ſent him, whence he was ſuſpected by none of the parties among his contemporaries, and at the ſame time was revered by all.

(12) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(13) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 601.

(14) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 137, 151, 263.

(15) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 87.

(16) Behemoth, or Account of the late Civil War, Lond. 1679, 8vo. p. 2, 3.

(17) Bates, Elenc. Motuum, Lond. 1672. p. 223.

(18) See the original articles to Sir John Greenville, in the Library of the Society for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge, and propagating the Goſpell

(19) Heath's Chronicle, p. 323. Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 466.

(20) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 350.

[D] *Some*

where the two Princes lay in harbour; Deane cruiſed off Plymouth, Popham between the Downs and Portſmouth, and Sir George Ayſcue lay in Dublin-Road: thus were the Parliament maſters of the ſea, and their enemies ſhips either blocked up, or flying every where before them. Prince Rupert's men deſerted daily, and came over to Admiral Blake. The Prince, to hinder their deſertion, hung up ten of his men for offering to run away. Blake kept him in the harbour 'till the beginning of October, when deſpairing of relief by ſea, and Cromwell being ready to take the town by land, proviſions of all ſorts falling ſhort, he reſolved to force his way through Blake's ſquadron; Blake ſunk three of his ſhips as he bore out of the harbour, but the Prince's little fleet, making all the ſail they could, got clear of the Parliament's, and ſteered their courſe to Liſbon, where his Highneſs was protected and careſſed by the King of Portugal (*t*). The Parliament declared war with that King for receiving their enemies, and Blake followed the two Princes to Portugal. From before the river of Liſbon, he ſent to the King for leave to enter, and coming near with his ſhips, the caſtle ſhot at him. Blake dropped anchor, and ſent a boat to know the reaſon of this hoſtility; the Captain of the caſtle anſwered, he had no orders from the King to let his ſhips paſs. However, the King commanded one of the Lords of the Court to compliment Blake: the Portugueſe Lord deſired him not to come in except the weather proved bad; for he ſaid, his maſter feared, leſt ſome quarrel might happen between him and Prince Rupert in his harbour; the King ſent him, at the ſame time, a large preſent of freſh proviſions. The weather proving bad, Blake went up the river into the Bay of Wyers, but two miles from the place where Prince Rupert's ſhips lay, and thence he ſent Capt. Moulton, to inform the King of the falſities in the Prince's declaration. The King refuſing ſtill to admit the Admiral to fall on Prince Rupert's ſhips, Blake took five of the Brazil fleet richly laden, and gave the King to underſtand, that unleſs he would command the Prince's ſhips out from his river, he would endeavour to ſeize the reſt of the Portugueſe fleet from America (*u*). In September 1650, the Prince endeavoured to get out of the harbour, but was ſoon driven in again by Blake, who ſent home nine ſhips outward bound to Brazil, which he had taken; and in October following, Blake and Popham met with a fleet of twenty-three ſail from Brazil bound for Liſbon, of whom they ſunk the Admiral, took the Vice-Admiral, and eleven other ſhips, having ten thouſand cheſts of ſugar aboard, and burnt three more; the reſt were ſmall ſhips, and during the action got into the river (*w*). In his return home, he met with two ſhips laden with proviſions for his fleet, which determined him to ſail back in ſearch of the Prince, whom he followed up the Streights. In this cruize, he, in his own ſhip the Phœnix, took a French man of war, the Captain of which had committed hoſtilities, and this prize was reputed of immenſe value (*x*). He proceeded next to Carthagena, where the Prince lay, and as ſoon as he came to an anchor before the fort, he acquainted the Spaniſh Governor by a meſſage, 'That an enemy to the State of England was in his port, that the Parliament commanded him to 'purſue him, and the King of Spain being in amity with the Parliament, he deſired 'leave to take all advantages againſt their enemy.' The Governor replied, he could not take any notice of the difference of any nations or perſons amongſt themſelves, only ſuch as were declared enemies to the King his maſter, that they came in thither for ſafety, and therefore he could not refuſe them protection, and that he would do the like for the Admiral. Blake ſtill preſſed the Governor to permit him to attack the Prince, and the Spaniard put him off 'till he could have orders from Madrid (*y*). While the Admiral was cruizing in the Mediterranean, Prince Rupert got out of Carthagena and ſailed to Malaga. General Blake having notice of his deſtroying many Engliſh ſhips there, followed him with all the expedition poſſible, and finding him in the port, attacked him, without the ceremony of aſking leave of the Spaniſh Governor, and burnt and deſtroyed his whole fleet, two ſhips only excepted, the Reformation, in which Prince Rupert himſelf was, and the Swallow, commanded by his brother Prince Maurice (*z*). This was in January, 1651. In February General Blake took a French man of war of forty guns, and ſent it, with four other prizes, before him into England. Not long after, he came with his ſquadron to Plymouth, where he received the thanks of the Parliament, and was by them made Warden of the Cinque Ports (*a*) On the fourth of March following, an Act paſſed, whereby Col. Blake, Col. Popham, and Col. Deane, or any two of them, were appointed Admirals and Generals of the fleet for the year enſuing (*b*). The firſt ſervice he was put upon was the reducing the iſles of Scilly, which were ſtill held for King Charles II. The matter was of great importance, for beſides that ſome privateers from thence did a great deal of miſchief, by diſturbing trade and taking of ſhips, it was alſo known, that the Dutch had a view upon thoſe iſlands, and had actually ſent Van Trump, with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, whoſe inſtructions were, either to purchaſe or reduce them (*c*). General Blake ſailed in May, with a body of eight hundred land troops on board. Sir John Greenville commanded there for the King, who after ſome ſmall reſiſtance ſubmitted, knowing well, that a longer diſpute would have been to no purpoſe (*d*). The General then ſailed for Guernſey, which was held for the King by Sir George Carteret. He arrived there in the month of October, and though the ſea was very rough, landed what forces he had on board the very next day, and did all that could be expected of him, in order to make a ſpeedy conqueſt of the iſland, which, however, could not be compleated that year. In the beginning of the next, however, the brave Governor, finding all hopes of relief vain,

(*t*) Bates, Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 72.

(*u*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 89.

(*w*) Bates, ubi ſupra.

(*x*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 91.

(*y*) Bates, ubi ſupra.

(*z*) Life of Prince Rupert. Heath's Chron. of the Civil Wars, p. 275.

(*a*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 92. Wood's Faſti, Oxon. Vol. II. col. 204.

(*b*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 93.

(*c*) Bates, Elench. Mot. P. ii. p. 77. Heath's Chron. of the Civil War, p. 288.

(*d*) Original Articles, agreed on this xxiiid day of May, 1651, between Admiral Blake and Col. Clerke, Commanders in Chief of all the forces by ſea or land, in or about the Iſlands of Friſcoe and Briar, on the one part; and Sir John Greenville, Knt. Governor of the Iſlands of St Maries and Agnes in Scilly, on the behalf of his Majeſty on the other part; touching the Rendition of thoſe Iſlands, together with all the Caſtles, &c. to the Parliament of England, MS. in the Library of the Society for propagating the Goſpel, &c.

vain, thought proper to make the beſt terms he could, and to the honour of Blake we may affirm, that though no man proceeded more briſkly, while the ſword was drawn, yet in all treaties he was remarkably condeſcending, deteſting to be made an inſtrument of oppreſſion, though ready to hazard his life at any time to do his country juſtice (*e*) For this ſignal and important ſervice he had, as he well deſerved, thanks from the Parliament, he was alſo elected one of the Council of State, and much courted by Cromwell, who began now to think of ſetting up for himſelf (*f*). March 25, 1652, Blake was conſtituted ſole Admiral for nine months, on a proſpect of a Dutch war. It is generally conceived, that this was ſought by the States rather than by the Parliament, for they were very confident of their force at ſea, and vexed at the firmneſs of the new Commonwealth of England, which inclined them to attempt, by ſome ſudden blow, to ſupport their own, and leſſen the reputation of their rival (*g*). With this view, they ſent Van Trump with forty-five ſail of men of war into the Downs, to inſult the Engliſh Admiral, and, in the mean time, laboured hard to equip another fleet of 150 ſail, which they thought would be more than ſufficient to cruſh the whole naval power of England. It is certain they could not have choſe a more improper man to have practiſed upon in this manner than Blake, who though he had but twenty-three ſhips, and could expect no ſuccour but from Major Bourne, who commanded eight more, yet being attacked by Van Trump, he fought him bravely, notwithſtanding this great inequality, and forced him to retreat (*h*). This was on the nineteenth of May 1652, and as it was a very remarkable action, the reader will find ſome authentick particulars in the notes [*D*]. After

(*e*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 465. See note [C]. Heath's Chron. of the Civil Wars, p. 306.

(*f*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p 98.

(*g*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 458. Heath's Chron. of the Civil Wars, p. 314.

(*h*) The Anſwer of the Parliament of England to the Ambaſſador of the States-General; as alſo, A Narrative of the late Engagement between Gen. Blake and Admiral Trump, &c. London, printed by John Field, Printer to the Parliament of England, 1652, 4to.

[*D*] *Some authentick particulars in the notes.*] We cannot better diſcharge this promiſe, than by giving the reader an extract from the narrative of this engagement, printed by order of the Parliament of England. Upon Tueſday the 18th of May, 1652, in the morning, General Blake being gone to the weſtward as far as Rye Bay eight days before, with twelve or thirteen ſhips, leaving Major Bourne in the Downs with eight ſhips only, there appeared upon the back ſide of the Godwin a Holland fleet of men of war, conſiſting of two and forty ſhips, one whereof had a flag on the main-top-maſt-head, the reſt jacks and ancients; and being come to the South Sand's head, two of them bore up towards the Engliſh ſhips in the Downs; whereupon Major Bourne ſent out the Greyhound to examine them, and to know the reaſon of their ſo near approach; who anſwering that they had a meſſage to the Commander in-chief in the Downs, were permitted to come in; and having ſaluted the flag, the two Captains, named Tyſon and Aldred, came aboard Major Bourne, and acquainted him that they were ſent by Van Trump, to let him know that he had been riding about Dunkirk with his fleet, where, by reaſon of foul weather, they had loſt many of their cables and anchors, and the wind being northerly, were driven farther to the ſouthward than they intended, which Van Trump thought fit to ſignify, to prevent any miſapprehenſions or jealouſies. And having ſaid this, and received for anſwer, that the reality of what they ſaid would beſt appear by their ſpeedy drawing off from this coaſt, they departed to their fleet, and immediately, upon their arrival with them, the whole fleet ſtood up to Dover, and came to an anchor, within little more than gun-ſhot of the caſtle, the ſame day in the afternoon. Upon their coming before Dover-caſtle, and riding there with a flag in the main-top, without ſaluting the caſtle, the caſtle made three ſhot at them; notwithſtanding which the Dutch Admiral kept up his flag, and rode there at anchor until the next day at noon, and exerciſed his muſqueteers, by diſcharging volleys of ſmall ſhot many hours together. Upon Wedneſday, about twelve o'clock, the Dutch fleet weighed anchor, and ſtood off towards Calais, ſome few leagues unto the ſouth-eaſt. About the ſame time, the Engliſh fleet under General Blake, coming from the weſt towards the Downs, diſcovered them, and ſuppoſed by their courſe that they had been going back. Major Bourne likewiſe was in ſight, coming from the Downs to join with General Blake. About an hour or two after the Holland fleet altered their courſe, came back again, made all the ſail they could, and bore directly with General Blake. Van Trump, the headmoſt with his flag in the main-top, and being come within ſhot, the General ſhot a gun at his main-top, and then two ſingle ſhot more; whereupon Trump ſhot a ſingle ſhot through the General's flag, and then immediately gave the firſt broadſide, and took in his pendants, and hung out his red flag under the Holland colours, which was the ſignal on their part for the whole fleet to engage: And ſo the fight began, which happened between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, and continued until nine o'clock. In the fight the Engliſh took two of the Holland fleet, one whereof, having ſix foot water in the hold, they left, taking the Captain and officers aboard; the other being a ſhip of thirty guns. General Blake lay all night where the fight began, or near thereabouts; and the Holland fleet was eſpied about four leagues diſtant towards the coaſt of France next morning (21). To this let us ſubjoin the letter written by the Admiral himſelf, on account not only of ſeveral curious circumſtances contained therein, but alſo becauſe it may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the plain blunt temper of this illuſtrious Hero. It was addreſſed to the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and conceived in the following terms (22).

(21) The Anſwer of the Parliament of England, &c.

(22) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 316. Appendix to the Anſwer of the Parliament, &c.

'Right Honourable,

'I Have diſpatched away this expreſs to your Honours, to give you an account of what paſſed yeſterday between us and the Dutch fleet. Being in Rye Bay, I received intelligence from Major Bourn, that Van Trump, with forty ſail, was off the South Sand-Head; whereupon I made all poſſible ſpeed to ply up towards them, and yeſterday in the morning we ſaw them at anchor in and near Dover road. Being come within three leagues of them, they weighed, and ſtood away by a wind to the eaſtward; we ſuppoſing their intention was to leave us, to avoid the diſpute of the flag. About two hours after they altered their courſe, and bore directly with us, Van Trump the headmoſt; whereupon we lay by, and put ourſelves in a fighting poſture, judging they had a reſolution to engage. Being come within muſquet-ſhot, I gave order to fire at his flag, which was done thrice; after the third ſhot he let fly a broadſide at us. Major Bourn, with thoſe ſhips that came from the Downs, being eight, was then making towards us. We continued fighting 'till night; then our ſhip being unable to ſail, by reaſon that all our rigging and ſails were extremely ſhattered, our mizen-maſt ſhot off, we came, with advice of the Captains, to an anchor, about three or four leagues off the Neſs, to refit our ſhip, at which we laboured all the night. This morning we eſpied the Dutch fleet about four leagues diſtance from ours, towards the coaſt of France; and, by advice of a Council of war, it was reſolved to ply to windward to keep the weather-gage, and we are now ready to let fall our anchors this tide. What courſe the Dutch fleet ſteers we do not well know, nor can we tell what harm we have done them; but we ſuppoſe one of them to be ſunk, and another of thirty guns we have taken, with the Captains of both; the main-maſt of the firſt being ſhot by the board, and much water in the hold, made Captain Lawſon's men to forſake her. We have ſix men of ours ſlain, and nine or ten deſperately wounded, and twenty-five more not without danger; amongſt them our Maſter and one

After this diſpute at ſea, the States grew more tractable, and ſeemed very well inclined to peace, but the new Commonwealth of England ſtood upon ſuch high terms as were not to be complied with, and therefore both ſides prepared to carry on the war, which had been thus haſtily begun, without much reaſon on either, and perhaps out of meer emulation on both ſides (*i*). Blake, while he continued in the Downs, re-inforced his fleet, and prepared for another engagement, holding, in the month of June, a ſolemn faſt, or day of humiliation (*k*). After which, finding that a general engagement was not likely to enſue, he reſolved to proſecute the war by taking the enemy's merchant ſhips, in which he had ſurprizing ſucceſs, for on the tenth of that month, a detachment from his fleet fell upon ſix and twenty ſail of Dutch merchant-men, and took them every one; ſo that by the end of June, the Admiral ſent up forty good prizes, and had ſo effectually cleared the ſeas, that, on the ſecond of July, he was at liberty to ſail with a ſtrong ſquadron northwards (*l*). In his courſe he took a Dutch man of war, and by the latter end of the month, he took the whole Dutch fiſhing convoy, conſiſting of twelve men of war, one hundred of their herring-buſſes, and diſperſed the reſt (*m*). By the twelfth of Auguſt he returned into the Downs, with ſix of the Dutch men of war he had taken, and nine hundred priſoners. Thence he ſtood over to their own coaſt, having for ſome time upwards of a hundred men of war under his command. Towards the latter end of the ſame month of Auguſt, part of his fleet fell upon a ſquadron of French men of war, going to the relief of Dunkirk, took them, and carried them into Dover (*n*). At laſt, on the twenty-eight of September, the fleet being under a freſh gale, Admiral Blake diſcovered the Dutch about noon, and though he had only three of his own ſquadron with him, Vice-Admiral Pen with his ſquadron at ſome diſtance, and the reſt a league or two a-ſtern, he bore in among them, and was bravely ſeconded by Pen and Bourne; the fight began warmly on both ſides: Blake ſailing to the windward of their Admiral was aground; the Sovereign ſtruck ſeveral times, ſo did the Reſolution, the St Andrew, and Pen's ſhip, but they got off again without any harm; three of the enemy's ſhips were wholly diſabled at the firſt brunt, and another as ſhe was towing off. The Rear-Admiral was taken by Capt. Mildmay; the victory was entirely on the Engliſh ſide, and had not night prevented them, it was thought ſcarce a ſhip of the Dutch fleet would have got off. On the twenty-ninth, as day broke, the Engliſh ſpied the Dutch N. E. two leagues off, the General bore up to them, but the Dutch having the wind of him, he could not reach them; he commanded his light frigates to ply as near as they could, and keep firing while the reſt bore up after them; ſome ſhot was ſpent between the Engliſh and Dutch, who ſoon hoiſted

(*i*) Le Vie de Cromwel, par Greg. Leti, Vol. II. p. 249. Heath's Chron. p. 314. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 406.

(*k*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 100.

(*l*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 461.

(*m*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 322.

(*n*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 463. Heath's Chron. p. 375. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 421.

'of his mates, and other officers. We have received 'about ſeventy great ſhot in our hull and maſts, in our 'ſails and rigging without number, being engaged 'with the whole body of the fleet for the ſpace of 'four hours; being the mark at which they aimed. 'We muſt needs acknowledge it a great mercy, that 'we had no more harm, and our hope is, the righteous 'God will continue the ſame unto us, if there do 'ariſe a war between us, they being firſt in the breach, 'and ſeeking an occaſion to quarrel, and watching as it 'ſeems an advantage to brave us upon our own coaſt, &c.

From aboard the James, *three leagues off the* Hydes, *the 20th of* May, 1652.

'Your humble Servant,

'ROBERT BLAKE.

It would be to no great purpoſe to take notice of the different accounts given of this matter by later authors, becauſe it cannot be ſuppoſed that they have any better authorities than thoſe which have been already produced. As to what is aſſerted by the Dutch writers, it differs ſo little from the account already given, except in one circumſtance, that it need not be taken notice of. This circumſtance is, the firing of the firſt broadſide, which they aſſert was done by Blake, and ſo I find it in Admiral Trump's letter to the States. In this letter, which is dated the 30th of May, 1652, N. S. he aſſerts that Bourne's ſquadron conſiſted of twelve ſhips, though Bourne himſelf ſays he had but nine, and names them. He alſo ſays, that Admiral Blake, being within cannon-ſhot, fired once over them, and they not anſwering, fired a ſecond time; being anſwered by another ſhot, he fired a broadſide upon Trump. He owns the loſs of two ſhips, and does not ſeem to diſpute that the Engliſh had the better (33). There is indeed a more particular account, with reſpect to the perſonal conduct of Blake, which deſerves notice. When Blake came into the Downs, ſays this author, Van Trump bore up to his fleet, which conſiſted of no more than twenty-three ſail, nearer than he had any occaſion to do. Upon this, Blake ſaluted him with two guns without ball, to require him to ſtrike ſail; Trump, in contempt, ſhot on the contrary ſide; Blake fired a ſecond and a third gun, which Van Trump anſwered with a broadſide. The Engliſh Admiral perceiving it was his intention to fight, ſingled out himſelf from the reſt of the fleet to treat with Van Trump about that point of honour, and to prevent the effuſion of blood and a national quarrel. When Blake approached nearer to Van Trump, he and the reſt of his fleet, contrary to the law of nations, the Engliſh Admiral coming with a deſign to treat, fired on Blake with whole broadſides. The Admiral was in his cabbin drinking with ſome of his officers, little expecting to be ſo ſaluted, when the ſhot broke the windows of his ſhip, and ſhattered the ſtern, which put him into a vehement paſſion, and curling his whiſkers, as he uſed to do when he was angry, he commanded his men to anſwer the Dutch in their kind, ſaying, when his heat was ſomewhat over, *he took it very ill of* Van Trump *that he ſhould take his ſhip for a bawdy-houſe, and break his windows.* Blake ſingly ſuſtained the ſhock of the Dutch fleet for ſome time, 'till his own ſhips and Major Bourne's could join him, and then the engagement grew hot and bloody on the enemies ſide, 'till night put an end to it (24). General Ludlow, in his Memoirs gives us a very clear and diſtinct account of this action; and when he has ſo done, he tells us, that on a report from the Council of State, the Parliament juſtified Blake's conduct, reſolved to demand ſatisfaction of the States, put their Ambaſſadors, who lodged at Chelſea, under a guard, and ſent Cromwell and Dennis Bond to Dover, to encourage the ſailors, and to promiſe them, that nothing ſhould be wanting on the ſide of the Parliament to reward their vigilance and valour, in caſe they continued to do their duty as bravely as they had done (25). The Earl of Clarendon has preſerved a very extraordinary circumſtance not to be met with elſewhere, viz. that Trump received an expreſs ketch with inſtructions from the States immediately before he fired his broadſide (26).

(23) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 319.

(24) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 99.

(25) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 406.

(26) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 459.

[*E*] *Made*

hoiſted their ſails and ran for it. On the thirtieth, the enemy were almoſt out of ſight, the Engliſh ſtill purſuing them, 'till they ſaw them run into the Goree; the General then called a Council of War, and ſeeing the ſhips were ſo near the ſhallows, and that ſome of them wanted proviſions, it was reſolved to return to the Downs. The Engliſh loſt few men, not one ſhip; the enemy had their Rear-Admiral taken, two ſunk, and one blown up, two thouſand wounded men were landed out of the Dutch fleet, and Admiral Witte Wittens laid the fault on the cowardice of ſome of his Captains, and on the numbers of the Engliſh. General Blake, after the fight, ordered ſeveral ſhips to the coaſt of Holland, and ſent others on a cruize, which not only ſecured the Engliſh merchants in their trade, but wonderfully annoyed the ſubjects of the States-General, and made them heartily weary of the war (o) [E]. Some preſſing occaſions having obliged General Blake to make large detachmets from his fleet, Van Trump, who had once again the command of the Dutch navy, then conſiſting of fourſcore men of war, reſolved to take this opportunity of attacking Blake in the Downs, who, he knew, had not above half his number of ſhips (p). Accordingly, he ſailed away to the back of the Godwin, near the place where he had fought before, of which Blake having notice, he called a Council of War, wherein it was reſolved to fight, though at ſo great a diſadvantage. The battle began on the twenty-ninth of November about two in the morning, and laſted 'till near ſix in the evening. The General was in the Triumph, and always in the hotteſt of the action; his ſhip, the Victory, and the Van-guard, did, and ſuffered, moſt, engaging at one time with twenty of the enemy's beſt ſhips. Blake finding the Dutch had two ſhips to his one, that the Engliſh were very much diſabled, and that the Dutch had alſo the advantage of the wind, drew off his fleet in the night into the river of Thames, having loſt the Garland, and the Bonaventure taken by the Dutch, a ſmall frigate burnt, and three ſunk; his remaining ſhips were ſhattered and diſabled: Trump bought this victory dear, one of his flag-ſhips was blown up, all the men drowned, his own ſhip and De Ruyter's were both incapable of ſervice 'till they were repaired (q) [F]. This advantage, for ſuch it really was, puffed

(o) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 104.

(p) Heath's Chronicle, pag. 329, 330.

(q) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 104.

[E] *Made them heartily weary of the war.*] We have ſeveral accounts of this engagement, out of which we have ſelected the ſubſtance of the cleareſt, and inſerted it in the text. There is particularly a pretty long one in Whitlock's Memorials (27); as alſo another in Ludlow's Memoirs, attended with ſome circumſtances that are not to be found elſewhere; he ſays, that when the Dutch fleet arrived at Goree, the Captains were not permitted to go aſhore 'till an enquiry was made into their conduct. In the mean time, the Dutch were ſo much provoked againſt the Engliſh, that in order to encourage their own countrymen to ſerve againſt them, they exhibited the death of the late King in the moſt tragical manner upon the ſtage, and the faction of the Prince of Orange entertained hopes, that the people would rather ſacrifice their liberties, than not be revenged of the Engliſh Common-Wealth (28). This, however, ſeems to be his own conjecture; for another writer tells us, that the States, out of meer apprehenſion of the Prince's becoming Stadtholder, ſent ſoon after the engagement to the Parliament of England, to deſire a peace, but with very indifferent ſucceſs; for the Parliament ſtill ſtood upon their old demands of ſatisfaction and of reparation. The ſame author tells us, that De Wit, when he ſailed on this expedition, was obſtructed by a mutiny, the ſeamen refuſing to go on board 'till they received their wages; for which two of them were executed at Amſterdam, and ſome of the Burghers of that city ſhot, on a ſudden ſurmiſe of a reſcue. On his return there was another tumult at Fluſhing, occaſioned partly through his want of ſucceſs, and partly out of hatred to him as an enemy to the Houſe of Orange; which croſs accidents made De Ruyter deſirous of reſigning his commiſſion, and ſo vexed De Wit that he fell ſick. The States however appointed Commiſſioners to enquire into the conduct of the Captains who were charged with miſbehaviour, and took a great deal of pains to repair and to recruit their fleet (29). On the other hand, the Parliament of England paſſed an Act, whereby they required all ſeamen, who were on board any foreign ſhips in Europe, to return home in forty days, and ſuch as were in the Indies in twelve months, directing that all ſuch Carpenters, Shipwrights, &c. that were found on board the enemy's ſhips, ſhould be thrown overboard without mercy (30). It was the latter end of the year, Admiral Blake had orders to ſend Captain Ball with a ſquadron of eighteen men of war into the Sound, in order to ſerve as a convoy for two and twenty merchantmen, whom the King of Denmark had ſtopped in his port of Copenhagen, under pretence that he was apprehenſive of their being taken by the Dutch, in caſe they attempted to return. The Captain, on his arrival at Elſinore, eaſily diſcovered that double-dealing of the Daniſh King, who now abſolutely refuſed to deliver up the ſhips, pretending that he kept them for certain ſums of money due to him from the late King Charles I; whereupon Ball returned with his ſquadron into England, but by the way took fourteen Dutch ſhips, and brought them with a man of war, which he likewiſe took, to Yarmouth (31). This was the largeſt of thoſe detachments ſpoken of in the text, whereby Blake weakened himſelf ſo much, as to encourage the Dutch to run the hazard of another battle, notwithſtanding their late defeat. This, however, muſt not be underſtood as any overſight in Blake, who acted only in obedience to the orders he received, and cannot therefore be made anſwerable for their conſequences.

(27) Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs, p. 526.

(28) Vol. I. pag. 428.

(29) Heath's Chron. p. 326.

(30) Ibid. p. 327.

(31) Ibid. pag. 328.

[F] *Incapable of ſervice 'till they were repaired.*] There is a large and curious account of this obſtinate battle in Heath, which will give the reader full ſatisfaction as to all the material circumſtances relating to it. Intelligence was now, ſays he, given to Van Trump, as there had been before to the States, that the Engliſh fleet was no way recruited, that moſt of the ſhips with which De Ruyter engaged were gone into port, and that now Blake might be eaſily beaten in the Downs, and ſo the mouth of the river ſtopped, the war come to a period, and the Dutch have ſatisfaction for the damage done them, and ſea-towns in England put into their hands for future ſecurity; for nothing leſs would content *Hans* in this top-gallant humour. On the 29th of November, Trump preſented himſelf with eighty men of war and ten fire-ſhips on the back-ſide of the Godwin again, and according to expectation found General Blake, attended with no more than forty odd ſail, as if he had been ignorant how to uſe his late victory, which came now to the diſpute, and to be an undecided controverſy again; yet Blake generouſly diſdaining to be affronted again in the Downs, having called a Council of War, it was concluded he ſhould fight, though at ſo unequal diſadvantage; but the wind riſing, the engagement was hindered 'till the next day, and anchoring the night before a little above Dover road, fair by the enemy, near morning both fleets plyed weſtward, we having the weather-gage, and about eleven or twelve o'clock engaged near the ſame place, where the firſt encounter was, but not with the ſame ſucceſs, for half the fleet did not engage; the Victory, Vanguard, and the Triumph, the Admiral's ſhip, bore moſt of the ſtreſs of the fight, being at one time engaged with twenty Dutchmen, and were ſorely torn in their rigging, ſails, yards, and hulls; yet they fought 'till after

it

puffed up the Dutch exceedingly, insomuch that Van Trump sailed through the Channel with a broom at his main-top-mast, to signify that he had swept those seas of English ships (*r*); they likewise made ballads, wherein they spoke with great triumph of their having taken the English Garland, and began to threaten taking from us all our plantations in the West-Indies (*s*). But in the mean time Blake repaired and recruited his fleet, Monk and Deane being now joined in commission with him, and so diligent they were, that on the eighth of February, 1653, they sailed from Queensborough with sixty men of war, and were presently joined by twenty more from Portsmouth. On the eighteenth of the same month, they discovered Van Trump with a fleet of seventy sail, and no less than three hundred merchant-ships under his convoy. Blake, with twelve ships, came up with, and engaged, the Dutch fleet, and were very severely handled. Himself, in the Triumph, had like to have been lost, had he not been timely relieved by Lawson in the Fairfax. In this warm service, Blake lost the Captain of his own ship whose name was Ball, a brave active officer, and Mr Sparrow his Secretary; himself was grievously wounded in the thigh, yet he continued the fight 'till night, by the advantage of which, the Dutch, who had six men of war sunk and taken, retired. Having set his wounded men on shore at Portsmouth, Blake followed the enemy, and came up with them the next day, about three in the afternoon, when the fight was renewed with very great loss to the Dutch, who continued retreating towards Bulloign. All the night following Blake continued the pursuit, and in the morning of the twentieth of February, the two fleets fought again with incredible fury 'till four in the afternoon, when the wind blowing favourably for the Dutch, they reached the Sands of Calais, anchored there, and thence tided it home. In these three engagements the Dutch lost eleven men of war, thirty merchant-ships, and had, according to their own accounts, fifteen hundred men slain. The English lost only one ship, the Samson, but not fewer men than the enemy (*t*) [G]. In the month of April, Cromwell turned out the Parliament, and shortly after assumed the Supreme Power. The States hoped great advantages from this, which, however, they did not immediately receive, Blake and his colleagues wisely declaring, that whatever happened at home, they would not suffer their country to endure either injuries or insults from abroad, and in this they were as good as their words (*u*) [H].

Towards

(*r*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 381.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 334.

(*t*) Bates, Elench. Mot. P. ii. pag. 174. Clarendon's Hist. Vol. III. p. 438.

(*u*) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 109. Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

it was dark, a little before which the Garland (whose venturous Captain, out of a noble resolution, boarding Van Trump himself, was slain in the fight, and overpowered with his referves) a Navy ship of the third rate with forty guns, was boarded by two Dutch flags, and taken; as likewise the Bonaventure, attempting to relieve them, it's Captain, Hookston being slain before the Triumph could succour them; and this was not done without great hazard; for Blake was boarded twice, and had his topmast shot by the board, and had not the Vanguard and Sapphire stood resolutely by him, might have gone near to be lost; the Hercules was likewise run on shore, and all the whole fleet that engaged was miserably rent and torn, and had it not been for the night, would hardly have come off, whereas now they retreated to Dover, and so into the river against Leigh, to save themselves. The Dutch triumphantly continued where they were, resolving to fall upon Blake with their whole fleet and fireships the next day at two o'clock; but missing of them, sent their scouts to Harwich and Yarmouth, to see if they were there, purposing to pursue the same resolution. In the mean time some of their seamen went ashore into Rumney Marsh to steal sheep, but the troopers were in a readiness, and killed six of them, and took eight more. Trump still continued with his fleet plying between the Isle of Wight and the Northforeland, somewhat betwixt Calais and Dungeness, having put ashore the Lieutenant of the Garland and other seamen, who informed that one Dutch ship was blown up, and but two men saved; and that Trump, and another flag-ship, and De Ruyter, had received damage. Amidst all this fray, a rich Streights English ship, called the Employment, valued at 200,000 *l.* got safe into harbour at Portsmouth, being pursued by seven Dutch fail of frigates (32). Whitlock gives pretty near the same account (33); but writing from his memory, places this action in the beginning of December. Rapin, who throughout the whole account of this war is extremely tender of the Dutch, says (34), that Admiral Blake having received a wound, it threw his fleet into such disorder, as rendered it impossible for him to hinder Van Trump from pursuing his course; yet our own writers say nothing of Blake's being wounded, and therefore I suppose that he confounds this with the next engagement, wherein Blake was actually wounded in the thigh. The secret of this defeat is said to lie in the little care taken by the Parliament's Committee for repairing such ships as were damaged, and for sending timely supplies to the fleet; neither have there been wanting writers honest enough to tell us why they did this. They were it seems grown extremely jealous of military-men, and men of action, *fearing that they should grow too high, and overtop them* (35). These are the words of my author, and therefore I use them. Perhaps this conduct might pave the way to the treatment the Parliament soon after met with, viz. April 20, 1653, when they were turned out of their House by Cromwell and his officers, to whom also the fleet unanimously adhered.

(32) Chronicle of the Civil Wars of England, &c. p. 329, 330.

(33) Memorial of English Affairs, p. 526.

(34) Hist. d'Angleterre, Vol. V. liv. xxii. p. 175.

(35) Life of Cromwell, by Carrington, pag. 109.

[G] *But not fewer men than the enemy*] It is needless to trouble the reader with several accounts of the battle mentioned in the text; I shall therefore only take notice of some little particulars which are not there inserted. General Blake, the better to man his fleet, had put on board some regiments of soldiers, who behaved extremely well, and to whom, according to some accounts, the honour of the day was chiefly due (36). We must not from hence imagine, that land-forces are always equally proper at sea, but consider the circumstances which distinguish this from other cases. The troops had been but a few days on board, the fleet was only employed on a cruize, and therefore, there was no danger of their being weakened by sickness, or other accidents at sea. Rapin extenuates as much as possible the defeat of the Dutch, and indeed their own writers have not been sparing in their pains to cover it, but with very little success.

(36) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, pag. 335.

[H] *They were as good as their words.*] The author of Blake's Life hath given a very candid and succinct account of this affair. He tells us, that when Cromwell turned the Rump out of the government, and took it upon himself and his council of officers; Blake, Deane, and Monk, and the rest of the admirals and sea-officers, published a declaration of their resolution, notwithstanding the late change, to proceed in the performance of their duties and the trust reposed in them, against the enemies of this Commonwealth. And the General was of opinion, on the revolution which happened afterwards, that 'twas his and his men's duty, to act faithfully abroad in their stations, so as might conduce most to the publick peace and welfare, whatever irregularity there was in the councils at home; saying to his officers, *It is not for us to mind state affairs, but to keep Foreigners from fooling us* (37). This conduct induced even Anthony Wood to say, that

(37) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 109.

Towards the end of the month, Blake and his colleagues, with a grand fleet of a hundred ſail, ſtood over to the Dutch coaſt, and forced their fleet to fly for ſhelter into the Texel, where, for ſome time, they were kept by Monk and Deane, while Blake ſailed northward; at laſt Trump got out, and drew together a fleet of a hundred and twenty men of war. On the third of June, the Generals, Deane and Monk, engaged the enemy off the North-foreland with indifferent ſucceſs. On the fourth, General Blake came in to their aſſiſtance with eighteen freſh ſhips, and thereby gained a compleat victory, inſomuch, that if the Dutch had not once again ſaved themſelves on Calais Sands, their whole fleet had been ſunk or taken (*w*) [*I*]. In the mean time, Cromwell had called, or rather appointed, a ſort of Parliament, called the *Little Parliament*, in which Mr Blake had a ſeat, as one of the Commiſſioners from Somerſetſhire (*x*), and was by the ſame Parliament continued one of the Generals of the fleet; however, his health was ſo impaired, that he could not poſſibly go to ſea, and therefore had no ſhare, but by his advice, in the laſt great victory gained over the Dutch, on the twenty-ninth of July, for which, however, the Parliament ordered him a gold chain, as well as the reſt of the Admirals who actually ſerved there (*y*). On the tenth of October he came to London, and took his ſeat in the Houſe, where he received their ſolemn thanks for his many and faithful ſervices (*z*). The Protector, Oliver, having called a new Parliament, conſiſting of four hundred, Mr Blake ſat therein as Member for his native town of Bridgwater (*a*). On the ſixth of December he was conſtituted one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty for ſix months, and as he was treated with great reſpect by Cromwell, ſo he behaved towards him with much fidelity, though perhaps no great affection, ſince he was naturally inclined to a Commonwealth (*b*). In the month of November, 1654, Cromwell thought fit to ſend him, with a ſtrong fleet, into the Mediterranean, with inſtructions which he knew would pleaſe him, *viz.* to ſupport the honour of the Engliſh Flag, and to procure ſatisfaction for any injuries that might have been done to our merchants (*c*). In the beginning of December Blake came into the road of Cadiz, where he was treated with all imaginable reſpect; a Dutch Admiral would not hoiſt his flag while he was there. A French ſquadron having ſtopped one of his tenders, which had been ſeparated from Blake in a ſtorm, the Admiral, as ſoon as he knew to whom he belonged, ſent for the Captain on board, drank the General's health before him with great ceremony, under a diſcharge of five guns, and then diſmiſſed him (*d*). The Algerines were ſo much afraid of him, that they ſtopped the Sallee Rovers, obliged them to deliver up what Engliſh priſoners they had on board, and then ſent them freely to Blake in order to merit his favour. All this, however, did not hinder his coming on the tenth of March before Algiers, ſending an officer on ſhore to the Dey, with a meſſage, importing, that he had orders to demand ſatisfaction for the piracies committed on the Engliſh, as alſo the releaſe of all ſuch Engliſh captives as were then in the place. To this the Dey anſwered, that the ſhips and captives taken belonged to particular men, and therefore he could not reſtore them without diſcontenting all his ſubjects; yet he might if he pleaſed redeem what Engliſh captives were there, at a reaſonable price ſet on their heads, and, if he thought good, they would conclude a peace with him, and, for the future, offer no acts of hoſtility to thoſe of his nation. He accompanied this anſwer with a very large preſent of freſh proviſions, and it ſeems at that time to have ſatisfied Blake, who, leaving Algiers, ſailed to Tunis on the ſame errand (*e*). The Dey of Tunis, who was a very brave man, but a little obſtinate, refuſed to give him any anſwer, or even to

(*w*) A true Relation of the late great Sea Fight, in a Letter to his Excellency the Lord-General Cromwell, from General Blake and General Monk, dated from on board the Reſolution off Oſtend, July 4, 1653, Lond. printed for H. Hills, 4to.

(*x*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 331.

(*y*) Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 556. Heath's Chron. p. 349.

(*z*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 112.

(*a*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 463. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 113.

(*b*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 487.

(*c*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 577. Bates, Elenchus Mot. P. ii. p. 205.

(*d*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 114.

(*e*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 366.

that ever after Blake continued a fortunate vindicator of his country's privileges from the encroachments of inſulting neighbours, a victorious enemy of the Spaniards, and was highly valued by all, even the Royaliſts (38). To ſay the truth, it is hard to conceive how Admiral Blake could have acted any other part than he did, conſiſtent with his regard to his country; ſince it is certain, that the Parliament began to be ſuſpected of intending to perpetuate themſelves, which would have been little better than enſlaving the reſt of the nation. Beſides, the officers on board the fleet were very little ſatisfied with the conduct of the Committee, who, by virtue of the powers given them by Parliament, were a ſort of Lords of the Admiralty; and as we have ſpoke twice of theſe, it may not be amiſs to name them; they were Sir Henry Vane, junior, Mr Saloway, Colonel Thompſon, and Mr John Carew (39).

(38) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

[*I*] *Their whole fleet had been ſunk or taken.*] We are told by Rapin, that the two fleets met the ſecond of June and came to an engagement, which was renewed the next day, in which ſecond battle, Trump fighting with great diſadvantage, was obliged to retire in diſorder, having loſt many ſhips, which were ſunk or taken by the Engliſh (40). This is a very blind account of ſo remarkable an action, eſpecially, when he might ſo eaſily have had a better; beſides, the date is falſe, for it was not the ſecond but the third of June. As to the loſs on both ſides, the moſt particular account I have met with follows (41). On the ſide of the Dutch, there were without doubt a great number ſlain, but how many is uncertain, perhaps it may be gueſſed at by the ſubſequent articles. Priſoners, there were one thouſand three hundred and fifty, and of theſe, ſix were Captains. Ships ſunk, ſix. Men of war taken, eleven. Of the Engliſh there were ſlain General Deane, and one Captain. Of private men, one hundred and twenty. Wounded, two hundred thirty-ſix; but not ſo much as one ſhip was either ſunk or diſabled. But the importance of this victory will be beſt declared by the conſequences of it, which are thus repreſented by Heath, who wrote at the very time (42). The Engliſh, ſays he, after their victory ſtill lay upon the coaſts of Holland, into whoſe ports and harbours, upon the purſuit, as far as the Texel, they had driven and ſcattered the Dutch fleet, which had ſo brought down the ſtomachs of the Hollander, that that Province having as before ſent away a boat with a white flag, with a meſſenger for a paſſport, and a ſafe conduct for two Ambaſſadors; and having obtained it, ſent away the Lords Youngſtall and Vande Peere, to follow two others newly gone before. Theſe arrived the twentieth of June, and had audience the twenty-ſecond: Their meſſage being of ſuch importance, for every day their merchant-ſhips were taken coming home, and there was no ſtirring out for any; ſo that there was an abſolute ceſſation there of trade, no leſs than thirty ſhips richly laden, having been taken by our fleet riding in the mouths of their havens.

(39) Heath's Chronicle, p. 331.

(40) Hiſtoire d'Angleterre, iv. xxii.

(41) The Perfect Politician, or the Life of Cromwell, p. 178.

(42) Chronicle of the Civil Wars of England, p. 346.

to ſuffer him to take in freſh water, ſuppoſing that the extraordinary pains he had taken to fortify the place were ſufficient to defend it; but he was extreamly miſtaken, for Blake forced him to an humble ſubmiſſion, and to a peace extreamly advantageous for his country, after he had demoliſhed his caſtles, and burnt all the ſhipping in the haven of Tunis (*f*) [*K*]. He in like manner terrified the piratical ſtate of Tripoli into making peace with England, and alſo brought the Knights of Malta to a compoſition for the injuries they had done to this nation (*g*). Theſe laſt exploits were performed in the ſpring of the year 1655, and raiſed the glory of the Engliſh name ſo high, that moſt of the Princes and States in Italy, thought fit to pay their compliments to the Protector, particularly the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, and the free State of Venice, who ſent magnificent embaſſies for that purpoſe (*h*). The war in the mean time was grown pretty hot with Spain, and Blake, in purſuance of the Protector's orders, did all that in his power lay to ruin their maritime force in Europe, as Penn had done in the Weſt-Indies (*i*). But theſe extraordinary and continual cares, falling on a conſtitution already not a little impaired, brought General Blake into ſo bad a ſtate of health, that fearing the ill conſequences that might happen, in caſe he ſhould die without having any colleague, who in ſuch a caſe might take charge of the fleet, he wrote letters into England, ſuggeſting the expediency of joining ſome proper perſon in commiſſion with him, upon which General Montague was ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron to aſſiſt him, and was made Joint-Admiral with him according to his deſire (*k*). Soon after his arrival in the Mediterranean, Blake and he ſailed with their whole fleet, to block up a Spaniſh ſquadron in the bay of Cadiz, which they accordingly did for ſeveral months. At laſt, in September, finding they were in want of water, Blake and Montague ſtood away for the coaſt of Portugal, leaving Capt. Stayner, with ſeven ſhips under his command to look after the enemy. While they were gone the Spaniſh plate fleet appeared, ſteering for Cadiz, but were intercepted by Stayner, who took the Vice-Admiral, and another galleon, which were afterwards burnt by accident, the Rear-Admiral with two millions of plate on board, and another ſhip richly laden. Theſe prizes, together with all the priſoners, were, on the return of the fleet, ſent into England under General Montague, and Blake alone remained in the Mediterranean (*l*). Notwithſtanding his diſtempers, which now appeared to be the dropſy and ſcurvy, grew upon him daily, yet he kept up his ſpirits to the laſt, and being informed that another plate fleet had put into Santa Cruz, in the iſland of Teneriff, he, in the month of April 1657, ſailed thither with a fleet of twenty-five men of war. On the twentieth of that month, he came into the road of Santa Cruz, and notwithſtanding the Spaniſh Governor had timely notice, was a man of great courage and conduct, and had diſpoſed all things in the propereſt manner poſſible, for the preſervation both of the ſhips and the place, and from a view of the proviſion he had made, looked upon an attack, as a thing no wiſe Admiral would think practicable; yet Blake, having once ſummoned him and received a ſhort anſwer, determined to force the place, and to do his utmoſt to burn the fleet that was therein, which he performed in ſuch a manner, as aſtoniſhed the ableſt ſeamen of thoſe times, and appears next to incredible in theſe (*m*). It is allowed to be one of the moſt remarkable actions that ever happened at ſea, and therefore we have given a particular account of it in the notes [*L*.] In this bloody

(*f*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 580.

(*g*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 366.

(*h*) Le Vie de Cromwell, par Greg. Leti, Vol. II. p. 347.

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 580.

(*k*) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 586.

(*l*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 383. Waller's Poems, Lond. 1730, 12mo, p. 121.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 600. Bates, Elenchus, Mot. P. ii. p. 227. Heath's Chron. p. 391. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 383. Life of Cromwell, by Carrington, p. 199. La Vie de Cromwell, par Greg. Leti, Vol. II. p. 446.

[*K*] *Burnt all the ſhipping in the bay of Tunis.*] The anſwer ſent by the Dey to General Blake was haughty and full of contempt. *Here*, ſaid he, *are our caſtles of* Goletta, *and* Porto Ferino, *do your worſt, do you think we fear your fleet?* On the hearing this, Blake, as his cuſtom was, when in a paſſion, began to curl his whiſkers, and after a ſhort conſultation with his officers, bore into the bay of Porto Ferino, with his great ſhips and their ſeconds, and coming within muſket-ſhot of the caſtle and the line, he fired on both ſo warmly, that in two hours the caſtle was rendered defenceleſs, and the guns on the works along the ſhore were diſmounted, though ſixty of them played at a time on the Engliſh. The General found nine ſhips in the road, and ordered every Captain, even, of his own ſhip, to man his long-boat with choice men, and theſe to enter the harbour, and fire the Tuniſeens, while he and his fleet covered them from the caſtle, by playing continually on it with their cannon. The ſeamen in their boats boldly aſſaulted the pirates, and burnt all their ſhips with the loſs of twenty-five men killed, and forty-eight wounded. This daring action ſpread the terror of his name thro' Africa and Aſia, which had for a long time before been formidable in Europe (43).

(44) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 115.

[*L*] *A particular account of it in the notes.*] On the twentieth of April 1657, the Engliſh fleet under the command of Admiral Blake, were fair in the offing of Sancta Cruz, where they diſcovered how bravely the Spaniſh ſhips, ſixteen in number, were barricadoed in this bay, where they lay in a manner ſemi-circular. Near in the mouth of this haven ſtands a caſtle, ſufficiently furniſhed with great ordnance, which threatened deſtruction to any that durſt enter without it's leave into the harbour; beſides this, there ſtood ſeven forts more round about the bay, with ſix, four, and three great guns a piece, and united together by a line of communication from one fort to another, which was manned with muſqueteers. To make all ſafe, Don Diego Diagues, General of the Spaniſh fleet, was not idle, in making proviſion for the beſt defence of his armado; he cauſed all the ſmaller ſhips to be moored cloſe along the ſhore, and the ſix great galleons ſtood further out at anchor, with their broad-ſides towards the ſea. It happened at this time, there was a Dutch Merchant-ſhip in the bay, the maſter thereof ſeeing the Engliſh ready to enter, and that a combat would preſently be commenced, it made him fear, that among all the blows that would be given, he could not avoid ſome knocks; therefore to ſave himſelf, he went to Don Diego, and deſired his leave to depart the harbour, for, ſaid he, I am very ſure Blake will be preſently amongſt you. To this the reſolute Don made no other reply, but get you gone if you will, and let Blake come if he dares. They that knew Blake's courage, could not but know it needleſs to dare him to an engagement. All things being ordered for fight, a ſquadron of ſhips was drawn out of the whole fleet to make the firſt onſet; theſe were commanded by Captain Stayner in the Speaker frigate, who no ſooner had received orders, but immediately he flew into the bay with his canvaſs wings, and by eight in the morning fell pell-mell upon the Spaniſh fleet, without the leaſt regard to the

forts,

bloody engagement it ſo fell out, that Capt. Benjamin Blake, the Admiral's brother, was guilty of ſome miſtake in his conduct, for which the Admiral cauſed him inſtantly to be removed, his regard for his country obliging him to prefer ſtrict juſtice to any ties of natural affection (*n*). As ſoon as the news arrived in England of this extraordinary action, the Protector ſent his Secretary to acquaint his ſecond Parliament, then ſitting, therewith, whereupon they ordered a publick thankſgiving, and directed a diamond ring, worth five hundred pounds, to be ſent to Blake. One hundred pounds were given to the Captain who brought the news, and the thanks of the Houſe was ordered to all the officers and ſeamen, and to be given them by their General (*o*). Theſe, as they were the laſt honours, ſo the receipt of them was the laſt news this brave officer received from his dearly-belov'd country. For, returning into the Mediterranean, and cruizing ſome time before Cadiz, he found his end draw on ſo faſt, that it determined him, if poſſible, to return home. Accordingly he ſailed for England, and in his laſt ſickneſs often enquired for land, which, however, he never lived to ſee, dying as the fleet was entering Plymouth-Sound, on board his ſhip the St George, the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, 1657, being about fifty-nine years of age (*p*). His body was the next day embalmed and wrapped up in lead, his bowels were buried in the great church at Plymouth, and his corps conveyed by ſea to Greenwhich-Houſe, where it lay in ſtate for ſome time; from thence, on the fourth of September, it was carried by water in a barge of ſtate, covered with velvet, adorned with eſcutcheons and pencils, accompanied by his brother, relations, and ſervants, in mourning; by Oliver's Privy-council, the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty and Navy, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, the Field-Officers of the army, and many other perſons of honour and quality, in a great number of barges and wherries covered with mourning, marſhalled and ordered by the Heralds at Arms, who directed and attended the ſolemnity. Thus they paſſed to Weſtminſter-bridge, and at their landing, proceeded in the ſame manner through a guard of ſeveral regiments of foot to the Abbey, his dear friend General Lambert (*q*), though then in diſgrace with the Protector, attending on his horſe. The proceſſion over, the body was interred in a vault, built on purpoſe, in the chapel of King Henry VII (*r*), whence it was removed on the twelfth of September, 1661, and re-interred in St Margaret's Church yard (*s*). He was a man but of a low ſtature, however, of a quick lively eye, and of a good ſoldier-like countenance. He was, in his perſon, brave beyond example, yet cool in action, and ſhewed a great deal of military conduct in the diſpoſition of thoſe deſperate attacks, which men of a cooler compoſition have judged rather fortunate than expedient. He certainly loved his country with extraordinary ardour, and as he never meddled with intrigues of State, ſo whatever Government he ſerved, he was ſollicitous to do his duty. He was upright to a ſupreme degree, for notwithſtanding the vaſt ſums which paſſed through his hands, he ſcarce left five hundred pounds behind him of his own acquiring. In fine, he was altogether diſintereſted and unambitious, expoſing himſelf on all occaſions for the benefit of the publick and the glory of the nation, and not with any view to his own private profit or fame. In reſpect to his perſonal character, he was pious without affectation, ſtrictly juſt, and liberal to the utmoſt extent of his fortune. His officers he treated with the familiarity of friends, and to his ſailors he was truly a parent. The State buried him as it was fit, at the publick expence they gave him a grave, but no tomb, and though he ſtill wants an

(*n*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 121.

(*o*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 392.

(*p*) Mercurius Politicus, No. 375. Whitlock's Memorial, p. 664. Heath's Chron. p. 402.

(*q*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 205. Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 578. Heath's Chron. p. 402.

(*r*) Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, p. 536. Perfect Politician, or Life of Oliver Cromwell, pag. 247.

(*s*) Kennet's Regiſter, ubi ſupra. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 205. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 123, 124.

forts, that ſpent their ſhot prodigally upon him. No ſooner were theſe entered into the bay, but Blake following after, placed certain ſhips to pour broad ſides into the caſtle and forts. Theſe played their parts ſo well, that after ſome time the Spaniards found their forts too hot to be held. In the mean time, Blake ſtrikes in with Stayner, and bravely fought the Spaniſh ſhips, which were not much inferior in number to the Engliſh, but in men they were far the ſuperior. Here we ſee a reſolute bravery many times may carry the day, and make numbers lie by the lee; this was manifeſt, for by two of the clock in the afternoon, the Engliſh had beaten the enemies out of their ſhips. Now Blake, ſeeing an impoſſibility of carrying them away, he ordered his men to fire their prizes; which was done ſo effectually, that all the Spaniſh fleet were reduced to aſhes, except two ſhips that ſunk downright, nothing remaining of them above water, but ſome part of their maſts. The Engliſh having now got a compleat victory, were put to another difficulty by the wind, which blew ſo ſtrong into the bay, that many deſpaired of getting out of it again. But God's providence was miraculouſly ſeen, in cauſing the wind on a ſudden to veer about to the South-Weſt, (a thing not known in many years before) which brought Blake and his fleet ſafe to ſea again, notwithſtanding the Spaniards from the caſtle played their great guns perpetually upon him as they paſſed by. The wind, as it proved a friend to bring the Engliſh forth, ſo it continued to carry them back again to their former ſtation near Cadiz (44). —— The Earl of Clarendon's reflexions on this extraordinary exploit are extremely worthy of notice. The whole action, ſays he, was ſo miraculous, that all men who knew the place wondered, that any ſober men, with what courage ſoever endued, would ever have undertaken it; and they could hardly perſuade themſelves to believe what they had done; whilſt the Spaniards comforted themſelves with the belief, that they were devils and not men, who had deſtroyed them in ſuch a manner. So much a ſtrong reſolution of bold and courageous men can bring to paſs, that no reſiſtance and advantage of ground can diſappoint them. And it can hardly be imagined, how ſmall loſs the Engliſh ſuſtained in this unparallelled action, no one ſhip being left behind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred men, when the ſlaughter on board the Spaniſh ſhips and on the ſhore was incredible (45). —— Sir Philip Warwick ſeems to have looked upon this action in another light, for thus he ſpeaks of it: Blake's raſh and daring attempt proved very fortunate and glorious upon the Spaniſh ſhips in Sancta Cruz; where, if the wind had not almoſt to a miracle veered about to bring him off, the conqueror muſt have neceſſarily been conquered. For as he was not able to bring off his prize, and therefore burnt it, ſo he had not been able to bring off himſelf, unleſs the wind had been thus favourable to him (46).

(44) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, pag. 391.

(45) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 601.

(46) Memoirs of Affairs after the King's Murder, p. 383.

an epitaph, writers of all parties have ſhewn an eagerneſs to do his memory juſtice (*t*) [*M*]. We find it very poſitively aſſerted, that Captain Benjamin Blake, brother to the General, ſuffered ſo many hardſhips for being a Diſſenter, in the latter end of the reign of King Charles II, that he found himſelf under a neceſſity of ſelling his patrimony, and tranſporting himſelf and his family to Carolina (*u*). Another author (though ſome indeed think it is the ſame) relates this ſtory of Mr Humphry Blake, the General's brother, and tells us, the family eſtate was worth two hundred pounds a year, which he was obliged to diſpoſe of, to pay the fines laid upon him for his Nonconformity (*w*). It is, however, ſtrange, that every one of the General's nephews and nieces, by his ſiſter Suſannah, who married a gentleman at Minebrand in Somerſetſhire, ſhould be totally unacquainted with this tranſaction, and that none of the family ſtill living, ſhould be able to give any account of that matter, which, however, is ſaid to be the caſe (*x*), and therefore it ſeems to be juſtly doubted, whether there be any truth in the ſtory, or whether it is only grounded on there being a conſiderable family of his name ſettled in that province, one of whom, when it was in private hands, was a Lord Proprietor.

(*t*) See the note [*M*].

(*u*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p 125.

(*w*) Hiſtory of England, during the reign of the Reign of the Royal Houſe of Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 421.

(*x*) General Dict. Vol. III. p. 371.

[*M*] *To do his memory juſtice.*] We will begin with the writer neareſt his own time, the author of the State Paper, or Gazette of thoſe days, who gave the publick the news of his death in theſe words. 'Auguſt 20, '1657. This morning came the unwelcome news of 'the death of that gallant General, Blake, a man of 'great honour, that hath wholly devoted himſelf to 'the ſervice of his country, and who gave many proofs 'of an extraordinary courage and conduct in actions 'both by ſea and land. He had been a long time a 'decaying, and in his return, being come to the Li-'zard Point, finding himſelf to fail, he called ſeveral 'of the Commanders of the other ſhips abroad his own 'to confer with them; afterwards, drawing on to-'wards his laſt, he willed them to bear up with all 'ſpeed to Plymouth, hoping to have reached land be-'fore his death, but in the very entrance into the Sound 'of Plymouth he expired. His body being embowel-'led, and cloſed in a ſheet of lead, the bowels were 'interred there in the cathedral church, and his corpſe 'was ſent along with the ſhips towards the Downs '(47).' —— Dr Bates, who was Phyſician to King Charles I, the Protector Oliver, and to King Charles II, ſpeaks thus of Blake. He became famous by many actions abroad, for he humbled the pride of France, reduced the Portugeſe to ſubmiſſion, broke the ſtrength of the Dutch, and drove their fleets out of the ſea, ſubdued the Pirates in the Mediterranean, and twice triumphed over the Spaniards, blameable only in this, that he joined himſelf with the Parricides. At the beginning of this character, he tells us Blake was a man *ab hoſte laudandus*, deſerving praiſe though an enemy, which makes it the more remarkable (48). — Clarendon having run through the ſcries of Blake's employments, to the time of his firſt going on board the fleet, concludes thus. He then betook himſelf wholly to the ſea, and quickly made himſelf ſignal there. He was the firſt man that declined the old track, and made it manifeſt that the ſcience might be attained in leſs time than was imagined, and deſpiſed thoſe rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ſhip and his men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumſpection, as if the principal art requiſite in the Captain of a ſhip had been to be ſure to come home ſafe again. He was the firſt man who brought the ſhips to contemn caſtles on ſhore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were diſcovered by him to make a noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who could be rarely hurt by them. He was the firſt that infuſed that proportion of courage into the ſeamen, by making them ſee by experience what mighty things they could do if they were reſolved, and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon the water; and tho' he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the firſt that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and reſolute atchievements (49). — Biſhop Burnet hath preſerved a paſſage very honourable to his memory, which I inſert here, becauſe I do not exactly know where it ought to have been placed in order of time. While Blake lay in the road of Malaga, before the war broke out with Spain, ſome of his ſeamen going aſhore, met the Hoſt carrying about, and not only paid no reſpect to it, but laughed at thoſe who did. One of the Spaniſh prieſts put the people upon reſenting this indignity, and they fell upon them and beat them ſeverely. When they returned to their ſhips, they complained of this uſage; upon which Blake ſent a trumpet to the Viceroy, to demand the prieſt, who was the chief inſtrument in that ill uſage. The Viceroy anſwered, that he had no authority over the prieſts, and ſo could not diſpoſe of them. General Blake upon that ſent him word, that he would not enquire who had the power to ſend the prieſt to him, but if he were not ſent within three hours, he would burn their town. The Spaniards hearing this, obliged the Viceroy to ſend the prieſt to Blake, and he juſtified himſelf upon the petulant behaviour of the ſeamen. Blake anſwered, that if he had ſent a complaint to him of it, he would have puniſhed them ſeverely, ſince he would not ſuffer his men to affront the eſtabliſhed religion of any place, at which he touched; but he took it ill that he had ſet on the Spaniards to do it, for he would have all the world to know, that an Engliſhman was only to be puniſhed by an Engliſhman; ſo he treated the prieſt civilly, and ſent him back, being ſatisfied that he had him in his power. Cromwell was much delighted with this, and read the letters in Council with great ſatisfaction, ſaying, that he hoped he ſhould make the name of an Engliſhman as great as ever that of a Roman had been (50). —— An author, who was contemporary with Blake, wrote the following verſes upon his death.

(47) Mercurius Politicus, No. 375.

(48) Elenchus Motuum, Lond. 1676, p. 323. In the Engliſh edition, Part. ii. p. 228.

(49) Clarendon's Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 602.

(50) Hiſt. of his own times, Lond. 1724, fol. Vol. I. p. 80, 81.

Here lies a man made Spain and Holland ſhake,
Made France to tremble, and the Turks to quake:
Thus he tam'd men, but if a lady ſtood
In's ſight, it rais'd a palſy in his blood;
Cupid's antagoniſt, who in his life
Had fortune as familiar as a wife.
A ſtiff, hard, iron ſoldier; for he
It ſeems had more of Mars than Mercury;
At ſea he thundered, calm'd each raging wave,
And now he's dead, ſent thund'ring to his grave (51).

(51) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 571.

From theſe verſes it looks as if the Admiral had been little addicted to the fair ſex; and indeed the author of his life, who lived ſome time in his brother's family, informs us, that he died a bachelor, not five hundred pounds richer than his father left him, the eſtate of the family deſcending to his brother Benjamin Blake mentioned in the text (52). There has been a grievous complaint made, that, after the Reſtoration, the bones of this true patriot, and victorious Admiral, were taken out of his grave and ignominiouſly thrown into a ditch (53). But this, not to call it a falſity, is a violent exaggeration (54). After the Reſtoration, there was an order to remove the dead bodies of the rebels that had been buried in the Abbey, amongſt the reſt Cromwell, Ireton, &c. whoſe remains were ignominiouſly treated; but as for thoſe of Blake, they were with great decency re-interred in St Margaret's Church-yard (55).

(52) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 125.

(53) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of England, &c. Vol. I. p. 421. Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 174.

(54) Grey's Impartial Examination of Neal's Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 315.

(55) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 536.

E

BLOOD (THOMAS) generally called Colonel Blood, as extraordinary an adventurer, as ever lived in this or any other country. He was, according to ſome accounts, the ſon of a Blackſmith in Ireland *(a)*, but from other impartial evidences, I rather conclude his father to have been concerned in iron-works, and to have acquired an eaſy fortune in that kingdom, to the proſpect of which this man was born *(b)*, and ſo might be ſaid to come into the world a gentleman [*A*]. It is alſo not a little uncertain when he was born, but from a compariſon of circumſtances, it appears probable it was in 1628, or thereabouts *(c)*. He came over into England while a very young man, and married in Lancaſhire, the daughter of one Mr Holcraft, a gentleman of good character in that county; this ſeems to have been in 1648, for he was in England when Col. Rainsford was ſurprized and killed at Pontefract *(d)*. He returned afterwards into Ireland, and though his family owed the beſt part of what they had to the pure favour of the Crown, yet he ſtruck in with the prevailing party, and ſerved as a Lieutenant in the Parliament forces, and obtained a certain quantity of land aſſigned him for his pay; beſides which, Henry Cromwell, when he governed that country, had ſo good an opinion of him, as to put him into the commiſſion of the peace, though ſcarce two and twenty years of age *(e)*. Theſe favours, and the turn of his education, in all probability gave him ſuch an inclination to theſe ſort of people, as was not to be reformed, and after the King's Reſtoration there happened ſome accidents, which contributed to increaſe his diſaffection to the Government. The Act of Settlement in Ireland, and the proceedings thereupon, certainly affected him deeply in his fortune, and he believed unjuſtly, which eaſily drew him to turn his thoughts any way that promiſed redreſs *(f)*. He knew there were multitudes in the ſame condition that had been old ſoldiers, and were equally capable of contriving, concealing, and carrying into execution, a plot, for altering or ſubverting any form of government, of which he had ſeen ſome examples. Upon aſſociating a little with the malecontents, he found his notions exactly juſtified, that there was a deſign on foot for a general inſurrection, which was to be begun by ſurprizing the caſtle of Dublin, and ſeizing the perſon of the Duke of Ormond, then Lord-Lieutenant *(g)*. Into this he entered without any heſitation, and though many of the perſons involved in this dangerous undertaking, were much his ſuperiors in rank, yet he very ſoon was at the head of the affair, preſided in all their councils, was the oracle in laying their projects, and depended on for conducting them in their execution. He ſhewed his dexterity in things of this nature, by laying ſuch a plan for ſurprizing Dublin Caſtle, and the Duke's perſon at the ſame time, as nothing but it's being divulged could have prevented, and at the ſame time, he penned a Declaration ſo accommodated to the humour and underſtanding of the ſoldiers, as would infallibly have drawn over the beſt part of the army *(h)*. But on the very eve of it's execution, the whole conſpiracy, which had been long ſuſpected, was abſolutely diſcovered, and ſo Col. Blood had only the honour of the contrivance *(i)* [*B*]. His brother-in-law, one Lackie a Miniſter, who was

(a) Sir Gilbert Talbot, in his Narrative and Remarks on Col. Blood's attempt on the Regalia.

(b) Remarks on Mr Blood's Life, p. 1.

(c) He was made a Juſtice of the Peace in the time of the Troubles when ſcarce of age.

(d) Remarks on Blood's Life, p. 1.

(e) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

(f) Kennet's Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 280.

(g) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 420.

(h) See the Reſolution of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, in note [*B*].

(i) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 2.

[*A*] *Might be ſaid to come into the world a gentleman.*] It is in the account drawn up by Mr Edwards and his ſon (1), of the manner in which Blood took the crown out of the Tower, that he is ſaid to be the ſon of a Blackſmith. But this ſeems to be queſtioned by a very intelligent author (2), who informs us, that whatever his parents were, he had by Letters patent, dated June the 12th, in the 16th of King Charles I, a Grant of the towns and lands of *Sarney*, *Beatowne* and *Foyleſtowne*, in the barony of *Dunboyne* in the county of *Meath*, as alſo five hundred acres of unprofitable mountain in the territory of *Glanmabur*, alias *le Glims*, in the county of *Wicklowe*. Another author, who ſeems to be very well acquainted with all the remarkable paſſages of his life (3), ſpeaks thus of his parentage, which does not ſeem to agree with the report of his being the ſon of a Blackſmith, though it muſt be confeſſed that it is not very explicit. 'His 'birth was ſuch as gave him thoſe advantages that 'uſually diſtinguiſh a man from the vulgar; for though 'wit and parts, courage and ſtrength, are not hereditary to the gentility, yet it is a great felicity to be 'born of ſuch parents, as are above thoſe wants that 'deprive them of beſtowing the benefits of education 'upon their children; and ſo far from the reproaches 'of poverty, that they are never ſpoken of by the 'world but with a decent and becoming character. 'Such were Mr Blood's parentage, ſerious, honeſt, 'and of no inferior credit and poſſeſſion in the country where they lived; which made them take that 'care that their offspring ſhould not be degenerate 'from the virtues and repute of his anceſtors, for 'forming and ſhaping his conditions according to the 'rules of ſtrict and ſober education, which had that 'influence upon him as to preſerve him from thoſe extravagancies that uſually attend upon mettalled and 'active ſpirits'

(1) Stowe's Survey of London, by Strype, Vol. I. B. i. p. 92.

(2) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 420.

(3) Remarks on the Life of the famed Mr Blood, London, 1680, fol. p. 1.

[*B*] *So Col. Blood had only the honour of the contrivance.*] The reader is to obſerve, that there were two diſtinct deſigns on foot in 1663; the one a general inſurrection, the other, the ſurprizing the caſtle of Dublin. The latter was indeed only a branch of the former, but different perſons were concerned in them, only Blood embarked in both, and was of the council both in the country and in Dublin; and it was intended to have executed the ſcheme of ſurprizing the Lord-Lieutenant on the 9th or 10th of March, but one Mr Philip Alden, who was of the council, gave intelligence to the Duke of Ormond, who thereupon took ſuch meaſures as might have diſcouraged men of leſs ſpirit and reſolution; but in reſpect to them theſe ſteps only ſerved to quicken them, ſo that they determined to put their ſcheme in execution on the 5th of March, 1663 (4). The deſign was not ill laid, ſeveral perſons with petitions in their hands were to wait within the caſtle, as if they ſtaid to preſent them to the Lord-Lieutenant, and about fourſcore of the old daring diſbanded ſoldiers were to ſtay on the outſide, dreſſed like Carpenters, Smiths, Shoemakers, and other ordinary mechanicks. As ſoon as the Lord-Lieutenant went in, a Baker was to paſs by the main guard with a large baſket of white bread on his back, which, by making a falſe ſtep, he was to throw down, which might create a ſcramble among the ſoldiers, and offer the fourſcore men aforementioned an opportunity of diſarming them, while the others with petitions in their hands ſecured all within, and being once maſter of the caſtle and the Duke of Ormond's perſon, they were to publiſh their declaration (5). But the principal conſpirators were ſeized about twelve hours before the time appointed for the execution of the deſign, in which no leſs than ſeven Members of the Houſe of Commons (for the Parliament of Ireland was then ſitting) were concerned. This brought the matter to be examined before that aſſembly, who, after giving their Members a day to be heard, which they declined, came amongſt other reſolutions to theſe that follow (6), viz.

(4) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 420.

(5) State Letters of the Earl of Orrery, p. 69, 70.

(6) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. In the Appendix, p. 30.

I. That

was embarked in the buſineſs, was, with many others, apprehended, tried, convicted, and executed, but Lieutenant Thomas Blood made his eſcape, and kept out of reach, notwithſtanding the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Orrery, both laboured to have him ſecured, and a proclamation was publiſhed by the former, with the promiſe of an ample reward for apprehending him (*k*). Nor was he only ſo lucky as to prevent confinement and puniſhment, but by an audacity ſtill more ſingular, had almoſt frighted away the the guards that attended Lackie's execution, and even alarmed the friends of the Lord-Lieutenant on the ſcore of his ſafety (*l*). So high was Blood's fame for ſagacity and intrepidity at this time, and ſo capable he was held of undertaking any thing his paſſion or intereſt dictated, and of conducting ſkillfully whatever was by him undertaken, how deſperate or difficult ſoever [*C*]. He ſtayed as long among the Sectaries and remains of Oliver's forces, as he found it practicable to conceal himſelf, and then had recourſe to the mountains, and the protection of the old native Iriſh, and the better to attach thoſe he converſed with to his intereſts, he became all things to all men, he was a Quaker to ſome, an Anabaptiſt to others, an Independant where that would beſt recommend him, and to beſpeak the favour of the poor ignorant natives, he took the character of a Prieſt (*m*). By theſe arts he ſhifted about from one place to another, making himſelf acquainted with all parties in the iſland, and with all their intereſts and connections at home and abroad (*n*). At laſt, finding all his haunts known, and that it was impoſſible to raiſe, at that juncture, any inſurrection, he found means to get over into Holland, where he was very well received, and admitted into great intimacy with ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the Republick, particularly Admiral de Ruyter (*o*). He went from thence to England, with ſuch recommendations to the Fifth-monarchy-men, and other malecontents, that he was immediately admitted into all their councils, and had a large ſhare in all thoſe dark intrigues that were then carrying on, for throwing the nation again into confuſion (*p*). In this ſituation he gave another ſtrong inſtance of his bold enterprizing genius, which almoſt exceeds belief [*D*]. But finding the Government apprized of their deſigns, and foreſeeing

(*k*) Orrery's Letters, p. 69, 70.

(*l*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 423.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 420.

(*o*) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 3.

(*p*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 420.

I. That all and every the ſaid perſons were engaged in the ſaid deſperate and traiterous plot.

II. That the ſaid plot (had it not been prevented by the bleſſing of God upon the great wiſdom and vigilancy of his Grace the Lord-Lieutenant) would probably have engaged the three kingdoms under dreadful and ſad conſequences.

III. That the paper being an intended declaration, written with the hand of Thomas Blood, late of Sarney, one of the ringleaders in the ſaid conſpiracy, and ſent by the Lord-Lieutenant, with the other examinations, informations, and confeſſions, this day to the Houſe, and diſtinctly read, is ſcandalous treaſonable, and falſe in every particular, and that upon the knowledge of this Houſe; and therefore that his Grace would be pleaſed, if he thinks fit, to command the ſaid paper, or copy thereof, to be burnt by the hand of the common hangman, at the moſt publick place in this city.

[*C*] *Whatever was by him undertaken, how deſperate or difficult ſoever.*] His brother Mr Lackie, the Miniſter, endeavoured to ſecure himſelf from puniſhment for the ſhare he had in this treaſonable deſign, by pretending madneſs, but that had no effect; he was tried and condemned, and, in purſuance of his ſentence, was brought to the place of execution, when a rumour was ſpread among the populace, that Captain Blood was coming with a party to reſcue the priſoner; upon which every one, even to the hangman, ſhifted for himſelf, and left the priſoner with a halter about his neck alone under the gallows; but nobody appearing, the Sheriffs officers recovered their ſpirits, returned to their poſts, and ſaw the poor man hanged (7). It was not long after this, that the Lord-Lieutenant took a journey into the country, either for buſineſs or pleaſure, with no other attendance than a few of his own ſervants; he was adviſed by the Lord Mount-Alexander to be more careful of his perſon, as he had information that Blood had been lately in that neighbourhood, where he laboured to ſtir up the people to ſedition, and frequently declared, that the ſeizing the Duke of Ormond would have been off greater ſervice to their cauſe, than ſurprizing the caſtle of Dublin (8). It appears from theſe two inſtances, that both the vulgar and the better ſort of people were alike frightened and alarmed, from the apprehenſion of this man's cunning and boldneſs. Indeed, conſidering the number of the diſaffected in that kingdom, and the temper of thoſe people, it was no great wonder, ſince after the firſt plot on the caſtle of Dublin was detected, they went on with their general deſign, 'till that alſo was diſcovered, and the principal perſons concerned in it either ſeized or diſperſed (9).

(7) Remarks upon the Life of Mr Blood, p. 2.

(8) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 423.

(9) A Letter to the Author, &c. at the cloſe of Sir Richard Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, p. 6.

[*D*] *Another ſtrong inſtance of his bold enterprizing genius, which almoſt exceeds belief.*] All the facts mentioned in the text are ſo well ſupported by authorities, that there is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt of the truth of them, though it is very difficult at this diſtance of time to fix the dates of his ſeveral enterprizes. This, of which we are to ſpeak, ſeems to have happened in the year 1665, a little after the diſcovery of an inſurrection that was to have been raiſed by theſe people in the North and in the Weſt, and which was a branch of the ſame general deſign, wherein Mr Blood was engaged in Ireland, and for which ſeveral had ſuffered in Yorkſhire, in the beginning of the year 1664 (10). All theſe diſcoveries and diſappointments could not deter theſe reſolute and diſcontented people from proſecuting their original deſign, and notwithſtanding it had been divulged in a Court of Juſtice, that they had a ſecret council conſtantly ſitting in London for the management of their intrigues, yet that council continued to ſit, and Mr Blood was of it, and for their ſecurity they had about thirty ſtout fellows poſted about the place where they met, in the nature of a *Corps de Garde* (11). It fell out that two of the members of the council, to ſecure themſelves, and perhaps for the ſake of a reward, betrayed all their tranſactions to the Miniſtry, which Mr Blood ſoon ſuſpected, and in a ſhort time got to the bottom of the whole affair. He appointed theſe people to meet him at a tavern in the city, where he had his guard ready, who ſecured them without any noiſe, and carried them to a private place provided for the purpoſe, where he called a kind of Court-Martial, before whom theſe two perſons were tried, found guilty, and ſentenced to be ſhot two days after in the ſame place. When the time appointed came, they were brought out, and all the neceſſary preperations made for putting the ſentence in execution, and the poor men ſeeing no hopes of eſcape, diſpoſed themſelves to ſuffer as well they could. At this critical juncture Mr Blood was graciouſly pleaſed to grant them his pardon, and at the ſame time adviſed them to go to their new maſter, tell him all that had happened, and requeſt him in the name of their old confederates to be as favourable to ſuch of them as ſhould at any time ſtand in need of his mercy (12). Whether theſe unfortunate people carried Mr Blood's meſſage to the King or not, does not any where appear. It is however certain, that not long after the whole conſpiracy was diſcovered, in conſequence of which, on the 26th of April, 1666, Col. John Rathboue and ſome other officers in the late diſbanded army, were tried and convicted at the Old Baily for a plot to ſurprize the Tower, and to kill General Monk; and it appeared in evidence upon their trial, that

(10) Kennet's Complete Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 247.

(11) Hiſtory of Plots, p. 195.

(12) Remarks upon the Life of Mr Blood, p. 4, 5.

foreseeing the persons principally concerned could not escape being apprehended, he resolved to withdraw into Scotland, where he so wrought upon the discontents of the people, that he contributed not a little to the breaking out of the rebellion there, and was present in the action of Pentland-Hills, Nov. 27, 1666, in which the rebels were routed, and above five hundred killed (*q*). He fled, after this defeat, back to England, and from thence to Ireland, where he landed within three miles of Carrickfergus, but Lord Dungannon pursued him so closely, that he was obliged to retire very speedily into England (*r*). He had not been long in this kingdom before he performed a fresh exploit, which was as extraordinary, more successful, and made much greater noise in the world than any thing he had yet done. As the circumstances attending it are very little known, we have given the only distinct narrative that remains of it a place in the notes [*E*]. Before he engaged himself

(*q*) Historian's Guide. p. 62.

(*r*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 420.

that to facilitate this design, the city of London was to have been set on fire, and that the 3d of September following was fixed upon from Lilly's Almanack as a lucky day for that purpose (13). Nor is it amiss to observe, that though these people suffered according to their sentence so long before, yet that dreadful fire, which consumed so great part of this metropolis, actually began upon the same fatal day these men had fixed for it's destruction; which occasioned Lilly's being examined before the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to enquire how that fire began; to whom he declared it was his sentiments, that it fell out meerly by accident (14).

(13) Kennet's Complete Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 262. 263. But there is a mistake as to the date of the Gazette, which was of the 26th, not 30th of April, 1666.

(14) Lilly's Hist. of his own Life and Times, p. 98.

[*E*] *The only distinct narrative that remains of it a place in the notes.*] This occurs in the life of Mr Blood, and runs thus. Among those that were apprehended was one Captain Mason, a person for whom Mr Blood had a particular affection and freindship (15). This person was to be removed from London to one of the northern counties, in order to his trial at the assizes, and to that intent was sent down with eight of the Duke's troop to guard him, being reckoned to be a person bold and courageous. Mr Blood having notice of this journey, resolves by the way to rescue his friend. The prisoner and his guard went away in the morning, and Mr Blood having made choice of three more of his acquaintance, set forward the same day at night without boots upon small horses, and their pistols in their trousers, to prevent suspicion. But opportunities are not so easily had, neither were all places convenient, so that the convoy and their prisoner were gone a good way beyond Newark before Mr Blood and his friends had any scent of their prisoner. At one place they set a centinel to watch his coming by, but whether it was out of fear, or that the person was tired with a tedious expectation, the centinel brought them no tidings either of the prisoner or his guard, insomuch that Mr Blood and his companions began to think their friend so far before them upon the road, that it would be in vain to follow him; and yet not willing to give over an enterprize so generously undertaken, upon Mr Blood's encouragement they rode on, though despairing of success, 'till finding it grow towards evening, and meeting with a convenient inn upon the road in a small village not far from Doncaster, they resolved to lie there all night, and return for London the next morning. In that inn they had not sat long in a room next the street, condoling among themselves the ill success of such a tedious journey, and the misfortune of their friend, before the convoy came thundering up to the door of the said inn with their prisoner, in regard that Captain Mason had made choice of that inn, as being best known to him, to give his guardians the refreshment of a dozen of drink. There Mr Blood, unseen, had a full view of his friend, and the persons he had to deal with. He had bespoke a small supper, which was at the fire, so that he had but very little time for consultation, finding that Captain Mason's party did not intend to alight, so that he only gave general directions to his associates to follow his example in whatever they saw him do. In haste therefore they called for their horses, and threw down their money for their reckoning, telling the woman of the house, that since they had met with such good company they were resolved to go forward. Captain Mason went off first upon a sorry beast, and with him the commander of the party, and four more; the rest staid behind to make an end of their liquor. Then away marched one more single, and in a very small time after the last two. By this time Mr Blood and one of his friends, being horsed, followed the two that were hindmost, and soon overtook them. These four rode some little time together, Mr Blood on the right hand of the two soldiers, and his friend on the left. But upon a sudden Mr Blood laid hold of the reins of the horse next him, while his friend, in observation to his directions, did the same on the other hand, and having presently by surprize dismounted the soldiers, pulled off their bridles, and sent their horses to pick their grass where they pleased. These two being thus made off, Mr Blood pursues his game, intending to have reached the single trooper; but he being got to the rest of his fellows, now reduced to six, and a Barber of York that travelled in their company, Mr Blood made up, heads the whole party, and stops them; of which some of the foremost looking upon him to be either drunk or mad, thought the rebuke of a switch to be a sufficient chastisement of such a rash presumption, which they exercised with more contempt than fury, 'till by the rudeness of his compliments he gave them to understand he was not in jest, but in very good earnest. He was soon seconded by his friend that was with him in his first exploit, but there had been several rough blows dealt between the unequal number of six to two, before Mr Blood's two other friends came up to their assistance; nay, I may safely say six to two, for the Barber of York, whether out of his natural propensity to the sport, or that his pot-valiantness had made him so generous to help his fellow-travellers, would needs shew his valour at the beginning of the fray, but better had he been at the latter end of a feast; for though he shewed his prudence to take the stronger side, as he guessed by the number, yet because he would take no warning, which was often given him, not to put himself to the hazard of losing a guitar finger by meddling in a business that nothing concerned him, he lost his life, in regard they were forced to dispatch him in the first place for giving them a needless trouble. The Barber being become an useless instrument, and the other of Mr Blood's friends being come up, the skirmish began to be very smart, the four assailants having singled out the champions as fairly and equally as they could. All this while, Captain Mason being rode before upon his thirty shilling steed, wondering his guard came not with him, looked back, and observing a combustion, and that they were altogether by the ears, knew not what to think. He conjectured it at first to have been some intrigue upon him, as if the troopers had a design to tempt him to an escape, which might afterwards prove more to his prejudice, just like cats, that with regardless scorn seem to give the distressed mouse all the liberty in the world to get away out of their paws, but soon recover their prey again at one jump. Thereupon, unwilling to undergo the hazard of such a trial, he comes back, at what time Mr Blood cried out to him, *Horse, horse, quickly!* an alarm so amazing at first, that he could not believe it to be his friend's voice when he heard it; but as the thoughts of military men are soon summoned together, and never hold Spanish councils, the Captain presently settled his resolution, mounts the next horse that wanted a rider, and puts in for a share of his own self-preservation. In this bloody conflict Mr Blood was three times unhorsed, occasioned by his forgetfulness, as having omitted to new girt his saddle, which the ostler had unloosed upon the wadding his horse at his first coming into the inn. Being then so often dismounted, and not knowing the reason, which the occasion would not give him leave to consider, he resolved to fight it out on foot; of which two of the soldiers taking the advantage, singled him out and drove him into a court yard, where he made a stand with a full body, his sword in one hand, and his pistol in

(15) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 5.

himſelf in this affair, he had placed his wife and ſon in an Apothecary's ſhop under the name of Weſton, and had lived himſelf at Rumford by the name of Ayliffe, and pretended to practiſe Phyſick (s). After he was cured of his wounds, and heard that all that were concerned with him were ſafe, which was in about ſix weeks, he returned to Rumford, and lived there under the ſame diſguiſe for a conſiderable time, without being ſuſpected or moleſted, notwithſtanding a proclamation was publiſhed, with an offer of five hundred pounds reward, for apprehending the perſon concerned in this reſcue (t). It was impoſſible for one of his buſy, reſtleſs, and impatient temper, to continue long quiet, but whether his next enterprize was entirely his own contriving, or was intended purely to ſerve his own purpoſes, is a point, at preſent not to be decided. However that might be, the undertaking was in every reſpect more ſingular, and more hazardous, than any he had hitherto attempted, and as it was altogether without example that he went upon it, ſo it is certain no ſuch thing was ever thought of ſince; it was the ſeizing the perſon of his old antagoniſt the Duke of Ormond in the ſtreets of London, but whether with a view to murder, or carry him off 'till he had anſwered their expectations, is not perfectly clear (u). He actually put his deſign in execution, Dec. 6, 1670, and was very near compleating his purpoſe on his Grace, whatever that purpoſe might be. However, the Duke was fortunately reſcued out of his hands, but himſelf and his aſſociates all eſcaped, though cloſely purſued (w) [F]. An account of this amazing tranſaction was immediately publiſhed by authority,

(s) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 5.

(t) Hiſtory of Plots, p. 295.

(u) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 869.

(w) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III p. 280.

in the other. One of the ſoldiers taking that advantage of his open body, ſhot him near the ſhoulder-blade of his piſtol-arm, at which time he had four other bullets in his body, that he had received before; which the ſoldier obſerving, flung his diſcharged piſtol at him with that good aim and violence, that he hit him a ſtunning blow juſt under the forehead upon the upper part of the noſe between the eyes, which for the preſent ſo amazed him, that he gave himſelf over for a dead man; yet reſolving to give one ſparring blow before he expired, ſuch is the ſtrange provocation and ſucceſs of deſpair, with one vigorous ſtroke of his ſword, he brought his adverſary with a vengeance from his horſe, and laid him in a far worſe condition than himſelf at his horſe's feet. At that time full of anger and revenge he was juſt going to make an end of his conqueſt, by giving him the fatal ſtab, but that in the very nick of time Captain Maſon having by the help of his friends done his buſineſs where they had fought, by the death of ſome, and the diſabling of others that oppoſed them, came in and bid him hold and ſpare the life of one who had been the civileſt perſon to him upon the road; a fortunate piece of kindneſs in the one, and of gratitude in the other; which Mr Blood eaſily condeſcending to, by the joint aſſiſtance of the Captain the other ſoldier was ſoon maſtered, and the victory, after a ſharp fight that laſted above two hours, was at length compleated. You may be ſure the fight was well maintained on both ſides, while two of the ſoldiers, beſides the Barber, were ſlain upon the place, three unhorſed, and the reſt wounded, And it was obſervable, that though the encounter happened in a village, where a great number of people were ſpectators of the combat, yet none would adventure the reſcue of either party, as not knowing which was in the wrong or which in the right, and were therefore wary of being arbitrators in ſuch a deſperate conteſt, where they ſaw the reward of aſſiſtance to be nothing but preſent death. After the combat was over, Mr Blood and his friends divided themſelves, and parted ſeveral ways.

[F] *Himſelf and his aſſociates all eſcaped, though cloſely purſued.*] The cleareſt account that we have any where of this ſurprizing tranſaction, is given us by Mr Carte, to this effect (16). The Prince of Orange came this year into England, and being invited on December 6, to an entertainment in the city of London, his Grace attended him thither. As he was returning homewards, in a dark night, and going up St James's-ſtreet, at the end of which, facing the palace, ſtood Clarendon-houſe, where he then lived, he was attacked by Blood and five of his accomplices: The Duke always uſed to go attended with ſix footmen; but as they were too heavy a load to ride upon a coach, he had always iron ſpikes behind it, to keep them from getting up, and continued this practice to his dying-day, even after this attempt of aſſaſſination. Theſe ſix footmen uſed to walk on both ſides of the ſtreet, over-againſt the coach; but by ſome contrivance or other, they were all ſtopped, and out of the way, when the Duke was taken out of his coach by Blood and his ſon, and mounted on horſeback behind one of the horſemen in his company. The coachman drove on to Clarendon-houſe, and told the porter the Duke had been ſeized by two men, who had carried him down Piccadilly: The porter immediately ran that way; and Mr James Clark, chancing to be at that time in the court of the houſe, followed with all poſſible haſte, having firſt alarmed the family, and ordered the ſervants to come after him as faſt as they could; Blood, it ſeems, either to gratify the humour of his patron, who had ſet him upon this work, or to glut his own revenge, by putting his Grace to the ſame ignominious death which his accomplices in the treaſonable deſign upon Dublin-caſtle had ſuffered, had taken a ſtrong fancy into his head, to hang the Duke at Tyburn. Nothing could have ſaved his Grace's life, but that extravagant imagination and paſſion of the villain, who leaving the Duke mounted and buckled to one of his comrades, rode on before, and (as is ſaid) actually tied a rope to the Gallows, and then rode back to ſee what was become of his accomplices, whom he met riding off in a great hurry. The horſeman to whom the Duke was tied, was a perſon of great ſtrength, but being embarraſſed by his Grace's ſtruggling, could not advance as faſt as he deſired. He was, however, got a good way beyond Berkeley (now Devonſhire) houſe, towards Knightſbridge; when the Duke having got his foot under the man's, unhorſed him, and they both fell down together in the mud, where they were ſtruggling when the porter and Mr Clark came up. The villain then diſengaged himſelf, and ſeeing the neighbourhood alarmed, numbers of people running towards them, got on horſeback, and having, with one of his comrades, fired their piſtols at the Duke, (but miſſed him, as taking their aim in the dark, and in a hurry) rode off as faſt as they cold to ſave themſelves. The Duke (now ſixty years of age) was quite ſpent with ſtruggling; ſo that when Mr Clark and the porter came up, they knew him rather by feeling his ſtar, than by any ſound of voice he could utter; and they were forced to carry him home and lay him on a bed to recover his ſpirits. He received ſome wounds and bruiſes in the ſtruggle, which confined him within doors for ſome days. We are told by Biſhop Kennet, that certain perſons whom he names, were, with great probability, ſuſpected, viz Richard Holloway, a Tobacco-cutter, in Frying-pan-alley in Pettiecoat-lane; Thomas Allen, alias Ally, alias Ayliffe, a pretended Surgeon or Doctor; Thomas Hunt; and one Hurſt; but, continues the Prelate, the chief of them was Blood, a notorious traytor, out-lawed in Ireland, who with his own hand pulled his Grace out of the coach, and with the help of one Ralph Alexander, mounted him behind his eldeſt ſon (17). In this account there are ſeveral miſtakes; for in the firſt place, Thomas Allen, the pretended Doctor, was really Mr Blood, under that fictitious name. In the next place, his ſon was not at all concerned in the affair, being then but a boy of thirteen years of age; but the miſtake was occaſioned by Blood's calling one of them his ſon, who was Thomas Hunt, his ſon-in-law (18). The ſame reverend writer ſays, that Blood's pretence was, that he intended to keep the Duke in private on the other

(16) Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 421.

(17) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 280, 281.

(18) Mr Oldmixon follows him in this, and mentions Brigadier General Blood by name, Hiſtory of England, &c. Vol. I. p. 454.

authority, together with a royal Proclamation, offering a reward of one thouſand pounds for apprehending any of the perſons concerned therein, but to no purpoſe, though ſome of their names were diſcovered; however, Blood was not ſo much as thought of or ſuſpected (*x*). The miſcarriage of this daring deſign, inſtead of daunting him, or creating the leaſt intention of flying out of the kingdom, put him on another more ſtrange and hazardous deſign, to repair his broken fortunes. He propoſed to thoſe deſperate perſons who aſſiſted him in his former attempt, to ſeize and divide amongſt them the royal enſigns of Majeſty kept in the Tower of London, and as they were blindly devoted to his ſervice, they very readily accepted the propoſal, and left it to him to contrive the means of putting it in execution. He deviſed accordingly a ſcheme for that purpoſe, ſuitable to ſo bold and baſe an undertaking, which was ſo cunningly laid, and executed with ſuch an audacious ſpirit, May 9, 1671, that he ſo far carried his point, as to get the Regalia into his poſſeſſion, and was near carrying off his booty, when he was purſued and taken, by which means the crown, and all the jewels belonging to it, were happily recovered (*y*) [*G*]. Upon this diſappointment his ſpirits failed him, and while he remained

(*x*) See the Gazette, December 8, 1670.

(*y*) See Sir Gilbert Talbot's Narrative, in Stowe's Survey of London, by Strype, Vol. I. p. 92.

other ſide of the water, 'till his Grace had ſigned ſome writings for reſtoring to him an eſtate which he had forfeited by rebellion in Ireland (19); Mr Echard, on the other hand, aſſures us, that Blood intended to have hanged the Duke at Tyburn, and to have pinned a paper upon his breaſt, containing the reaſons which induced him and his aſſociates to perpetrate this fact. The reader will determine for himſelf which of theſe accounts appear to him the moſt probable; but if Mr Richard Baxter's (20) authority be of weight, he agrees with Biſhop Kennet.

(19) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 211.

(20) Hiſt. of his own Life and Times, p. 88.

[*G*] *All the jewels belonging to it were happily recovered.*] The beſt account of this affair is that of the Edwards's, given to Sir Gilbert Talbot to this effect (21). About three weeks before Blood made his attempt upon the crown, he came to the Tower in the habit of a clergyman, with a long cloak, caſſock, and canonical girdle, and brought a woman with him, which he called his wife, though his wife was then ſick in Lancaſhire. This pretended wife deſired to ſee the crown, and having ſeen it, pretended to have a qualm come upon her ſtomach, and deſired the keeper of the crown, old Mr Edwards, to ſend for ſome ſpirits, who immediately cauſed his wife to fetch ſome; when ſhe had drank, Mrs Edwards invited her to repoſe herſelf upon a bed, which ſhe accepted of, and ſoon recovered. At their departure they declared themſelves very thankful for this reſpect. About three days after Blood came again to Mr Edwards's, with a preſent of four pair of fine new gloves from his wife; and having thus begun the acquaintance, made frequent viſits to improve it, profeſſing that he ſhould never ſufficiently acknowledge their kindneſs. Having made ſome ſmall reſpite of his compliments, he returned again, and told Mrs Edwards, that his wife could diſcourſe of nothing but of the kindneſs of the good people in the Tower; that ſhe had long ſtudied, and at length bethought herſelf of a handſome way of requital. *You have*, ſaid he, *a pretty gentlewoman to your daughter, and I have a young nephew, who has two or three hundred pounds a year in land, and is at my diſpoſal; if your daughter be free, and you approve of it, I will bring him hither to ſee her, and we will endeavour to make it a match.* This was eaſily aſſented to by old Mr Edwards, who invited the pretended parſon to dine with him that day, and he has readily accepted the invitation, who taking upon him to ſay grace, performed it with ſingular devotion, and lifting up of eyes; and alſo concluded his long-winded bleſſing with a hearty prayer for the King, Queen, and Royal Family. After dinner he went up to ſee the rooms, and diſcovering a handſome caſe of piſtols there, he expreſſed a great deſire to buy them, to preſent to a young Lord who was his neighbour, probably to diſarm the houſe againſt the time he intended to put his deſign in execution. At his departure, which was with a canonical benediction of the good company, he appointed a day and hour to bring his young nephew to his miſtreſs, which was that very day that he made his bold attempt, the ninth of May, about ſeven in the morning.

(21) Stowe's Survey of London, publiſhed by Strype, Vol I. B. i. p. 92. Kennet's Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 283. Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 876. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 560. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 22.

At that time the old man was got up ready to receive his gueſts; and the daughter had put herſelf into her beſt dreſs to receive her gallant; when, according to appointment, Parſon Blood, with three more, came to the jewel-houſe, all armed, with rapier blades in their canes, and every one a dagger, and a pair of pocket-piſtols; two of his companions entered in with him, and the third ſtaid at the door, for a careful watch. The daughter thought it not modeſt for her to come down 'till ſhe was called, but ſent her maid to take a view of the company, and to bring her a deſcription of the perſon of her gallant: The made imagined that he who ſtaid at the door was the intended bridegroom, becauſe he was the youngeſt of the company; and returned to her young miſtreſs with the character ſhe had formed of his perſon. In the interim, Blood told Mr Edwards that they would not go up ſtairs 'till his wife came, and deſired him to ſhew his friends the crown, to paſs away the time 'till then: As ſoon as they were entered the room were the crown was kept, and the door as uſually was ſhut behind them, they threw a cloak over the old man's head, and clapped a gag into his mouth, which was a great plug of wood, with a ſmall hole to take breath at, that was tied on with a waxed leather, which went round his neck. At the ſame time they faſtened an iron hook to his noſe, that no found might paſs from him that way. Having thus ſecured him from crying out, they plainly told him. *That they were reſolved to have the crown, globe, and ſceptre, and if he would quietly ſubmit to it, they would ſpare his life, otherwiſe he was to expect no mercy.* He thereupon forced himſelf to make all the noiſe he poſſibly could to be heard above, upon which they knocked him down with a wooden mallet, and told him that if he would be quiet, they would ſpare his life, but if not; upon the next attempt to diſcover them, they would kill him, and pointed three daggers at his breaſt; ſtill he ſtrained himſelf to make the greater noiſe, at which they gave him nine or ten ſtrokes more upon the head with the mallet, and ſtabbed him into the belly. The poor man, almoſt fourſcore years old, fell, and lay ſome time intranced, when one of them kneeling on the ground, to try if he breathed, and not perceiving any breath from him, ſaid, *He's dead, I'll warrant him.* Mr Edwards recovering a little, heard his words, and conceiving it beſt for himſelf to be ſo thought, lay very quietly. Concluding him dead, they omitted to tie his hands behind him; and Parret, one of the companions, put the globe into his breeches; Blood kept the crown under his cloak; the third was deſigned to file the ſcepter in two, becauſe too long to carry conveniently, and then to put it into a bag, brought for that purpoſe. But before this could be done, young Mr Edwards, ſon of the old gentleman, juſt come from Flanders, chanced to arrive at that very inſtant that this was acting, and coming to the door, the perſon who ſtood centinel for the reſt, aſked him with whom would he ſpeak; he made anſwer, he belonged to the houſe; but perceiving by his queſtion, that he himſelf was a ſtranger, told him, that if he had any buſineſs with his father, he would go and acquaint him with it, and went up ſtairs, where he was welcomed by his mother, wife, and ſiſter. In the mean time, the centinel gave notice of the ſon's arrival, and they immediately haſted away with the crown and the globe, but left the ſcepter, not having time to file it. The old man returning to himſelf, got ſuddenly up, pulled off the gag, and cried out, *treaſon! murder!* the daughter hearing him, ran down, and ſeeing her father thus wounded, ruſhed out upon the Tower-hill, and cried, *Treaſon! the crown is ſtolen!* This gave the firſt alarm; and Blood and Parret making great haſte, were obſerved to jog each other with their elbows as they went, which

mained a priſoner in the jail of the Tower, he appeared not only ſilent and reſerved, but dogged and ſullen. He ſoon changed his temper however, when, contrary to all reaſon, probability, and his own expectation, he was informed, the KING intended to ſee and examine him himſelf. This was brought about by the Duke of Buckingham, then the great favourite and Firſt Miniſter, who infuſed into his Majeſty, over whom he had for ſome time a great aſcendency, the curioſity of ſeeing ſo extraordinary a perſon, whoſe crime, great as it was, argued a prodigious force of mind, and made it probable, that if ſo diſpoſed, he might be capable of making large diſcoveries (*z*). Theſe inſinuations had ſuch an effect upon the King, that he conſented to what the Duke deſired, which in the end proved diſadvantageous to them all (*a*), for it brought diſcredit on the royal character, and indelible load of infamy upon the Duke, and this afterwards produced Blood's ruin. Such are the conſequences of inconſiderate actions in perſons in high ſtations, who ought always to be jealous of their dignity, and of doing what may hazard the wounding publick opinion, upon which that dignity is chiefly founded. Col. Blood was no ſooner acquainted that he was to be introduced to the royal preſence, than he conceived immediately he ſtood indebted for this honour to the notion the King, or ſome about him, had of his intrepidity, and therefore was not at all at a loſs about the part he was to act, and on the acting of which well his life entirely depended. He is allowed on all hands to have performed admirably upon this occaſion; he anſwered whatever his Majeſty demanded of him, clearly, and without reſerve; he did not pretend to capitulate or make terms, but ſeemed rather pleaſed to throw his life into the King's hands, by an open and boundleſs confeſſion (*b*). He took care, however, to prepoſſeſs his Majeſty in his favour, by various, and thoſe very different, methods. At the ſame time, he laid himſelf open to the law, he abſolutely refuſed to impeach others, while he magnified the ſpirit and reſolution of the party to which he adhered, and had always acted againſt Monarchy, he inſinuated his own and their veneration for the perſon of the King; and though he omitted nothing that might create a belief of his contemning death, yet he expreſſed infinite awe and reſpect for a Monarch, who had condeſcended to treat him with ſuch unuſual indulgence (*c*). In ſhort, the particulars of this examination were curious, and highly worthy of the reader's notice [*H*]. It was foreſeen by the Duke of Ormond,

(*z*) Baxter's Hiſt. of his Life and Times, p. 88.

(*a*) See this remark explained and juſtified in the ſubſequent notes [*H*] and [*L*].

(*b*) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 11.

(*c*) Baxter's Hiſt. of his own Life, p. 88, 89.

canſed them to be ſuſpected and purſued. By this time young Edwards, and one Captain Beckman, upon the cry of their ſiſter, were come down, and left their father likewiſe, to run after the villains, but they were advanced beyond the main guard; and the alarm being given to the warder the draw bridge, he put himſelf in a poſture to ſtop them. Blood came up firſt, and diſcharged a piſtol at him; the bullet miſſed him, but the powder or fear made him fall to the ground, whereby they got ſafe to the Little-ward-houſe gate, where one Sill, one of Cromwell's ſolders, ſtood centinel, who, though he ſaw the other warder ſhot, made no reſiſtance, by which means the villains got over that draw-bridge, and through the outwards upon the wharf, and made all poſſible haſte towards their horſes, which attended at St Katharine's-gate, called the Iron gate, crying themſelves, as they ran, *Stop the rogues!* and the grave canonical habit made them thought innocent. Immediately after Captain Beckman got up to them, at which Blood diſcharged his ſecond piſtol at the Captain's head, but he ſtooping down, avoided the ſhot, and ſeized upon him with the crown under his cloak! yet, Blood had the impudence, though he ſaw himſelf a priſoner, to ſtrugle a long while for the crown; and when it was wreſted from him, he ſaid, *It was a gallant attempt, though unſucceſsful, for it was for a crown.* A ſervant belonging to Captain Sherborne, ſeized upon Parret before Blood was taken; and there was ſo much conſternation amongſt all men; and ſo much confuſion in the purſuit, that it was a miracle that ſeveral innocent perſons had not ſuffered, for young Edwards, overtaking one that was bloody in the ſcuffle, and ſuppoſing him to be one of his father's murderers, was going to run him through, had not Captain Beckman hindered him; and as this Captain himſelf made vaſt haſte in the purſuit, the guards were going to fire at him, thinking him to be one of the rogues; but one of them, who fortunately knew him, cried out, *He is a friend!* Blood and Parret being both ſeized; Hunt, another of them, and ſon-in-law to Blood, leaped to horſe, with two more of the conſpirators, and rid far away; but a cart in the ſtreet chanced to turn ſhort, Hunt run his head againſt a pole that ſtuck out, which made him fall aſtoniſhed from his horſe, but recovering his legs, and putting his feet into the ſtirrup, a cobler running in, cried, *This is* Tom Hunt, *who was in the bloody buſineſs againſt the Duke of* Ormond, *let us ſecure him!* A conſtable being accidentally there, ſeized him upon this affirmation; and he was, with Blood and Parret, committed to ſafe cuſtody in the Tower. Parret was a ſilk dyer in the Borough of Southwark; and in the Rebellion had been Lieutenant to Major-General Harriſon: In the ſtruggle for the crown, the great pearl and fair diamond fell off, and were loſt for a while, with ſome other ſmaller ſtones; but the pearl was brought by a poor ſweeping woman to one of the warders, and the diamond by a barber's apprentice, and both faithfully reſtored. Other ſmall ſtones were picked up by ſeveral perſons, and brought in. The fair ballas ruby belonging to the ſcepter, was found in Parret's pocket, ſo that nothing conſiderable was wanting; the crown only was bruiſed, and ſent to be repaired.

[*H*] *The particulars of this examination were curious, and worthy the reader's notice.*] The firſt queſtion the King aſked (22), was in relation to the attempt upon the Duke of Ormond; for Hunt being known to have had a large ſhare in that affair, and being taken with Colonel Blunt in this, rendered it highly probable that the ſame ſet of people were concerned in both villanies. Blood immediately, and without heſitation, confeſſed the fact; being aſked who were his aſſociates, he anſwered, *that he would never betray a friend's life, nor deny a guilt in defence of his own.* He was aſked next, what provocation he had to make ſo bold an aſſault upon the Duke of Ormond; he ſaid, *the Duke had taken away his eſtate, and executed ſome of his friends; and that he and many others had engaged themſelves, by ſolemn oaths, to revenge it.* It was now more apparent from his forward confeſſion of his conſpiracy againſt the caſtle of Dublin, that he aimed at great eſteem by the extravagancy and audacity of his atchievements; and leſt the concealment of any of his villanies ſhould leſſen the romance of his life, in his examination about the crown, he voluntary, though perhaps falſely, confeſſed to the King, 'That he had 'been engaged in a deſign to kill his Majeſty with a 'carbine, from out of the reeds, by the Thames ſide, 'above Batterſea, where he often went to ſwim. That 'the cauſe of this reſolution, in himſelf and others, 'were his Majeſty's ſeverity over the conſciences of 'the GODLY, in ſuppreſſing the freedom of their 'religious aſſemblies; that when he had taken his 'ſtand in the reeds to that purpoſe, his heart was 'checked with an awe of majeſty; and he did not 'only relent himſelf, but diverted the reſt of his aſſo-'ciates from the deſign. He further told his Majeſty, 'that he had, by theſe his confeſſions, ſufficiently laid 'himſelf

(22) Sir Gilbert Talbot's Narrative, in Stowe's Survey of London, Vol. I. B. i. p. 94. Kennet's Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 284.

Ormond, as ſoon as he knew the King deſigned to examine him, that Blood had no cauſe to fear, and indeed ſuch an impreſſion his ſtory and behaviour made on the mind of his Sovereign, that he was not only pardoned, but ſet at liberty, and had a penſion given him to ſubſiſt on (*d*). This conduct of his Majeſty, toward ſo high and notorious an offender, occaſioned much ſpeculation and many conjectures, of theſe ſome are ſtill preſerved, amongſt which, the ſentiments of Sir Gilbert Talbot are very ſenſible (*e*) [*I*]. He

(*d*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, p 421.

(*e*) Stowe's Survey of London, by Strype, Vol I. P 94.

'himſelf open to the law; and he might reaſonably 'expect the utmoſt rigour of it, for which he was, 'without much concern of his own, prepared. But 'withall, he declared that the matter would not be of 'that indifferency to his Majeſty, inaſmuch as there 'were hundreds of his friends yet undiſcovered, who 'were all bound together by the indiſpenſible oath of 'conſpirators, to revenge the death of any of the fra'ternity, upon thoſe who ſhould bring them to juſtice, 'which would expoſe his Majeſty, and all his Mini'ſters, to the daily fear and expectation of a maſſacre. 'But, on the other ſide, if his Majeſty would ſpare the 'lives of a few, he might oblige the hearts of many, 'who, as they had been ſeen to act daring miſchiefs, 'would be as bold, if received into pardon and favour, 'in performing eminent ſervices to the crown (23).' We have ſome other particulars recorded by ſeveral writers, who perhaps were not ſo well informed. The famous Richard Baxter (24) magnifies his boldneſs, who ſays, he ſpoke to the King, that he was admired by all; to juſtify which, he gives us a very religious ſpeech of his, and adds farther, that he had been in the ſervice of King Charles I, which is likewiſe hinted by the author of his life Mr Oldmixon would have us believe he bullied the King (25). *The whole Court*, ſays he, *was frighted, and thought it ſafer to bribe him than to hang him.* But there is a circumſtance relating to this examination, which better deſerves to be known, than any of the conjectures made about it (26). After the King had, with great coolneſs and moderation, gone through the whole examination, he turned to Colonel Blood, and ſaid, *What if I ſhould give you your life?* To which the Colonel anſwered, *I ſhall endeavour to deſerve it.* There paſſed, at that time, nothing farther; but ſoon after the King directed Colonel Blood to write a letter of ſubmiſſion to the Duke of Ormond, to obtain his forgiveneſs, which he accordingly did, in terms of the deepeſt humility, and with the moſt fervent expreſſions of his ſorrow and concern for the injury and inſult which he had offered to his Grace (27). One may reaſonably conclude from hence, that the King believed what Blood told him with reſpect to his deſign upon the Duke, and did not apprehend that his intention was to murder him; for otherwiſe, one can hardly think that he would have pardoned him, much leſs have ſuffered him about the Court, or admitted him, as he frequently did, into his preſence, becauſe ſuch a conduct would have been as little conſiſtent with his known good ſenſe, as with regard to juſtice and his royal dignity.

(23) Baxter's Hiſtory of his Life and Times, p. 88. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 877.

(24) Baxter's Hiſtory of his own Life and Times, p. 89.

(25) Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 500.

(26) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 11.

(27) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 225.

[*I*] *Sir Gilbert Talbot's reflections on this ſubject are ſenſible*] Since, ſays he (28), this villain's crimes are viſible to all mankind, and his merits altogether incomprehenſible, every man will take the liberty to conjecture what conſideration could poſſibly beget his pardon, his crimes were without controverſy the higheſt breaches of human laws: Murder acted upon a poor old gentleman, for defending his truſt; and murder intended to be acted upon a great Peer, with all the circumſtances of contempt; a deſign laid to ſurprize the King's caſtle, a violent ſeizure made of his crown and ſceptre, and a confeſſed lying in wait to deſtroy his perſon.

(28) See Stowe's Survey, Kennet and Echard's Hiſtories, as before.

It requires a great meaſure of mercy in a Prince (for it is not decent to attribute it to any thing elſe) to forgive ſuch injuries done to himſelf; but it is above his mercy to pardon the offence committed againſt another, becauſe Heaven, which is all merciful, forgives not the treſpaſſes which we commit againſt our neighbours without reſtitution Yet the Lord Arlington came in his Majeſty's name to the Duke of Ormond, to tell him that he would not have Blood proſecuted, for reaſons which he was commanded to give him. The Duke replied, that his Majeſty's command was the only reaſon that could be given, and that therefore he might ſpare the reſt. It was a gallant anſwer of his Grace, and ſuch as well became the loyalty of his family; but it is great pity in the mean time that the world ſhould want the knowledge of his Lordſhip's reaſons, which had weight enough with them to ſmother a matter of that high concernment, to the diſhonour of juſtice and the dignity of peerage.

How great a myſtery however it is to the world, Blood and his aſſociates were not only pardoned and ſet free, but the arch-villain himſelf had a conſiderable eſtate in land conferred upon him in Ireland, and that meritorious perſon admitted into all the privacy and intimacy of the Court, no man more aſſiduous than himſelf in both Secretaries offices. If any one had a buſineſs in Court that ſtuck, he made his application to Blood, as the moſt induſtrious and ſucceſsful ſollicitor; nay, many gentlemen courted his acquaintance as the Indians pray to the devils, that they may not hurt them.

Blood had nobody but his own black deeds to advocate for him, yet thus was he rewarded; and though many ſollicited for old Mr Edwards, and had raiſed their arguments from his fidelity, courage, and wounds received, yet all that could be obtained for him was, a grant of two hundred pounds out of the Exchequer, and one hundred to his ſon who aſſiſted, the payment whereof was ſo long delayed, and ſurgeons calling upon him daily for ſatisfaction for their drugs and pains, he was forced to ſell his order for one hundred pounds ready money, and the ſon his for fifty pounds, and lived not long to enjoy the remainder, for he died within a year and a month after the wounds received. But now, to reflect a little, as I promiſed, not only upon the myſterious redemption of this rogue from the gallows, but upon the (never to be enough wondered) recompence for his villainies of five hundred pounds *per annum*, a reward which the moſt meritorious virtue had ſeldom met with. Let us therefore conſider him firſt as taken in ſo flagrant a crime, that no plea could poſſibly lie in favour of his life, nor no hopes could be ſo imputent as to expect it. Obſerve then what he doth; he maketh a voluntary confeſſion of three other rapping crimes. One, his attempt upon the Duke of Ormond, and his alledged provocation to that was by conſequence a confeſſion of his conſpiracy upon the caſtle of Dublin. Thus much he thought neceſſary to acknowledge, to ſhew his power and audacity, that in caſe he was brought to execution, he ſhould ſtand recorded in ſtory to have died like a daring ſinner, and not as a petty malefactor Then he declareth freely, and of his own accord, his intention to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty in the river. I aſk any man of reaſon, what other conſideration could move him to that confeſſion, but to bring in this other part of his ſtory; he was to tell his Majeſty, that his heart relented, being ſurprized with awe and reverence of his perſon (he had none of his crown), and that he not only forbore the execution himſelf, but diſſuaded his aſſociates likewiſe from it.

There is ſo great a probability that this profeſſed tender forbearance of his tended only to diſpoſe his Majeſty (who of all mankind is captivated with good nature) to return the like mercy towards him, that with the good favour of Mr Blood's check of conſcience, which delivered him from the execution, it is eaſy to be conjectured that there was never any ſuch deſign really laid, but that the ſtory was feigned to work upon his Majeſty's tenderneſs towards him.

But leaſt that ſhould not prevail, Blood ſeemed not to be at all troubled with the apprehenſion of his own death, for which he ſtood prepared; but it grieved him forſooth to conſider the ſad conſequence of it, which would be an attempt of revenge upon the perſon of the King and his Miniſters, by the ſurviving conſpirators being bound by oath, &c. ſo that (if mercy were defective) he could try what fear could operate, and leſt both theſe ſhould fail, he hath another ſtretch in ſtore, which is to perſuade them to pardon him upon the ſcore of good politicks, by ſhewing how uſeful an inſtrument he can be to quiet the minds of all the diſaffected party, and ſecure the Government from popular inſurrections if his life may be ſpared.

I cannot

He ſeems to think the King's apprehenſions determined him. Another writer (*f*) ſuggeſts, that the Duke of Buckingham having put him on the firſt deſign, to prevent it's becoming publick, was obliged to procure his pardon for the ſecond. But it is more probable, that he inſinuated his intereſt with ſome deſperate malecontents then in Holland, whom he could induce to come home and live peaceably. At leaſt this is certain, that on the breaking out of the war ſoon after, a Proclamation was publiſhed, requiring ſuch perſons to come over, upon which Deſborough, Relſey, and many more came, ſurrendered, and had pardons, very probably at Blood's requeſt, for with him they met almoſt every day, in a room kept on purpoſe for them, at White's coffee-houſe near the Royal Exchange (*g*). His intereſt was, for ſome time, very great at Court, where he ſollicited the ſuits of many of the unfortunate people of his party with ſucceſs; but as this gave great offence to ſome very worthy perſons while it laſted, ſo after the diſgrace and falling to pieces of the Miniſtry ſtiled the CABAL, it began quickly to decline, and perhaps his penſion alſo was ill paid, for we find him again amongſt the malecontents, and acting in favour of popular meaſures, that were diſpleaſing to the Court In the buſy time of plotting too, ſo active a perſon as Col. Blood could not but have ſome ſhare, he behaved, however, in a new manner, ſuitable to the great change of times, and inſtead of attempting on the perſons of great men, took up the character of a great man himſelf, and expreſſed an apprehenſion that attempts might be made upon his perſon (*h*) [*K*]. In this manner he ſpun out between nine and ten years, ſometimes about the Court, ſometimes excluded from it, always uneaſy, and in ſome ſcheme or other of an untoward kind, 'till at laſt he was met with in his own way, and either circumvented by ſome of his own inſtruments, or drawn within the vortex of a ſham plot, by ſome who were too cunning, even for this maſter in his profeſſion. It ſeems there were certain people, who had formed a deſign of fixing an imputation of a moſt ſcandalous nature upon the Duke of Buckingham, who was then at the head of a vigorous oppoſition againſt the Court, and who, notwithſtanding he always courted and protected the Fanaticks, had not, in reſpect to his moral character, ſo fair a reputation as to render any charge of that kind incredible. But whether this was conducted by Col. Blood, whether a counter-plot was ſet on foot to defeat it and entrap Blood, or whether, ſome whiſper thrown out to alarm the Duke, which he ſuſpected came from Blood, led his Grace to ſecure himſelf by a contrivance of the ſame ſtamp, better concerted, and more effectually executed; ſo it was, that his Grace, who was formerly ſuppoſed ſo much a patron to the Colonel, thought it requiſite, for his own ſafety, to contribute to his ruin (*i*). What notion Mr Blood inclined the world ſhould entertain of this affair, may be diſcovered from the Caſe which he cauſed to be printed of it, and which, to prevent it's being entirely loſt, is preſerved in the notes [*L*]. But it fell out, that

(*f*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol II. p. 424.

(*g*) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 11.

(*h*) Examen, or an Enquiry into the Credit and Veracity of a pretended Complete Hiſtory, &c. by Roger North, Eſq; Lond. 1740, 4to, p. 311.

(*i*) Hiſtory of Plots, p. 131.

I cannot eaſily be perſuaded that this proffer of ſervice in Blood could much prevail upon his Majeſty's judgment; becauſe it is natural to conclude, that he who is able to quiet a party, is likewiſe able to irritate it; and that he who is bribed by five hundred pounds *per annum* to do the one, may be gained with a thouſand pounds *per annum* to do the contrary; and what ſecurity can there be that he will not, but the bare word of a villain.

In the mean time nothing can more betray the weakneſs of a Government, than that it ſhall have recourſe to ſuch inſtruments to ſupport it. Nor can any thing make it's authority more deſpiſable, than that it ſhould be terrified from the execution of juſtice upon the greateſt malefactor that hiſtory from the creation hitherto recordeth, for fear that Blood's ghoſt ſhould riſe, or his ſurviving confederates meditate revenge.

Beſides, it is as far from reaſon that a man of Blood's principles ſhould be truſted with the power and intereſt that muſt go to the managing of a party; as that thoſe who truſt him, ſhould expect any good ſervices from the confeſſed author of ſo many black deeds, or Heaven give a bleſſing to the endeavours of ſuch an impious creature.

[*K*] *Apprehenſion that attempts might be made upon his perſon.*] If we conſider attentively the hiſtory of the times, from the breaking out of the popiſh plot to the death of King Charles II, and reflect on the numerous company of conſpiracies and counter conſpiracies, of true plots, ſham plots, and plots to charge innocent people, with having a ſhare in both ſorts of plots, we muſt conclude there never was a ſeaſon, when plain, well meaning people were in greater danger, or when buſy, bold enterpriſing men had ſo fair a chance of making their fortunes at the expence of other men's, and the ſmall trivial addition of their own conſciences into the hargain. But, however, I muſt confeſs, that very little is to be met with in relation to Mr Blood in thoſe days, except the following ſhort paſſage in a valuable work lately publiſhed, which I give the reader in the author's own words, that he may ſee his judgment alſo of thoſe perilous times (29), when ſwearing was a trade, and perjury a ſort of venial tranſgreſſion.

(29) North's Examen, or an Enquiry into the Credit and Veracity of a pretended Complete Hiſtory, Lond. 1740, 4to, p. 311.

'Nay, there was another *ſham-plot* of one *Netterville*, which allied himſelf to *Dangerfield*, by the pretence of ſteering the *popiſh plot* upon the Preſbyterians. And here the good Colonel *Blood*, (that ſtole the Duke of Ormond, and, if a timely reſcue had not come in, and hanged him at Tyburn, and afterwards ſtole the crown, though he was not ſo happy to carry it off) no player at ſmall games; he, even he, the virtuous Colonel, as this *ſham plot* ſays, was to have been deſtroyed by the Papiſts It ſeems theſe Papiſts would let no eminent Proteſtant be ſafe; but ſome amends were made the Colonel, by ſale of the narrative licenſed *Thomas Blood*. It had been ſtrange if ſo much miſchief had been ſtirring, and he not come in for a ſnack.'

It may not be amiſs to take notice here of a miſtake in the Index to the work above-mentioned, but there is no miſtake in the work itſelf, where the author, ſpeaking of the impeachment of Fitz-Harris, takes notice of a motion made by one Colonel B. (30), that the thanks of the Houſe ſhould be given to Sir William Waller, for the ſervice he had done in that reſpect, with this addition, that it was great ſervice done the nation, and not the firſt that Sir William had done In the Index this motion is ſaid to have been made by our Colonel Blood, which is a very great miſtake; for, in the firſt place, he never was a member, and in the next, he was dead before this affair happened. The Colonel B. mentioned in the book from the journal of the Houſe of Commons, was Colonel Birch, a very active member in that Parliament at Oxford, and eſpecially in Fitz-Harris's affair.

(30) Id. ibid. p. 284.

[*L*] *Which, to prevent it's being entirely loſt, is preſerved in the notes*] There are ſcarce any traces to be met with in our hiſtories of this dark tranſaction about the Duke of Buckingham, and yet it muſt have made a great

that the Court of King's-Bench took the thing in so different a light, that he was convicted upon a criminal information for the conspiracy, and committed to the King's-Bench prison, and while in custody there, he was charged with an action of *scandalum magnatum*, at the suit of the Duke of Buckingham (*k*), in which the damages were laid so high as ten thousand pounds, but notwithstanding this, Col. Blood found bail, and was discharged from his imprisonment. He then retired to his house in the Bowling-alley in Westminster, in order to take such measures as were requisite, to deliver him out of these difficulties, but finding fewer friends than he expected, and meeting with other and more grievious disappointments, he was so much affected thereby, as to fall into a distemper that speedily threatned his life. He was attended in his sickness by a clergyman, who found him sensible but reserved, declaring he was not at all afraid of death. In a few days he fell into a lethargy, and Wednesday Aug. 24, 1680, he departed this life (*l*). On the friday following he was privately but decently interred, in the new chapel in Tothill-Fields. Yet such was the notion entertained by the generality of the world of this man's subtilty and restless spirit, that they could neither be persuaded he would be quiet in his grave, nor would they permit him to remain so. For a story being spread that this dying, and being buried, was only a new trick of Col. Blood's, preparative to some more extraordinary exploit than any he had been concerned in; it became in a few days so current, and so many circumstances were added to render it credible, that the Coroner thought fit to interpose, ordered the body to be taken up again upon the Thursday following, and appointed a jury to sit upon it. But so strongly were they prepossessed with the idle fancy of it's being all an amusement, that though they were his neighbours, knew him personally, and he had been so few days dead, they could not for a long time agree, whether it was or was not his body (*m*). An intimate acquaintance of his, at last, put them on viewing the thumb of his left hand, which, by an accident that happened to it, grew to twice it's natural size, which was commonly known to such as conversed with him. By this, and the various depositions of persons attending him in his last illness, they were at length convinced, and the coroner caused him to be once more

(*k*) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 12.

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Postscript to the Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood.

a great noise in those days, and seems to have been drawn into a great length; for I find (31), that on the 5th of April, 1680, the Attorney-General had orders to prosecute several persons upon this account, and a few days afterwards I find that Sir William Waller was struck out of the commission of the peace for Middlesex, who had been also very busy in this affair; but it was not 'till the 25th of June, in the same year, that the great affair was brought on, when (32) Mr Thomas Blood, Mr Edward Christian, Arthur Obrian, with others, were brought to their trial at the King's-Bench-Bar at Westminster, for a conspiracy against the said Duke of Bucks, and were found guilty. The following paper was printed by itself in one sheet, under the title of *The true State of the Case of Lieutenant-Colonel* THOMAS BLOOD; and it is also taken into that account of his life, which has been so often cited. The true design of the case, as I apprehend, was to give such a colour to the cause of Mr Blood, as, with the assistance of the interest he still had, might procure some alleviation in his sentence, which however, from a comparison of circumstances, I am inclined to think he never received, but that the very apprehensions of it broke his heart. Thus the reader sees, that if the Duke of Bucks had any concerns with Colonel Blood in the affair of the Duke of Ormond, or if his pardon for stealing the crown was obtained by his Grace, he was but indifferently requited.

(31) History of Plots, p. 135.

(32) The Historian's Guide, p. 124.

'That he was desired by the woman that keeps the 'Saint John's-Head, or Heaven tavern, to come and 'speak with her at such a time: That upon his 'coming to her, she told him that two shabby fellows 'had been with her some time before, to tell her that 'they had something of great consequence in reference 'to the welfare of the publick to reveal, but that they 'wanted a discreet person to manage it: That there-'upon Mr Blood made answer, that if there were any 'thing fit to be taken notice of, he would bring them 'to those that had sufficient authority to take notice 'of it, and thereupon promised to meet the persons.

'That upon his second coming to meet the discoverers, they refused to speak with him; for that understanding he was the person with whom they were 'to discourse, they averred they would have nothing 'to do with him, for that he was the Duke of 'Buckingham's friend: That thereupon the woman of 'the house; that Mr Blood might see she had not told 'him a lye, persuaded one of the persons to shew 'himself to Mr Blood, who to that purpose, as he 'passed by, stepped into the room where Mr Blood 'was, and going in, told, that he and his fellows had 'business of great concernment to discover, but could 'not then by reason of another appointment, and so 'concluded upon another day: That Mrs Bradley 'upon this came to him to his house, and told him she 'believed the fellows were rogues and trepans, and 'advised him to seize them and carry them before a 'magistrate: That Mr Blood, weighing the conse-'quence of the woman's advice, and being informed 'by her of their lodgings, according to the directions 'of one Mr Curtis, went to Dr Chamberlain, one of 'the Justices of the Peace for the county of Middlesex, 'and told him the story, who thereupon not only gave 'Mr Blood his warrant, but accompanied him 'till the 'execution of this warrant.

'That two persons were by him apprehended, by 'name Philemon Codan, and Samuel Ryther: That 'upon their apprehension and first examination se-'verally before Dr Chamberlain, they seemed to won-'der what he meant, when he told them he heard 'they knew of a plot, and wanted a magistrate to re-'veal it to: That thereupon the Justice of the peace 'told them all that Mr Blood had told him, concern-'ing their discourse with Mrs Bradley, and their ap-'pointment of meeting Mr Blood.

'That to this one of them, viz. Codan, replied, 'that it was about the Duke of Buckingham, who, 'he said, owed them several hundreds of pounds upon 'account of wages, and that they wanted some body 'that was able to cope with him, to whom, one Curtis 'standing by, replied in these words:

'How; did I not hear you say at such a place, that 'you knew of a greater plot yet undiscovered, than 'either Mr Oates or Bedloe had hitherto made out. 'To which the said Codan gave no satisfactory an-'swer, and Ryther protested he knew nothing of a 'plot, or any thing like it: That to all this the Doctor 'urged, that it was not to be thought that any discreet 'person should be so overseen, as to interpose between 'master and servant about wages, especially so great a 'person as the Duke, and therefore that could not be 'the reason of their meeting at heaven. Thereupon 'one of them starting up in a violent passion before 'the Justice of peace, swore that he would be revenged 'upon the Duke of Buckingham, and that he would 'swear any thing that might tend to the doing him a 'prejudice, and that he himself would swear Sodomy 'against him.

'That upon this the Justice of the peace having told 'them, that he neither did believe nor would hear 'any thing relating to the Duke, asked them jointley, 'why they ran away at the sight of Mr Blood at Mrs 'Bradley's?

(n) History of Plots, p. 231.

more interred, and left in his vault in quiet (n). Such were the tranſactions of this man's life, whoſe real adventures exceed in ſtrangeneſs, what would appear fictitious even in romance, aſtoniſhed his contemporaries, and were never before reduced into regular order for the information of poſterity.

' Bradley's? To which they replied, that they were ' miſtruſtful of him, becauſe they had heard he was ' the Duke's friend.

' That thereupon Dr Chamberlain, taking them for ' impertinent fellows, diſmiſſed them, with directions ' to conſider what they had ſaid, and to attend him at ' ſuch a time at his houſe, where he would be ready ' to hear whatever they had to diſcover concerning ' any plot: That accordingly they came with one ' Whitaker and Jenks, where Mr Blood likewiſe at- ' tended. At what time Dr Chamberlain aſking them ' the meaning of their former ſhuffling ſtories, they re- ' plied they had a farther deſign to carry on for the ' good of the publick, but would come to no particu- ' lars, whereupon Dr Chamberlain diſmiſſed them.

' That ſoon after Sir W. W. ſent for Blood to a ta- ' vern in Weſtminſter, whither when he came, he ' found Ryther, Codan, Whitaker, and Jenks, in Sir ' William's company, and what more ſurprized him, ' he found Ryther and Codan in a genteel equipage ' and alamode accoutrements, whom he looked upon ' before as very mean fellows.

' That preſently then Sir William told him, he was ' very much troubled for the premunire he had brought ' himſelf into, for that Ryther and Codan were come ' to depoſe upon oath, that he had attempted ſeveral ' times to corrupt them with money and other re- ' wards to ſwear Sodomy againſt the Duke of Buck- ' ingham: That upon Mr Blood's making ſtrange of ' it, Codan ſtarted up and confirmed the ſame.

' Thereupon Mr Blood aſked them, how they could ' be ſo impudent as to invent ſuch a thing againſt him, ' whom they had never ſeen but once at heaven, and ' another time with Dr Chamberlain: That thereupon ' Mr Whitaker and Jenks ſtood up, and bid Mr Blood ' be honeſt and juſt, and confeſs. To whom Mr Blood ' replied, you have been theſe two years laſt em- ' ployed to aſperſe me, and could you find no better ' invention than this?

' That after this, Mr Blood directing his diſcourſe ' to Sir William Waller, deſired of him to know the ' meaning of the whole ſtory, which was a thing un- ' known to himſelf; upon which Mr Whitaker and ' Mr Jenks jointly affirmed Codan and Ryther to be ' honeſt men, and preſſed Sir William for juſtice: ' That thereupon Sir William deſired Mr Blood very ' civilly to put in bail; to which Mr Blood replied, ' that he would conſider of it, and ſo for that time ' went about his occaſions: That the next morning ' he went to Sir William's houſe for a copy of his ' mittimus, which at length was granted him: ' The next day he was met by a conſtable, who ' told him he had a warrant againſt him from Sir ' William Waller, miſtaking a mittimus for a warrant, ' and thereupon he went away with the conſtable to a ' tavern, where he continued under reſtraint of the ' conſtable ſeveral hours: That while he was under ' cuſtody, Sir William, apprehenſive of ſome miſtake, ' as is pretended, ſent one of the witneſſes to the ' conſtable to know how he had diſpoſed of Mr Blood, ' and whether he had carried him to priſon; who ' made anſwer, that he had not ſufficient authority for ' ſo doing, and that Mr Blood might bring him into trou- ' ble for ſo doing, as not having been carried before a ' Juſtice of peace, as he ought to have been firſt of all. ' Thereupon the witneſs went back to Sir William, ' and not long after returned to the conſtable, and ' brought him a warrant to ſeize Mr Blood, and for ' want of bail to carry him to the Gate-houſe: That ' upon that warrant, Mr Blood gave in bail before Sir ' William Poultney to anſwer the accuſation; upon ' which accuſation Mr Blood, with the reſt, were ' found guilty.' E

BLOUNT, a very antient, once noble, and ſtill truly honourable family. Of this houſe there have been three diſtinct races of Peers, of whom we ſhall give ſome account [*A*]. Thence alſo have ſprung perſons, rendered illuſtrious by almoſt all the titles of honour which this nation can boaſt, allied more than once by marriage to the Royal Family, and employed in the firſt offices, almoſt in every reign ſince the Conqueſt, of which it may not be amiſs to give ſome inſtances. John Blount was Cuſtos of the city of London, from the year 1301 to the year 1307, that is, from the twenty-ninth of Edward I. to the firſt of Edward II (a). Thomas le Blount was Steward of the King's houſhold the twentieth of Edward II (b). Sir Thomas le Blount was Treaſurer of Normandy the firſt of Henry V (c). Walter Blount was Lord High-Treaſurer of England in the fourth of Edward

(a) Stowe's Survey of London. fol. 1720, Vol. I. p. 107.

(b) Dugdale's Baronage of England, 1675, fol. Vol. I. p. 519.

(c) Idem, ibid.

[*A*] *Of whom we ſhall give ſome account.*] They were originally Normans, and derived their name of le Blound, from their having yellow hair (1). Two young Lords of this name, coming over with William ſirnamed the Conqueror, he made the elder, Robert, Baron of Ixworth in Suffolk (2). Of his ſon and heir Gilbert, Mr Camden having occaſion to ſpeak, he ſtiles him *Vir magnæ Nobilitatis*, a man of high nobility. This line ended in William le Blound, who was killed in the battle of Lewes in the reign of King Henry III, leaving behind him two ſiſters. Beſides theſe there were other Barons, ſummoned to Parliament in the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III; but the firſt Baron of Mountjoy was Sir Walter Blount of Elwaſton in Derbyſhire, ſo created by Edward IV. Of this noble Lord and his family I have a curious pedigree, whence I ſhall give their deſcents (3). Sir Walter Blount, the firſt Baron of Mountjoy, married Helena, daughter of John Biron, Eſq; by her he had three ſons, Sir William Blount, who married Margaret, daughter and heireſs of Thomas Lord Itchingham, who died in the life-time of his father; Sir John Blount, and Sir James Blount. William Blount left iſſue John Blount Lord Mountjoy, who died childleſs; Edward Blount Lord Mountjoy, who alſo died without children; Elizabeth, wife of Andrew Lord Windſor; Alice, firſt married to Sir Thomas Uxenbridge, Knight, afterwards to Sir David Owen of Midhurſt in the county of Suſſex. Sir John Blount, ſecond ſon of Walter Lord Mountjoy, married Lora, daughter of Sir Edward Barkley of Beverſton, by whom he had Sir William Blount, afterwards Lord Mountjoy, who married firſt Elizabeth, daughter and coheireſs of Sir William Say, by whom he had two daughters; Gertrude, who married Henry Courtney Marquis of Exeter; and Katharine, firſt married to Mr Chamburn, then to Sir Maurice Barkley. The ſecond wife of this William Lord Mountjoy was Dorothy, daughter of Sir Henry Keeble of London, Knight, by whom he had Charles Blount. His third wife was another Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Gray Marquis of Dorcheſter, widow of Robert Willoughby Lord Brooke, by whom he had John Blount, and two daughters, Dorothy and Mary. His ſon and heir Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, married Anne, daughter of Robert Lord Willoughby of Brooke, by whom he had two ſons James and Francis. James Lord Mountjoy married Catherine, daughter of Thomas Leigh of St Oſwald in the county of Devon, Eſq; by whom he had iſſue William Blount Lord Mountjoy, who died childleſs in 1594, and Charles Blount Lord Mountjoy, afterwards Earl of Devonſhire. In him, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in a diſtinct article, this line failed, he leaving no lawful iſſue, but his natural ſon, Mountjoy Blount, was created Baron Mountjoy in Ireland by King James I, and Baron Mountjoy of Thurveſton in Derbyſhire, and Earl of Newport in the Iſle of Wight by King Charles I, as the reader will be told elſewhere.

(1) Camd. Britan. in Suffolk.

(2) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 519. Camden. Britan. ubi ſupra.

(3) Communicated to me by the Reverend Mr Knipe, in a curious MS. of ſeveral antient families.

[*B*] *Four*

Edward IV (d). Sir Thomas Blount a Knight Banneret the fifth of Henry VIII (e). Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the forty-second of Elizabeth; and continued, and made a Privy-Counſellor by King James (f). There have been likewiſe of this family, four Knights of the Garter [B]. And at this day, Mary, Ducheſs of Norfolk, the firſt Ducheſs in this Kingdom, is the daughter of Edward Blount, of Blagdon, near Torbay in the county of Devon, Eſq; and was married to Edward Howard, Duke of Norfolk, in 1727 (g). There are ſtill ſeveral flouriſhing families, two of Baronets, and others, perſons of ample fortune, of this illuſtrous line, of whom the reader will find ſome particulars in the notes [C].

(d) Idem, ibid.

(e) Peacham's Compleat Gentleman.

(f) Camden's Annals, Vol. III. p. 805. Chauncy's Hertfordſhire.

(g) Collins's Peerage of England, edit. 1741. 8vo, Vol. I. p. 21.

[B] *Four Knights of the Garter.*] The firſt of theſe was Sir John Blount, who flouriſhed in the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry V. becoming a Knight of the Order ſome time between the years 1416 and 1420 (4). Walter Blount Lord Mountjoy, who was a great favourite of Edward IV, was the ſecond Knight of the Garter of this family, and received that honour 1472 (5). The third was William Blount Lord Mountjoy, who became a Knight of the Garter in the reign of Henry VIII, in the year 1526 (6). The fourth was Charles Blount Lord Mountjoy, afterwards Earl of Devonſhire, on whom Queen Elizabeth conferred the Order 1597 (7).

(4) Aſhmole's Hiſtory of the Garter, p. 610.

(5) Id. ibid. p. 712.

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Mills's Catalogue of Honour, p. 493.

[C] *Of whom the reader will find ſome particulars in the notes.*] The chief of this family is Sir Edward Blount of Sodington in Worceſterſhire, and Mawly in Shropſhire. He is lineally deſcended from the original Norman founder of this family, Sir Robert Blound or Blount before-mentioned, and Sir Edward Blount, who ſucceeded his uncle Sir George Blount, Baronet, in 1732, was the nineteenth in ſucceſſion from the Conqueſt (8). The ſecond family of Baronets of this name is Sir Harry Pope Blount of Tittinghanger (9) in Hertfordſhire, ſon of Sir Thomat Pope Blount, and grandſon of Sir Thomas Pope Blount, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in a ſubſequent article. We may add to theſe the Blounts of Maple-Durham in Oxfordſhire, &c.

(8) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. II. p. 671—676.

(9) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 665—677.

E

BLOUNT (JOHN) called in Latin *Blondus* or *Blundus*, a very eminent Divine in the XIIIth century. He received the firſt tincture of learning in the univerſity of Oxford, and went afterwards for his improvement to Paris, where he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, among many of his learned contemporaries, by the vivacity of his wit (a). On his return into England, he again ſettled himſelf at Oxford, and read Divinity Lectures there with univerſal applauſe. The reputation of his learning obtained him alſo ſeveral other preferments, particularly thoſe of Prebend and Chancellor in the church of York (b). In 1232, the archiepiſcopal See of Canterbury being vacant by the death of Richard Wetherſhed, and the rejection of two of his ſucceſſors, Ralph Nevil, Biſhop of Chicheſter and Chancellor of England, and John, Sub-Prior of Canterbury, by the Pope, our Dr Blount was, by the Chapter of Canterbury, elected Archbiſhop (c). He did not, however, enjoy that dignity, for the Pope immediately objected to him, and after a ſummary enquiry into the validity of his election, declared it void for ſeveral reaſons, of which our hiſtorians take notice (d), though very probably Bale has hit upon the true cauſe, which, however, was never alledged (e) [A]. Many of our modern writers, and particularly Biſhop Godwin, fall into frequent inaccuracies concerning this Prelate, ſometimes miſtaking his ſirname, and ſometimes confounding him with Richard Blount Biſhop of Lincoln (f). After his return from Rome, and being deprived of his high dignity, he retired once again to Oxford, and, as Leland tells us, conſoled himſelf under his misfortunes, by an ardent application to his ſtudies (g). In this manner he ſpent ſixteen years, during which time he compoſed ſeveral learned works, and amongſt them various

(a) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. Vol. II. p. 276. Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 354, 377.

(b) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 755.

(c) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. edit. 1616, 4to, p. 127.

(d) M. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 385.

(e) Script. Britan. edit. 1559, fol. p. 280.

(f) De Præſul. Angl. p. 127.

(g) Comment. de Script. Vol. II. p. 276.

[A] *Which however was never alledged.*] The whole of this tranſaction has hitherto been very darkly treated. We will endeavour to clear it up in this note, as far as the authorities which remain at this diſtance of time will permit. The reader muſt obſerve, that during the reign of Henry III. the Popes aſſumed greater authority than at any other time, except in the days of his father, in the realm of England, and were eſpecially buſy in the confirmations of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury (1) Richard Wetherſhed, who had ſucceeded Stephen Langton in the archiepiſcopal See of Canterbury, deceaſed, in 1231 (2), whereupon Ralph Nevil, Biſhop of Chicheſter, was elected his ſucceſſor; but the Pope knowing the great parts of this Prelate, and his affection to the Crown, abſolutely refuſed to confirm him, for fear he ſhould withdraw the King from that ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion he had hitherto paid to the See of Rome; however, his Holineſs gave leave to the Monks of Canterbury to proceed to a new election, with an admonition however to be careful in their choice, that the new Archbiſhop ſhould be ſincerely attached to the See of Rome (3). Upon this they elected John their Sub-Prior, who went in perſon to Rome in order to his Confirmation. The Pope thereupon directed that he ſhould be examined by the Cardinals as to his abilities; but notwithſtanding they reported in his favour, his Holineſs declared him infirm, and therefore incapable, directing the Chapter of Canterbury to make a new choice (4). They did ſo, and then fixed on our Dr Blount, to whom the Pope objecting a ſimoniacal contract with Peter Biſhop of Wincheſter, and alſo alledging, that Blount having held two benefices with cure of ſouls, without a diſpenſation, he was to be conſidered as a reprobate, and conſequently incapable of ſo high preferment; and this judgment he pronounced, notwithſtanding Blount pleaded that he held ſuch benefices before the decree of that General Council, whereon this ſentence was founded. Thus, ſays Matth. Paris, the Church of Canterbury was in the ſame ſtate with Sarah the daughter of Raguel and wife of Tobias, as being thrice a widow in ſo ſhort a ſpace, for this fell out in the ſpring of the year 1233 (5). Perhaps, ſays Bale, Blount was more learned than the Court of Rome, deſired an Archbiſhop ſhould be (6). In truth, whoever conſiders the character of Gregory IX, one of the warmeſt and boldeſt men that ever ſat in the papal chair, and reflects upon his rejecting the Biſhop of Chicheſter on account of his loyalty, and the Sub-Prior of Canterbury for inſufficiency, after he had ſtood an examination of three days on nineteen ſeveral articles, and came off with applauſe; whoever I ſay attentively reflects on this, and on our Blount's being ſupported by the Emperor's intereſt (7), will not think that Bale's heat did in this caſe carry him too far; but rather that there is juſt reaſon to ſuppoſe his abilities rendered him obnoxious to the Court of Rome, more than his having had two livings, which whatever crime it might have been in thoſe days, would have been thought a ſmall fault in ſucceeding times.

(1) Hiſt. des Papes. Vol. III. p. 155—236.

(2) Matth. Paris, Vol. I. p. 370. Nich. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 184.

(3) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 370.

(4) Hiſt. Prior. Cant. apud Wharton. Angl. Sac. Vol. I. p. 140. M. Paris, Vol. I. p. 370.

(5) Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 385.

(6) Script. Britan. p. 280.

(7) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl Vol. I. p. 370—385.

[B] As

various Commentaries of the Holy Scriptures (*b*). He was celebrated by his contemporaries, for the elegance of his ſtile, and for the extenſiveneſs of his learning (*i*). John Roſs of Warwick, no contemptible Hiſtorian, and who did not live above a century after his time, ſpeaks of him as a prodigy of ſcience (*k*). Yet Pits very confidently tells us, that his writings did by no means ſpeak him worthy of ſuch commendations (*l*). A cenſure in itſelf of little authority, and all circumſtances conſidered, of none at all, as will be ſhewn in the notes [*B*]. This very learned, though unfortunate perſon, having attained unto a good old age, and unto a high reputation for his knowledge, prudence, and piety, deceaſed in 1248 (*m*), having always ſhewn an equality of mind, which demonſtrated him worthy of the higheſt ſtation, by enabling him to bear with fortitude his fall from thence.

(*b*) Bale, Script. Britan. p. 280.

(*i*) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 385.

(*k*) De Academ. Britan.

(*l*) De Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 319.

(*m*) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 755.

[*B*] *As will be ſhewn in the notes.*] Leland, in his life of this learned perſon, owns ingenuouſly, that he was ſo unlucky as never to have met with any of thoſe elegant writings which rendered our author's memory famous, adding a doubt whether any of them were extant (8). Bale in the firſt edition of his work omitted this life, and when he added it afterwards he only copied Leland, adding that Blount had written *Summarium Sacræ Facultatis*, lib. 1. *Diſceptationes aliquot*, lib. 1. and ſeveral Commentaries on the Scriptures (9). Then comes Pits and tranſcribes Bale, adding the cenſure mentioned in the text (10); yet takes no notice of any other works than thoſe which Bale had before noted, and, which is very remarkable, does not give us the beginning of any of them, as his cuſtom always is, wherever he had ſeen ſuch books, or could meet with any accounts from other people who had ſeen them. It is therefore more than probable that he boldly publiſhed this calumny, in order to ſupport the credid of the See of Rome, by leſſening the reputation of a perſon whom it had ſo vehemently perſecuted. E

(8) Comment. de Script. Britan. Vol. II. p. 277.

(9) Script. Britan. p. 280.

(10) De Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 319.

BLOUNT (RICHARD) called alſo in Latin *Blundus* or *Blondus*, an eminent Divine in the XIIIth century. He became firſt Chancellor, and then Biſhop of Exeter in 1245, being the twenty-ninth of Henry III (*a*), and is ſaid to have been a perſon of a very ſweet and gentle diſpoſition, which inclined him to truſt others too much in the management of his own affairs, and in thoſe of the Church (*b*). In conſequence of this, his dependants entered into a conſpiracy, for defrauding the church of Exeter of a great part of it's revenues, by forging certain grants, to be by them produced after his deceaſe. The names of theſe perſons were, Lodeſwel, his Chancellor; Sutton, his Regiſter; Fitzherbert, his Official; and Ermeſton, the Keeper of his Seal (*c*). The good Biſhop died in 1257 (*d*) [*A*]. Not long after which, they put in practice their baſe deſign, which ſucceeded as ſuch deſigns generally do, that is to ſay, it created ſome ſtir and diſpute at firſt, but at laſt appeared in it's true colours, a baſe and black forgery, for which all the conſpirators were compelled to do publick penance in the cathedral church, on the nineteenth of March, 1267 (*e*).

(*a*) Trivet. Ann. Vol. I. p. 198. M. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. 1. p. 686.

(*b*) Wharton, Angl. Sacr.

(*c*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. p. 460, 461.

(*d*) Trivet. Anal. Vol. 1. p. 208. M. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. 1. p. 944.

(*e*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. p. 460, 461.

[*A*] *The good Biſhop died*, &c.] According to the character given us of this Prelate by Biſhop Godwin, one could ſcarce have ſaid ſo much for him as is ſaid in the text; to juſtify this therefore we muſt obſerve, that we have the authority of Matth. Paris, who was his contemporary, to ſupport us. For he, ſpeaking of his acceſſion to the epiſcopal dignity, ſays, that he was a man ſuperior to cenſure, and in his life and learning equally commendable. *Vir ſine querela, moribus et literis omnibus commendabilis* (1). E

(1) Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 686.

BLOUNT (CHARLES) the eighth Lord Montjoy, created afterwards Earl of Devonſhire, was born in the year 1563 [*A*], being the ſecond ſon of James, Lord Montjoy (*a*). He had his education at Oxford, and the Inner-Temple (*b*). When he was at this laſt place, 'being about twenty years of age, of a brown hair, a ſweet face, 'a moſt neat compoſure, and tall in his perſon (*c*);' he made his firſt appearance at Court, where he was diſtinguiſhed by Queen Elizabeth [*B*]. His fortune at that time was very ſmall (*d*); however, ſo good was his intereſt, that he was choſen one of the Burgeſſes

(*a*) See Baronage of England, by Sir Will. Dugdale, Vol. 1. p. 521.

(*b*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 138. Lond. 1721. Fragmenta Regalia, by Sir Rob. Naunton, Lond. 1653, 12*mo*, p. 73.

(*c*) Naunton, ibid.

(*d*) Idem. p. 73.

[*A*] *Was born in the year* 1563.] He was in the forty-third year of his age in 1606 when he died (1), and conſequently muſt have been born in the year 1563.

(1) W. Imhoff, Reg. Pariumq; Mag. Britan. Hiſt. Genealog. Norimb. 1690.

[*B*] *He made his firſt appearance at Court, where he was diſtinguiſhed by Queen Elizabeth.*] Sir Robert Naunton gives the following account of it (2). 'As 'he came from Oxford he took the Inner-Temple in 'his way to Court, whither he no ſooner came, but '(without aſking) he had a pretty ſtrange kind of ad-'miſſion, which I have heard from a diſcreet man of 'his own, and much more of the ſecrets of thoſe 'times. The Queen was then at Whitehall, and at 'dinner, whither he came to ſee the faſhion of the 'Court; the Queen had ſoon found him out [he be-'ing a very handſome man, as is related above in the text], 'and with a kind of an affected frown, aſked 'the Lady-Carver what he was? She anſwered, ſhe 'knew him not; inſomuch as enquiry was made from 'one to another who he might be, 'till at length it 'was told the Queen he was brother to the Lord Wil-'liam Mountjoy. This inquiſition, with the eye of 'Majeſty fixed upon him, (as ſhe was wont to do, and 'to daunt men ſhe knew not) ſtirred the bloud of this 'young gentleman, inſomuch as his colour came and 'went; which the Queen obſerving, called him unto 'her, and gave him her hand to kiſs, encouraging 'him with gracious words and new looks; and ſo di-'verting her ſpeech to the Lords and Ladies, ſhe ſaid, 'that ſhe no ſooner obſerved him, but that ſhe knew 'there was in him ſome noble bloud, with ſome other 'expreſſions of pity towards his houſe: And then again 'demanding his name, ſhe ſaid, Fail you not to come 'to the Court, and I will bethink myſelf how to do 'you good. And this was his inlet, and the begin-'nings of his grace. Where it falls into conſideration, 'that though he wanted not wit and courage, (for he 'had very fine attractions, and being a good piece of 'a ſcholar) yet were they accompanied with baſhful-'neſs and a natural modeſty, which (as the tone of 'his houſe, and the ebbe of his fortune then ſtood) 'might have hindered his progreſſion, had they not 'been reinforced by the infuſion of Sovereign favour, 'and the Queen's gracious invitation.'

(2) Fragmenta Regalia, edit. 1653, 12*mo*, p. 73.

[*C*] *Inheritance*

Burgeſſes for the Burgh of St Ives in Cornwall, in the parliament which met at Weſtminſter in 1585, being then not above two and twenty years of age (*e*). The next year he was returned one of the Burgeſſes for Berealſton in Devonſhire (*f*), and the ſame year was knighted (*g*). In 1588 he was one of thoſe young noblemen and gentlemen who hired ſhips at their own charge, to go and join the Engliſh fleet, when it was in purſuit of the Spaniſh armada (*h*). On the 16th of June 1589 he was created Maſter of Arts at Oxford (*i*): And, a ſecond time, was choſen one of the Burgeſſes for Berealſton, in the parliament which met at Weſtminſter in February 1592-3 (*k*). Upon the death of Henry, Earl of Suſſex in 1594, he was made Governor of Portſmouth (*l*). And the ſame year ſucceeded to his elder brother's title of Lord Montjoy (*m*), and inheritance of one thouſand marks [*C*]. With this he lived, as Sir Robert Naunton expreſſes it (*n*), 'in a fine way and garb, and without any great ſupport, during all Queen Elizabeth's 'times. And, as there was in his nature a kind of backwardneſs, which did not befriend 'him, nor ſuit with the motion of the court, ſo there was in him an inclination to arms, 'with a humour of travelling; which, had not ſome wiſe men about him laboured to 'remove, and the Queen herſelf laid in her commands, he would, out of his natural 'inclination, have ſpoiled his own fortune. For, as he was grown by reading (whereunto 'he was much addicted) to the theory of a ſoldier, ſo he was ſtrongly invited by his 'genius to the acquaintance of the practical part of the war, which were the cauſes of 'his excurſions. For he had a company in the Low-Countries, from whence he came 'over with a noble acceptance of the Queen; but, ſomewhat reſtleſs in honourable 'thoughts, he expoſed himſelf again and again, and would preſs the Queen with the 'pretences of viſiting his company ſo often, that at length he had a flat denial. And yet 'he ſtole over with Sir John Norris into Bretagne, where was then a hot and active 'war; 'till at laſt the Queen took his deceſſions for contempts, and confined his reſidence 'to the Court, and her own preſence.' In 1597 he was made Knight of the Garter (*o*); and employed in the expedition to the Azores iſlands, being Lieutenant-General of the land forces under the Earl of Eſſex (*p*), and Commander of the ſhip Defiance (*q*). The ſame year, there being an univerſal Iriſh rebellion intended, with the aſſiſtance of Spain, in order to ſhake off the Engliſh government (*r*); the Lord Montjoy was conſtituted Lieutenant under the Earl of Eſſex, of the forces appointed for the defence of that kingdom (*s*). In 1598, he was deſigned for the Lieutenancy of Ireland, but durſt not ſtand in competition with the great favourite of his time, the Earl of Eſſex; who coveting this great authority and ſtation [*D*], and once gratified his own ambition, and his enemies malicious deſigns, which deſired nothing more than his abſence from Court (*t*). However, upon this Earl's diſgrace, he was inveſted with that honour towards the end of the year 1599 (*u*). So great was the opinion the Queen had of his worth and conduct, that ſhe would have him, and none other, to finiſh and bring the Iriſh war to a propitious end, as Sir Robert Naunton obſerves (*w*). For it was a prophetical ſpeech of her own, That it would be his fortune and his honour, to cut the thread of the fatal Iriſh rebellion, and to bring her in peace to the grave; wherein ſhe was not miſtaken. He embarked at Beaumaris, February the 23d, 1599-1600, and landed the next day in Ireland (*x*); where he ſhowed himſelf the beſt ſoldier that kingdom had ſeen in many years, becauſe he found out the true way of making war with the Iriſh; for being well ſupplied with neceſſaries from England, he plainly ſaw, that if he could attack them at a time when they wanted all conveniencies to keep the field, he ſhould meet with very little or no reſiſtance; and therefore he ſupplied his frontier-garriſons with men and proviſions; and they by their frequent excurſions did ſuch executions on the perſons and eſtates of the Iriſh, that by one winter's war he reduced them to the neceſſity of eating one another (*y*). On the 24th of December 1601, he gained a compleat victory near Kinſale, over the Iriſh and ſix thouſand five hundred Spaniards, newly come over to their aſſiſtance; wherein twelve hundred of the enemy were ſlain, and about eight hundred wounded, whereas leſs than twenty of the Engliſh were killed or wounded (*z*). This was a deciſive blow, for ſoon after, a total end was put to the Iriſh wars, by the voluntary ſubmiſſion of the arch-rebel Hugh O Neal, Earl of Tiroen, to the Lord Montjoy, who brought him over along with him

(*e*) Notitia Parmentaria, by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 129. Lond. 1716, 8*vo*.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 276. His brother was Lord of the Manors of St Ives and Berealſton. Ibid. p. 125, 374.

(*g*) Morgan, Sphere of Gentry, p. 88.

(*b*) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, ad ann. 1588, in Complete Hiſtory of England, edit. Lond. 1706, Vol. II. p. 547.

(*i*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 138.

(*k*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 376.

(*l*) Camden, ubi ſupra, p. 594. Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 521. and Vol. II. p. 287.

(*m*) Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 251.

(*n*) Ubi ſupra, p. 75.

(*o*) Milles's Catalogue of Honour. Stow (Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 783.) calls him Knight of the Order, when he was appointed Lieutenant-General; ſo that he was moſt likely ſo before this expedition.

(*p*) Stow, Annales, ubi ſupra. Camden, p. 597.

(*q*) Naval Hiſt. by T. Lediard, p. 353.

(*r*) R. Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Lond. 1689, Part i. p. 414.

(*s*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 521.

(*t*) Dugdale, ibid. Camden, ubi ſupra, p. 613. R. Cox, ubi ſupra, p. 416.

(*u*) Camden, Annals, p. 619. Pacata Hibernia, p. 2.

(*w*) Ubi ſupra, p. 77.

(*x*) Pacata Hibernia, by Tho. Stafford, Lond. 1633, fol. p. 2.

(*y*) R. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Part ii. Epiſtle to the Reader, p. 2.

(*z*) Pacata Hibernia, as above, p. 232, &c.

[*C*] *Inheritance of one thouſand marks.*] As the Blounts were a very antient, honourable, and numerous family (3), their eſtate was originally very conſiderable (4). But the Lord Montjoy's patrimony was very much reduced, through his grandfather's exorbitant expences in the wars in France, his father's vanity in the ſearch of the Philoſopher's ſtone, and his brother's untimely prodigalities; all which ſeemed to conſpire to ruin the houſe, and altogether to bring it to nothing (5).

(3) Camden's Britannia, col. 649.

(4) See Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 519, 520.

(5) Naunton. Fragmenta, ubi ſupra, p. 73.

[*D*] *But durſt not ſtand in competition with —— the Earl of Eſſex*, &c.] The Earl of Eſſex might oppoſe his advancement to that high ſtation, both out of jealouſy and a private pique; for the Lord Montjoy (when he was but Sir Charles Blount) having one day had the good fortune to run very well a tilt, the Queen was ſo well pleaſed with it, that in token of her favour ſhe ſent him a Queen at cheſs of gold, richly enamelled, which his ſervants faſtened the next day to his arm with a crimſon ribband. My Lord Eſſex, as he paſſed through the privy-chamber, eſpying it, with Sir Charles's cloak caſt under his arm, the better to commend it to view, enquired what it was, and for what cauſe there fixed? Sir Fulk Grevil told him, it was the Queen's favour, which the day before, and after the tilting, ſhe had ſent him. Whereupon my Lord Eſſex, in a kind of emulation, and as though he would have limited her favour, ſaid, 'Now I perceive every fool muſt have a favour.' This bitter and publick affront coming to Sir Charles Blount's ear, he ſent him a challenge, which was accepted by my Lord, and they met near Marybone-Park; where my Lord was hurt in the thigh, and diſarmed (6).

(6) Naunton, ubi ſupra, p. 66.

him to England, in the beginning of the year 1603 (a). But, before his coming to England, that brave Lord was, on the 25th of April, conſtituted Lieutenant of Ireland (b) by King James I; and, the next month appointed one of the King's Privy-Council (c). The 21ſt of July enſuing he was advanced to the title of Earl of Devonſhire (d). Moreover, in reward of his great ſervices, his Majeſty made him Maſter of the Ordnance in England; gave him Kingſton-hall in Dorſetſhire (e), two hundred pounds a year, old rent of aſſize out of the Exchequer, and as much more out of the Duchy for him and his heirs for ever; beſides the county of Lecal in Ireland; together with other lands in the Pale there, which were to fall to the Crown upon the death of the Counteſs of Kildare, for want of heirs male of her body (f). He was in 1603 one of the Lords preſent at the arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh (g). In 1604 he was one of the Commiſſioners to negotiate a treaty of peace between England and Spain (h). And in 1605 was alſo one of the Commiſſioners for the arraignment of the traitors concerned in the Gun-powder-plot (i). Beſides the places and offices above-mentioned which he enjoyed, he had a company of horſe in Ireland (k), and was Warden of the New Foreſt (l). He died at the Savoy in the Strand, the 3d of April 1606, after eight or ten days illneſs, of a burning fever and putrefaction of the lungs (m); and was buried with great pomp in St Paul's chapel in Weſtminſter-abbey (n). Mr Camden ſtiles him a perſon famous for conduct; and ſo eminent for courage and learning, that in thoſe reſpects he had no ſuperior, and but few equals (o). And his Secretary Moryſon informs us, that he was beautiful in his perſon as well as valiant, and learned as well as wiſe (p). His greateſt blemiſh was, that he took another man's wife, namely Penelope, daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Eſſex (q), which had been married ſeveral years to Robert, Lord Rich, and had brought him three ſons and four daughters [E]. The Earl of Devonſhire left this Lady fifteen hundred pounds a year, and moſt of his moveables; and of five children, that ſhe fathered upon him at the parting from her former huſband, he provided for no more than three; leaving the eldeſt ſon, Montjoy Blount, between three and four thouſand pounds a year, and to a daughter ſix thouſand pounds in money (r). This Montjoy Blount, was, by King James I, created Lord Montjoy, of Montjoy fort in Ireland; and by King Charles I (s), Lord Montjoy of Thurveſton in Derbyſhire; and finally (t), Earl of Newport in the Iſle of Wight. He died at Oxford the 12th of February 1665, and was buried in Chriſt-Church cathedral (u); being ſucceeded in his honours by his ſon and heir George Blount; and he, by Henry his brother (w).

(a) R. Cox, Part ii. p. 8. Life of James I, by Ar. Wilſon, in Complete Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 664. Stow's Annals, p. 835.

(b) Pat. 1 Jac. I. p. 14.

(c) Camden's Ann of King James I, in Complete Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 641.

(d) Orig. 1 Jacob. p. 5. Rot. 24. Dugdale, abi ſupra, p. 521. Stow, p. 826.

(e) Camden, Britannia, edit. 1722. col. 63.

(f) Fines, Moryſon's Travels, Part ii. This Moryſon was Secretary to Lord Montjoy in Ireland. Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 141.

(g) Sir Walter Raleigh's Arraignment by Sir T. Overbury.

(h) Stow, Annales, p. 846.

(i) Idem, p. 881.

(k) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. edit. Lond. 1725, fol. p. 173.

(l) Ibid. p. 206.

(m) Ibid. and Dugdale, Vol. II. p. 521.

(n) Ibid. and Brooke's Catalogue, &c. edit. Lond. 1619, p. 64.

(o) Britannia, edit. Lond. 1722, col. 49, 589.

(p) Travels, Part ii.

(q) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 178 and 388.

(r) Winwood's Memor. Vol. II. p. 206.

(s) Pat. 3 Car. I. p. 24.

(t) Pat. 4 Car. I. p. 11.

(u) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 138.

(w) Camden, Britannia, col. 153.

[E] *He took another man's wife, namely Penelope*, &c.] It was, undoubtedly, upon account of this diſhonourable action, that the author of a letter to Mr Winwood made uſe of theſe harſh expreſſions (7). 'The Earle of Devonſhire left this life — ſoon and 'early for his years, but late enough for himſelf; and 'happy had he been if he had gone two or three 'years ſince, before the world was weary of him, or 'that he had left *that Scandall* behind him.' — The perſon it ſeems who married them was W. Laud, then Chaplain to the Earl of Devonſhire, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for which he was ſeverely reflected upon by Archbiſhop Abbot, in the following words. 'It was an obſervation what a ſweet man this 'was like to be, that the firſt obſervable act that he did, 'was the marrying of the Earl of D* to the Lady 'R†, when it was notorious to the world that ſhe 'had another huſband, and the fame a Nobleman, 'who had divers children then living by her. King 'James did for many years take this ſo ill, that he 'would never hear of any great preferment of him '(8).' — Mr Laud knew not, as he pretended, that ſhe was then the wife of the Lord Rich, and therefore looked upon that action as one of the greateſt misfortunes of his life, and ſet down the day into the catalogue of days of ſpecial obſervance to him, both in his diary and the manuſcript book of his private devotions. The day in which they were married was December 26, 1605 (9). C

(7) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 206.

(*) Devonſhire.

(†) Rich.

(8) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 440.

(9) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 55.

BLOUNT (Sir HENRY) a great Wit, a remarkable Patriot, and a conſiderable Writer in the laſt century. He was deſcended from a very antient and honourable family [A], and born December 15, 1602, at his father's ſeat at Tittenhanger in Hertfordſhire (a). He received the firſt tincture of letters in the free-ſchool of St Alban's, where he manifeſted an unuſual quickneſs of parts, and having qualified himſelf for the univerſity, was removed to Trinity-college in Oxford, and entered a Gentleman-Commoner there in 1616, before he was full fourteen years of age (b). Some years he ſpent in that learned ſociety, with great reputation and univerſal reſpect, not ſo much on account of his family, by which he was nearly related to the founder, Sir Thomas Pope, as by reaſon of his perſonal merit. For in his youth he was of ſo chearful a diſpoſition, had ſo juſt a reliſh for the Antients, ſo ſprightly a wit, ſo eaſy an addreſs, and ſo frank and entertaining a converſation, that he charmed all who were of his acquaintance, and was juſtly eſteemed as promiſing a genius as any in the univerſity. In the year 1618 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and ſoon after left Oxford (c). Thence he went to Gray's-Inn, where for ſome time he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Law, and having perfected himſelf in all parts of a genteel education, he reſolved to travel, which he did accordingly

(a) Chauncy's Hertfordſhire, p. 24. See the Regiſter at Ridge. Wood's Athen. Oxon edit. 1721. Vol. II. col 712.

(b) Idem, ibid.

(c) Idem, ibid.

[A] *Of a very antient and honourable family.*] He was the third ſon of Sir Thomas Pope Blount of Tittenhanger in the county of Hertford, Knight, by Frances his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Pigott of Doddershall in the county of Bucks, Knight, and widow of Sir Thomas Nevil of Leiceſterſhire, Knight (1). The father of Sir Thomas Pope Blount was William Blount of Blounts-hall in Staffordſhire, Eſq; who was deſcended of Sir Thomas Blount, a younger brother of the antient houſe of Blounts, of Sodington in Worceſterſhire (2).

(1) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 712. The Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. II. p. 665, & ſeq.

[B] *Printed*

accordingly in the ſpring of the year 1634, being then lately become of age (*d*). He made firſt the tour of France, part of Spain and Italy, and then paſſing to Venice, he there contracted an acquaintance with a Jannizary, with whom he reſolved to paſs into the Turkiſh dominions (*e*). With this view he embarked, on the ſeventh of May 1634, on board a Venetian galley, in which he ſailed to Spalatro, and thence continued his journey by land to Conſtantinople. There he was very kindly received by Sir Peter Wiche, then our Embaſſador at the Porte. His ſtay at Conſtantinople was ſhort, becauſe, having an earneſt deſire to ſee Grand Cairo, and meeting with a ſudden opportunity, he readily embraced it (*f*), and after a peregrination of near two years, returned ſafely into England, where, in 1636 (*g*), he printed an account of his travels [*B*]. This book made him known to the world, and much taken notice of, ſo that ſhortly after King Charles I, who deſired to fill his Court with men of parts, appointed him one of the band of Penſioners, then compoſed of gentlemen of the firſt families in the kingdom (*h*). In 1638, his father, Sir Thomas Pope Blount, died, and left him the antient ſeat of Blount's Hall in Staffordſhire, and a very conſiderable fortune (*i*). On the twenty-firſt of March, in the ſucceeding year, the King conferred on him the honour of knighthood (*k*). At the firſt breaking out of the Civil War, he, following the glorious example of the elder branches of his illuſtrious family, who were eminently loyal, attended the King at York, at Oxford, and other places, was preſent at the battle of Edgehill, and had there (according to a tradition in the family) the honour of taking care of the young Princes (*l*). Afterwards he quitted his Majeſty's ſervice, and returned to London, where he was quickly queſtioned for his adhering to the King, but he being now grown a very wary and dexterous ſpeaker, ſo well excuſed himſelf, by alledging his duty on account of his poſt, that he eſcaped all cenſure, and was thenceforward well received (*m*). Falling in with the times, he, in 1651, was named on a Committee of twenty perſons, for inſpecting the practice of the Law, and remedying it's abuſes (*n*). He declared himſelf very warmly againſt tythes, and would willingly have reduced the income of pariſh miniſters to one hundred pounds a year. He alſo ſat with Dr Richard Zouch, Dr William Clarke, Dr William Turner, Civilians,

(*d*) Voyage to the Levant, pag. 2, 3.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 7, 8.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 35.

(*g*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

(*h*) The Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. III. p. 608.

(*i*) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount, great-grandſon to our author.

(*k*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*l*) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(*m*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*n*) The Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. III. p. 668.

[*B*] *Printed an account of his travels.*] In theſe travels there are a great many paſſages relating to the perſonal hiſtory of the author, of which it may not be amiſs to give ſome inſtances, as agreeable to the deſign of this life, and which cannot prove unentertaining to the reader. When he came into Egypt, and found that thoſe who had been hitherto the companions of his travels, intended to make no ſtay there, but to paſs immediately to Jeruſalem, he reſolved to remain behind. 'I, not ſo impatient of the climate, ſays 'he, nor loving company of Chriſtians in Turkey, 'and but reaſonably affected to relicks, left them, 'and preſumed to receive a longer entertainment; 'whereto I found an invital freely noble of itſelf, and 'with much regard to an honourable recommendation 'of me, ſent by his Excellence the Lord Embaſſador 'of Holland at Conſtantinople, Sir Cornelius Haga, 'who having known my kinſman Sir James Blount, 'and ſome others of our name, was pleaſed in me to 'honour their memory. Here my abode in a family, 'which had there been reſident twenty-five years, in-'formed me of many things with much certainty. 'Firſt, I muſt remember things upon record conſtant-'ly renewed in office, as the multitude of the meſ-'chectoes, that is, churches and chapels five and thirty 'thouſand; then the noted ſtreets, four and twenty 'thouſand, beſides petty turnings and diviſions; ſome 'of thoſe ſtreets I have found two miles in length, 'ſome not a quarter ſo long; every one of them is 'locked up in the night, with a door at each end, and 'guarded by a muſqueteer, whereby fire, robberies, 'tumults, and other diſorders are prevented (3).' As to the Turkiſh doctrine of Predeſtination, he gives us two notable inſtances of it, which in his own words run thus. 'One was at Rhodes, where, juſt as we 'entered the port, a French laquey of our company 'died with a great plague ſore, which he had taken 'of the gunner's mate, who with one running upon 'him converſed and ſlept among us; the reſt were ſo 'far from fear at his death, as they ſat preſently eat-'ing and driuking with him, and within half an hour 'after his removal ſlept on his blanket, with his clothes 'inſtead of a pillow, which when I adviſed them not 'to do, they pointed upon their foreheads, telling me, 'it was written there at their birth when they ſhould 'die; they eſcaped, yet divers of the paſſengers died 'thereof before we got to Egypt. The other was at 'my paſſage to Adrianople in Thrace; myſelf, the 'Jannizary, and one more, being in a coach, we paſſed 'by a man of good quality, and a ſoldier, who lying 'along with his horſe by, could hardly ſpeak ſo much 'as to intreat us to take him into our coach: The Jan-'nizary made our companion ride his horſe, taking 'the man in, whoſe breaſt being open and full of 'plague tokens, I would not have had him received; 'but he in like manner pointing to his own forehead 'and mine, told me, we could not take hurt, unleſs it 'were written there, and that then we could not avoid 'it. The fellow died in the night by our ſides, and 'in our indemnity approved this confidence to be ſome-'times fortunate, how wiſe ſoever (4).' His return from Egypt was by ſea, firſt to Sicily, from whence he paſſed to Naples, the rarities of which entertained him ſome days; thence he went to Rome, afterwards to Florence and Bologna, and ſo to Venice, where he arrived in April 1635, having in that time, as he ſays, according to the moſt received diviſions of Turkey, been in nine kingdoms, and paſſed ſix thouſand miles and upwards, moſt part of it by land (5); a thing very unuſual at that time, and which procured him, by way of diſtinction, the name of the Great Traveller. This book was publiſhed at London in 1636, in quarto, and ſoon after came to a ſecond edition, and in 1638 to a third in the ſame ſize (6). It was then printed in 12mo, and reached many editions; the title of the eighth runs thus. *A Voyage into the Levant, being a brief Relation of a Journey lately performed from England by the way of Venice, into Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Boſnia, Hungary, Macedonia, Theſſaly, Thrace, Rhodes, and Egypt, unto Grand Cairo; with particular obſervations concerning the modern condition of the Turks, and other people under that Empire. By Sir* Henry Blount, *Knight.* Of this work there have been ſeveral characters, and very different ones given, of which we ſhall mention but two. *It is ſo well eſteemed abroad,* ſays Mr Wood, *that, (as I have been informed) it has been tranſlated into* French *and* Dutch (7). The author of an introductory diſcourſe, containing a character of moſt books of Travels, prefixed to that great collection of Voyages, commonly called Churchill's collection, aſcribed by ſome to Mr Locke, ſpeaks thus of Sir Henry's book. 'Blount's Travels to the Le-'vant, is a very ſhort account of a journey through 'Dalmatia, &c. the whole very conciſe, and without 'any curious obſervations, or any notable deſcriptions. 'His account of the religions and cuſtoms of thoſe 'people, only a brief collection of ſome other tra-'vellers; the language mean, and not all of it to be 'relied on, if we credit others, who have writ better '(8).'

(3) Voyage to the Levant, 12mo, the 8th edit. 1671, p. 49, 50.

(4) Ibid. p. 112.

(5) Ibid. p. 79.

(6) Kennet's American Library, p. 83.

(7) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 712.

(8) A Collection of Voyages and Travels, in ſix Volumes, folio, edit. 1732 Vol. I. p. xvii.

[*C*] *The*

Civilians, and with ſeveral other eminent perſons in the Court of King's (then called the Upper) Bench, in Weſtminſter-Hall, on the fifth of July 1654, by virtue of a commiſſion from Oliver Cromwell, for trying Don Pantalion Saa, brother to the Portugueſe Embaſſador, for murder, of which being found guilty, he was, much to the honour of the juſtice of this nation, by ſentence of that court, adjudged to ſuffer death, and was executed accordingly (*o*). In the ſame year, by the death of his elder brother Thomas Pope Blount, Eſq; the eſtate of Tittenhanger, deſcended to Sir Henry (*p*). His great reputation for general knowledge and uncommon ſagacity, was the reaſon that his name was inſerted in the liſt of twenty-one Commiſſioners, appointed, November 1, 1655, to conſider of the trade and navigation of the Commonwealth, and how it might be beſt encouraged and promoted, in which ſtation he did his country eminent ſervice (*q*). It does indeed appear, that this was his ſole view in complying with the forms of government ſet up between 1650 and 1660, and therefore we need not wonder that he was received into favour and confidence on the King's Reſtoration, as it appears he was, by his being appointed High-Sheriff of the county of Hertford, in 1661 (*r*). He lived thenceforward as an Engliſh gentleman, ſatisfied with the honours he had acquired, and the large eſtate he poſſeſſed, and having paſſed upwards of twenty years in this independent ſtate, he died on the ninth of October, 1682, when he wanted but four months of fourſcore, and was two days afterwards interred in the vault of his family, at Ridge in Hertfordſhire, where a foreign writer, but erroneouſly, (unleſs he meant the pariſh) affirms he was born (*s*). As to the character of Sir Henry Blount, the reader will find it drawn by different hands in the notes [*C*]. As to what appears from his writings, he ſeems to have had ſtrong parts, a lively imagination, and, in conſequence of theſe, ſome very ſingular opinions. His ſtile was manly, flowing, and leſs affected than could be expected, conſidering the times in, and the ſubjects on, which he wrote [*D*]. A Latin fragment, publiſhed by his ſon, better explains his ſentiments than all the reſt of his works, and demonſtrates that he was a man of a deep, though irregular way of thinking, and had a capacity of colouring the moſt paradoxical opinions, ſo as to give them a great likeneſs unto truth [*E*]. For the firſt forty years of his life he was a boon companion, and much given to raillery, but in the other forty, of a ſerious temper, and a water drinker (*t*). He married 1647, Dame Heſter Manwaring, relict of Sir William Manwaring of Cheſhire, Knight, daughter and coheireſs of Chriſtopher Waſe, of Upper Holloway in the county of Middleſex, Eſq; by whom he left three ſons and one daughter (*u*). His arms were, Barry Nebule of 6, Or and Sable. Creſt, a Wolf paſſant, Sable, between two Cornuts, Or, out of a ducal Coronet, proper (*w*).

(*o*) See an account of theſe proceedings in the firſt Volume of State Trials.

(*p*) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(*q*) Cook's Detection of the four laſt Reigns.

(*r*) Chauncey's Hertfordſhire, p. 502.

(*s*) Niceron's Memoires des Hommes Illuſt. Vol. XXIII. p. 398.

(*t*) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(*u*) The Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. II. p. 669.

(*w*) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

[*C*] *The reader will find his character by different hands in the notes.*] Anthony Wood tells us, he was eſteemed by thoſe that knew him, a gentleman of a very clear judgment, great experience, much contemplation (though not of much reading), and of great foreſight into Government. He was alſo a perſon of admirable converſation, and in his younger years was a great banterer, which in his elder he diſuſed (9). In a looſe leaf of his Travels I once met with theſe remarks written, which, as they are founded on ſeveral paſſages in the book, I thought deſerved to be tranſcribed. 'The author of this book, Sir H. B. appears to have 'been one of the Wits of that age, wherein it was 'faſhionable to make a diſplay of profound thinking, 'and quick penetration. He ſeems to have wrote 'this book, as the celebrated Oſborne did another, on 'the ſame ſubject, purely to inſinuate ſome notions of 'his own, which could not otherwiſe have been ſo 'ſafely publiſhed. Thus comparing the Turkiſh ſeve-'rity, which, in the beginning of wars, he ſays, 'makes uſe of colourable puniſhments, where juſt ones 'are wanting; with that tenderneſs ſhewn to light of-'fenders in this part of the world, he adds, that it 'has more effect upon a bad age, than our Chriſtian 'compaſſion, which is ſo eaſily abuſed, as we cannot 'raiſe two or three companies of ſoldiers, but they 'pilfer and rifle whereſoever they paſs: Wherein, our 'want of cruelty upon delinquents, cauſes much more 'oppreſſion of the innocent, which is the greateſt cru-'elty of all (10). In another place, ſpeaking of the 'Iſland of Patmos, and the cave wherein St John 'wrote his Revelation, he obſerves, that the privacy 'and aſpect of thoſe retreats being gloomy, ſtill, and 'ſolemn, ſettle and contract the mind into profound 'ſpeculations; but eſpecially the quality of the air, 'a thing of main importance to diſpoſe the wit. The 'air of thoſe rocky caverns is not ſo damp and earthy 'as that of dungeons; nor ſo immaterial or wafting, 'to unſettle and tranſport the phantaſy, as that above 'ground; but of a middle temper, wherewith it af-'fects the brain, in ſuch a ſort as is fitteſt to exercife 'it's intellectual faculty, to the height of what it's 'compoſition bears (11). Having told us how a 'Turk, to avoid being taken, tied his feet, and one 'of his hands together, and threw himſelf headlong 'into the ſea; he adds, in this reſolute end, he ſhewed 'by what a ſhort paſſage many a years miſery may 'be prevented, where other reaſons, or fear maſked 'in them, enthral not (12). Theſe ſtroaks ſufficient-'ly ſhew the ſpirit of the man, and the ſcope of his 'book.'

(9) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 712.

(10) Voyage to the Levant, pag. 18.

(11) Ibid. p. 39, 40.

(12) Ibid. p. 77.

[*D*] *Conſidering the times in, and the ſubjects on, which he wrote.*] The reſt of the works he publiſhed were theſe (13). 1. Six comedies, written by John Lilly, under the title of Court Comedies, by the care of Mr Henry Blount, London 1632, 8vo (14). 2. A ſatire, intituled, The Exchange Walk, in 1647. This, Mr Wood ſays, ſome of his relations informed him, fell from the pen of Sir Henry Blount, though his ſons knew nothing of it. 3. An epiſtle in praiſe of tobacco and coffee, prefixed to a little treatiſe, intituled, Organon Salutis, written by Walter Rumſey, Eſq; and printed in 1657, 8vo (15).

(13) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 296.

(14) Ib. Vol. II. col. 713. Nicer. Memoires des Hommes Illuſtres, Vol. XXIII. p. 398.

(15) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 255.

[*E*] *So as to give them a great likeneſs unto truth.*] This Latin fragment is to be found in a Letter, addreſſed to the Right Honourable, and moſt ingenious Strephon, (ſuppoſed to be the Earl of Rocheſter) by Charles Blount, Eſq; ſon to our author, dated Ludgate-Hill, February 8, 1679, and is printed in the Oracles of Reaſon, and in Mr Blount's works (16), and therefore thither we ſhall refer our readers. Wood obſerves, (17), that the Anima Mundi was ſuppoſed to have been, in a great meaſure, written by Sir Henry Blount, though publiſhed, as probably it was put into order, by his ſon, and this fragment makes the opinion ſo much the more probable, ſince it may be truly ſtiled the key to this performance, as containing in a narrow compaſs, the ſyſtem that treatiſe ſeems to recommend, and a much better account of that ſort of Philoſophy than is to be found in all Spinoſa's writings, who, with a darker head, had leſs depth of thought, than our ingenious author Sir Henry Blount. E

(16) Vol I. p. 154, 155, 156.

(17) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

BLOUNT (Sir THOMAS POPE) an eminent writer towards the close of the XVIIth century. He was the eldest son of Sir Henry Blount beforementioned, and was born at Upper Holloway in the county of Middlesex, Sept. 12, 1649 (*a*). He was carefully educated under the eye of his father, who took care to acquaint him with the several branches of polite literature, most worthy the notice of a person of his rank, and so great was the improvement he made under so able an instructor, that, even in his junior years, he was considered both as a judicious and learned man, and on this account, as well as for other marks of worth and genius, he was, by King Charles II, advanced to the degree of a Baronet (*b*), by a Patent dated Jan. 27, 1679, in the thirtieth year of his Majesty's reign, and in the life-time of Sir Henry Blount his father. He was elected Burgess for St Alban's in Hertfordshire, in the Parliaments in the thirtieth and thirty-first of King Charles II (*c*), and was Knight of the shire in three Parliaments after the Revolution (*d*), having also the honour to be elected Commissioner of Accounts for the three last years of his life by the House of Commons (*e*). He always distinguished himself as a lover of liberty, a sincere friend to his country, and a true patron of learning. His strong affection for literature, and his perfect acquaintance with the best writers in all ages and sciences, appeared fully in the great work he composed, first for his own use and satisfaction, and then published in the universal language for the benefit of others [*A*]. His capacity for writing in another manner, and on a great variety of important and entertaining subjects, appears

(*a*) From a MS. of Sir Henry Blount, now in the possession of Sir Harry Pope Blount, his grandson.

(*b*) The Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 672.

(*c*) Account of the Borough of St Alban's, MS. p. 195.

(*d*) Chauncy's Hertfordshire, p. 502.

(*e*) List of the Commissioners of Accounts, in the State Tracts.

[*A*] *For the benefit of others.*] The entire title of this most learned work, stands thus in the original edition, which was printed at London, in 1690, folio. 'Censura celebriorum authorum, sive tractatus in quo 'varia virorum doctorum de clarissimis, cujusque seculi scriptoribus judicia traduntur. Unde facillimo 'negotio lector dignoscere queat, quid in singulis quibusque istorum authorum maximè memorabile sit, & 'quonam in pretio apud eruditos semper habiti fuerint. 'Omnia in studiosorum gratiam collegit, & in ordinem 'digessit secundum seriem temporis quo ipsi authores 'floruerunt Thomas Pope Blount, Anglo-Britannus Baronettos.' *i. e.* A critick on the most celebrated writers, *or a treatise in which the various opinions of the most learned men, as to the merit of the most famous authors in every age are delivered. Whereby the reader may, with great ease, discern what is most memorable with respect to each of those authors, and in what esteem they have always been among the learned. The whole for the use of the Studious, collected, and digested according to the order of time in which the authors flourished, by* THOMAS POPE BLOUNT, *an English Baronet.* In 1694, a second edition was printed in 4to, at Geneva, in which all the passages which Sir Thomas had preserved in the modern languages, wherein they were written, are translated into Latin, in order to render the whole more uniform. It was printed a third time at the same place, in 1710, in 4to. What the true design of Sir Thomas was, will best appear from his epistle to the reader, which as it is short, curious, and what never appeared before in the English Tongue, may not displease the intelligent reader. 'The province I have undertaken was not the effects of any 'ambition, for a life retired, and free from noise, was 'always my supreme delight. This then was my sole 'motive, that, as far as in me lay, I might promote 'letters. When I first began the work, it was scarce 'in my thoughts to communicate it to the learned 'world; for my own use I drew it together, and now, 'at the request of persons of distinguished learning, 'give it to the Publick. The rather because having 'observed with what eagerness the *Acta Eruditorum*, 'and others books of the same nature, are caught up, 'not only by men of slender reading, but even such as 'are in the first forms of learning, I could not but 'hope, that even this collection of mine, such as it is, 'would not displease them. Learning is not without 'much study and pains to be acquired. It is Fanaticism for a man to think of becoming learned by inspiration; even a Poet by nature, will do little, if 'his genius, however bright, be not assisted by industry. Hence it is, that so few are truly learned, '(whatever smatterers may boast) because they will not 'bestow the necessary pains and labour. That therefore you may receive the utmost fruits of reading, I 'have set before you a choice of authors, with the various sentiments of the most learned men, as to their 'merits, which if you diligently compare, you may 'both heighten and strengthen your own judgment, 'and avoid the loss of time and trouble in turning over 'works of little value. As to the utility of this work, 'this is it's principal commendation, that it will assist 'you in compiling a library, by affording useful and 'necessary notices concerning authors; and for the 'want of these, it often happens, that men, in collecting books, are defrauded both of their time and 'money. To remedy this inconvenience, I have taken 'on me the labour of compiling this book: For therein you have, as it were, the picture of every author; 'thence you may learn when he flourished, and, generally speaking, when he died, what pieces were 'written by him, or at least, which were most 'esteemed, what his credit in the learned world, whether he was a Plagiary, and from what coffer he 'drew his stores, if put in the Index Expurgatorius, 'and, finally, of each author's works which is the best 'edition. All these you have at one view, if you 'deign to consult this book. It was not my intention to 'speak of all authors, that would have been too prolix a labour, but of those only which are in most 'esteem with the learned. I begin with Hermes Trismegistus, not the fictitious writer, whose works are 'common, but the true and genuine author of that 'name, who is thought to have been coæval with 'Moses, and from him I descend to our own times. 'The authors of whom I treat are near six hundred, 'each of which stands according to the time in which 'he wrote. This method pleased me best, because I 'thought it would be more grateful to the reader to 'observe the flux and reflux of learning, than to run 'over things in alphabetical order, which seems fitter 'for a Dictionary than a literary History. You will 'perhaps admire, that considering the many excellent 'writers our country hath produced, you find so few 'touched by me; yet if you weigh this matter impartially, you will hold me excused; for the greatest 'part of these writers wrote in their own language, 'whence it has fallen out, that amongst learned foreigners who are not acquainted with our tongue, 'they are but little known, though of their country 'they deserved well, and are in just and high reputation at home. This is the cause that of English 'writers, the censures and observations of the learned, 'especially foreigners, are not easily found. Thus I 'have explained to you the method of this work. If 'our diligence in searching and collecting testimonies 'shall merit your esteem, it will give me great satisfaction, if otherwise, pardon me for this time, I 'shall hardly again run the hazard of your censure. 'Thomas Pope Blount.' We are told by certain foreign criticks, that our author had in view the same design which was undertaken by Tobias Magirus in his *Eponymologium Criticum*, which was published in 1644, and by Christian Eybenius, who republished that work in a more exact and extensive manner in 1687 (1). Niceron compares Sir Thomas's book (2) with the *Jugemens des Savans* by Baillet, but there is this essential difference between them, that Baillet reports other men's opinions in his own words, whereas our author transcribes theirs; so that the former is a work wherein boldness and vanity have a large share, and of the latter it is hard to say, whether the author's pains or his modesty be most conspicuous. This we may be the rather allowed to say, having often consulted Sir Thomas's book in order to enrich to our own.

(1) Acta Eruditor. Mens. Jan. 1691, p. 24.

(2) Memoires pour servir a la Hist. des Hommes Illustres, Tom. XXIII. p. 399.

appears from his Eſſays, which, in point of learning, judgment, and freedom of thought, are certainly no way inferior to thoſe of the famous Montaigne [*B*]. His extenſive knowledge, and his great modeſty, are equally conſpicuous, in another learned piece of his, wherein he preſents the publick with the fruits of his reading, as to Natural Hiſtory, without depriving thoſe from whom he drew his knowledge, of any part of their reputation, a conduct which few have imitated, and which we can ſcarce enough commend [*C*]. What he has written on Poetry is in the ſame manner, and with the ſame modeſty, at firſt probably drawn together for his own information, and in that reſpect a mark of his induſtry and judgment, afterwards ſent abroad for publick uſe, which demonſtrates his beneficence and ingenuous temper, as ready to communicate, as incapable of aſſuming to himſelf the merits of others [*D*]. Having thus ſatisfied, in his riper years, the great expectations which his friends had of him in his youth, having been ſteady to one party, without violence towards others, after acquiring honour in his ſeveral publick characters, eſteem in private converſation, and affection in domeſtick life, he quietly ended his days at his ſeat at Tittenhanger, June 30, 1697, in the forty-eighth year of his age, and was buried the eighth of July following, in the vault of his family, at Ridge in Hertfordſhire (*f*). He married Jane, daughter of Sir Henry Cæſar, of Benington

(*f*) The Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 673.

[*B*] *No way inferior to thoſe of the famous Montaigne.*] The Eſſays are in number ſeven (3), and their ſubjects follow. I. That Intereſt governs the world, and that Popery is nothing but Prieſtcraft, or an invention of the Prieſts to get Money. II. The great Miſchief and Prejudice of Learning, and that a wife man ought to be preferred before a man of Learning. III. Of Education and Cuſtom; the great Influence it hath upon moſt men; but that a good Education is not always effectual. IV. Of the Antients, and the reſpect that is due unto them; that we ſhould not too much enſlave ourſelves to their Opinions. V. Whether the men of this preſent Age are any way inferior to thoſe of former Ages, either in reſpect of Virtue, Learning, or long Life. VI. Of Paſſion, and whether the Paſſions are an Advantage or Diſadvantage to men. VII. The Variety of Opinions, whence it proceeds; the Uncertainty of Human Knowledge. As to the author's deſign in this work, it is beſt learnt from his own words. 'It is, ſays he, as impoſſible for an author to pleaſe all mens fancies, as it is for a cook to gratify every man's palate; for the minds of men are of different frames and tempers, and therefore thoſe notions that are pleaſing to one man, do often prove naufeous to another. This then is the reaſon that authors are either doomed or approved, not according to their own merits or demerits, but even as the reader ſtands inclined, who generally frames his judgment from his own ſettled humour or opinion, and as the book agrees or diſagrees with that, ſo is the author to receive his fate; and thus is verified that known ſaying, *Quicquid recipitur, recipitur ad modum recipientis.* What kind of reception this little treatiſe may find in the world, I neither know nor value: I wrote it in my idle hours for my own entertainment; and therefore if it reliſhes not thy guſto, the only way to be even with me is for thee to turn author, and then (poſſibly) I may have occaſion to return the compliment. The age we now live in is both critical and cenſorious; and therefore, if there be any part of a book which (either through the unhappy ſtile of the author, or the ill nature of the reader) ſeems to admit of a double conſtruction, the author may aſſure himſelf it ſhall be taken in the worſt; upon which conſideration I think it proper to acquaint thee, that whatſoever opinion the Clergy may pleaſe to have of this book, or it's author, I unfeignedly declare myſelf to be a true honourer of them, I mean of ſuch of them as live up to the honour of that holy profeſſion; and for thoſe that do not, I as little court their favour, as I value their cenſure.' If the learned and judicious Niceron had ever ſeen this work, he would not have called our author, as he does, on the authority of Anthony Wood, *a mere compiler.*

(3) Eſſays on ſeveral ſubjects, by Sir Thomas Pope Blount, Bart. London, 8*vo.*

[*C*] *Which we can ſcarce enough commend.*] The entire title of this book runs thus (4). 'A NATURAL HISTORY, containing many, not common, Obſervations, extracted out of the beſt modern writers. By Sir *Thomas Pope Blount*, Baronet.' It is dedicated to Henry Lord Capel, and in the laſt paragraph of the dedication there is a very juſt account of the book. 'My Lord, ſays our author, what I now (with all deference) preſent to your Lordſhip, is not any ſuperficial ſlight notion of my own, but that which is here tendered is a Natural Hiſtory, drawn from the writings of the Beaux Eſprits, or the greateſt wits of the preſent age upon theſe ſeveral ſubjects; ſo that I queſtion not but your Lordſhip will meet with ſome remarks that may be entertaining, uſeful, and not common. And if upon any account it be acceptable to your Lordſhip, I have then fully attained my end; ſince the utmoſt I can pretend to is but a pepper-corn acknowledgment from, &c.' The whole of this piece is a judicious common-place book of what the beſt authors have written on the moſt curious ſubjects, and will be always admired by good judges, though it may poſſibly be undervalued by mean ones.

(4) London: Printed for R. Bentley in Covent Garden, 1693. 12*mo.*

[*D*] *Aſſuming to himſelf the merits of others.*] The title of this work of his on Poetry ſufficiently explains his deſign. Thus it ſtands (5). '*De Re Poëtica*; or, Remarks upon Poetry. With Characters and Cenſures of the moſt conſiderable Poets, whether antient or modern. Extracted out of the beſt and choiceſt Criticks. By Sir Thomas Pope Blount.' It is dedicated to John Earl of Mulgrave, ſo well known to the world, and to poſterity afterwards, by the title of Buckinghamſhire. In this dedication he tells him; 'My Lord, had I nothing at all of inclination to this addreſs, as I hope your Lordſhip will eaſily believe I have a great deal, yet I do not know whether I ought not to have made it out of meer policy. 'Tis certain, my Lord, you are a very dangerous reader; a writer therefore who has but too much reaſon to apprehend your judgment, is bound in prudence to take you off if poſſible. 'Tis not that I look upon a dedication as a bribe; but I find that ſometimes, when we have an idle preſent made us, which 'tis impoſſible to conceal, we are apt to be very favourable, and counterfeit a value of the thing we perhaps ſecretly deſpiſe, rather than own to the world that any has been ſo hardy to make us an offering of what we ſhould think little. But however this be, your Lordſhip has been beforehand with me, and ſo much to my advantage, as to render ſuch a conſideration wholly needleſs: Already you have indulged this piece, and allowing it for uſeful, have given it the great character deſired to ſatisfy the author's ambition. For as it is entirely a collection, wherein I have nothing to anſwer for, or hope any thing from, but the choice and diſtribution of the matter, if I have but made a profitable one, and employed my pains beneficially for the world, 'tis all I had to pretend to. After this, my Lord, I ſhall make you no excuſes for the honour I do myſelf in this dedication; and if in it I ſeem any thing vain or preſuming, I am contented ſo to do, provided I may find the juſtice to have it thought at the ſame time, that 'tis the good opinion not of myſelf, but of your Lordſhip that has made me ſo.' We cannot have a clearer or better view of this treatiſe than that which the author has here given us, nor could he have aſſigned a better reaſon for it's being eſteemed than that which he has told us, that it was commended by the Nobleman to whom he inſcribed it, ſince it is certain that our nation never boaſted of a better Critick. This treatiſe is divided into two parts, the firſt contains remarks on Poetry, *i.e.* the ſenſe of the beſt authors on all it's parts; the ſecond contains the characters or cenſures

(5) London: Printed for R. Bentley in Covent Garden, 1694, 4*to.*

Benington Place in the county of Hertford, Knight, and by her left iſſue five ſons, and nine daughters.

ſures of Poets, ſixty-ſeven in all, digeſted in an alphabetical order, beginning with Æſchylus the Greek tragick Poet, and ending with the Engliſh Waller. One may juſtly ſay of this piece, that though it will hardly entertain an ignorant reader, it will greatly inſtruct a wiſe one, as containing in a narrow compaſs a vaſt variety of curious obſervations, and all perhaps that in the time it's author flouriſhed had been written with ſtrength or elegance, either of the ſubjects or poets therein treated. E

BLOUNT (CHARLES) younger ſon of Sir Henry Blount, and brother to Sir Thomas Pope Blount beforementioned, an eminent Writer alſo in the laſt century. He was born at his grandfather's ſeat at Upper Holloway in the county of Middleſex, April 27, 1654 (*a*). He was endowed by nature with a great capacity, and with a ſtrong propenſity to learning, which excellent qualities were properly cultivated by the aſſiduous care of his father, who took upon himſelf the direction of his ſtudies. Under ſo able an inſtructor, he quickly acquired an extraordinary ſkill in the Arts and Sciences, without any thing of that pedantry, which is too frequently the conſequence of young men's application to ſtudy in the common courſe (*b*). His pregnant parts and polite behaviour, brought him early into the world, ſo that his father, who was a true judge of men, thought fit to ſettle him when he was about eighteen. This he did by marrying him to Eleanora, daughter of Sir Timothy Tyrrel, of Shotover in the county of Oxford, and gave him a very handſome eſtate, having always eſteemed his parts, and reſpected him as a friend, as well as loved him with the affection of a father (*c*). The year after his marriage, he wrote a little treatiſe which he publiſhed without his name [*A*]. In 1678, or, as is generally held, in 1679, he ſent abroad his *Anima Mundi*, in which it is ſaid, and with great probability, that he had the aſſiſtance of his father. The piece, it ſeems, had been long before handed about in manuſcript by the acquaintance of it's author, with ſeveral paſſages in it much ſtronger than in that which was tranſmitted to the preſs, and licenſed by Sir Roger L'Eſtrange. This did not hinder it's giving great offence, inſomuch that complaint thereof was made to Dr Compton, then Lord Biſhop of London, who, upon peruſal, judged it not proper for all readers promiſcuouſly, and therefore ſignified that he expected it ſhould be ſuppreſſed, intimating, that he would thereupon reſt ſatisfied. But afterwards, when the Biſhop was out of town, an opportunity was taken by ſome zealous perſon to burn the book, which nevertheleſs hath been reprinted ſince (*d*) [*B*]. The ſame year he publiſhed a broad ſheet under the title of *Mr*

(*a*) This circumſtance is aſcertained from a MS. of Sir Henry Blount's, in the hands of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(*b*) The Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p 67. See the Account of this gentleman's Life and Writings, ſaid to be written by Mr Gildon, and prefixed to the Miſcellaneous Works of Charles Blount, Eſq;

(*c*) See the Tract above referred to, and many of our author's Letters in the *Oracles of Reaſon*.

(*d*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

[*A*] *Which he publiſhed without his name*] This tract was intitled (1), 'Mr Dryden vindicated, in reply 'to the friendly vindication of Mr Dryden, with Re'flections on the Rota.' In order to have ſome idea of the nature and occaſion of this piece, we muſt take notice of the controverſy on which it was written. One Mr Richard Leigh, a Player, on the coming out of Mr Dryden's *Conqueſt of Granada*, publiſhed a pamphlet, intitled (2), *A Cenſure of the Rota on Mr Dryden's Conqueſt of Granada*. Upon this appeared another ſmart pamphlet, under the title of (3) *The Friendly Vindication of Mr Dryden from the cenſure of the Rota*. It was againſt this pamphlet that our author drew his pen in the piece before-mentioned, written with fire, and yet not deficient in judgment, though the author was then very young. That he was really the author of this piece (4) could ſcarce have been recovered at this diſtance of time, but by the favour of his family.

(1) London, 1673, 4to.

(2) Oxf. 1673, 4to.

(3) Cambridge, 1673, 4to.

(4) Grounded on the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount, Baronet, grand-nephew to our author.

[*B*] *Which nevertheleſs hath been reprinted ſince.*] Nobody could be more aware than the author of the oppoſition this book was likely to meet with, and therefore he took the pains of apologizing for it in his Preface. 'Methinks, ſays he, I already behold ſome 'haughty pedant, ſtrutting and looking down from 'himſelf as from the devil's mountain upon the univerſe, where, amongſt ſeveral other inferior objects, 'he happens at laſt to caſt his eye upon this treatiſe; 'when after a quibble or two upon the title, he falls 'foul upon the book itſelf, damning it by the name 'of an Atheiſtical, Heretical pamphlet; and to glo'rify his own zeal, under the pretence of being a 'champion for truth, ſummons ignorance and malice 'for his ſeconds: But ſuch a perſon underſtands not 'wherein the nature of Atheiſm conſiſts, how conver'ſant ſoever he may otherwiſe be in the practice of 'it. It were Atheiſm to ſay *there is no God*, and ſo 'it were (though leſs directly) to deny his providence, 'or reſtrain it to ſome particulars, and exclude it in 'reference to others. Such are Atheiſts who maintain 'ſuch opinions as theſe, and ſo are thoſe Hereticks 'who err in fundamentals, and continue obſtinately 'in ſuch errors. But the ignorant vulgar people (whoſe 'ſuperſtition is grounded upon the aſſimulating God 'with themſelves) are apt to think that every one they 'hate are God Almighty's enemies, and that whoſo'ever differs from them in opinion (though in never 'ſo trivial a matter) are Atheiſts, or Hereticks at leaſt, 'not rightly conſidering the words of St Peter, *That 'in every nation, he who feareth the Lord and worketh 'righteouſneſs, is accepted with him.* And Minucius 'Felix ſays well to the ſame purpoſe, *He is the beſt 'Chriſtian who makes the honeſteſt man.* Hereſy is an 'act of the will, rather than underſtanding; a lye, 'rather than a miſtake; and thus St Auſtin expreſſes 'it, ſaying, *errare poſſum, Hæreticus eſſe nolo.* Hereſy 'and Schiſm, (ſays the ingenious Mr Hales) as com'monly now uſed, are two theological ſcarecrows; 'with which they who uphold a party in religion, 'uſed to fright away ſuch, as making an enquiry into 'it, are ready to relinquiſh and oppoſe it, if it appear 'either erroneous or ſuſpicious. For as Plutarch re'ports of a Painter, who having unſkilfully painted a 'cock, drove away all the cocks and hens he could 'find, that ſo the imperfection of his own art might 'not appear by comparing it with nature; ſo men for 'ſome ends, not willing to admit of any fancy but 'their own, endeavour to hinder all enquiries by way 'of compariſon, that ſo their own deformity may not 'appear. Therefore if any man blames me for com'paring Chriſtianity with Paganiſm, it ſhews nothing 'but his unworthy diſtruſt of the ſufficiency of that 'religion he profeſſes.' The enemies of this book have ſuggeſted, that all that is here ſaid, and a great deal of the ſame ſort in the book itſelf, was purely to ſave appearances, and that whatever the author might proteſt, the deſign of it was very pernicious. The book notwithſtanding was much admired by men of very different perſuaſions, on account of the various learning contained therein, and particularly for the drawing together the thoughts of ſo many learned perſons on ſo important a ſubject. The title of this work at large is, ANIMA MUNDI; or, *An Hiſtorical Narration of the opinions of the Antients concerning man's Soul after this Life, according to unenlightened Nature.* By CHARLES BLOUNT, *Gentleman.* Several anſwers were written to it, but the moſt ſolid refutation of the

principles

Mr Hobbs's laſt Words and dying Legacy. It was extracted from the *Leviathan*, and was intended to weaken and expoſe his doctrine, yet it ſeems he was no very warm antagoniſt, ſince there is ſtill extant a letter of his to Mr Hobbs, wherein he profeſſes himſelf a great admirer of his parts, and one who would readily receive his inſtructions (*e*) [*C*]. There could not well be a ſtronger teſtimony in favour of liberty, than Mr Blount ſhortly after gave in a pamphlet on the Popiſh Plot, and the fear of a Popiſh ſucceſſor. This treatiſe is ſubſcribed Junius Brutus (*f*), and is the ſtrongeſt invective againſt Popery and Papiſts that was publiſhed even in that age, when almoſt all the wit of the nation was pointed that way. There are in it likewiſe ſuch expreſs recommendations of the Duke of Monmouth, as might well hinder the author from owning it, and give it, in the eyes of the Lawyers of thoſe times, an air of ſedition at leaſt, if not of treaſon [*D*]. In 1680, he printed that work which hath made him moſt known to the world, *The Life of* APOLLONIUS TYANAEUS, which was ſoon after ſuppreſſed, and only a few copies ſent abroad. It was held to be the moſt dangerous attempt, that had been ever made againſt Revealed Religion in this country, and was juſtly thought ſo, as bringing to the eye of every Engliſh reader, a multitude of facts and reaſonings, plauſible in themſelves, and of the fallacy of which, none but men of parts and learning can be proper judges (*g*). For this reaſon it is ſtill much in eſteem with the Deiſts [*E*]. The fate of this book, and the few copies that

(*e*) Oracles of Reaſon, p. 97. where it appears this Letter was written in 1678, and accompanied with a preſent to Mr Hobbs of the *Anima Mundi*.

(*f*) This Piece is preſerved in the ſecond Volume of Blount's Miſcellaneous Works.

(*g*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

principles therein contained is to be met with in the works of a learned Divine (5), who conſidered it only occaſionally, and in conjunction with abundance of pieces of the ſame kind. A learned Foreigner has given this piece a place in his catalogue of rare books (6), but at the ſame time has branded it with the odious title of an atheiſtical piece, deſervedly prohibited, and from him another foreign writer (7) has copied; ſo that very probably this opinion will be effectually ſpread in Germany and the North, though few of the books themſelves can be thought to have come thither, and ſo be preſumed to have received ſentence after a fair hearing.

(5) Nicholls's Conference with a Theiſt, Vol. II. Part v.

(6) Bibliothec. Uffenbach. Tom. I. p. 765.

(7) Johan Vogt. Catalog. Hiſtor. Critic. Libror. Rarior. p. 125.

[*C*] *Who would readily receive his inſtructions*] In this epiſtle to Mr Hobbs there occur ſome very ſingular paſſages, which having relation to our author's ſentiments, and to various particulars in his private life, ſeemed to require ſome notice here. It is very evident from the words of this epiſtle, that Mr Blount wrote it by the direction of his father Sir Henry Blount, whoſe notions therefore rather than his own it contained (8). The deſign of this Epiſtle is to compliment Mr Hobbs upon his Treatiſe on Hereſy, which by the favour of Mr Crooke the Bookſeller, and no doubt by the permiſſion of Mr Hobbs himſelf, they had ſeen in manuſcript. But from the contents of this piece it is eaſy to diſcern, that it was calculated to ſhew Mr Hobbs, that the arguments he had made uſe of in the treatiſe before-mentioned might be carried much farther in ſupport of that doctrine, which was of ſo great conſequence to the cauſe of Free-thinkers in general. The method by which this is attempted differs not much from that of Mr Hobbs, ſince it is built upon Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory as well as his; but the end here aimed at, is to ſhew that as Hereſies were not always ſo fully refuted by Scripture and argument as thoſe who wrote againſt them concluded; ſo in point of authority alſo they were not ſo clearly and univerſally condemned as the Church hiſtorians imagined. In ſupport of this poſition there is a ſuccinct account given of the diſputes between the Arians and the Orthodox, whom Mr Blount ſtiles Trinitarians, with a view to prove, that as the decrees of General Councils were urged on both ſides, it muſt follow from hence that General Councils might err, and conſequently there was no competent judge in ſuch controverſies, even upon the grounds laid down by thoſe writers who challenge an implicit obedience to the laws of the Church.

(8) Oracles of Reaſon, p. 97.

[*D*] *An air of ſedition at leaſt, if not of treaſon.*] The title of this extraordinary pamphlet at large runs thus. *An Appeal from the Country to the City for the preſervation of his Majeſty's perſon, liberty, property, and the Proteſtant religion* (9). It opens with a very ſtrong panegyrick upon the city of London; in order to ſhew, that upon their conduct the ſafety of the whole nation depended: That the eyes of the people of England were upon them, and therefore it became them to juſtify by their behaviour, the indulgence ſhewn them by Providence in raiſing them to ſo great a height, and the confidence repoſed in them by their fellow-ſubjects, who unanimouſly conſidered them as the champions of their liberty, by whoſe courage and conduct they muſt be preſerved, or by whoſe timidity and ill-timed caution they muſt fall. The ſubſequent part of the work is divided into nine conſiderations, all written with great force and ſpirit, and perfectly well calculated to raiſe a ſtrong ſpirit againſt the Papiſts, as well as to maintain the credit of the plot. The whole is interſperſed with many curious remarks upon our own and foreign hiſtories, very happily introduced, and very ſenſibly applied. There is great decency obſerved towards the King, who is repreſented as the ſole bar to the deſigns of the Papiſts, as the ſucceſſion of his brother the Duke of York is proved to be the baſis and foundation of all their hopes. Take it altogether in point of method and matter, conſidering the ſcheme upon which the author writ, the circumſtances under which he wrote, and the dexterity with which he introduced topicks that at this time one would have thought no man who had any regard to his own ſafety, and had ſo conſiderable property to loſe, would have ventured to mention; I ſay, taking in all theſe conſiderations, one may ſafely affirm that very few, if any one pamphlet in our language, is better wrote in every reſpect than this, more eſpecially as it is ſhort, comprehenſive, and equally calculated for the uſe of learned, and of common readers.

(9) This is preſerved in the ſecond Volume of his Miſcellaneous Works.

[*E*] *For this reaſon it is very much in eſteem with the Deiſts.*] The title of it ran thus, *The two firſt books of* Philoſtratus *concerning the Life of* Apollonius Tyanæus, *written originally in Greek, with Philological Notes upon each Chapter.* This book, which is a thin folio, was publiſhed in 1680, and it was chiefly the notes that gave offence, ſaid to have been taken from the manuſcript writings of the famous Lord Herbert of Cherbury (10). This book has made much more noiſe abroad than at home, and has been treated as a work truly dangerous to the Chriſtian religion. It is very ſtrange that ſuch as are perſuaded of the truth of our religion, ſhould be apprehenſive of it's being in danger, from any works of this kind. Apollonius Tyanæus died *A. D.* 96, his diſciple Philoſtratus it is confeſſed, wrote his life with a view to hurt the Chriſtian religion, and perhaps the tranſlation was made with the ſame view; but what then, does it follow that this book, or this tranſlation, muſt neceſſarily anſwer the end with which they were written? Thoſe who think ſo, muſt believe the Chriſtian religion to be falſe, for otherwiſe they will be in no pain about it. The providence of God ſhewed itſelf in the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion in ſpite of all oppoſition. The folly of men is ſhewn, in apprehending that what has been once proved true, ſhould be in danger by being brought to a new trial. It muſt indeed be confeſſed, that ſuch books may do a great deal of miſchief, but the queſtion is, Whether ſuppreſſing them will prove the means of preventing this miſchief? I muſt own, I think not; and that it is much better to anſwer them, which, for any thing that appears to the contrary, is not ſo hard a thing to be done. Thoſe who are proper judges of ſuch queſtions, will then ſee on which ſide the truth lies; thoſe who are not proper judges muſt read ſuch books at their peril, if their curioſity leads them to run the hazard. But I am perſuaded it will be found, that none cry out ſo loud againſt ſuch books, and magnify ſo much the miſchief they are capable

(10) Bayle's Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary in the remark [*I*] on the article APOLLONIUS, Fabric. Bibliotb. Græc. Vol. IV. lib. ii. cap. 24. p. 46.

that came abroad, have also contributed to raise it's reputation, by placing it in the lists of those that are extremely rare [*F*]. In the same year he published his DIANA *of the* EPHESIANS, which, as the author foresaw, raised a new clamour, many suggesting that, under colour of exposing superstition, he struck at all Revelation, and while he avowed only a contempt of the Heathen, seemed to intimate no great affection for the Christian priesthood (*b*). The truth is, there cannot well be a more suspicious book [*G*]. The wit, learning, and zeal of our author, had, by this time, raised him to be the chief of his sect; and he took a great deal of pains to propagate and defend his opinions in his discourses and familiar letters, as well as by his books. But it seems he had not always the same sense in regard to these speculations, since we find him owning, in a letter to Dr Sydenham, that in point of practice, Deism was less satisfactory than the Christian scheme (*i*) [*H*]. The noise his former pieces had made, induced him to conceal, industriously, his being the author of a book, intituled, *Religio Laici*, published in 1683 (*k*); and one may reasonably suppose, that the same motives prevailed on him to drop a design, in which it appears he was once engaged, of writing the Life of *Mohammed*, the Turkish Prophet, which however has been since executed, in his manner, by a French author (*l*). That the world might perceive Mr Blount was capable of turning his thoughts to subjects very different from those he had hitherto handled, he, in 1684, published a kind of introduction to polite literature (*m*), which shewed the extent of his knowledge, and the perfect acquaintance he had in the several branches of Philosophy and Science [*I*]. He concurred heartily in the Revolution,

(*b*) See the Preface to this Tract, in the second Volume of Blount's Miscellaneous Works.

(*i*) Oracles of Reason, p. 87.

(*k*) Post Boy robbed of his Mail, Vol. II. p. 472.

(*l*) The Life of Mohammed, by M. de Boulanvilliers.

(*m*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

capable of doing, as those who are really on that side the question, and are therefore prejudiced in favour of the champion, whose strength they seem to apprehend capable of such mighty feats.

[*F*] *By placing it in the lists of those that are extreamly rare.*] It is said to have been prohibited in 1693, and perhaps there were but a few copies of it came abroad at the time it was published, which has given occasion to some authors to put it into their catalogues of scarce books (11), which is another method of raising the credit of such performances, by suggesting on the one hand, that great pains have been taken to destroy such works; and that on the other hand, such as came abroad were eagerly bought up: In the present case neither of these can be strictly said to have any truth, for the book is publickly enough sold, and though not very common, is not either very scarce or very dear. It is requisite to take notice of this, that if our work should be printed abroad, foreigners may be undeceived in their notions on this head, and avoid publishing for the future such groundless stories as they have done upon this subject, for want of due information.

(11) Bibliothec. Uffenbach. Tom. I. p. 765, 768. Vogt. Catal. Histor. Crit. Libror. Rarior. p. 125, 126.

[*G*] *There could not be well a more suspicious book.*] The title of this treatise at large runs thus (12), *Great is* DIANA *of the* EPHESIANS; or, *The Original of Idolatry, together with the Political Institution of the Gentiles Sacrifices.* With these two Latin verses by way of motto, and at the same time to serve by way of key to the ensuing discourse, viz.

(12) This small Piece is also to be found in the second Volume of Blount's Miscellaneous Works.

Cum scis ipse, nocens, moritur cur victima pro te?
Stultitia est morte alterius sperare salutem.

That is,

Knowing thy guilt, why take the victim's breath,
Or hope for safety from another's death?

This short treatise is written with great bitterness against priestcraft; and though the author pretends to point out the impositions only of Heathen priests, and consequently to attack the truth only of the religions taught by them; yet it is very easy to see, that some other priests are aimed at. After all, it may be doubted, whether this performance of our author was intended against the Gospel system, or against that mixture of priestcraft which had been blended therewith. One would incline to think the latter, from the following passage in our author's preface, which might likewise tempt one to think he had in some measure changed his opinion of Apollonius Tyanæus. 'Such, says he, 'after exposing the follies of Paganism, were the mysteries of the Heathenish religions, and what I have 'here written concerns them only; for when Christ 'came into the world he delivered a doctrine so pious, 'just, and necessary, that (even in it's infancy) it's own 'merits supported it, without the assistances of princes 'or grandees. What is more reasonable than to forbear those lusts which will ruin us both here and 'hereafter, or who but a madman would condemn 'that law for unjust, which prohibits him from mur- 'dering himself? and Christ doth no more. Now if 'the law be good, what must the lawgiver be? For 'such as the fruit is, such must the tree be also. Some 'have even among the Heathens been reported to have 'wrought miracles, as Apollonius Tyanæus; others 'have delivered good doctrines, as Plato, Seneca, 'Epictetus, &c. but what one man ever did both to 'that perfection as Christ did? Many, in all religions 'have died to justify their own opinions; but who, 'except the primitive Christians, ever died to justify 'the truth of miracles, which they beheld with their 'own eyes; but this is unnecessary, for that I write 'not to Heathens but Christians.'

[*H*] *Was less satisfactory than the Christian scheme.*] It is generally supposed that our author wrote a short treatise in defence of Deism, under the title of *a Summary Account of the Deists Religion* (13), for the sight of which, Dr Sydenham had applied to him, and which our author sent him, together with this letter which is dated from Rolleston, May 14, 1686; and as it is very short, we will give it the reader, because it seems to afford a new proof of what has been hinted in the former note, *viz.* That Mr Blount had in some measure changed his sentiments, and begun to entertain more favourable notions than formerly of the Christian religion.

(13) Published in the Oracles of Reason, p. 88.

SIR.

'THE last time I had the happiness of your 'company, it was your request that I would 'help you to a sight of the Deists Arguments, which 'I told you I had sometimes by me, but then had 'lent them out; they are returned me again, and 'according to my promise, I have herewith sent them 'to you, whereby you'll only find that human reason, 'like a pitcher with two ears, may be taken on either 'side. However, undoubtedly in our travels to the 'other world, the common road is the safest; and 'though Deism is a good manuring of a man's con- 'science, yet certainly if sowed with Christianity it 'will produce the most profitable crop. Pardon the 'haste of,

'SIR,

'Your most obliged friend,

'and faithful servant,

'C. BLOUNT.

[*I*] *The several branches of Philosophy and Science.*] The title of this work of our author's runs thus. JANUA SCIENTIARUM; or, *An Introduction to Geography, Chronology, Government, History, Philosophy, and all genteel sorts of Learning* (14). Our author calls this very modestly an Introduction; and it is evident enough from his plan, that he thought it very practicable to make young men of tolerable parts by reasonable application, masters of the most useful parts

(14) London, 1684, 8vo.

Revolution, and ſeems to have had very honeſt intentions of puniſhing thoſe who were King James's evil counſellors, after the government was re-ſettled, by declaring the Prince and Princeſs of Orange King and Queen (*n*) [*K*]. He gave another ſtrong teſtimony of his ſincere attachment to his principles, and inviolable love to freedom, by a nervous defence of the liberty of the preſs; wherein he ſhews that all reſtraints thereon, can have no other tendency than to eſtabliſh ſuperſtition and tyranny, by abaſing the ſpirits of mankind, and injuring the human underſtanding (*o*). This little piece, therefore, has been always eſteemed one of the beſt he ever wrote; and has furniſhed their ſtrongeſt arguments to many ſucceeding writers [*L*]. The warmth of Mr Blount's temper, his great affection for King William, and his earneſt deſire to ſee certain favourite projects brought about, led him to write a pamphlet, in which he aſſerted King William and Queen Mary to be conquerors, which was not well reliſhed by the Houſe of Commons (*p*) [*M*]. We

(*n*) See this explained in note [*K*].

(*o*) This ſhort Tract is preſerved amongſt the reſt of Mr Blount's performances in the Work before-mentioned.

(*p*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 657.

of learning, without obliging them to run through ſo tedious and ſo troubleſome a courſe, as that which they are generally compelled to in the ſchools, and which, inſtead of inclining them to the purſuit of knowledge, gives them very frequently a diſguſt to it. We may ſee from this performance that our author had the true ſpirit of his family, and was deſirous of promoting uſeful and polite Literature, though he was an enemy, as well as his father Sir Henry, and his brother Sir Thomas, to whatever had the leaſt tincture of ſuperſtition or pedantry.

[*K*] *The Prince and Princeſs of Orange, King and Queen.*] This is no more than a letter to Sir W. L. G. that is, Sir William Leveſon Gower, Baronet, concerning the regulations of Corporatiens, and ſurrenders of Charters in the year 1691 (15). It ſeems there was then a deſign to call thoſe people to an account who had been concerned in the garbling Corporations during the two laſt reigns, and the reaſon that Mr Blount applied himſelf to this gentleman was, his ſerving for the borough of Newcaſtle Under-line in Staffordſhire. We perceive in this ſhort piece that Mr Blount was truly a patriot, and that he thought no pretences, intereſts, or connections, ought to ſcreen ſuch as had been concerned in ſchemes for ruining the free choice and independency of Parliaments. He lays it down, that Parliaments are the excellency of our conſtitution as they are repreſentatives of the people, but that when they ceaſe to be repreſentatives they loſe their excellency, and ceaſe to be Parliaments; ſo that if it be treaſon to endeavour the depoſing a King who has a legal title, and is owned by Parliament, it is a crime of as a high nature, if not an higher, to aim at the ſubverſion of Parliaments, by ſo practiſing upon them, as that they ſhall become no longer repreſentatives of the people. He therefore preſſes, that for the ſake of juſtice, for the ſake of that generation, but more eſpecially for the ſake of poſterity, the perſons engaged in theſe iniquitous practices ſhould be puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner. But the gentleman to whom he wrote dying very ſoon after, and the Government not caring to come to extremities with thoſe who had been deepeſt in thoſe meaſures, that affair dropped; but our author's epiſtle remains a full proof of what the ſentiments were of the diſintereſted patriots of thoſe times as to this affair, which they apprehended to be attempting the ſubverſion of the Conſtitution.

(15) This piece is inſerted in the Oracles of Reaſon, p. 174.

[*L*] *Strongeſt arguments to many ſucceeding writers.*] This treatiſe in defence of the liberty of the Preſs (16), as it was one of the beſt, ſo it was alſo one of our author's moſt ſucceſsful performances. It was written at a very critical time, that is, when the Act of Parliament for reſtraining the liberty of the Preſs, and permitting nothing to be publiſhed without the Imprimatur of a licenſer was juſt expiring, and the deſign was to prevent that Act from being renewed, and therefore it was addreſſed to the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled. It is digeſted into nine ſections, each of which contains a diſtinct argument againſt the invaſion of that liberty, which, as he obſerves, is the foundation, and, at the ſame time, the ſecurity, of all other kinds of liberty; for this being the power of ſpeaking truth, and of publiſhing it with reſpect to perſons and things in general, it follows, that while a people are in poſſeſſion of this liberty, the reſt are in a great meaſure ſafe; but if this is once weakened or taken away, it is impoſſible to ſay how ſoon the reſt may follow. His advice in this reſpect, ſupported by the reaſon of the thing, and the general voice of the people, had a proper effect; that pernicious Act was ſuffered to expire, and the Preſs was ſet free, to the inexpreſſible benefit of this nation.

(16) The title is, *A juſt Vindication of Learning, and of the Liberty of the Preſs*, by *Charles Blount*, Eſq; It is the laſt piece in the ſecond Volume of his Miſcellaneous Works.

[*M*] *Which was not well reliſhed by the Houſe of Commons.*] The title of this very ſingular and remarkable piece at large runs thus (17). *King William and Queen Mary Conquerors*; or, *A Diſcourſe endeavouring to prove, that their Majeſties have, on their ſide againſt the late King, the principal reaſons that make Conqueſt a good title: Shewing alſo, how this is conſiſtent with that Declaration of Parliament, King James abdicated the Government, &c. Written with an eſpecial regard to ſuch as have hitherto refuſed the oath, and yet allow of the title of Conqueſt when conſequent to a juſt war.* This piece is now become very ſcarce, and, which is more extraordinary, is hardly remembered, though a very well written, and certainly as well intended a work as ever came from the Preſs. There is a long and excellent Preface before it, which becauſe it is long we will not tranſcribe; but there is ſo much good ſenſe, good nature, and true patriotiſm, viſible in the laſt paragraph of this diſcourſe, that the reader will certainly not think his time miſ-ſpent in reading it. 'I ſhall now, ſays he, leave what I have 'written to the reader's ſober thoughts, repeating 'my requeſt, that he would conſider maturely, and 'judge impartially. I know ſome will be apt to ſay, 'there is no occaſion for ſo much caution to Pro-'teſtants, whoſe intereſt may be ſuppoſed to be a 'byaſs on the ſide I write for, and not againſt it. But 'to ſuch I obſerve, that a fancied reputation of ex-'traordinary loyalty, ſcorn to change an opinion that 'a man has pleaded for, ſuffered for, and, perhaps, 'written for, having eſpouſed a party and been con-'ſiderable on that account, and imbittered againſt the 'contrary ſide. Theſe and ſome other circumſtances, 'do many times with ſome tempers out-balance even 'intereſt itſelf, and turn the ſcale of men's judgments 'againſt it. And of this I am ſo fully perſuaded, that 'I cannot but fear worſe effects from theſe, and ſuch 'like prejudices, than from any thing that can be ob-'jected againſt what I have ſaid. The God of light 'and love open our underſtandings, govern our wills, 'cool our heats, and temper all our affections, ſo as 'we may ſee and embrace *the things that belong unto 'our peace, before they be hid from our eyes.*' But the title of this performance giving many people offence, it met with a very ſevere cenſure, which probably gave great uneaſineſs to it's author, whoſe laſt work it was. A Right Reverend author relates the whole tranſaction thus (18). '*January* the 21ſt, a complaint having 'been made to the Houſe of Commons of a printed 'pamphlet, intitled, *King* William *and Queen* Mary 'Conquerors, as containing aſſertions of dangerous con-'ſequence to their Majeſties, to the liberties of the 'ſubjects, and peace of the kingdom. The Houſe, 'upon examination of the matter, ordered the ſame 'pamphlet to be burnt by the hands of the common 'hangman, and that his Majeſty be deſired to remove 'Mr *Edmund Bohun* the licenſer from his employment, 'for having allowed the ſame to be printed. In this 'debate it was ſuggeſted, that Dr *Burnet*, Biſhop of 'Sarum, had recommended this notion of Conqueſt in 'his Paſtoral Letter to the Clergy of his dioceſe, tho' 'he had done it only upon a favourable ſuppoſition, 'not in a way of aſſertion. However, the majority, 'in the warmth of debating, and ſome of them for 'the ſake of alluſion to the author's name, paſſed the 'ſame cenſure on that excellent Letter, and ordered it 'to be publickly burnt by the common executioner. 'On *January* the 24th, the Lords came to the like re-'ſolution,

(17) London: Printed for Richard Baldwin in Warwick Lane, 4to, 1693.

(18) Kennet's Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 657.

We now draw towards the close of his life; and it would give us great satisfaction, if we could draw a veil over his death; but the regard we owe to truth, and to the publick, will not permit. After the death of his wife, he became enamoured of her sister, who we are told was a Lady of great beauty, wit, good humour, virtue, and discretion, who is said not to have been insensible on her side, but scrupulous only as to the lawfulness of the thing he proposed, viz. marrying her after her sister (*r*). Our author wrote a letter on this subject, wherein he states the case as of a third person, and treats it with great learning and address. It is also said, that he applied himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other Divines, who having decided against his opinion, and the Lady thereupon growing inflexible, it threw him into a fit of despair, which ended in a frenzy, so that he shot himself in the head, which brought him to his grave (*s*). The wound, however, did not prove immediately mortal, he lived after it some days; and retaining still his passion for that Lady, he would receive nothing but from her hands, so long as he preserved life (*t*). He died in the month of August, 1693, and was interred with his family in the church of Ridge in Hertfordshire (*u*). Mr Bayle, who mentions this fact in his article of Apollonius Tyanæus, is mistaken in several circumstances (*w*) [*N*]. After Mr Blount's decease, abundance of his private letters were published, in a work called *The Oracles of Reason*, compiled by one Mr Gildon, who in his preface, gives some account of our author, in a letter addressed to a Lady, wherein he defends Mr Blount's manner of dying, and threatens to follow his example, but he lived to change his opinions afterwards (*x*). These *Oracles of Reason* were afterwards printed with several of our author's pieces, under the title of *The Miscellaneous Works of Charles Blount, Esq*; [*O*]. As to his character, he was certainly a man of sense and learning; had a faculty of writing with much seeming strength, where his arguments were not very cogent. His early dislike to superstition, hurried him into dangerous mistakes, and inclined him to believe all Revealed Religion priestcraft, because he saw plainly that some priests made a trade of religion. However, if any credit due to his writings, (and sincerity seems to have been rooted in his temper) he was certainly a Deist; and therefore such foreigners as have set him down in their catalogues of Atheists (*y*), both injure his memory, and betray their own

(*r*) Histoire des Ouvrages de Sçavans, Tom. X. p. 135.

(*s*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

(*t*) Niceron, Memoires des Hommes Illustres, Vol. XXIII. p. 402.

(*u*) The English Baronetage, Vol. III. p. 670.

(*w*) See the remark [*I*] on this article in his Dictionary.

(*x*) Under the name of *Lindamour*, and the person to whom they are addressed is stiled *Hermoine*.

(*y*) Reimanni Histor. Atheism. Hild. 1725, 8vo, p. 451.

'solution, *That the assertion of King* William *and* 'Queen Mary's *being King and Queen by Conquest, was* 'highly injurious to their Majesties, and inconsistent with 'the principles on which this Government is founded, 'and tending to the subversion of the rights of the people'; 'which vote being communicated to the Commons, 'that House on the next day unanimously concurred 'with their Lordships, with the remarkable addition 'of some words, viz. *Injurious to their Majesties right-*'*ful title to the crown of this realm.*'

[*N*] *Is mistaken in several circumstances.*] It is certain that Mr Bayle was generally speaking very accurate in his accounts, but in this very short story of our author he has made several mistakes (19), and these are the more extraordinary, because he quotes another foreign author, in whose works there are no such mistakes. He says, *that Mr* Blount *was violently in love with his brother's widow*, whereas the passion that was fatal to Mr Blount was for his wife's sister. Mr Bayle tells us next, *that he pretended he might marry her without incest, and that he wrote a book to prove this*, which is another mistake grounded upon the former, though it is true that he did write a short discourse, to shew the lawfulness of marrying two sisters successively. Dr Bernard delivers himself very correctly (20); he gives us an account of the Oracles of Reason, and sets down their contents exactly. He observes, that among these treatises, the eleventh upon the lawfulness of marrying two sisters successively, did not relate to a subject indifferent of the author. It was not, says he, a simple question of Theory, for, to it, if I may so speak, he died a martyr. He observes, that he applied himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Divines upon this subject, and sets down other particulars mentioned in the text, which shews he was very well informed; yet other foreign writers have not only copied the mistakes of Mr Bayle, but have augmented them very considerably; as for instance Reimannus (21), who is pleased, instead of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to give us the Archbishop of Cambridge, and doubts whether his disasterous end was owing to disappointment in love or in fortune. This is literally copied by another writer, who takes the Archbishop of Cambridge without the least hesitation (22). Some very late editions of Moreri (23) follow Bayle exactly, and are therefore no more in the wrong than he. This shews the importance and utility of a work of this nature, as well as the impossibility that foreigners should be able to form a true judgment of the merit of English authors, whose works they very feldom see, and the very titles of which they sometimes misapprehend, notwithstanding which their errors are so spread, that throughout the greatest part of Europe things pass for undoubted facts which are known here to be downright falshoods.

(19) See the Remark [*I*] on the article of APOLLONIUS (TYANAEUS).

(20) Histoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans, Tom. X. p. 135, 136.

(21) Hist. Univ. Atheism. & Atheor. p. 450, 451.

(22) Vogt. Catal. Libror. Rarior. p. 125, 126.

(23) See the article of BLOUNT, in the edition of Moreri printed at Basle in 1731.

[*O*] *Title of The Miscellaneous Works of Charles Blount, Esq*;] We must in this note observe to the reader, that the *Oracles of Reason* were printed in a small volume by themselves, in 1693, in the life-time of Mr Blount, with a preface before them, subscribed C. Gildon. There is some reason to suspect, that this collection of small tracts were sent abroad for the sake of that which concerns the marriage of two sisters successively. This is subscribed by Mr Blount; but he states the case as of a third person, whom he calls Torismond, and the Lady Eugenia. His epistle is dated from Burton in Staffordshire, March the 8th, 1693; and of all the treatises in that collection, this seems to have been written with the greatest care and circumspection, with a great seeming spirit of candour, and as much learning as could be shewn upon the subject. But these, however, are not the sole reasons that induce me to think the *Oracles of Reason* were made publick, that this might appear amongst them: The preface seems to speak the same thing; and Mr Gildon labours very hard in adding new arguments on the side of his friend; but it seems they did him no service, and indeed they are very much inferior to those of Mr Blount, which are such as shew him to have been a man of great reading and profound learning. There are besides, in these *Oracles of Reason*, several other pieces of our author, besides those already mentioned, particularly his letters to a Nobleman, under the name of *Strephon*; and one to Mr Gildon, with a translation of *Ocellus Lucanus*, and a translation and defence of the learned Dr Thomas Burnet's writings; which though first in the collection, were last written in point of time, as bearing date the twenty-third of March, 1693. After Mr Blount's death Mr Gildon thought fit to republish the *Oracles of Reason*, with the best of Mr Blount's writings, under the title of his *Miscellaneous Works*; to which he prefixed an account of the life and death of the author. These were printed in 1695, but they do not include the pamphlet beforementioned, of King William and Queen Mary's title by Conquest, on account of it's being censured by Parliament.

[*P*] *As*

own want of judgment, as the reader will see more at large in the notes [*P*]. He left a son, Henry Blount, Esq; who was a Lieutenant-Colonel, and several other children (*z*).

(*z*) The English Baronetage, Vol. III. p. 671.

[*P*] *As the reader will see more at large in the notes.*] We have already mentioned Reimannus, but it is necessary here to take notice, that in his Universal History of Atheism and Atheists, the eighth chapter is dedicated to the history of such as have flourished in England; and in the seventh section he speaks of Mr Blount (24). But he does not pretend to have seen his writings, of which he mentions only his translation of the life of Apollonius Tyanæus, and the Oracles of Reason, and cites for his authorities, Bernard, Bayle, and Fabricius. He calls him, however, in express terms, an Atheist, without assigning any reason; and indeed, if he had seen his books, he must have been satisfied that he was very far from being so; but, however, he has placed him in very good company, since in the same chapter he sets down Dr Glisson, Lord Herbert, Dr Connor, Mr Collins, and Dr Garth, as Atheists; and mentions also Sir Thomas Browne, Mr Locke, Dr Clarke, Dr Cudworth, and Dr Grew, as suspected of the same opinions, though he is so kind as to acquit them. Upon the credit of this author, whose account of Mr Blount is entirely transcribed by him, the Reverend Mr Vogt, pastor of the cathedral church of Bremen, gives him the like character (25), and his writings are stamped with the title of Atheistical, by several other foreign authors, who, perhaps, had never seen them. It is inconceivable how these and other writers take upon them to treat, not only Mr Blount, but many other persons of great learning, unspotted characters, and unsuspected piety, in very harsh terms, on the slightest pretences, and without having any better notions of what they found their judgments upon, than are derived from extracts out of their writings, made by such as very indifferently understand them; or, perhaps, characters given of them and their writings by their declared adversaries, which, in a country like ours, where party-prejudices generally run high, are not to be depended upon. But the great mischief of all is, they become authorities to each other: and after the scandal is once published, either in Germany or Holland, it is, in the space of a few years, disseminated as undoubted truth over all Europe. E

(24) Histor. univ. Atheismi & Atheorum, p. 450, 451.

(25) Catal. Lib. Rarior. p. 125, 126.

BOADICEA (*a*), a famous British Queen (in the time of the Roman Emperor Nero) whose story is related by Tacitus (*b*), and Dion Cassius (*c*). She was widow of Prasutagus, King of the *Iceni*, and, having suffered the most barbarous indignities from the Romans [*A*], she excited the Britons to a revolt [*B*]. Accordingly, to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand, with Boadicea at their head, they attacked the Roman colony at *Camalodunum*, and slaughtered seventy or eighty thousand Romans, committing the most shocking and unheard-of cruelties [*C*]. But Suetonius Paulinus marching

(*a*) Or Bonduca, or Boudicea, or Baudaica, or Bounduice, or Buduo, or Voadica.

(*b*) Annal. l. xiv. c. 31—37.

(*c*) Hist. Rom. l. lxii. typ. Wechel. 1606. p. 700—706.

[*A*] *She suffered the most barbarous indignities from the Romans.*] Her husband, Prasutagus, in hopes to secure the protection of the Romans to his kingdom and family, had by his Will, made the Emperor and his own daughter coheirs of his great treasures: but it happened quite contrary to his expectations; for his kingdom and treasures became thereby a prey to the Roman officers, who proceeded to such a pitch of brutality, as to order his Queen Boadicea to be publickly whipped, and the two Princesses, his daughters, to be ravished by the soldiers. *Rex Icenorum Prasutagus, longa opulentia clarus, Cæsarem hæredem duasque filias scripserat, tali obsequio ratus regnum et domum suam procul injuria fore: quod contra vertit; adeo ut regnum per Centuriones, domus per servos, velut capta vastarentur. Jam primum, uxor ejus Boudicea verberibus affecta, et filiæ stupro violatæ sunt* (1). Dion Cassius, who is thought to have paraphrased upon Tacitus in this story, makes no mention, however, of these personal injuries offered to Boadicea and her daughters. But, as the author cited in the margin (2) justly observes, Tacitus, in relating the cruelties and injustices that Queen suffered, *is worthy of belief against his own nation.*

(1) Tacit. Annal. l. xiv. c. 31.

(2) Mr Bolton in his *Nero Cæsar, or Monarchie depraved, an Historical Work.* London, 1624, fol. ch. xxv. p. 100.

[*B*] *She excited the Britons to a revolt.*] Dion Cassius (3) has given us a long speech, which, he tells us, she made upon her first assembling the Britons together, in order to animate them to take up arms against the Romans. She begins with observing, 'that 'they could not but be convinced how much liberty 'was preferable to slavery, and how much they were 'deceived by the fair promises of the Romans, in pre-'ferring a foreign government to the laws and man-'ners of their own country, having sustained all man-'ner of calamities since the Romans entered Britain.' And she owns, 'that the Britons themselves had been 'the authors of their own misfortunes, by suffering 'the Romans at first to settle in the island.' The historian places her on a rising ground, dressed in a loose-bodied gown, with a spear in her hand, and a hare in her bosom, which, at the end of her harangue, she lets slip among them, as an omen of success. The author, referred to in the last remark (4), highly extols Boadicea's speech, as well worthy of that historian's eloquence, and the wit of a Greek, who, he says, *was so greatly delighted with the wonder and worth of this argument, that he seems to have made the exquisite handling thereof his master-piece. For,* he adds, *there is not any thing of that bright author extant, upon which he can be thought to have dealt with greater care or endeavour than upon his Bunduca's story.* But Mr Milton, after briefly relating the circumstances given us by the Greek historian upon this occasion, passes a general censure upon this and the like narrations. 'This they do, *says he* (5), out of a vanity, 'hoping to embellish and set out their history with the 'strangeness of our manners: not caring in the mean 'while to brand us with the rankest note of barbarism, 'as if in Britain women were men, and men women. 'I affect not set speeches in a history, unless known 'for certain to have been so spoken in effect as they 'were written; nor then, unless worth recital. And 'to invent such, though eloquently, as some histo-'rians have done, is an abuse of posterity, raising in 'them that read other conceptions of those times and 'persons than were true.' By the way, this author is mistaken in placing this speech immediately before the last battle between Boadicea and the Romans (6); as is M. de Rapin Thoyras, who (7) places the artifice of letting slip the hare immediately after her speech before that last battle. Besides the injuries offered to the family of King Prasutagus, the Britons had other causes of discontent. The Roman Veterans, being newly planted in the colony of *Camalodunum*, had driven the inhabitants from their houses, dispossessed them of their lands, and treated them as slaves and captives; and, moreover, the temple, lately built in honour of the Emperor Claudius, seemed to them the foundation of a perpetual tyranny. And, as the Britons were animated with the hope of recovering their liberty, the Romans were discouraged by various omens; for the statue of Victory at *Camalodunum* fell down, without any apparent cause, strange noises were heard in the Court and Theatre, the sea looked bloody, and several enthusiastic women foretold the subversion of that colony (8).

(3) Histor. Rom. l. lxii typ. Wechel. 1606, p. 701.

(4) Mr Bolton, ubi supra.

(5) History of England, B. ii. In the Complete History of England, Vol. I. p. 18.

(6) See the remark [*D*].

(7) Hist. d'Angleterre, liv. i.

(8) Tacit. ubi supra, c. 31, 32.

[*C*] *The Britons committed the most shocking and unheard-of cruelties.*] Tacitus (9) only relates in general, that they gave no quarter, but destroyed their enemies by sword, gallows, fire, and crucifixion. *Neque enim capere aut venundare, aliudve quod belli commercium, sed cædes, patibula, ignes, cruces, tanquam reddituri supplicium, ac præcepta interim ultione, festinabant.* But Dion Cassius (10) has particularized some of their cruelties upon this occasion. The men, he tells us, had their bowels cut out; and some of them were gored

(9) Ibid. c. 33.

(10) Ubi supra.

marching againſt them with about ten thouſand men, a bloody battle enſued [*D*], in which eighty thouſand Britons were ſlain, and the Romans gained the victory, with a very inconſiderable loſs. This battle was fought in the year of Chriſt 61, of Nero 8. Some have thought it was fought on Saliſbury-Plain, and that *Stonehenge* was erected as a monument to Boadicea [*E*]. This valiant Queen, whoſe perſon we ſhall give a deſcription of in the remark [*F*], diſpatched herſelf by poiſon, or died by ſickneſs, ſoon after.

gored upon ſtakes, and others boiled to death. The moſt noble and honourable of the Britiſh ladies were ſtripped naked; their paps ſliced off, and ſtitched to their mouths that they might ſeem feeding; and laſtly were ſtaked through their bodies.

[*D*] *A bloody battle enſued.*] The Britons brought their wives and children into the field in waggons, to be ſpectators of the fight, and ſhare with them in the victory. Boadicea, with her daughters by her ſide, in her chariot, rode from rank to rank, animating and encouraging the ſeveral nations. She told them, 'this 'was not the firſt time the Britons had been victorious 'under the conduct of their Queens; but that, upon 'this occaſion, ſhe conſidered not her royal deſcent, 'nor the loſs of her riches and grandeur, but was 'come as a private woman to revenge the loſs of li'berty, the ſtripes inflicted upon her own body, and 'the violation of her daughters chaſtity; that neither 'age, ſex, nor quality, could eſcape the unbounded 'luſt of the Romans; however, that the Gods had 'already begun to make them feel the puniſhments 'they deſerved, in the entire defeat of one of their 'legions, and the terror which had ſeized the reſt; 'that, far from ſuſtaining the efforts of a victorious 'army, they were not able to endure even the ſhouts 'of ſo great a multitude; that, if the Britons did 'but conſider their own ſtrength, and the cauſes of 'the war, they would be convinced they muſt either 'conquer or die; that, for her own part, though a 'woman, this was her reſolution; the men might 'live if they pleaſed, and be ſlaves' *Solitum quidem Britannis fœminarum ductu bellare teſtabatur; ſed tunc non ut tantis majoribus ortam regnum et opes, verum ut unam e vulgo, libertatem amiſſam, confectum verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam ulciſci; eo provectas Romanorum cupidines, ut non corpora, ne ſenectam quidem, aut virginitatem impollutam relinquant: Adeſſe tamen Deos juſtæ vindictæ; cecidiſſe legionem, quæ prælium auſa ſit; cæteros caſtris occultari, aut fugam circumſpicere; ne ſtrepitum quidem et clamorem tot millium, nedum impetus et manus perlaturos; ſi copias armatorum, ſi cauſas belli ſecum expenderent, vincendum illa acie, vel cadendum eſſe; id mulieri deſtinatum; viverent viri et ſervirent* (11), Mr Milton, upon this occaſion, is as much diſpleaſed with the Roman as the Greek hiſtorian (12). 'A woman alſo, 'ſays he (13), was their Commander in chief; for 'Boadicea and her daughters rid about in a chariot, 'telling the tall champions, as a great encouragement, 'that with the Britons it was uſual for women to be 'their leaders. A deal of other fondneſs they put 'into her mouth, not worth recital; how ſhe was 'laſhed, how her daughters were handled; things 'worthier ſilence, retirement, and a veil, than for a 'woman to repeat, as done to her perſon, or to hear 'repeated before an hoſt of men.' The reader, we believe, will join with us in opinion, that this ingenious writer has puſhed his cenſure of Tacitus too far; for what is there of immodeſt or indecent in the terms made uſe of by that writer, *Confectum verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam?* And could ſhe have uſed a topick more likely to inflame the Britons to a deſire of revenge, than the contemptuous treatment, and perſonal inſults, ſhe, their Queen, and her children, had met with at the hands of the Romans? Beſides, it ſeems a piece of falſe delicacy, to think the mention of ſuch acts improper from a woman to men, under ſuch extraordinary circumſtances as Boadicea and the Britons were then in. But to return: while Boadicea was endeavouring to inſpire courage into the Britons, Paulinus, though aſſured of the valour of his troops, exhorted them to diſpiſe the threats and cries of the Barbarians. He repreſented to them, 'that 'among the enemy there were more women than 'warriors; and that the greateſt part of them, being 'without arms and without ſtrength, would betake 'themſelves to flight upon the firſt attack; that in the 'beſt armies the deciſion of the day depended upon a 'few; and that their glory would be ſo much the 'greater, as it was ſhared among fewer.' He exhorted them to keep their ranks cloſe, and to have recourſe to their ſwords, after they had flung their javelins; in fine, not to amuſe themſelves about plunder, which the conquerors could not fail of. This harangoe being received with loud acclamations, the Roman General ordered the charge to be ſounded. While the fight continued at a diſtance, the Britons thought to terrify their enemies by the ſuperiority of their numbers; but when they perceived the legions advancing ſword in hand, and with a dauntleſs countenance, they fell into the utmoſt diſorder, and betook themſelves to flight. But the waggons, in which they had placed their wives and children, intercepting moſt of them, a dreadful ſlaughter enſued, and the Britons ſuffered a total defeat (14).

(14) Tacit. ibid. c. 36, 37.

[*E*] *Some have thought —— that* Stonehenge *on Saliſbury-Plain was erected as a monument to Boadicea*] This is particularly the opinion of Mr Bolton, who thinks no other tomb ſo likely to be her's, as that admirable monument of ſtones. 'The dumbneſs of it, 'ſays he (15), (unleſs the letters be worn quite away) 'ſpeaks, that it was not any work of the Romans, 'for they were wont to make ſtones vocal by inſcrip'tions. The common opinion touching that *Trophea*, 'or whatſoever elſe it may be called, would have it 'believed, that their ſtructure was contrived in me'mory of the Britain Lords perfidiouſly murthered by 'the Saxons here upon an interview. Of that heinous 'aſſaſſinate Nennius hath a touch, but aſſigns not the 'place. Geoffrey Arthur or Monmouth is the man, 'who fetches theſe merveilous ſtones (reported by him 'to be medicinal) from out of Ireland, for the pur'poſe of a memorial, by Merlin's counſel and force of 'arms. —— That *Stonage (Stonehenge)* was a work 'of the Britons, the rudeneſs itſelf perſuades. And 'if that plate of mixed metal, mentioned by Cam'den, which was found about fourſcore years ſince 'near to that monument, and inſcribed with ſuch cha'racters as were not legible to the learned of that 'time, did appertain to *Stonage*, then may it eaſily 'be credited to have been ſome old Britiſh inſcription, 'dedicated to the immortal fame of ſome or other 'great worthy, nor of any rather than, in my con'ceit, of the moſt mighty Bunduca. —— The bones 'of men, digged up at times near this place under 'little banks, convince it to have been ſepulchral; 'but armours of a large and antique faſhion, upon 'which the ſpade or pick-ax are ſometimes ſaid to hit, 'do clear the owners from having been in the number 'of thoſe Britons, whom Pagan Hengiſt wickedly ſtew; 'for they came not armed, but weaponleſs.'

(15) Nero Cæſar, or Monarchie depraved, c. 25. p. 181.

[*F*] *A deſcription of her perſon.*] We ſhall give it in the words of Mr Bolton, who copies it from Dion Caſſius. 'Boadicea's body, *ſays he* (16), was big and 'burly, or rather huge; which ſome, tranſlating the 'Greek into Latin, not thinking to be a fit parcel in 'the bill of a lady's praiſe, have turned tall. Her 'face, naturally good, and full of dignity, was of 'purpoſe ſet to the quality of the preſent ſervice, af'ter a moſt ſevere and ſerious manner; which moved 'famous Dio to hang (Βλοτυρωτάτη) an epithet of 'ſuch an ambiguous ſenſe, upon her countenance, as like 'a double picture repreſents her diverſly to diverſe 'underſtandings, excellently comely, or incomparably 'terrible. Her complexion very fair, which who will 'wonder at in a Lady born in Britain? her copious 'treſſes dangling in compaſſe farre beneath her waſte 'were of moſt bright yellow. And though by her 'colour her conſtitution might ſeem to be cold, yet 'her doings declared, that choler had the maſtery in 'her, even unto dcceit and aduſtion. Her looks moſt 'eager, ſharp and piercing; an argument perhaps, 'that her eyes were diſproportionably ſmall; and that 'was a ſign, if artiſts err not, of fraud and cruelty. 'Nature, finally, to make the conſort of her proper'ties complete, furniſhed her with an alarum-bell for 'the country, and a deadly knell for thouſands, a 'tongue as harſh and rolling, as herſelf was high and 'great. —— In Dio ſhe doth not appear old or de'cayed, but a ſtrong and perfect woman. Her picture 'hangs up there in ſuch words, as ſhew the perſon of 'ſome martial boſſe, or amazonian giantneſs.' T

(16) Ibid. p. 101.

11) Tacit. ubi ſupra, c. 35.

12) See the remark [*B*].

13) Hiſtory of England, ubi ſupra.

BODLEY (Sir THOMAS), from whom the *Bodleian* or Publick Library at Oxford takes it's name, was the eldeſt ſon of Mr John Bodley [*A*] of Exeter, and born in that city the ſecond of March 1544. He was about twelve years of age, when his father, being obliged to leave England on account of religion, ſettled with his family at Geneva [*B*], where he lived a voluntary exile during the reign of Queen Mary (*a*). In that univerſity, then newly erected, young Mr Bodley applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the learned languages, and Divinity, under the moſt celebrated Profeſſors [*C*]. Upon the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth in 1558, he returned into England, with his father and family, who ſettled at London; and ſoon after he was ſent to Magdalen-College in Oxford, under the tuition of Dr Humphreys, afterwards Preſident of that ſociety. In 1563, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and the ſame year was choſen Probationer of Merton-college, and the year following admitted Fellow. In 1565, by perſuaſion of ſome of the Fellows, he undertook the publick reading of a Greek Lecture in the hall of that college (*b*) [*D*]. In 1566, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, and that year, read Natural Philoſophy in the publick ſchools. In 1569, he was elected one of the Proctors of the univerſity; and after that, for a conſiderable time, ſupplied the place of Univerſity Orator. Hitherto Mr Bodley applied himſelf to the ſtudy of various faculties, without any inclination to profeſs any one more than the reſt. In 1576, being deſirous to improve himſelf in the modern languages, and to qualify himſelf for publick buſineſs, he began his travels, and ſpent near four years in viſiting France, Germany, and Italy (*c*). Afterwards returning to his college, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Hiſtory and Politicks. In 1583, he was made Gentleman-Uſher to Queen Elizabeth; and, in 1585, married Anne, daughter of Mr Carew of Briſtol, and widow of Mr Ball; a lady of a conſiderable fortune (*d*). Soon after, he was employed by Queen Elizabeth in ſeveral embaſſies, to Frederick King of Denmark, Julius Duke of Brunſwick, William Landgrave of Heſſe, and other German Princes, to engage them to join their forces with thoſe of the Engliſh, for the aſſiſtance of the King of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. of France; and, having diſcharged that commiſſion, he was ſent to King Henry III, at the time when that Prince was forced by the Duke of Guiſe to quit Paris (*e*) [*E*]. In 1588, he was ſent to the Hague, to manage the Queen's affairs in the United Provinces; where, according to an agreement between the Queen and the States, he was admitted one of the Council of State, and took his place next to Count Maurice, giving his vote in every propoſition made to that Aſſembly (*f*). In this ſtation he behaved greatly to the ſatisfaction of his Royal Miſtreſs, and the advancement of the publick ſervice [*F*].

After

(*a*) See *The Life of* Sir Tho. Bodley, *written by himſelf*, p. 1, 2. in the *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ*, &c. publiſhed by Mr T. Hearne, London, 1703, 8*vo*.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 3.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 4.

(*d*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 384.

(*e*) *Life*, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 4, 5.

(*f*) Ib. p. 6, 7.

[*A*] *Eldeſt ſon of Mr* John Bodley.] By his father's ſide he was deſcended from an antient family of the Bodleys, or Bodleighs, of Dunſcomb near Crediton in Devonſhire. His mother was Joan, daughter and heireſs of Robert Hone, Eſq; of Offery St Mary, nine miles from Exeter (1).

(1) *Life of* Sir T. B. *in the* Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, *&c.* p. 1. and Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 384.

[*B*] *His father, being obliged to leave England on account of religion, ſettled with his family at Geneva.*] 'My father, *ſays* Sir Thomas (2), in the time of 'Queen Mary, being noted and known to be an 'enemy to Popery, was ſo cruelly threatened, and ſo 'narrowly obſerved by thoſe that maliced his religion, 'that, for the ſafeguard of himſelf and my mother, 'who was wholly affected as my father, he knew no 'way ſo ſecure as to fly into Germany; where after 'awhile he found means to call over my mother, with 'all his children and family, whom he ſettled for 'awhile at Weſel in Cleveland; (for there then 'were many Engliſh, which had left their country for 'their conſcience, and with quietneſs enjoyed their 'meetings and preachings) and from thence we re-'moved to the town of Franckford, where was in like 'ſort another Engliſh congregation. Howbeit we 'made no long tarriance in either of theſe two towns, 'for that my father had reſolved to fix his abode in the 'city of Geneva, where (as far as I remember) the 'Engliſh church conſiſted of ſome hundred perſons.'

(2) *Life*, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 1, 2.

[*C*] *He ſtudied under the moſt celebrated Profeſſors.*] He frequented the publick lectures of Chevalerius in the Hebrew tongue, of Beroaldus in the Greek, and of Calvin and Beza in Divinity; beſides his domeſtic teachers in the houſe of Philibertus Saracenus, a famous Phyſician of that city, with whom he boarded, where Robert Conſtantine, author of the Greek Lexicon, read Homer to him (3)

(3) Ibid.

[*D*] *He undertook the public reading of a Greek lecture in the hall of Merton-college.*] He read this lecture for ſome time without expecting or requiring any ſtipend for it; but afterwards the ſociety of their own accord allowed him a ſalary of four marks *per annum*, and from thenceforth continued the lecture to the college (4).

(4) Ibid. p. 3.

[*E*] *He was ſent to King Henry* III, *at the time when that Prince was forced by the Duke of Guiſe to quit Paris.*] This commiſſion, he tells us (5), he performed with extraordinary ſecrecy, not being accompanied by any one ſervant, (for ſo he was commanded) nor with any other letters than ſuch as were written with the Queen's own hand to the King, and ſome ſelect perſons about him. 'The effect, *continues he*, of 'that meſſage it is fit I ſhould conceal; but it tended 'greatly to the advantage of all the Proteſtants in 'France, and to the Duke's apparent overthrow, 'which alſo followed ſoon upon it.' Mr Camden ſays nothing more of this embaſſy, than that Queen Elizabeth 'not only aſſiſted the King of Navarre, 'when he was intangled in a dangerous and difficult 'war, with money and other military proviſions, but 'ſent over Sir Thomas Bodley to ſupport or encourage 'the French King, when his affairs ſeemed to be in a 'very deſperate condition (6).'

(5) Ibid. p. 5.

(6) Annal. Eliz. Reg. *ad ann.* 1589.

[*F*] *He behaved greatly to the ſatisfaction of his Royal miſtreſs, and the advancement of the public ſervice.*] 'During all that time (*ſays* Sir Thomas (7), 'ſpeaking of his reſidence at the Hague) what appro-'bation was given of my painful endeavours by the 'Queen, Lords in England, by the States of the 'country there, and by all the Engliſh ſoldiery, I re-'fer it to be notified by ſome other's relation, ſith it 'was not unknown to any of any calling that then 'were acquainted with the ſtate of that government. 'For at my firſt coming there, the people of that 'country ſtood in dangerous terms of diſcontentment, 'partly for ſome courſes that were held in England, as 'they thought, to their ſingular prejudice; but moſt 'of all in reſpect of the inſolent demeanour of ſome 'of her Highneſs's Miniſters, which only reſpected 'their private emolument, little weighing in their 'dealing what the Queen had contracted with the 'States of the country; whereupon was conceived a 'mighty fear on every ſide, that both a preſent diſſo-'lution of the covenant would enſue, and a down-'right breach of amity, between us and them. Now 'what means I ſet a-foot for redreſs of theſe perils, 'and by what degrees the ſtate of things was reduced 'into order, it would require a long treatiſe to report 'it exactly. But this I may aver with mod ſty and 'truth, and the country did always acknowledge it

(7) *Life*, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 6, 7.

'with

After near five years residence in Holland, he obtained leave to return into England, to look after his private affairs; but was shortly after remanded back to the Hague. About a year after, he came into England again, to communicate some private discoveries to the Queen; and presently returned to the States for the executions of those councils he had secretly proposed. At length, having succeeded in all his negociations, he obtained his final re-call in 1597 (*g*). After his return, finding his advancement at Court obstructed by the jealousies and intrigues of the great men, he retired from the Court and all publick business, and never could be prevailed with to return and accept of any new employment (*h*) [G]. The same year he set about the noble work of restoring, or rather founding

(g) Ib. p. 7, 8.

(h) Ib. p. 8—13.

' with gratitude, that had I not of myself, without ' any direction from my superiors, proceeded in my ' charge with extreme circumspection, as well in all ' my speeches and proposals to the States, as in the ' tenour of my letters that I writ into England, some ' sudden alarm had been given to the utter subversion ' and ruin of the state of those Provinces, which in ' process of time must needs have wrought, in all ' probability, the same effect in the State of this ' realm. Of this my diligence and care in the ma- ' naging of my business, there was, as I have signi- ' fied, very special notice taken by the Queen and ' State at home, for I received from her Majesty ' many comfortable letters of her gracious acceptance; ' as withal from that time forward, I did never almost ' receive any set instructions how to govern my pro- ' ceedings in her Majesty's occasions, but the carriage ' in a manner of all her affairs was left to me and my ' discretion.' A more particular account of Sir Thomas's negotiations with the *States* may be seen in Mr Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, under the year 1595, and in a short piece, written by Sir Thomas himself, and published by Mr Thomas Hearne in his *notes* upon that passage of Camden, intitled, *An Account of an Agreement between Queen Elizabeth and the United Provinces, wherein she supported them, and they stood not to their Agreement.*

[G] *He retired from Court and all publick business, and never could be prevailed with to return and accept of any new employment.*] We shall enlarge upon this part of Sir Thomas's life in his own words. ' I can- (8) Ibid. p. 8—13. ' not chuse, *says he* (8), in making report of the prin- ' cipal accidents that have befallen unto me in the ' course of my life, but record among the rest, that ' from the very first day I had no man more to friend, ' among the Lords of the Council, than was the Lord- ' Treasurer Burleigh; for when occasion had been of- ' fered of declaring his conceit, as touching my ser- ' vice, he would always tell the Queen (which I re- ' ceived from herself, and some other car-witnesses) ' that there was not any man in England so meet as ' myself to undergo the office of the Secretary; and ' since, his son the present Lord-Treasurer had signi- ' fied unto me in private conference, that, when his ' father first intended to advance him to that place, his ' purpose was withal to make me his collegue. But ' the case stood thus in my behalf: Before such time ' as I returned from the *Provinces United*, which was ' in the year 1597, and likewise after my return, the ' Earl of Essex did use me so kindly both by letters ' and messages, and other great tokens of his inward ' favour to me, that although I had no meaning but ' to settle in my mind my chiefest dependance upon ' the Lord Burleigh, as one that I reputed to be both ' the best able, and therewithal the most willing, to ' work my advancement with the Queen; yet I know ' not how the Earl, who sought by all devices to di- ' vert her love and liking both from the father and the ' son, (but from the son in special) to withdraw my af- ' fection from the one and the other, and to win me ' altogether to depend upon himself, did so often take ' occasion to entertain the Queen with some prodigal ' speeches of my sufficiency for a Secretary, which ' were ever accompanied with words of disgrace against ' the present Lord-Treasurer, as neither she herself (of ' whose favour before I was thoroughly assured) took ' any great pleasure to prefer me the sooner; (for she ' hated his ambition, and would give little counte- ' nance to any of his followers) and both the Lord ' Burleigh and his son waxed jealous of my courses, as ' if underhand I had been induced, by the cunning ' and kindness of the Earl of Essex, to oppose myself ' against their dealings. And though in very truth ' they had no solid ground at all of the least alteration ' in my disposition towards either of them both, (for ' I did greatly respect their persons and places, with a ' settled resolution to do them any service, as also in ' my heart I detested to be of any faction whatsoever) ' yet the now Lord-Treasurer, upon occasion of some ' talk that I have since had with him of the Earl and ' his actions, hath freely confessed of his own accord ' to me, that his daily provocations were so bitter and ' sharp against him, and his comparisons so odious, ' when he put us in a ballance, as he thought there- ' upon, he had very great reason to use his best means ' to put any man out of love of raising his fortune, ' whom the Earl with such violence, to his extreme ' prejudice, had endeavoured to dignify. And this, ' as he affirmed, was all the motive he had to set him- ' self against me, in whatsoever might redound to the ' bettering of my state, or increasing my credit and ' countenance with the Queen. When I had tho- ' roughly now bethought me, first in the Earl, of the ' slender hold-fast he had in the Queen; of an endless ' opposition of the chiefest of our Statesmen like still ' to wait upon him; of his perilous, feeble, and un- ' certain advice, as well in his own, as in all the causes ' of his friends; and when moreover for myself I had ' fully considered how very untowardly these two coun- ' sellors were affected unto me, (upon whom before in ' cogitation I had framed all the fabric of my future ' prosperity) how ill it did concur with my natural dis- ' position, to become, or to be counted, a stickler or ' partaker in any publick faction; how well I was able ' by God's good blessing to live of myself, if I could ' be content with a competent livelihood; how short a ' time of farther life I was then to expect by the com- ' mon course of nature; when I had, I say, in this ' manner represented to my thoughts my particular ' estate, together with the Earl's, I resolved there- ' upon to possess my soul in peace all the residue of ' my days; to take my full farewel of State employ- ' ments; to satisfy my mind with that mediocrity of ' worldly living that I had of mine own; and so to ' retire me from the Court, which was the epilogue ' and end of all my actions, and endeavours of any ' important note, 'till I came to the age of sixty-three. ' Now although after this, by her Majesty's directions, ' I was often called to the Court by the now Lord- ' Treasurer, then Secretary, and required by him, as ' also divers times since, by order from the King, to ' serve as Embassador in France, to go a Commissioner ' from his Highness for concluding the truce between ' Spain and the *Provinces*, and to negotiate in other ' very honourable employments; yet I would not be ' removed from my former final resolutions; insomuch ' as at length to reduce me the sooner to return to the ' Court, I had an offer made me by the present Lord- ' Treasurer (for in protest of time he saw, as he him- ' self was pleased to tell me more than once, that all ' my dealing was upright, fair, and direct) that in case ' I myself were willing unto it, he would make me ' his associate in the Secretary's office: And to the in- ' tent I might believe that he intended it *bona fide*, he ' would get me out of hand to be sworn of the Coun- ' cil. And for the better enabling of my state to ' maintain such a dignity, whatsoever I would ask that ' might be fit for him to deal in, and for me to en- ' joy, he would presently sollicit the King to give it ' passage. All which persuasions notwithstanding, al- ' beit I was often assaulted by him, in regard of my ' years, and for that I felt myself subject to many in- ' dispositions, besides some other reasons, which I re- ' serve unto myself, I have continued still at home my ' retired course of life, which is now methinks to me ' as the greatest preferment that the State can afford.' Mr Camden mentions the affair of Sir Thomas's dis- appointment in regard to the office of Secretary in these words: ' It raised in him *(the Earl of Essex)* ' a greater and more apparent discontent, that Sir Ro- ' bert

(i) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 308. & l. ii. p. 50.

ing anew, the Publick Library at Oxford [*H*], which was completed in 1599 (*i*). After King

'bert Cecil was chosen Secretary in his absence; 'whereas he had some time before recommended *Sir* '*Thomas Bodley*, on the score of his great wisdom and 'experience in the affairs of the *Low-Countries*, and 'had run very high in his commendations; but with 'so much bitterness, and so little reason, disparaged 'Cecil, that the Queen (who had by this time a mean 'opinion of Essex's recommendations) was the more 'inclinable to refuse to make Bodley Secretary; nei- 'ther would she let the Lord-Treasurer join him in 'commission with his son; both which honours were 'designed him, 'till Essex, by too profuse and lavish 'praises, had rendered him suspected as a creature of 'his own (9).'

(9) Camden, ubi supra, ad ann. 1596.

[*H*] *He restored, or rather founded anew, the Publick Library at Oxford.*] Let us, first, hear Sir Thomas himself. Having given us the motives of his retirement from Court, and chusing a private life (10), he goes on thus: 'Only this I must truly confess of my- 'self, that though I did never yet repent me of those, 'and some other my often refusals of honourable of- 'fers, in respect of enriching my private estate; yet 'somewhat more of late I have blamed myself and 'my nicety that way, for the love that I bear to my 'reverend mother the university of Oxon, and to the 'advancement of her good, by such kind of means, 'as I have since undertaken. For thus I fell to dis- 'course and debate in my mind; that although I 'might find it fittest for me to keep out of the throng 'of Court contentions, and address my thoughts and 'deeds to such ends altogether, as I myself could best 'affect; yet withal I was to think, that my duty to- 'wards God, the expectation of the world, and my 'natural inclination, and very morality did require, 'that I should not wholly so hide those little abilities 'that I had, but that in some measure, in one kind or 'other, I should do the true part of a profitable mem- 'ber of the State. Whereupon examining exactly for 'the rest of my life what course I might take, and 'having fought (as I thought) all the ways to the wood, 'to select the most proper, I concluded at the last to 'set up my staff at the *Library* door in *Oxon*, being 'thoroughly persuaded, that in my solitude and sur- 'cease from the Common-Wealth affairs, I could not 'busy myself to better purpose, than by reducing that 'place (which then in every part lay ruined and waste) 'to the public use of Students. For the effecting 'whereof I found myself furnished, in a competent 'proportion, of such four kinds of aids, as, unless I 'had them all, there was no hope of good success. 'For without some kind of knowledge, as well in the 'learned and modern tongues, as in sundry other sorts 'of scholastical literature; without some purse-ability 'to go through with the charge; without great store 'of honourable friends, to further the design; and 'without special good leisure to follow such a work, 'it could but have proved a vain attempt and incon- 'siderate. But how well I have sped in all my endea- 'vours, and how full provision I have made for the 'benefit and ease of all frequenters of the library, that 'which I have already performed in sight, that which 'besides I have given for the maintenance of it, and 'that which hereafter I purpose to add, by way of 'enlargement of that place, (for the project is cast, 'and, whether I live or die, it shall be, God willing, 'put in full execution) will testify so truly and abun- 'dantly for me, as I need not be the publisher of the 'dignity and worth of my own institution (11).' Mr Camden (12), under the year 1598, tells us, 'Bod- 'ley, being at present unengaged from affairs of State, 'set himself a task, which would have suited the cha- 'racter of a crowned head, I mean, *says he*, the promo- 'tion and encouragement of learning; for he began 'to repair the Publick Library at Oxford, and furnished 'it with new books. 'Twas set up, *he adds*, by 'Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, but through the ini- 'quity of the times was, in the reign of Edward VI, 'stripped of all the books; but he *(Bodley)* having 'made the choicest collection from all parts of the 'world of the most valuable books, partly at his own 'cost, and partly by contributions from others, he first 'stocked, and afterwards left it so well endowed at 'his death, that his memory deserves to bear a very 'lasting date amongst men of worth and letters.' The same author, in his *Britannia* (13), tells us, Duke Humphrey's library consisted of one hundred twenty-nine volumes, procured from Italy at a great expence. His translator adds, that they were valued at above a thousand pounds, and that the Duke in 1440 gave one hundred twenty-six volumes more, and in 1443 a much greater number, besides considerable additions at his death three years after (14). But, before Duke Humphrey's time, Richard de Bury, *alias* Aungervil (15), Bishop of Durham, in 1295, gave a great number of books to the university, which were kept in a place for that purpose in the college, which the Monks of Durham had founded in the north suburbs of Oxford; an account whereof may be gathered from a book written by himself, called *Philobiblos, Sive de amore librorum, et institutione Bibliothecæ* (16). And after him, in the year 1320, Thomas Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, built another over the old Congregation-house in the north cœmitery of St Mary's (17). In 1597, Sir Thomas Bodley, taking into his consideration the ruinous condition of Duke Humphrey's library, and resolving to undertake the restoration of it at his own expence, wrote a letter, dated at London, *Jan.* 23, to Dr Ravis, Dean of Christ-Church, then Vice-Chancellor, to be communicated to the university; offering therein to restore the fabric of the said library, and to settle an annual income for the purchase of books, and the support of such officers as might be necessary to take care of it. This letter was received with the greatest satisfaction by the university, and an answer returned, testifying their most grateful acknowledgment and acceptance of his noble offer (18). Whereupon Sir Thomas immediately set about the work, and in two years time brought it to a good degree of perfection (19). He furnished it with a large collection of books, purchased in foreign countries at a great expence (20); and this collection in a short time became so greatly enlarged by the generous benefactions of several Noblemen, Bishops, and others, that neither the shelves nor the room could contain them. Whereupon Sir Thomas offering to make a considerable addition to the building, the motion was readily embraced, and, upon July the 19th, 1610, the first stone of the new foundation was laid with great solemnity, the Vice Chancellor, Doctors, Masters of Arts, &c. attending in their proper habits, and a speech being made upon the occasion. But Sir Thomas Bodley did not live to see this part of his design completed, though he left sufficient to do it with some friends in trust; for, as appears by the copy of his Will, he bestowed his whole estate (his debts, legacies, and funeral charges defrayed) to the noble purposes of this foundation. By this means, and the help of other benefactions, in procuring which Sir Thomas was very serviceable by his great interest with many eminent persons, the University was enabled to add three other sides to what was already built; whereby was formed a noble quadrangle, and spacious rooms for schools of Arts (21). By Sir Thomas's Will 200 *l. per annum* was settled on the library for ever; out of which he appointed near forty pounds for the Head-Librarian, ten pounds for the Sub-Librarian, and eight for the junior (22). He drew up likewise a body of excellent statutes for the government of the library (23). In this library is a statue, erected to the memory of Sir Thomas Bodley, by the Earl of Dorset, Chancellor of the university, with the following inscription. THOMAS SACKVILLUS DORSETTIÆ COMES, SUMMUS ANGLIÆ THESAURARIUS, ET HUJUS ACADEMIÆ CANCELLARIUS, THOMÆ BODLEIO EQUITI AURATO, QUI BIBLIOTHECAM HANC INSTITUIT, HONORIS CAUSA PIE POSUIT; i. e. '*Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, Lord High-* '*Treasurer of England, and Chancellor of this uni-* '*versity, piously erected this monument to the honour of* '*Sir Thomas Bodley, Knight, who founded this library.*' The *Bodleian library* is justly esteemed one of the noblest libraries in the world, and, if travellers are to be credited, exceeds even the *Vatican* at Rome. King James I, we are told (24), when he came to Oxford in the year 1605, and, among other edifices, took a view of this famous library, at his departure, in imitation of Alexander, broke out into this speech: *If I were not a King, I would be an university man; and if it were so that I must be a prisoner, if I might have my wish, I would have no other prison than that library, and be chained together with so many good*

(10) See the last remark.

(11) Life, &c. ubi supra, p. 13—15.

(12) Ubi supra.

(13) By Bishop Gibson, fol. Vol. I. col. 311.

(14) Ibid.

(15) See his article.

(16) Printed at Paris, in 1500, and at Oxford in 1599 in 4*to*, and since in 8*vo*.

(17) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 4.

(18) Id. ib. p. 308.

(19) Id. ib. l. ii. p. 50.

(20) Dr Willet, in his Synopsis Papismi, apud Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 79. says, they were valued at about 10000*l.*

(21) Wood, ubi supra, p. 23.

(22) Id. ib. p. 51.

(23) See the remark [*L*].

(24) Vide Isaaci Wake, Rex Platonicus, sive Musæ regnantes.

King James's acceſſion to the throne, he received the honour of Knighthood (*k*). He died the 28th of January, 1612, and was buried, with great ſolemnity, at the upper end of Merton-college choir [*I*]. An annual ſpeech in praiſe of Sir Thomas Bodley [*K*] is ſtill made at Oxford on the 8th of November, at which time the viſitation of the library is uſually made. His ſtatutes for the regulation of that library [*L*], were tranſlated out of Engliſh into Latin, by Dr John Budden, Principal of Broadgate-hall, and incorporated with the univerſity ſtatutes (*l*), Sir Thomas wrote his own *Life* to the year 1609; which, together with the firſt draught of his *Statutes*, and a collection of his *Letters*, were publiſhed, from the originals in the Bodleian library, by Mr Thomas Hearne, under the title of *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, or, Some Genuine Remains of Sir Thomas Bodley* (*m*). Sir Thomas had two younger brothers, named LAURENCE and JOSIAS BODLEY.

(*k*) Id. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 385.

(*l*) Id. ib. col. 457.

(*m*) London, 1703, 8vo.

good authors. A catalogue of the printed books in the *Bodleian library* was publiſhed in 1674 by Dr Thomas Hyde, then chief librarian; another of the manuſcripts was printed in 1697; and a new catalogue of both, which will contain four volumes in *folio*, has been for ſome years printing at Oxford.

[*I*] *He was buried at the upper end of Merton college choir.*] Over him is erected a monument of black and white marble, on which is placed his effigies, in a ſcholar's gown, ſurrounded with books: and at the four corners ſtand Grammar, Rhetoric, Muſic, and Arithmetic. On each hand of his effigies ſtands an angel; that on the left holds out to him a crown; and that on the right a book open, in which are theſe words; *Non delebo nomen ejus de libro vitæ*; i. e. '*I will not blot his name out of the book of life.*' Underneath is the figure of a woman, ſitting before the ſtairs of the old library, holding in one hand a key, and in the other a book, wherein the greateſt part of the alphabet appears; and behind are ſeen three ſmall books ſhut, inſcribed with the names of *Priſcianus*, *Diomedes*, and *Donatus*. Beneath all are engraven theſe words: *Memoriæ Thomæ Bodley Militis, Publicæ Bibliothecæ fundatoris, ſacrum. Obiit* 28 *Jan.* 1612 (25).

(25) Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 89.

[*K*] *An annual ſpeech in praiſe of Sir Thomas Bodley.*] Dr John Morris, Canon of Chriſt-Church, bequeathed by his Will to the univerſity five pounds *per annum*, for a ſpeech to be made by a Maſter of Arts in praiſe of Sir Thomas Bodley; the perſon who made the ſpeech to be nominated by the Dean of Chriſt-Church, and confirmed by the Vice-Chancellor for the time being. But this gift was not to take place 'till the death of Dr Morris's widow; which happening in November, 1681, the annuity then fell to the univerſity; whereupon, the year following, Dr John Fell, Dean of Chriſt-Church, nominated Thomas Sparke, A. M. of his college; who, being approved by the Vice-Chancellor, made a ſolemn ſpeech in the *Schola linguarum*, the 8th of November, 1682 (26).

(26) Id. Athen. Oxon. col. 385.

[*L*] *His* Statutes.] The original copy of them, written by his own hand, is preſerved in the archives of the *Bodleian library*. They provide, 1. That the Keeper, or Librarian, ſhall be a graduate, without cure of ſouls, and unmarried; and that both the electors, and elected, ſhall take an oath, preſcribed in the Statutes; the election to be made after the ſame manner as in the choice of Proctors. 2. The Librarian's office is to keep the great regiſter-book, in which are enrolled the names and gifts of all benefactors to the library; to preſerve the diſpoſition of the whole, and to range all books that ſhall be given under their proper claſſes; to attend in the library from eight to eleven in the morning, and from two to four or five in the afternoon, ſuch days and times only excepted, as are ſpecified in the Statutes. 3. To prevent accidents from fire, neither the keeper, nor any perſon frequenting the library, to be allowed candle, or any other kind of light. 4. The keeper to deliver the books into the hand of perſons deſiring them, to be uſed in ſight, and reſtored before ſuch perſons depart; and no book, upon any pretence whatever, to be lent out of the library. 5. In caſe of ſickneſs, or other neceſſary avocation, the keeper may be allowed a deputy, who muſt be a graduate, and take the ſame oath as the keeper did at his admiſſion. He is allowed likewiſe an aſſiſtant in his office, and an inferior attendant (uſually ſome poor ſcholar) to keep the library clean. 6. The revenue ſettled for the maintenance of the library, &c. to be lodged in the univerſity cheſt, and managed by the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors for the time being. 7. None to enjoy the freedom of ſtudy there, but only Doctors and Licentiates of the three faculties, Bachelors of Divinity, Maſters of Arts, Bachelors of Phyſick and Law, and Bachelors of Arts of two years ſtanding; alſo Lords, and the ſons of Members of Parliament, and thoſe who become benefactors to the library; and all ſuch, before admiſſion to ſuch privilege, to take an oath, preſcribed in the Statutes. 8. Any graduate, or other perſon, who ſhall be convicted of diſmembering, or purloining, or altering any word or paſſage of any book or books, to be publickly degraded, and expelled the univerſity. 9. Eight Overſeers or Viſitors of the library are appointed, *viz.* The Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, the three Profeſſors of Divinity, Law, and Phyſic, and the two *Regius* Profeſſors of Hebrew and Greek, who are to inſpect the ſtate both of the building and the books, the behaviour of the keeper, &c. annually on the 8th of November; and, on the Viſitation-day, forty ſhillings is allowed to be expended on a dinner or ſupper for the Viſitors, and gloves to be preſented them by a beadle, *viz.* ſeven pair, of *ten ſhillings* the pair, to the five Profeſſors and two Proctors, and one pair, of *twenty ſhillings* price, to the Vice-Chancellor, beſides forty ſhillings in money to each of the Proctors, and twenty nobles to the Vice-Chancellor (27), &c. T

(27) Vide Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, &c. p. 16, &c.

BODLEY (LAURENCE) a younger brother of Sir Thomas Bodley, mentioned in the laſt Article [*A*], was born in the city of Exeter, about the year 1546 (*a*). After a ſuitable education, though in what ſchool is not known, he was ſent to Chriſt-Church-college in Oxford, where he took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts (*b*). From thence he removed into his native country, where his merit became ſo conſpicuous, that he was made one of the Canons Reſidentiary of Exeter-cathedral, and Rector of Shobroke, about ſeven miles from that city, near Crediton; which was all the preferment he ever had [*B*]. Among other good things which he did, he was of great uſe to his brother Sir Thomas Bodley, in founding his famous library at Oxford (*c*): He was chief mourner at that great man's funeral; and the next day after it, namely March 30, 1613, was actually created Doctor in Divinty, as a member of Chriſt-Church (*d*). He died April the

(*a*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, &c. edit. Exeter 1701. fol. p. 82.

(*b*) Ibid. His taking thoſe degrees is not mentioned in Wood's Faſti.

(*c*) Weſtcote, MS. Deſcript. of Devonſh. in Shobroke: and Prince, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Wood, Faſti. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 195.

[*A*] *A younger brother of* Thomas Bodley, &c.] Mr Wood, by miſtake, ſays (1), that he was Sir Thomas's elder brother. ——— *Laurentio nimirum frater* ——— *natu major*. ——— But Mr Prince poſitively affirms the contrary. He was the third ſon of John Bodley, Gent. the father of Sir Thomas, who is the ſubject of the laſt article (2).

(1) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſitat. Oxon. lib. I. p. 320.

(2) Prince, as above, p. 84.

[*B*] *Which was all the preferment he ever had.*] Theſe are Mr Prince's words (3); but Shobroke was undoubtedly a living of very conſiderable value, it being rated at 36*l.* in the King's books, and conſequently might be worth near 400*l* a year: So that the Doctor's preferment was not ſo very ſmall, as Mr Prince ſeems to intimate.

(3) Ubi ſupra, p. 83.

[*C*] *With*

the 19th, 1615, in the seventieth year of his age, and was interred in St Peter's Cathedral in Exeter, near the choir, under a flat marble stone *(e)*, with an epitaph [*C*]. As to his character, we are told, that for his pious zeal, and continual labour in the faithful discharge of the duties of his function, he cannot be over-praised *(f)*. He was at the same time of an hospitable disposition, very charitable, and pious. In his Will, he bequeathed to the Mayor and Chamber of Exeter, four hundred pounds in money, to purchase twenty pounds a year in lands, towards the maintenance of a preacher in that city *(g)*. There is nothing of his writing extant, except an elegy on the death of the famous Bishop Jewel [*D*].

(e) Prince, as above, p. 84.

(f) Westcote ubi supra. See Prince.

(g) Prince, as above.

[*C*] *With an epitaph.*] It is now obliterated; but hath been preserved by Mr Risdon (4), and is as follows.

(4) Survey of the county of Devon, &c. 8vo.

Clarissimo viro, nec non reverendo, olim hujus ecclesiæ Canonico Residentiario Dno Laurentio Bodleo, Johes & Laurentius Bodleus, *Nepotes, hunc dialogum, memoriæ sacrum devotissimè consecrarunt.*

Laurentius Bodleius.
Anagramma ——— *Bonus Dives ille erat,*
Johan. *Ille erat! Hoc miserum, non nunc; ubinam pia facta*
Virtutis, corpus, spiritus, ossa, caro?
Laurent. *Ossa jacent terrâ, & corpus, pia facta superstant,*
(Protypa virtutis) Spiritus astra colit.
Obiit decimo nono Aprilis A. D. 1615.

[*D*] *Except an elegy on the death of the famous Bishop Jewel.*] It is inserted in Dr Humphreys's life of that Bishop; and part of it is as follows.

Interea, Decor, O! Doctorum summe Virorum,
Et pater, & patriæ Gemma, Juelle, vale:
Chare, vale: donec Superorum sede recepti,
Perpetuo juncti, stabimus ante Deum.
Tu modo præcedis, quia te præcedere dignum est:
Nos per idem læti mox veniemus iter, &c.

To conclude this learned person's life; Dr John Prideaux, Regius Professor of Divinity, and Rector of Exeter College in Oxford, dedicated to him an Act sermon of his on *Revel.* ii. 4. In which dedication he acknowledges himself indebted to him for some preferment; calling him his worthy patron, and commending him as a pattern to patrons, for disposing the Lord's portion, in those his days (5).

(5) Prince, ubi supra.

C

BODLEY (Sir JOSIAS) youngest brother to Sir Thomas, and Dr Laurence Bodley, mentioned in the two last articles *(a)*, was, in all probability, born at Exeter, as well as his brothers. He was bred up a scholar, and spent some time in Merton-college in Oxford *(b)*: But preferring a military to a studious life, he went and trailed a pike in the Low-Countries, which was then the grand theatre of war; where he behaved so well that he was advanced to the degree of a Captain *(c)*. In 1598, he was sent into Ireland, with several old companies of English out of the Netherlands, amounting in all to above a thousand men, of which he was second Captain *(d)*. There he signalized himself by his valour and conduct: and was at the taking of the isle of Loghrorcan *(e)*; at the attack of Castle-Ny Parke *(f)*; and at the siege of Kinsale, in 1601, where he was overseer of the trenches *(g)*, as he was also at the sieges of Baltimore, Berchaven, and Castle-haven *(h)*. For his good services upon which, and other occasions, he was knighted by the Lord-Deputy Chichester *(i)*. He was living in Ireland in the year 1613, when he was Director-General, and Overseer of the fortifications of that kingdom *(k)*. But how long he lived after that, and when or where he died, is unknown. He was author of some few things [*A*], which still remain in manuscript.

(a) He was the fifth and youngest son of John Bodley, Gent. mentioned above. Prince as above, p. 84.

(b) Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 385.

(c) Prince, as above, p. 85.

(d) Fines Moryson's Itinerary, &c. Lond. 1617, fol. Part ii. p. 25.

(e) Ibid. p. 97, 98.

(f) Pacata Hibernia, Ireland appeased and reduced, &c. by T. Stafford, fol. London 1633, p. 215.

(g) Ibid. p. 220.

(h) Moryson ubi supra. See also Prince, as above.

(i) Prince, as above, p. 86.

(k) Moryson, p. 300.

[*A*] *He was author of some few things.*] Namely, these that follow. I. 'Obervations concerning the 'Fortresses of Ireland, and the British Colonies of 'Ulster.' MS. fol. some time in the library of Sir James Ware, afterwards in that of Henry, Earl of Clarendon. II. 'A jocular Description of a Journey 'by him taken to Lecale in Ulster, in 1602.' MS. in the same library (1). But we know not where they are at present.

(1) Wood, ubi supra.

C

BOETHIUS, BOECE, or BOEIS (HECTOR) a famous Scottish Historian, in part of the XVth and XVIth centuries, was descended from a very ancient and considerable family, and born at Dundee [*A*], in the shire of Angus, about the year 1470 *(a)*. Having studied some time at Dundee *(b)*, and at Aberdeen [in which latter place he was a Professor in 1497] *(c)*. he went, for his further improvement, to the college of Montague, in the university of Paris, where he applied himself to Philosophy, and became a Professor of it there. He had an opportunity of cultivating at the same time, an intimate friendship with several persons of the most eminent learning, which were students in that university, particularly the great Erasmus, who kept a kind of correspondence with him afterwards *(d)*. Dr William Elphinston, Bishop of Aberdeen, having founded the king's-college in that city, about the year 1500, sent over to Paris for our author, and made him Principal of that new university. When he arrived at Aberdeen, he found among the Canon-regulars there (into which order he himself entered) a great many learned men. Being installed in his place, he took for his collegue Mr William Hay, who had been educated with him under the same masters, both at Dundee and Paris: And by their joint care and labour, the kingdom was furnished with several eminent scholars *(e)*. Upon the death of his Patron, Bishop Elphinston, in 1514 *(f)*, he undertook to write his life; to which he added the lives of his predecessors in the See of Aberdeen.

(a) This is easily inferred from the dates hereafter mentioned.

(b) See the Lives and Characters of the most eminent Writers of the Scots Nation, &c. by G. Mackenzie, M. D. edit. Edinb. 1711. Vol. II. p. 376.

(c) Bishop Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library, edit. 1736. fol. p. 37.

(d) Ibid. & Mackenzie, ubi supra.

(e) Mackenzie, ubi supra, p. 382.

(f) See the same author, ibid p. 116.

[*A*] *Born at Dundee.*] His father was Mr Boeis of Panbride (*).

(*) Mackenzie, ubi supra.

[*B*] *To*

Aberdeen *(g)*. We shall give an account of this work below. Next, he applied himself to write the History of Scotland; to which he prefixed a large description of that country [*B*]. This history he published, under the title of, *Scotorum Historia ab illius Gentis Origine*, Paris. 1526, fol. [*C*]. But he afterwards improved, and continued it 'till his death; which is supposed to have happened about the year 1550: For we find two persons of great learning then bewailing his loss. One is Bartholomæus Latomus, with whom our author was intimately acquainted at Paris; and the other, Joachim Wolfius, a learned German *(h)*. His History of Scotland hath been highly censured by some [*D*], and

(g) Ibid. p. 384.

(h) Ibid. p. 446, 447.

[*B*] *To which he prefixed a large description of that country.*] It was translated into English with considerable improvements, and inserted into our author's life, by Dr Mackenzie (1). But this geographical description of Scotland by our author, had been pretty severely, and justly, criticized upon by Bishop Nicolson (2); whose words we shall lay here before the reader. '—— Boethius, says he, takes occasion to let his 'reader know, that he was singularly addicted to the 'study of Natural History, and much delighted with 'such physical curiosities, as were most extraordinary 'and surprizing. His correspondents, he assures us, 'were persons of eminent learning in several parts of the 'nation; among whom, was Edward Bishop of Orkney, who furnished him with a faithful account of 'the healthy and vigorous constitution of the inhabitants of those isles. The rest, as the Bishop truly 'observes, did not (all of them at least) deal so fairly 'by him; several of them having most certainly imposed upon his good nature and easy faith. 'Tis a 'terrible story which Sir Duncan Campbel told him of 'the monstrous goose-footed otter of the Loch Garloil; which struck down great oaks with it's steer, 'and yet the fishermen escaped it's fury by climbing 'into trees. The sea-monks at the isle of Bass, and 'Ja. Ogilby's wild men of Norway, (who could 'pull up the tallest fir, with as much ease as an ordinary body can root up a turnip) are proper companions for these; and the credibility of the three parallel stories must rest upon the reporters. But the 'author himself is only answerable for the account, 'which, amongst others, he gives of the clack-geese, 'or barnacle, which he affirms upon his own word; 'since what he pretends to have frequently observed, 'of a perfect bird, feathers and all, being formed in 'these shells, is extremely dissonant from what the 'Naturalists of our days have taught from as nice and 'credible experiments. He is more authentick in 'what he reports of the Gustards (or Bustards as the 'English call them) in the county of Mers, and the 'Salmon at Aberdeen; and, above all, he is to be 'applauded for what he hints of the Purple-fish, reckoning it amongst the *Conchæ intortæ*. This shews 'that he rightly understood Bede (3), who has some'what to the same purpose; and that Mr Cole's dis'covery of this very fish (4) ought not to be reckoned 'among such as had not formerly been published by 'any author. He does not appear to have been quite 'so happy in the use he made of the same antient Historian, and some others, in matters of antiquity; 'or else, he would hardly have placed the *Brigantes* 'in Galloway, the *Silures* in Carict, and the *Deiri* in 'Mers and Lowthian (5). The account he likewise 'gives of the first original of Ptolemy's Geography, 'seems to be far from the truth. He tells us (6), 'that it was begun by some mathematical gentlemen, 'sent purposely abroad by King Ptolemy Philadelphus; 'who having been regaled by King Reutha, as his 'own countrymen and kindred, and having narrowly 'inspected all the corners of the Scotch and Pictish territorics, returned back to Egypt, wonderfully pleased 'with their finding a northern kingdom of the same 'language, manners, and government, with their own. 'Out of these observations, says he, King Ptolemy 'himself drew up part of a large volume of Cosmo'graphy; which, some centuries afterwards, in the 'Emperor Hadrian's time, was compleated by his 'name-sake of Alexandria (7).'

(1) Page 384—446.

(2) Ubi supra, p. 4.

(3) Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 1.

(4) See Philosophical Tranfact. Vol. XV. No. 178, p. 1278.

(5) See Bishop Nicolson, ubi supra.

(6) Hist. Scot. lib. ii. fol. 20. b.

(7) Bishop Nicolson, ibid. p. 3.

[*C*] *Scotorum Historia ab illius Gentis Origine.*] Or, *Scotorum Historia à prima Gentis Origine, &c. Libri* XIX. The first edition of this history was given by Badius Ascensius, at Paris, 1526, fol. and consisted only of seventeen books, ending with the death of K. James I. The next (at Lausanne and Paris, in 1574, fol.) was larger, having the addition of the eighteenth book compleat, and part of the nineteenth. Thus far the author himself continued it: But what follows was the work of J. Ferrerius, a native of Piedmont, who carried it down to the end of James the Third's reign. The Continuer himself wanted the helps he expected (8); his great encourager, H. Sinclare, Dean of Glasgow, and afterwards Bishop of Rosse, being suddenly taken off, before he could furnish him with the intended materials. But he seems to be honest and impartial in setting down matters as he found them.—Boethius's whole history was translated into the Scottish language by John Bellenden, or Ballanden, Archdeacon of Murray, who died at Rome about the year 1550; and published in 1536, under this title, 'The History and Croniklis of Scotland, 'compilit and newly correctit and amendit be the Re'verend and Noble Clerk, Mr Hector Boece, Chanon 'of Aberdene. Translated laitly by Mr Johne Bellen'den, Archdene of Murray, and Chanon of Rosse, at 'command of James the Fyfth, King of Scottis. Im'prentet at Edinburgh, be Thomas Davidson, dwel'ling fornens the Fryere Wynde.' R. Holinshed published it in English (9), with several large interpolations and additions out of Major, Lesley, and Buchanan: but he was not the author of that translation.

(8) See his Dedicat. ad Jac. Betoun, Archiep. Glasg. It was printed with his Continuation at Lausanne, as above; and also at Paris in 1574 and 1575.

(9) In the first Volume of his Chronicles.

[*D*] *His History of Scotland had been highly censured by some.*] Take the following account of it from Bishop Nicolson (10). In the six first books of his History there are a great many particulars not to be had in Fordon, or any other writers now extant; and unless the authors, which he pretends to have seen, be hereafter discovered, he will continue to be shrewdly suspected for the contriver of as many tales (11) as our Geoffrey of Monmouth. For these novelties he has been severely censured by H. Lhuyd (12); and Buchanan himself (13), though he makes Lhuyd as very a villain and blockhead as the other, acknowledges that he's never to be excused.—However, in matters relating to this nation, he certainly follows the most fabulous of our Historians more than he is willing to own, having only given a new turn of his pen to what they had written, and then commonly fathered it on Veremund, or Campbel. In his account of Achaius's treaty, Kenneth's victory over the Picts, the metropolitical power of the See of York, &c. he's extremely formal and tedious, giving us large samples of his oratory in the occasional speeches which he puts into the mouths of his several great men. To these he adds a collection of prodigies and miracles which happened upon every considerable revolution, and either he, or his friend the physician of Aberdene (14), garnishes every dish with flowers of choice observations in Natural History. His principles in polity are no better than those of Buchanan; whose *Jus Regni* is effectually confirmed by what he relates (15), of the making and deposing of Kings and Bishops by the sole creating power of the people. His eighteenth book is as highly commended by Ferrerius (16) as it can possibly deserve; *in quo fusè omnia ita scribendo consecutus est, ut nihil plenius aut significantiùs a quopiam in re persimili fieri posse credam*; i. e. 'That he has treated of all things 'there in so comprehensive a manner, that he believes 'no one could have done it more fully or significantly 'on the like subject.' Indeed the elegancy of his expressions is fine, and well becomes the character which an eminent master of the like Rhetoric has given of it (17); *Illius stylus tam est tersus ut Cæsaris puritatem decoxisse; ac rationum verborumque ponderibus ita nervosus, ut Livianam gravitatem in suam naturam transfuliisse penitus videatur.* 'His style has all the purity 'of Cæsar's, and is so nervous both in the reflections 'and diction, that he seems to have absolutely entered 'into the gravity of Livy, and made it his own.' 'Tis to be wished that he had been as nice and curious in the matter of his work. How far he failed in this, the

(10) Ubi supra, p. 38.

(11) See them at large in Bishop Stillingfleet's Orig. Britan. p. 252, &c.

(12) See below, at the end of this note.

(13) Rerum Scot. lib. ii. sub finem.

(14) Vide Dempsteri Hist. Eccles. lib. ii.

(15) Confer. lib. vi. fol. 92, b. & lib. vii. fol. 128, b.

(16) In Epist. Dedicat. fol. 355, a.

(17) J. Lessæus, lib. ix. p. 414.

and as much magnified by others [*E*]: All which was owing to that natural partiality and antipathy which reigned then between the Scotch and Engliſh nations, but, 'tis to be hoped, is now entirely aboliſhed. Beſides his Hiſtory of Scotland, our author publiſhed The

the reader will beſt learn from the words of Sir Robert Gordon of Stralogh, who was as competent a judge of the performance as could be: *Diſplicet mihi*, ſays he (18), *Hiſtoria* Boethii: *ut liberè ad te loquar. Ille legum Hiſtoriæ ſcribendæ ignarus, rudi ſæculo ea ſcripſit quorum nos pudet. Quid illa de* Ptolomæi *regis legatione ad Geographiam noſtri regni veſtigandam? Quis ille de* Carataco *tractatus è* Tacito *ad verbum deſcriptus? Illum nemo antiquitatis prudens regibus noſtris annumeravit. Illum* Buchananus, *inſcitiæ tantæ gnarus, ne* Boethius *ludibrio haberetur, aut Hiſtoria labem apud exteros ſentiret, nolens è Regum ſerie delere, magnifica tamen illa intacta relinquit. Nomen ipſum* Caratacum *arguit Provincialem* Britonem *fuiſſe. Quale hoc,* Silures *nobis aſcribi, quos hodiernæ* Walliæ *partem tenuiſſe* Romani *ſcriptores teſtatiſſimum faciunt? Quam portentoſum de* Cameloduno *commentum? Quales ſunt illæ regis noſtri ad Cæſarem Julium Epiſtolæ minaces? Nonne hoc eſt ſerio delirare? Ignoſco Gatheli fabulæ; cum nævus ille omnibus tam communis: At illi plus ſatis immorari, omnia ſigillatim, tanquam illorum temporum æqualis, referre, nultum mihi diſplicet*; i. e. 'To ſpeak freely 'to you, I diſlike Boeis's hiſtory. He being ignorant 'of the laws of hiſtory, has written in a barbarous 'age what we are aſhamed of. For what elſe can you 'think of King Ptolemy's mathematical gentlemen '(19)? Or of the ſtory of Caratacus, taken word for 'word out of Tacitus? No man that knows any 'thing of antiquity would rank him among our Kings. 'And therefore though Buchanan, ſenſible of ſo groſs 'a blunder, places him among our Kings; (that 'Boethius might not be expoſed, and ſtrangers ſhould 'not perceive a blemiſh in our hiſtory) yet he paſſes 'over all the fine things that the other had ſaid of 'him: The very name of Caratacus proves him to 'have been a South Briton. How ſtupid is it to fix 'the *Silures* among us, when the Roman writers de-'clare that they were inhabitants of Wales? How 'monſtrous is his fiction about *Camelodunum?* or our 'King's threatening letters to Julius Cæſar? Is not all 'that downright doting and fooliſhneſs? I could for-'give him the fable of Gathelus, ſince it hath been 'embraced by all our hiſtorians; but to dwell too long 'or too minutely upon it, is extremely diſagreeable.' — Dr William Lloyd, late Biſhop of Worceſter, hath alſo ſpoken of our author with great ſharpneſs and contempt (20). For he calls him, 'A late romancer '(21),' who 'could not only make ſtories, but au-'thors too when he pleaſed; nay, that made a Biſhop 'of St Alban's cloak Amphibalus (22).' That, 'to 'prove him a man of no credit is needleſs, when ſo 'many have done it (23).' He 'not only avers the ſame 'thing that J. de Fordon and J. Major had ſaid, with-'out naming them, but, like Hector himſelf he ven-'tures farther into the dark, and charges beyond all 'his company. He was the firſt (for ought I know, 'ſays the Biſhop) that found there were Prieſts and 'Monks in Scotland, named *Culdees*, whom he makes 'to have been there above 150 years before there were 'Chriſtians in that country (24). I doubt, ſays the 'Biſhop elſewhere (25), whether Hector Boethius had 'thoſe authors whom he quotes; [Veremund, Arch-'deacon of St Andrew's, and John Cambel] for he 'never quotes him that was his author indeed, the 'Monk of Fordon (26), whom he ſeems to have fol-'lowed in all his Antiquities.' Dr E. Stillingfleet, afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter, having alſo minutely examined this hiſtory, ſhews, 'That if Hector Boethius 'did not forge all the names of the pretended firſt 'race of Scottiſh Kings, from Fergus I. to Fergus II, 'yet he did *inſert* many things contrary to the antient 'genealogy in John de Fordon, l. 10. c. 2. And 'that finding the ſucceſſion of thoſe Kings very ſhort 'and meagre, he ſet himſelf to *make up* what he found 'defective, and to put it togethor under the names of 'Veremundus and Cornelius Hibernicus, or others; 'out of theſe he framed a long ſeries or catalogue of 'Kings, and filled up the ſtory of theſe Kings, not 'out of their old annals, (as far as yet appears) but in 'a great meaſure *out of his own invention* (*).' Elſe-where he calls him, 'A man who ſtands out at no-'thing (**),' and 'the Geoffrey of Scotland (†).' —— By the by I muſt obſerve, that Biſhop Lloyd having in the courſe of his book, repreſented Hector Boethius's long ſucceſſion of Scottiſh monarchs, from Fergus to Congallus incluſive, as a mere fiction; Sir George Mackenzie publiſhed (27) a violent and not very mannerly anſwer, intitled, 'A Defence of the Antiquity of 'the Royal Line of Scotland;' wherein he highly blames the Biſhop for having 'cut off forty-four Kings, and expo-'ſing on a pillory as forgers the many and grave *Scotch* 'hiſtorians (28). Nay, Sir George admires, that any 'of the ſubjects of Great Britain did not think it a 'degree of *Leſe Majeſty* (29), to injure and ſhorten 'the Royal line of their Kings (30).' But certainly ſuch a conduct is monſtrous; for all learned men muſt know, that there is a fabulous part in the hiſtory of every nation; which to undertake to defend, ſhews extreme weakneſs and ignorance; as to abuſe thoſe who ridicule it, is the height of petulancy and madneſs. Accordingly the Biſhop was ſoon after vindicated with great wit and ſmartneſs by Dr Stillingfleet, in the preface to his *Origines Britannicæ* juſt now mentioned.—But to return; the laſt author I ſhall mention, who condemns H. Boethius's hiſtory, is Humphrey Lhuyd our eminent Engliſh Antiquary; and he looks upon the whole hiſtory to be nothing elſe but a heap of lyes and fables from beginning to end, as appears from the following epigram of his (31).

Hectoris hiſtorici tot quot mendacia quæris;
Si vis ut numerem (lector amice) tibi:
Idem me jubeas fluctus numerare marinos,
Et liquidi ſtellas dinumerare poli.

[*E*] *And as much magnified by others.*] Eraſmus, who was intimately acquainted with him, ſays in one of his epiſtles, 'That he was a man of an extraordi-'nary and happy genius, and of great eloquence.' *Vir ſingularis ingenii foelicitatis, & facundi oris.* And elſewhere (32), 'that he knew not what it was to 'lye.' Mr William Gordon, in a letter of his to the univerſity of Aberdeen, at the beginning of the Hiſtory, tells them, 'That they had much reaſon to re-'joice, in that the Hiſtory of their nation, written in 'a moſt eloquent ſtyle, faithfully and learnedly, had 'been firſt publiſhed by their univerſity.' And ſays, that 'Boethius was a man excellently well ſkilled in all 'the Sciences.' *Plurimum vobis gaudendum exiſtimo, quod noſtræ gentis hiſtoria diſſertiſſimo ſtylo, fideliter, atque erudite conſcripta ex noſtra Aberdonenſi literaria officina primum prodierit in lucem.*—[*Boethius*] *vir in omni Philoſophiæ genere apprime eruditus*, &c.— John Ferrier, or Ferrerius, who continued this hiſtory, ſays (33), 'That Boethius was a man of great accompliſh-'ments and ſingular learning, who tranſmitted to po-'ſterity the noble and brave actions of the Scottiſh 'Kings and nation.' *Hector Boethius vir ornatiſſimus, & ſingulari doctrina præditus, qui regum veſtrorum & Scoticæ gentis res clariſſime ſuſceptas, & fortiſſime geſtas memoriæ ad poſteritatem tradidit.* Paulus Jovius, Biſhop of Nocera, in his deſcription of Britain, ſpeaking of our author, ſays, that 'he wrote the hiſtory of the 'Scottiſh Kings down to K. James III. with remarkable 'eloquence, and equal diligence;' *inſigni facundia, & pari diligentia.* Buchanan, tho' he frequently criticizes upon him, and takes notice of his faults (34), yet owns, that 'he was not only remarkable for his knowledge in 'polite literature above what was common in his time, 'but alſo that he was a man of ſingular humanity and 'courteouſneſs.' — *Non ſolum artium liberalium cognitione, ſupra quam illa ferebant tempora inſignem; ſed humanitate & comitate ſingulari præditum* (35).— Finally, Archbiſhop Spotiſwood in his Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland (36), ſpeaking of our author, ſays, that 'he was a great Philoſopher, and much com-'mended by Eraſmus for his eloquence and felicity of 'ſogine (37); yet is he traduced by ſome of the Eng-'liſh writers for a fabulous and partial Hiſtorian; but 'they who like to peruſe his Hiſtory will perceive, that 'this is ſpoken out of paſſion and malice, and not upon 'any juſt cauſe.' However, it is not the Engliſh writers alone that call him a fabulous Hiſtorian, for Gerard Voſſius owns (38), that he has put many fables into his Hiſtory — *fabulas multas hiſtoriæ immiſcuit.*

[*F*] *The*

(18) Biſhop Nicolſon, ubi ſupra, p. 38.

(19) See the note [*B*].

(20) Hiſt. of the Government of the Church, as it was in Great Britain and Ireland, when they firſt received the Chriſtian Religion, Lond. 1684, 8*vo*.

(21) Page 15.

(22) Ib. p. 151.

(23) Ib. p. 152. See Voſſius de Hiſtoricis Latinis, edit. 1624, 4*to*, p. 615.

(24) Ib. p. 149.

(25) Preface, p. 26.

(26) Fordon was no Monk, ſays Sir George Mackenzie, Defence, &c. p. 34. See Mr Hearne's edit. of that author.

(*) Preface to Origines Britannicæ, p. xi. xvi.

(**) Ibid. p. xli.

(†) Orig. Brit. p. 64.

(27) Edinburgh, 1685, 8*vo*.

(28) Letter to the Earl of Perth at the beginning of the Defence, p. 4.

(29) A kind of high-treaſon.

(30) Ibid. p. 11.

(31) Fragm. Britan. Deſcr. fol. 32, &c.

(32) Epiſt. Anno 1530, in Vit. Eraſmi.

(33) In Epiſt. Dedicat. ad Jac. Betuum, ut ſupra.

(34) Lib. i. & ii. Rerum Scoticar. &c.

(35) Lib. ii. ſub finem.

(36) Book ii. p. 68.

(37) i. e. Wit or Ingenuity: an old Scottiſh word.

(38) Voſſius de Hiſtoricis Latinis, ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *The*

the Lives of the Biſhops of Aberdeen [*F*], juſt hinted at before. As to his character, he was a great maſter of claſſical and polite learning, well ſkilled in Divinity, Philoſophy, and Hiſtory; but ſomewhat credulous, and much addicted to the belief of legendary ſtories. With regard to his other accompliſhments, he was diſcreet, genteel, well bred, attentive, generous, affable, and courteous *(i)*. We ſhall take notice of a miſtake committed by Biſhop Lloyd, that has ſome relation to our author [*G*]; and for which that Prelate hath been ſeverely cenſured.

(*i*) Mackenzie, ubi ſupra, p. 451. & Bale Scriptorum Britanniæ Centuria XIV. No. 61.

[*F*] *The Lives of the Biſhops of* Aberdeen.] Under this title, *Vitæ Epiſcoporum Murthlacenſium & Aberdonenſium.* Pariſ. 1522, 4to. He begins at Beanus, the firſt Biſhop of that See, and ends at Gawin Dunbar, who was Biſhop when the book came out. A third part of the whole is ſpent in the life of Biſhop Elphinſton, for whoſe ſake the work was undertaken. But there is in the King's college at Aberdeen a valuable original Chartulary of Charters, Grants, &c. which would furniſh a better hiſtory of the Biſhops of that See than that of our author's, which upon the whole is but lame and imperfect (39).

(39) Biſhop Nicolſon, ubi ſupra, p. 57.

[*G*] *We ſhall take notice of a miſtake committed by Biſhop Lloyd,* &c.] And we ſhall give it the reader in his own words (40).— 'After the ſucceſſion from *Fergus* was publiſhed by *Hector Boethius*, it ſeems it was not then believed by the learned men of his own nation. For Polidore Virgil tells us (41), that when Hector's book was newly come forth, Gawen Douglas, Biſhop of Dunkeld, warned him of it, and earneſtly prayed him not to follow that hiſtory in writing of the Scottiſh manners. And that Biſhop gave him another account of their original.'— Upon which Sir Geo. Mackenzie animadverts in the following words (42), — And whereas the Biſhop of St Aſaph, [Dr Lloyd], to leſſen the credit of Boethius, relates, that *Biſhop Gavin Dowglas adviſed* Polidor Virgil *not to follow his hiſtory.* Polidor Virgil himſelf is appealed to, where there is no mention of Boethius at all, nor could it be; for Polidor regrets that Gavin Dowglas died anno 1520 (43), whereas Boethius was not publiſhed 'till 1526, and Boethius himſelf informs us (44), that the records, from which he formed his hiſtory, were ſent him from Icolmkill, anno 1525, and no ſooner.'— Polydore Virgil's words are, — *poſtea fumme rogavit, ut ne hiſtoriam paulo ante à quodam ſuo Scoto divulgatam ſequerer.*——— It was undoubtedly John Major that was meant, whoſe hiſtory of Scotland was publiſhed in 1520 (45). Obſerve likewiſe, that whereas Sir George Mackenzie ſays Gavin Dowglas died in 1520, Polydore Virgil expreſsly ſays it was in MDXXI (46). See Dr Stillingfleet's preface to his *Origines Britannicæ* (47).

(40) Preface, &c. as above, p. 38, 39.

(41) Hiſtor. Anglican. lib. iii. p. 71. edit. Lugd. Batav. 1649, 8vo.

(42) Defence, &c. as above, p. 30, 31.

(43) It was 1521. See Polyd. Virg. p. 73.

(44) Lib. vii.

(45) See Dr Mackenzie, Lives &c. as above, Preface to Vol. II. p. vii. See alſo p. 315, 345.

(46) Ubi ſupra, p. 73.

(47) Page liv.

C

BOLTON, or BOULTON (EDMUND) an ingenious writer, and Antiquarian, in the beginning of the XVIIth century, was a retainer to the great George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, under whom he probably enjoyed ſome office *(a)*. He was a Roman Catholick *(b)*: and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſeveral curious writings; which are as follow. 1. 'The Life of King Henry II.' to be inſerted in Speed's Chronicle; but the author being found to favour too much the haughty carriage of Thomas Becket, another life was written by Dr Barcham *(c)*. 2. 'The Elements of Armories, Lond. 1610, 4to.' 3. A poem upon the tranſlation of the body of Mary Queen of Scots, from Peterburgh to Weſtminſter-abbey, in 1612 [*A*]. 4. An Engliſh tranſlation of Lucius Florus's Roman Hiſtory, 5. 'Nero Cæſar, or Monarchie depraved. An hiſtoricall worke, 'dedicated with leave to the Duke of Buckingham, Lord-Admiral.' Lond. 1624, fol. This book, which contains the life of the Emperor Nero, is printed in a neat and elegant manner, and adorned with ſeveral valuable and curious medals. At it is the moſt conſiderable work of our author, it will be proper to give ſome account of it; eſpecially as it is not very common. The whole is divided into fifty-five chapters, in ſome of which are introduced curious remarks and valuable obſervations [*B*]. In chap. xii. he ſhows, how Nero deviſed to go beyond all examples, in making mankind beholden to him, by aboliſhing the taxes upon the portage, or ſale, of wares. But he was diverted from it, by it's being repreſented to him, that thoſe payments were among the ſinews of the ſtate, and that it was no more poſſible for Rome to have ſubſiſted, had thoſe returns of ſupply been withdrawn, than for a good huſband to hold all together, where receipts do infinitely undergo expences. In the xvth he aſſigns the reaſons which induced that unnatural monſter, Nero, to reſolve the death of his own mother Agrippina; namely, in order to bring about his marriage with his concubine Poppœa Sabina, which Agrippina oppoſed, out of regard to his wife Octavia; and alſo, for fear the ſame Agrippina, who was heir-general to Auguſtus Cæſar, ſhould wreſt from him the empire, as ſhe ſometimes threatened to do. Next he deſcribes, how Nero contrived her deſtruction, by feaſting her at Baiæ, and putting her on board a trap-galley, the cabbin whereof was ſo made as to fall at once with her into the water; but this wicked deſign miſcarried, and ſhe was ſaved by the aſſiſtance of her own ſervants, who jumped into the water, deſpiſing death and danger. In the xxivth and xxvth chapters, he gives a large account of the revolt in Britain againſt the Romans, under the conduct of Boadicia [*C*], which he introduces with a recapi-

(*a*) See Epiſtle Dedicatory at the beginning of his Nero Cæſar.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 19.

(*c*) The Surfeit to A. B. C. Lond. 1656, 12*mo*, quoted by A. Wood, ibid. See alſo Vol. I. col. 530.

[*A*] *A poem upon the tranſlation of the body of Mary Queen of Scots,* &c.] It is entitled *Proſopopœia Baſilica*; and is extant in manuſcript in the Cottonian library (1), having never been printed.

(1) Titus, A. XIII. 23.

[*B*] *In ſome of which are introduced curious remarks,* &c.] For inſtance: That the tower built by Caligula, was not at *Brittenbuis*, as is commonly ſuppoſed, but at *Cherburg*, or *Boulogne* (2). That the Roman ſtanding forces in Britain, were not above 40,000 men (3). That the poll-money paid thoughout the Roman empire, was but about ſix-pence per head (4). That the name of *London* occurs firſt in ancient authentic writers about the time of Boadicea's revolt (5). And he ſuppoſes, it is denoted by that coin of Britannicus in Camden's Britannia, the reverſe of which he reads thus after Strada, *Metropolis Etiminæi Ba. Lo.* The metropolis of King Etiminæus London (6).

(2) Page 84.

(3) Page 90.

(4) Page 95.

(5) Page 115.

(6) Page 134, 135. See Camden's Britan. edit. 1722. Vol. I. p. cxix.

[*C*] *Under the conduct of Boadicia.*] The author obſerves (7), that her name is variouſly written, namely, in Tacitus, *Boadicia*, *Boudicea*, and *Voadica*; in Dio, *Bounduica*; and perhaps in Camden's Britiſh Monies, *Boduo*.

(7) Page 99.

a recapitulation of the affairs in Britain, from the Romans first entrance under Julius Cæsar, 'till that revolt under Nero. The battle in which that brave heroine was defeated, he supposes was fought * on Salisbury-plain between two woods (*d*); and he further supposes that she was buried in that plain, and that Stone-henge, or Stonage, was erected for her monument [*D*]. In the xxviiith, he shows when Nero first came upon the common stage, namely, in the tenth year of his reign; and gives a print of his seal, on which was represented the story of Marsyas. To please, as the author observes, the meaner sort of people, was the poor chief point of his policy, in thus appearing upon the stage: For in their affections he reposed his safety, and in their applause his glory. The xxixth is an account of the burning of Rome by Nero's order; in which he takes occasion to describe the prodigious bigness of that city. As Augustus left it, it was comprised within a wall of almost *fourteen* miles in circuit, enlarged afterwards to *fifty*, under the Emperor Aurelian. But that spacious body, and the suburbs thereof, might rather seem a whole country super-edified, than only a city. For the buildings ran out above *thirty* miles one way, and from the milliary pillar fixed in the Roman Forum, as a center of measure, a line of seventy thousand paces would not have included the Prætorian camp, and the furthermost houses. Her increase of habitations was so manifold, that the *seven and thirty gates* thereof, could not let in more; and she had suburbs, which answered in quantity to so many several cities. For, to Ostia, the port of Rome, and mouth of Tyber, the banks were covered with buildings, twelve miles outright one way. He further takes notice, that the fire of Rome began the 21st day of July, the very day on which it had, many centuries before, been sacked and burned by the Gauls; and continued nine days. Chap. xxxvi. treats of the East-Indian trade in Nero's time; which was then carried on, not by the Cape of Good Hope, but some way up the river Nile, and from thence by caravans over land to the Red-sea, and so to the Indian ocean. The ready coin carried yearly from Rome upon that account, amounted, according to Pliny's computation, to above three hundred thousand pounds sterling. And the usual returns in December or January, yielded in clear gain an hundred for one. For, as the author observes, those oriental nations did always understand the use and value of our mints, and were so happy in the follies of the West, that while they sat in quiet at home, they were sought unto from the farthest coasts by sea and land, through all sorts of perils, to receive for their shadowy superfluities, our substantial payments. In chap. xliv, he relates Nero's attempt, to cut through the Corinthian Isthmus. And in the xlviith, how he caused the choice Antiquities, and all the prime monuments of the Greeks, to be brought away to Rome. At the end of this book, there is a small tract of eight leaves, intituled, 'An Historical Parallel; or, A Demonstration of the notable oddes, for the more use 'of Life, betweene reading large histories, and briefe ones, how excellent soever, as 'those of Lucius Florus. Heretofore, privately written to my good and noble friend 'Endymion Porter, Esq; one of the Gentlemen of the Prince's bed-chamber.' The occasion of that tract was this; The author having, in his epistle dedicatory to Lucius Florus, asserted, that 'Epitomes are in truth no better than anatomies,' he demonstrates the truth of it, by a parallel between the several accounts given by L. Florus (*e*), and Polybius (*f*), of the famous battle between Hannibal, and P. C. Scipio. From whence he observes, that Florus gives us, in proper words, the flowers and tops of noble matter; but Polybius sets the things themselves, in all their necessary parts, before our eyes. And concludes, that the oddes between an epitome and a just history are evidently as great, as between the contents of a chapter, and the chapter itself: And therefore, that all spatious mindes, attended with the felicities of means and leisure, will fly them as bane. 6. Besides the books above-mentioned, Mr Boulton hath written, '*Vindiciæ Britannicæ*, or London 'righted by rescues and Recoveries of antiquities of Britain in general, and of London 'in particular, against unwarrantable prejudices, and historical antiquations amongst the 'learned; for the more honour, and perpetual just uses of the noble island and the 'city.'

(*) In September.

(*d*) §. xxviii. p. 161.

(*e*) Lib. ii. cap. 6.

(*f*) Lib. xv.

[*D*] *He supposes, that she was buried in Salisbury-Plain, and that Stone-henge, or Stonage, was erected for her monument.*] This he grounds upon that passage of Dio, where it is said, 'That the Britons enterred 'her pompously, or with much magnificence,' which, as he imagines, cannot be better verified than by assigning these orderly irregular, and formless uniform heaps of massive marble to her everlasting remembrance. Various have been the hypotheses and conjectures of learned men, about the occasion and antiquity of this wild kind of structure, as it is termed by Mr Camden (8). For, besides what Mr Boulton thought of it; 1. Mr Sammes, in his Britannia, fancied, that it was a work of the Phœnicians; 2. Inigo Jones, Esq; (9), and Mr John Webb (10), that it was a temple of the Tuscan order, built by the Romans to the God *Cælum*, or *Terminus*; 3. Many of our Historians, that it was the burial-place of Uther Pendragon, Constantine, Ambrosius, and other British Kings; or, according to others, that it was erected by Ambrosius, or his brother Uthe, with the help of Merlin, the Mathematician, in memory of the Britons slain there by treachery, in a conference with the Saxons. 4. Dr Charlton (11), that it was a Danish monument, erected either for a burial-place, or as a trophy for some victory, or for the election and coronation of their Kings. 5. Some have maintained, that it was an old triumphal British monument, erected to Anaraith, the goddess of Victory, after a bloody battle won by the illustrious Stanings, and his Cangic giants, against Divitiacus and his Belgæ (12). 6. Finally, others have asserted, that it was a temple of the Druids, long before the coming in of the Romans (13). This opinion, which is the most probable, hath been embraced, and very well explained by Mr Toland, in his 'Specimen of a Critical History of 'the Celtic Religion (14);' He there supposes Stone-henge to have been a cathedral of the Druids. See also *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, by H. Rowlands, Dublin, 1723, 4to, and An Account of Jersey by Ph. Falle, &c. Lond. 1734, 2d edit. 8vo.

(8) In his Britannia, edit. Lond. 1722, fol. Vol. I. col. 122.

(9) In, *The most notable Antiquity of Great Britain*, &c. restored, Lond. 1655, fol.

(10) In his *Vindication of Stone-henge restored*, &c. Lond. 1665, fol.

(11) In his *Chorea Gigantum*, &c. Lond. 1663, 4to.

(12) See Camden, ubi supra, col. 123.

(13) J. Aubrey's Monumenta Britannica.

(14) Printed in Vol. I. of Collection of his Posthumous Pieces, &c. Lond. 1726, 8vo.

[*E*] *Vindiciæ*

'city [*E*].' It consists of seven chapters. In the first he treats 'of London before the 'Britann rebells sackt and fired it in hatred and defiance of Nero.' In the second he shews, that 'London was more great and famous in Nero's days, than that it should be within 'the description, which Julius Cæsar makes of a barbarous Britann town in his days.' In the third, he proves, 'that the credit of Julius Cæsar's writings may subsist, and yet 'London retain the opinion of utmost antiquity.' In the fourth, 'the same fundamental 'assertion is upholden with other, and with all sorts of arguments or reasons.' The fifth bears this title, 'The natural face of the seat of London (exactly described in this section) 'most sufficiently proved, that it was most antiently inhabited, always pre-supposing 'reasonable men in Britain.' The sixth contains 'a copious and serious disquisition about 'the old book of Brute [*F*], and of the authority thereof,' especially so far forth as con-'cerns the present cause of the honour and antiquity of London, fundamentally necessary 'in general to our national history.' The last chapter is intituled, 'special, as well 'hostorical, as other, illustrations, for the use of the coins in my Nero Cæsar, concerning 'London in and before that time.' 7. Mr Boulton was also author of '*Hypercritica*, or 'a Rule of Judgment for writing or reading our histories. Delivered in four supercenso-'rian addresses, by occasion of a censorian epistle, prefixed by Sir Henry Savile, Knt. to 'his edition of some of our oldest historians in Latin, dedicated to the late Queen Eliza-'beth. That according thereunto, a complete body of our affairs, a *Corpus Rerum An-'glicarum* may at last, and from among ourselves, come happily forth in either of the 'tongues. A felicity wanting to our nation, now when even the name thereof is as it 'were at an end [*G*].' 8. Moreover, it appears, that our author intended to compose, A General History of England, or an entire and complete Body of English affairs [*H*]. 9. And there is extant in the Cottonian Library, 'the contents, or draught of a book, 'intituled, *Agon Heroicus*, or concerning arms and armories, by Edmund Bolton (*g*) [*I*].' (*g*) Faustina, E. I. 7.

10. He

[*E*] *Vindiciæ Britannicæ, or London righted, &c.*] This book was never printed, though preparerd by the author for the press. A copy of it, written very accurately in a thin folio of forty-five pages, is in the possession of Hugh Howard, Esq; (15). In an advertisement to the reader at the beginning of the book, Mr Boulton observes, that though these seven chapters of historical and antiquarian paradoxes, are wholly written in explication, defence, and full accomplishment of that, which is printed in the historical work of *Nero Cæsar*, concerning the state of Britain and London; yet they are made, of themselves, a body entire and independent, without the absolute necessity of having both the books together. His chief design in this book, is to shew, 'That London, the greatest, best, and 'most renowned city, of the greatest and best island of 'the whole Atlantick ocean, or of the universal world, 'was far more great and famous in Nero's days, than 'that it should be within the description, which Julius 'Cæsar makes (16) of a barbarous Britann town in 'his days.' —— It was not a British or a Cornish *Tre* or town, but a *Kaër* or city; nor simply a *Kaër* or city, but a *Dinas*, the seat of a sovereign Prince, the seat of a Palace-Royal, as the last syllables of *Londinum* (formed out of *Dinas*, a palace) do most unquestionably testify.—Then he mentions the several names, which London hath borne at any time; namely, *Tre-Nant*, i. e. the town in the valley; *Troy-Novant*, i. e. New Troy; *Kaër-Lud*, i. e. Lud's city; *Dinas Belin*, i. e. Belin's palace; *Lhan Dian*, i. e. Diana's fane or temple; *Lhong Dinium*, i. e. the city or palace-royal of ships: And under the Romans, *Augusta Britannorum*, or *Trinobantum*.

(15) See General Dictionary, under the article BOLTON, Vol. III. p. 466.

(16) Comment. de Bello Gall. lib. v. c. 21. *oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum Silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt*, i. e. what the Britons call a *Town*, is a thick wood fenced with a ditch and a rampart.

[*F*] *The old book of Brute.*] That is, the story of Brutus's coming to Britain, (said to be so denominated from him; with his Trojans. This matter, which is generally looked upon as fabulous, is treated of at large by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and from him by most of our Chroniclers. Some truth there may be in Geoffrey's books, but the main of it is unanimously condemned as fictitious.

[*G*] *Hypercritica, or a Rule of Judgment, &c.*] This small piece, which is often mentioned with applause by A. Wood, in his Athenæ Oxonienses, was published by Dr Anthony Hall, at the end of *Nicolai Triveti Annalium Continuatio, ut & Adami Murimuthensis Chronicon*, &c. Oxon. 1722, 8vo. In his preface, the Doctor stiles Mr Boulton, 'a considerable per-'son,' and 'a very learned man.'

[*H*] *Moreover, it appears, that our author intended to compose a General History of England, &c.*] This he intimates at the conclusion of his Hypercritica.—— 'I close up this argument with this final admonition 'to *myself*, or to whosoever else doth meditate the 'Herculean, and truly noble labour of composing an 'entire and complete body of English affairs, a *Corpus 'rerum Anglicanarum*, a general History of England; 'to which not only the exquisite knowledge of our 'own matters is altogether necessary, but of all other 'our neighbours whatsoever, yea of all the world; 'for where our arms and armies have not been, our 'arts and navies have.'

[*I*] *Concerning arms and armories, by Edmund Bolton.*]

Contents, or a draught of a book, intituled, *Agon Heroicus*, By Edmund Bolton.

AGON HEROICUS.

1. How to reduce honor, and arms to better estimation then euer heretofore.
2. Of places according to the known qualitie of parties, as they are of uirtue, or parts of minde.
3. Of the English Crosse, and of S. Georg.
4. The empire of uirtue, and learning adaunced by the studies of honor and antiquitie.
5. Excellent benefits comming to euery good gouernment, and person by the studies of honor and antiquitie.
6. The antient mysterie of antient Maiesties ceremonie.
7. Whither apprentiseship extinguisheth gentrie.
8. Of antient seals, and coigns, and of such as desface moniments of honor and arms.
9. Of such as usurp titles of gentrie, and notes of honor.
10. Of reuiuing publick rehersals of our works beefore they goe to the presse, or passe our hands.
11. On beehalf of Brute, Monmouth's founder of the Britann Monarchie.
12. Of Heathen Theologie among the Britanns and Saxens.
13. Of grants of arms.
14. Of Leters Patents, and other authentick instruments among the antient English.
15. Of Joseph of Arimathea, and the Abbie of Glastenberie,
16. Of Lucius, first Christan King of our land, and of S. Alban, first martyr of the same.
17. That the studies of honor and antiquitie, are not uoluptuarie, uain, or felicitated in the senses.
18. That no nature is good, which doth not uehemently incline to them.
19. Of Constantinus Magnus, and of his mother S. Helen.
20. Of the principal glorie of the Britann world, London.
21. Of Merlin, and his propheties.
22. Of the most renowned ARTHVR.
23. Of antient English cheualrie.

24. Of

(h) This he informs us of, in his Nero Cæsar, p. 82.

10. He also wrote 'The Life of the Emperor Tiberius (*h*).' The time and place of our author's death are unknown.

24. Of English witts, and authors, with censures upon the cheif.

25. How the cheif care and assignation of armories came to bee a part of the crown-rights, or royal office, and why.

26. Of the law of arms as part of the lawes of nature, and of nations.

27. Of gentemen of bloud, and of name, and of arms, distinctly.

28. Of superscriptions, salutations, compliments in antiquitie among us, and of this Hemistichium in the Satyrist,

——— guadent prænomine molles.

29. Of old alligeance.

30. Of praise and glorie for witt or learning.

31. Whither euer any Englishman attained to the heighth of commendation in any kinde of studie.

32. Of mechanical conspiracies in London against the aduancement and enrichment of the learned out of theyr own labours.

33. Of coat-armours in England, and theyr use.

34. Of the studie of the old Britann, Scottish, Pictysh, Saxon, Mannish, Cornish; Wesh-ford, and Irish tongues.

35 Of Robin-Hood, and other famous outlawes.

36. Of antient inuentions appertaining to magnificence among us

37. Of the Historie of England, and of many late ignoble writers in that right noble subject, with censures upon them.

38. Of assuming new coats for antient, upon dislikes to theyr argument, or forms.

39. Whither the whole person of a man or woman may regularlie bee born in armeries, being disalowed Impreses.

40. Whither the poetical bodies of a Sphynx, a Pegasus, a Gryson, a Centaur, a Syren, an Argus, a Gorgon, &c. may regularlie bee born in armories.

41. Whither antient heralds, or heraldrie, were more exact and artificious then the modern.

42 Whither the studies of honor and antiquitie bee among those of that wisdome, which scripture prefers aboue riches.

43. Whither according to the accedence of armories the L. Paget's coat bee a Quadrate roial, and what a Quadrate is.

44. That to honor, and please God, to the glorie and splendor of Prince and countrey, is the supreme cause of the studies of Honor and Antiquitie.

45. How this sentence of Salomon

Fecit Deus hominem rectum, sed ipse se infinitis miscuit quæstionibus,

is to bee sensed for our present purpose.

46. That the natural rectitude mentioned therein is only to bee magistratized by the studies of Honor and Antiquitie, in order to God.

EDMUND BOLTON.

Appendix ad Heroicum Agonem.

1 Of mere Materiators, enemies of style, and of mere Logodedalists, or phrase-wrights, enimies of matter.

2. That it is more profitable for uirtue among us to found a college for the studies of Honor and Antiquitie of Britainn, then to erect a Librarie as bigg as K. Ptolomes.

3. That the spheares of Cyclopedia move within the circle of Philarchæa.

4. That it would supplie the defect of a censor's office in the policie of our countrey, if the antient courses for noting coat armours with marks of bearers uices were recalled (17).

(17) Bibl. Cotton. Faustina, E. I. 7. fol. 63.

EDMUND BOLTON.

C

BOND (John) a celebrated Grammarian of the XVIth century, was born in Somersetshire, and educated in Grammar learning at Winchester school. In 1569, being then nineteen years of age, he was entered a student in the university of Oxford, where he became either one of the Clerks or Chaplains of New College, and was much noted for his great proficiency in academical learning. In 1573, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and in 1579, that of Master; and soon after was promoted by the Warden and Fellows of New College, to the mastership of the free-school of Taunton St Mary Magdalen in Somersetshire: in which station he continued many years, and taught school with such great success, that many of his scholars proved afterwards eminent both in Church and State. Being at length tired of the drudgery of a school, he turned his thoughts to the study of Physick, though he had not taken any degree in that faculty, which he practised rather for pleasure than profit, and became very eminent therein. Mr Bond died the third of August, 1612, possessed of several lands and tenements in Taunton, Wilton near Taunton, and Newenton, and was buried [*A*] in the chancel of the church of Taunton (*a*). We have his *Commentaries* on Horace and Persius [*B*].

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 379.

[*A*] —— *and was buried*, &c.] Over his grave was put the following Epitaph (1).

(1) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 379.

Qui Medicus doctus, prudentis nomine clarus,
Eloquii splendor, pieridumque decus,
Virtutis cultor, pietatis vixit amicus,
Hic jacet in tumulo; spiritus alta tenet,

In *English*:

Skill'd in the healing art, for prudence fam'd,
To crown whose memory the Muses love,
Who liv'd to virtue and her friend's a friend,
Here lies in dust, his spirit soars above.

[*B*] *We have his* Commentaries *on Horace and Persius.*] His *Horace* has been several times printed, viz. *Lond.* 1606, 8vo; *Han.* 1621, 8vo; and *Ludg. Batav.* 1653, 8vo. His *Persius* was printed at London, 1614, in 8vo, *cum posthumis Commentariis Johannis Bond*; i. e. 'with the posthumous Commentaries of Mr John Bond.' It was published after the author's death by Roger Prowse, who had married his daughter Elizabeth (2), who in the dedication to Dr Montague, Bishop of Bath and Wells, informs us, that his father-in-law had not put the last hand to these Commentaries; which may be the reason of those considerable defects, especially with regard to some points of History and Philosophy, which M. Baillet tells us (3) are to be found in them. However, this author's notes on Horace and Persius are esteemed, as well as Farnaby's, on account of their conciseness, and are chiefly used by the younger students in our universities, and in most schools.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Jugemens des Savans, Tom. II. n. 522. p. 241.

T

BONNELL (JAMES) a man of ſtrict virtue, and exemplary piety, was born at Genoa the 14th of November, 1653, being the ſon of Samuel Bonnell, Merchant (*a*), who reſided ſome time at Genoa, and of Rebecca, daughter of Thomas Sayer, near Norwich, Eſq; His grand-father was Daniel Bonnell of London, Merchant, and his great-grand-father, Thomas Bonnell, a gentleman of a good family near Ipres in Flanders, who, to avoid the Duke of Alva's perſecution, removed with his family into England, and ſettled at Norwich, of which, before his death, he was choſen Mayor. Samuel Bonnell, father of James Bonnell, being bred up under that eminent Merchant, Sir W. Courteen, Knt. applied himſelf to the Italian trade, at Leghorn and Genoa, with ſuch ſucceſs, that about 1649, he was worth at leaſt 10,000 *l.* and his credit much greater than his fortune. But both were ſoon impaired by ſeveral accidents, by great loſſes at ſea, and particularly by his zeal for King Charles II, during his exile, and the reſt of the Royal Family, which he privately ſupplied with large ſums of money. About 1655, he removed with his family into England: And, at the Reſtoration, on account of the ſervices he had done the Royal Family, and, as a compenſation (*b*) for the large ſums he had advanced them, (which, it ſeems, were never repaid otherwiſe) there was granted him a patent to be *Accomptant-General of the Revenue of Ireland*, a place worth about 800 *l.* a year; his ſon's life being included in the patent with his own. But this he was not long poſſeſſed of, for he died in 1664, leaving his ſon, of whom I am now to ſpeak, and one daughter. —— After James Bonnell had been inſtructed in the firſt rudiments of learning at Dublin (*c*), he was ſent to Trym-ſchool, where he was eminent for ſweetneſs of temper, and for a moſt innocent, gentle, and religious behaviour. At fourteen years of age, he left that place, and was ſent to a private Philoſophy School in Oxfordſhire (*d*), kept by one Cole, who had formerly been Principal of St Mary-hall in Oxford; and ſtaid there two years and a half. But finding his maſter was too remiſs in matters of morality and religion, a thing quite unſuitable with his ſtrict temper, and obſerving, there were in that place all the dangers and vices of the univerſity, without the advantages, he removed to Katharine-Hall in Cambridge, where he proſecuted his ſtudies with indefatigable diligence, and performed all his exerciſes with general approbation. After taking his degrees in Arts, he removed into the family of Ralph Freeman of Aſpeden-Hall in Hertfordſhire, Eſq; as tutor to his eldeſt ſon (*e*); and there continued 'till 1678, when, going with his pupil into Holland, he ſtayed about a year in Sir Leoline Jenkins's family, at Nimeguen. From Nimeguen he went in the Embaſſador's company through Flanders and Holland; and returning to England, continued with his pupil 'till 1683, when Mr Freeman was ſent into France and Italy. In 1684 Mr Bonnell went into France, and met Mr Freeman at Lyons; and in his company viſited ſeveral parts of France. Leaving Mr Freeman in France, he went directly from thence into Ireland (*f*), and took his employment of Accomptant-General into his own hands, which had, ſince his father's death, been managed by others for his uſe. In the diſcharge of it, he behaved in ſo obliging a manner, and with ſo much diligence and faithfulneſs, that he ſoon equally gained the eſteem of the government, and the love of all who were concerned with him. During the troubleſome reign of K. James II, he neither unworthily deſerted his employment (*g*), as others did; nor came into the arbitrary and illegal meaſures of the court; and yet was continued in his office [*A*], without his deſiring it: which proved a great advantage to the Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland, ſince, whatever he received out of his place, he liberally diſtributed among the poor oppreſſed Proteſtants, taking all opportunities to relieve the injured, and boldly pleading for them with thoſe who were then in power. But though his place was very advantageous, and he had in it great opportunities of doing good; yet, either the weight of that employment, or his ill ſtate of health, or elſe his deſire of entring into holy orders, (which he deſigned for a conſiderable time (*h*), but never effected) made him reſolve to quit it; and he accordingly parted with it (*i*) to another perſon in 1693. —— In the whole courſe of his life (*k*) he behaved in ſo upright and worthy a manner, that he was courted by his ſuperiors, and reverenced by his equals. For, with regard to piety, to juſtice [*B*], and charity, to ſobriety and temperance, few have outdone him. His devotion, though very intenſe, was calm and governable, confined within the ſtricteſt bounds of ſobriety and reaſon, and free from the leaſt appearance of affectation (*l*). His charity was alſo very extenſive (*m*), for he commonly gave away the eighth part of his yearly income to the poor [*C*]. And, for humility, meekneſs, and a contempt of the world, he was

(*a*) Life of James Bonnell, Eſq; by W. Hamilton, Lond. 1718, 4th edit. p. 1, &c. Memoirs communicated.

(*b*) Memoirs communicated.

(*c*) Life of J. Bonnell, Eſq; p. 4.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 89.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 12, 13.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 30.

(*g*) Memoirs, ut ſupra. Life of J. Bonnell, Eſq; p. 47, 54.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 31, 34, 71, &c.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 71, 72.

(*k*) Memoirs, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Life of J. Bonnell, Eſq; p. 135.

(*m*) Page 215.

[*A*] *And yet was continued in his office.*] Such an openneſs and ſincerity ſhined in all his actions, ſuch unſhaken fidelity was his rule and guide, ſo known an enemy was he to faction and intrigue, that he was not only free from blame, but even ſuſpicion; and the enemies of his religion reverenced his perſon. *Life of J. Bonnell*, Eſq; p. 39. But it ſeems one reaſon of his being continued in his employment was, becauſe at that time they could not be without his knowledge, nor do without him, in the revenue. Ibid. p. 275.

[*B*] *To juſtice*, &c.] He never knew what gratuity or reward meant, confining his gains entirely to his ſalary. *Life*, &c. p 209.

[*C*] *He commonly gave away the eighth part of his yearly income*, &c.] He was eminent likewiſe for charity towards thoſe who differed from him in opinion. 'Though no man was firmer to the Proteſtant religion 'eſtabliſhed among us, and more truly zealous to ſupport and enlarge it; yet force and violence he 'eſteemed the unfitteſt means in the world to attain 'that end. And he utterly condemned all perſecutions for religion, and violence to mens conſciences. '—His charity was ſo generous and noble, that it 'effectually ſecured him from all narrowneſs of temper, and morefeneſs of behaviour, towards thoſe 'who differed from him in opinion. He uſed frequently to ſay, that moſt differences among Chriſtians 'were chiefly in words, and that their ſentiments were 'much

was a pattern to all. Nay, a perſon who had the beſt opportunity of knowing him throughly, declares (*n*), 'I can with truth ſay, I never knew him do a thing, or heard 'him ſay a word, that I would have wiſhed undone or unſaid, if he had died the next 'hour.'——He had, withal, an accuracy and exactneſs in his judgment that few can equal (*o*). And he was maſter of the accompliſhing, as well as neceſſary parts of learning; had throughly digeſted the Greek and Roman authors, underſtood French perfectly well, and had made good progreſs in the Hebrew (*p*). In Philoſophy and Oratory, he exceeded moſt of his contemporaries in the univerſity; and applied himſelf with good ſucceſs to Mathematicks and Muſick. In the courſe of his ſtudies, he read ſeveral of the Fathers; and tranſlated ſome parts of Syneſius into Engliſh [*D*]. This worthy perſon died of a malignant fever, April 28, 1699, and was buried in St John's church in Dublin (*q*). In 1693, he married Jane, daughter of Sir Albert Conyngham (*r*), by whom he had three children; whereof only one daughter ſurvived him, but ſhe died not long after his deceaſe. A very neat monument of white marble was erected to his memory [*E*], by his relict, with an inſcription given below in the note.

(*n*) His widow, in a Letter.

(*o*) Biſhop of Londonderry's Letter in Pref. to Mr Bonnell's Life, p. xvii.

(*p*) Life, &c. p. 80.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 76.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 72, 77.

'much nearer than their expreſſions, — The diviſions 'which prevail among Chriſtians he heartily bewailed; 'he ſaw how much of paſſion and worldly intereſt there 'was in them, and how deſtructive they are to piety 'and charity. But then he conſidered, that charity 'obliged him to look upon all Chriſtians as his bre-'thren, as children of the ſame father, and members 'of the ſame family to which he belonged, and conſe-'quently that he muſt not hate nor perſecute any of 'them; that he ought to lament their diviſions, and 'do all that in him lay to heal their breaches and cure 'their animoſities, but ſtill they had a right to his 'charity and to his prayers.' *Life of Bonnell*, p. 222, 223, 225.

[*D*] *And tranſlated ſome parts of Syneſius into Engliſh.*] There is however nothing of his publiſhed, but ſome *Meditations* and *Prayers* inſerted in his life, and a *Harmony of the Goſpels* done by another hand, but reformed and improved by *James Bonnell*, Eſq; for his own uſe; printed at London for Joſeph Downing.

[*E*] *A very neat monument of white marble was erected to his memory*, &c.] At the top there is a buſt of his head, underneath which are his arms. The inſcription is as follows.

P. M. S.

Jacobi Bonnelli armigeri, cujus exuviæ una cum Patris, et duorum filiorum *Alberti* et *Samuelis*, juxta ſitæ ſunt. Regibus *Carolo* 2^do^ *Jacobo* 2^do^ et *Guilielmo* 3^o^ erat a rationibus generalibus in Hiberniâ, temporibus licet incertis. Dominis fidus, ab omni factione immunis, nemini ſuſpectus, omnibus charus. Natus eſt Novembris 14^o^ 1653, Patre *Samuele*, qui propter ſuppetias Regiæ familiæ largiter exhibitas, officio computatoris generalis Fiſci *Hibernici* Anno Domini 1661, una cum Filio remuneratus eſt. Avo Daniele, Proavo Thoma, qui ſub Duce *Albano* religionis ergo *Flandriâ* Patriâ ſuâ exul, *Norvicum* in Anglia profugit, ubi mox Civis, et demum Prætor. Pietate avitâ, & bene congenitâ, imo primævâ & Apoſtolicâ, eruditione, prudentiâ, probitate, comitate, et morum ſimplicitate conſpicuus. Manſuetudine, patientiâ, et ſuper omnia charitate inſignis, Urbem hanc exemplo, et præceptis, meliorem, morte, mœſtam reliquit. Obiit Aprilis 28. 1699. Monimentum hoc ingentis doloris publici, præſertim ſui, exiguum pro meritis, poſuit uxor mœſtiſſima *Jana Coninghamorum* gente. C

BONNER (EDMUND) Biſhop of London in the XVIth century, was born at Hanley in Worceſterſhire, being the ſon of an honeſt poor man of that place [*A*]. He was maintained at ſchool by ——— Lechmore, anceſtor to Nicholas Lechmore, Eſq; one of the Barons of the Exchequer in the reign of the late King William (*a*). About the year 1512, he became a ſtudent in Broadgate-hall in Oxford, now Penbroke-college, then a famous nurſery for Civilians and Canoniſts (*b*). Having made a ſufficient progreſs in Philoſophy and the Laws, he was admitted, on the 12th of June 1519, Bachelor of the Canon, and the day following, Bachelor of the Civil Law (*c*). He entered into holy orders about that time, and had ſome employment in the dioceſe of Worceſter (*d*). On the 12th of July 1525, he was created Doctor of the Canon Law (*e*). He did not diſtinguiſh himſelf by his learning, but by his ſkill and dexterity in the management of affairs: For which he was much taken notice of by Cardinal Wolſey, who made him his Commiſſary for the Faculties. And he was with that Prelate at Cawood, when he was arreſted of high-treaſon (*f*). At one and the ſame time he enjoyed theſe ſeveral eccleſiaſtical preferments; the livings of Blaydon, and Cherry-Burton in Yorkſhire; of Ripple in Worceſterſhire; of Eaſt-Dereham in Norfolk; and the Prebend of Chiſwick in the cathedral church of St Paul: but this he reſigned in 1539, as he did his church of Eaſt-Dereham, in 1540 (*). He

(*a*) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. 2d edit. 1725, fol. p. 575.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 158.

(*c*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 27.

(*d*) Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Id. Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 39.

(*f*) Stow's Annales, edit 1631, fol. p. 556. Hollinſhed's Chronicle, edit. 1587, p. 915.

(*) Newcourt, Repertorium, &c. Vol. I. p. 26, 140. & Wood, Athenæ, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *The ſon of an honeſt poor man of that place.*] The common notion is, that he was the natural ſon of George Savage, Prieſt, rector of Davenham in Cheſhire, natural ſon of Sir John Savage of Cliſton in the ſaid county, Knight of the Garter, and one of the Council to King Henry VII; which George Savage had ſeven natural children by three ſundry women, viz. George Savage, Chancellor of Cheſter; John Wymeſly, rector of Torperley in Cheſhire, and made Archdeacon of London by his brother Edmund Bonner; Randal Savage of Lodge in the ſaid county; Edmund Bonner, born of Elizabeth Frodſham, who was the wife (after Bonner had been begotten) of Edmund Bonner, a Sawyer, living with a gentleman called Armingham of Potters-Hanley in Worceſterſhire; beſides three daughters, Margaret, Ellen, and Elizabeth (1). But Mr Strype informs us (2), that the late Baron Lechmore aſſured him, Bonner was certainly legitimately begotten, and born at Hanley in Worceſterſhire, of one Bonner, an honeſt poor man, in a houſe called *Boner's Place* to this day, a little cottage of about five pounds a year; and that his great-grandfather, Biſhop Bonner's intimate friend and acquaintance, purchaſed that eſtate of the Biſhop in Queen Elizabeth's time, and that he had it ſtill in his poſſeſſion. He added, that there was an extraordinary friendſhip between the Biſhop and his ſaid great-grandfather; inſomuch, that the Biſhop made leaſes to him of the value of 1000 *l.* a year, two whereof he remembered were Fering and Kelvedon in Eſſex. And that he had been told by ſome of his family, that Bonner ſhewed this kindneſs to this Gentleman out of gratitude, his father, or ſome of the relations, having put him out to ſchool. But as to his birth the Baron ſaid, he thought he could make it out beyond exception, that Bonner was begotten in lawful wedlock. And that he had ſeveral letters yet in his keeping between the Biſhop and his great-grandfather, but of private matters.

(1) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra. Godwin, de Præſulibus, edit. 1616. 4to, p. 250.

(2) Annals, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *He*

He was likewiſe Archdeacon of Leiceſter, into which he was inſtalled, October 17, 1535 (*g*). After the Cardinal's, his patron's, death, being a forward and puſhing man, he inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of K. Henry VIII; and became one of his chaplains, a favourer of the Lutherans, a promoter of that King's divorce from Q. Katharine of Spain, and of all his proceedings in abrogating the Pope's ſupremacy in this kingdom (*h*). He found means likewiſe to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of Thomas Cromwell [*B*], Secretary of State, by whoſe recommendation he was employed as Ambaſſador at ſeveral courts (*i*). Particularly, in 1532, he was ſent to Rome, along with Sir Edward Karne, to excuſe K. Henry's perſonal appearance, or by proxy there, upon the Pope's citation for that purpoſe: And ſince there were, upon that occaſion, many threatnings to be uſed to the Pope and Cardinals, he was thought fitteſt for the employment, as being a very bold man (*k*). Again, in 1533, he was ſent to Pope Clement VII, then at Marſeilles, upon the excommunication decreed at Rome, againſt King Henry VIII, on account of his divorce; to deliver that King's appeal, from the Pope to the next General Council lawfully called: And he delivered the threatnings he was ordered to make, with ſo much vehemence and fury, that the Pope talked of throwing him into a cauldron of melted lead, or of burning him alive; whereupon he apprehending ſome danger, made his eſcape (*l*). He was employed likewiſe in other embaſſies, to the Kings of Denmark and France, and to the Emperor of Germany (*m*). In 1538, being then Ambaſſador in France (*n*) [*C*], he was nominated to the Biſhopric of Hereford: He had the royal aſſent to his election, November 27, and the temporalities were reſtored to his proctor, March the 4th following (*o*). But, before Conſecration he was tranſlated to London; of which he was elected Biſhop, October 20 (*p*), 1539; confirmed the 12th of November enſuing; took a commiſſion from the King for the exerciſe of his eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, immediately after (*q*); had reſtitution of his temporalities the 18th day of November juſt now mentioned; and was conſecrated in his own cathedral, April 4, 1540, and enthroned the 16th of the ſame month (*r*). At the time of the King's death, in 1547, he was Ambaſſador with the Emperor Charles V (*s*). He had appeared, during that reign, zealous againſt the Pope; and concurred generally in the ſeveral ſteps taken to bring about a Reformation in this kingdom [*D*]. But it was either out of ambition, becauſe he knew that to be the readieſt way to preferment; or elſe out of a dread of the King's furious and violent temper, who would not be contradicted. For, he was all the while a thorough Papiſt in his heart, as appeared by his ſubſequent conduct. Among other inſtances; on the firſt of September, 1547,

(*g*) Faſti Eccleſ. Anglicanæ, &c. by J. Le Neve, Lond. 1716, fol. p. 164.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Ibid. and J. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, &c. edit. 1583, Vol. II. p. 1088.

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. 2d edit. 1681, p. 120.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 134.

(*m*) Wood, ubi ſupra, and Life of King Henry VIII, by the Lord Herbert, in Complete Hiſt. of England, edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 182.

(*n*) Wood, ut ſupra, col. 159. Godwin de Præſulibus, edit. 1616, 4to. p. 250. and Newcourt, and J. Foxe, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Conventiones, Acta Publica, &c. publiſhed by Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 599, 601.

(*p*) Wood ſays it was Octob. 1. Ubi ſupra.

(*q*) See Furnet, as above; in the Collection of Records, book iii. No. 14. p. 184.

(*r*) Wharton. de Epiſcop. Londin. 8vo. Newcourt, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *He found means likewiſe to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of* Thomas Cromwell.] And to him it was he chiefly owed his preferments and dignities, as he thankfully acknowledges in the following letter to that Lord, written from Blois in France, 2d September, 1538. 'My very ſingular eſpeciall good 'Lord, as one moſt bounden, I moſt humbly com-'mende mee unto your honourable good Lordſhip. 'And whereas in times paſſed it hath liked the ſame, 'without any my deſertes or merites, even only of 'your ſingular exceding goodnes, to beſtowe a great 'deale of love, benevolence and good affection upon 'me ſo poore a man, and of ſo ſmall qualities, ex-'preſſing in deede, fondry wayes, the good effectes 'thereof to my great preferment; I was very much 'bounde thereby unto your honourable good Lord-'ſhippe, and thought it alway my duetie (as indeede 'it was) both to beare my true hart againe unto your 'Lordſhip, and alſo remembring ſuche kindnes, to 'doe unto the ſame all ſuch ſervice and pleaſure as 'might then lie in my ſmal power to do. But where 'of your infinite and ineſtimable goodnes, it hath fur-'ther liked you of late, firſt to advance me unto the 'office of Legation from ſuch a Prince as my ſove-'raigne Lorde is, unto the Emperour and French 'King, and next after to procure and obtayne mine 'advauncement to ſo honourable a promotion as the 'Byſhoprike of Hereford: I muſt here knowledge the 'exceeding greatnes of your Lordſhippes benefite, 'with mine own imbecillitie to recompence it, - - - - '&c (3).'

(3) J. Foxe, ubi ſupra, p. 1088.

[*C*] *Being then Ambaſſador in France.*] But he was recalled from thence this year, at the deſire of the King of France, to whom he had ſpoken a little too freely upon the following occaſion. An Engliſh traitor ſkulking in France, King Henry ordered his Ambaſſador, Bonner, to demand him; but the King of France refuſed to deliver him up. Whereupon Bonner told that King, that in ſo doing he acted 'againſt God, 'againſt his honour, againſt juſtice, againſt reaſon, 'againſt honeſty, againſt friendſhip, againſt all law, 'againſt the treaties and leagues between him and his 'brother the King of England, yea and againſt all to-'gether.' At which King Francis was ſo nettled, that he bid him write theſe three things to the King his maſter. '1. That his Ambaſſador was a great fool. '2. That he cauſed better juſtice to be done in his 'realm in one hour, than they did in England in a 'whole year. 3. That if it were not for the love of 'his maſter, he ſhould have an hundred ſtrokes with 'an halbert, &c.' And never reſted 'till he had him recalled (4). At this time Bonner was greatly in the Lord Cromwell's favour, who was ſetting him up againſt Biſhop Gardiner (5).

(4) Ibid. p. 1093.

(5) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 249.

[*D*] *And concurred generally in the ſeveral ſteps taken to bring about a Reformation in this kingdom.*] J. Foxe aſſures us in general (6), that 'he was a great 'furtherer of King Henry's proceedings, and at firſt a 'favourer of Luther's doctrine.' — And as for particular inſtances of his concurring in the Reformation; we find, that, whilſt he was Ambaſſador at Paris, he zealouſly promoted the printing of the Engliſh Bible there; and, after he was made Biſhop of London, cauſed ſix of them to be ſet up in St Paul's cathedral (7). He was likewiſe one of thoſe who ſubſcribed to the Biſhops book againſt the Pope (8). He put a Preface to Biſhop Gardiner's book *De verâ Obedientiâ*, in which he very plainly ſpeaks againſt the Pope's exactions, and his *falſe pretended Supremacy*. Finally, when he was made Biſhop of London he took an oath, 'never to conſent or agree that the Biſhop of Rome 'ſhould practiſe, exercife, or have any manner of au-'thority, juriſdiction, or power within this realm, or 'any other the King's dominions, but that he would 'reſiſt the ſame at all times to the utmoſt of his power; 'and that from thenceforth he ſhould accept, repute 'and take the King's Majeſty to be the only ſupreme 'Head in earth of the Church of England; and, to 'the utmoſt of his power, obſerve and maintain all 'Acts and Statutes, made and to be made in extir-'pation and extinguiſhment of the Biſhop of Rome 'and his authority, and in corroboration of the King's 'ſupremacy, againſt all perſons whatſoever; and re-'pute any oath he had made in maintenance, or fa-'vour, of the Biſhop of Rome, vain and annihilate '(9).' Yet, not long after, he acted in a Commiſſion for the due execution of the Six Articles, and proſecuted ſeveral perſons upon the ſame. So complying was he with all changes, eſpecially when they tended to promote Popery (10)!

(6) Ubi ſupra, p. 1088.

(7) Ibid. p. 1191, 1206.

(8) Ibid. p. 1064.

(9) Ibid. p. 1093.

(10) Ibid. p. 1292. and Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 299.

[*E*] *And*

1547, not many months after the acceſſion of King Edward VI. he ſcrupled to take an oath, to renounce and deny the Biſhop of Rome, with his uſurped authority, and to ſwear obedience to the King, according to the ſtatute 31 Henry VIII, and entered a proteſtation [E] againſt the King's injunctions and homilies (t). For which he became ſo obnoxious, that he was committed to the Fleet [F], though he ſubmitted, and recanted his proteſtation (u). However, he was ſoon releaſed (w): From which time he complied outwardly with the ſeveral ſteps taken to advance the Reformation [G], but uſed privately all means in his power to obſtruct it. And yet he behaved ſo cautiouſly, that no legal advantage could be taken againſt him. But after the Lord Thomas Seymour's death, and the inſurrections in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, he viſibly appeared remiſs in putting the court's orders in execution, particularly that relating to the uſe of the Common-Prayer-book, for which he was ſeverely reproved by the Privy-council [H]. He ſeemed thereupon to redouble his diligence: But, notwithſtanding, through his evil example, and eſpecially his ſlackneſs in preaching, and his connivance at the maſs in ſeveral places, many people in London, and elſewhere in his dioceſe, being obſerved to withdraw from the divine ſervice and communion; this was laid to his charge, as a neglect in the execution of the King's laws and injunctions. So, the Council writ to him, on the 23d of July, 1549, to ſee to the correcting of theſe things, and that he ſhould give good example himſelf. Upon which, on the 26th following, he ſent about a charge to have the order in this letter executed, which he ſaid he was moſt willing to do. Yet ſtill it was obſerved, that whatſoever obedience he gave, was againſt his will (x). Therefore he was convened before the Privy-council on the 11th of Auguſt, when, after a ſharp reproof of his negligence, he was enjoined to preach the Sunday three weeks after, at Paul's-croſs, on ſome articles then delivered to him [I]; and alſo to preach there once a quarter for the future,

(t) J. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, &c. edit. 1583, Vol. II. p. 1309, 1310.

(u) His recantation is in Foxe, ubi ſupra, p. 1310. He firſt offered another, which being full of quiddities was rejected. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Part ii. p. 36, 2d edit.

(w) Foxe, ibid.

(x) Burnet, ibid. p. 121, 122. and Foxe, as above, p. 1303, 1304.

[E] *And entered a proteſtation.*] Which was as follows: 'I do receive theſe Injunctions and Homilies, 'with this Proteſtation, that I will obſerve them, if 'they be not contrary and repugnant to God's Law, 'and the Statutes and Ordinances of the Church.' And immediately added with an oath, that he had never read the ſaid Homilies and Injunctions (11).

(11) Foxe, ibid. p. 1309. and Burnet, ubi ſupra, in the Collection of Records. p. 112.

[F] *That he was committed to the Fleet.*] Mr Rapin makes this judicious reflection upon that occaſion. 'The truth is, as ſeveral Acts in favour of the Reformation were intended to be paſſed in the enſuing Parliament, which was called for the 4th of November, 'the Reformers were very glad to free themſelves 'from the troubleſome oppoſition of this Prelate (12). He was releaſed November 17 (13).

(12) Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. edit. 1733. p. 9.

[G] *He complied outwardly with the ſeveral ſteps taken to advance the Reformation.*] For inſtance; he readily tranſmitted to the Biſhop of Weſtminſter, the Archbiſhop's Letter for omitting the carrying of Candles on Candlemas-day, and of Aſhes and Palms on Aſh-Wedneſday and Palm-Sunday; likewiſe another for aboliſhing of Images, and one to the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's for ſuppreſſing private Maſſes in that cathedral (14). In a word, 'he executed every order 'that was ſent him ſo readily, (as Burnet obſerves) 'that there was not ſo much as ground for any com-'plaint (15).'

(13) Heylyn's Hiſt. of the Reformat. p. 42.

(14) J. Foxe, ubi ſupra, p. 1299, 1300, 1302.

(15) Hiſt. of the Reformat. as above, Part ii. p. 121.

[H] *For which he was ſeverely reproved by the Privy-Council.*] In a letter they writ to him July 23, 1549; wherein, among other things, they tell him, — that 'one uniforme order for Common Prayer and 'adminiſtration of the Sacraments having been ſet 'forth, — whereby much idolatry, vayne ſuperſtition, 'and great and ſlanderous abuſes be taken away; it 'was no ſmall occaſion of ſorrow to them, to under-'ſtand by the complaints of many, that the ſaid book 'remained, in many places of the realm, either not 'known at all, or not uſed, or at the leaſt very ſel-'dom, and in a light and irreverent manner. The 'fault whereof (add they) we muſt impute *to you*, and 'other of your vocation.' — In the concluſion they tell him — 'If we ſhall hereafter (theſe our letters 'and commandments notwithſtanding) have eftſoones 'complaint, and finde the like faults in your dioces, 'we ſhall have juſt cauſe to impute the fault thereof, 'and of all that enſue thereof, unto you; and conſe-'quently be occaſioned therby to ſee otherwyſe to the 'redreſſe of theſe things, whereof we would be ſory. 'And therfore we do eftſoones charge and commaund 'you upon your allegiance, to loke well upon your 'duety herein, as ye tender our pleaſure, &c (16).'

(16) Foxe, as above, p. 1303.

[I] *On ſome articles then delivered to him.*] Being as follows. 1. That all ſuch as rebel againſt their Prince, get unto them damnation, and thoſe that reſiſt the higher power, reſiſt the ordinaunces of God, and he that dieth therfore in rebellion, by the woorde of God is utterly damned, and ſo looſeth bothe bodye and ſoule. And therefore thoſe Rebelles in Devonſhire and Cornewall, in Northfolke, or elſewhere, who taking upon them to aſſemble a power and force againſt their King and Prince, againſt the lawes and ſtatutes of the realme, and goe about to ſubverte the ſtate and order of the commonwealth, not onely do deſerve death, as traytors and rebels, but do accumulate to themſelves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of hell, with Luciſer the father and firſt author of pride, diſobedience and rebellion, what pretence ſoever they have, and what Maſſes or holye water ſoever they pretende, or go about to make among themſelves, as Chore, Dathan and Abiron, for rebellion againſt Moſes, were ſwalowed downe alive into hell, although they pretended to ſacrifice unto God. 2. Likewiſe in the order of the Churche and externe rites and ceremonies of divine ſervice, for ſo muche as God requireth humility of heart, innocencie of living, knowledge of him, charity and love to our neighbours, and obedience to his woorde, and to his Miniſters and ſuperioure powers, theſe we muſt bring to all our prayers, to all our ſervice, and this is the ſacrifice that Chriſte requireth, and theſe be thoſe that make all thynges pleaſaunt unto God. The externe rites and ceremonies be but exerciſes of our religion, and appointable by ſuperior powers, in choſing whereof we muſt obey the Magiſtrates; the whyche thinges alſo we do ſee ever hath bene and ſhal be (as the time and place is) divers, and yet al hath pleaſed God ſo long as theſe before-ſpoken inwarde things be there. If any man ſhall uſe the old rites, and thereby diſobey the ſuperior power, the devotion of his ceremonies is made nought by his diſobedience; ſo that, which els (ſo long as the lawe did ſo ſtand) myghte be good, by pride and diſobedience nowe is made noughte; as Saules ſacrifice, Chore, Dathan, and Abiron, and Aaron's two children were. But who that joineth to devotion obedience, hee winneth the garland. For elſe it is a zeale *ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam*, a wil, deſire, zeale and devotion, but not after wiſedome, that is a fooliſhe devotion, which can require no thankes or praiſe. And yet agayne, where ye obey, yee muſt have devotion, for God requireth the heart more than the outward doings, and therfore who that taketh the communion, or ſayth or heareth the ſervice appoynted by the King's Majeſtie, muſt bring devotion and inward prayer with him, or els his praiers are but vaine, lacking that whyche God requireth, that is, the heart and minde to pray to him. 3. Further, yee ſhal for example on Sonday come ſeventh night after the aforeſayd date, celebrate the Communion at Paules church. 4. Ye ſhal alſo ſet foorth in your ſermon, that our authoritie of royal power (17) is (as of truth it is) of no leſſe authoritie and force in this our young age, then is, or was of any of our predeceſſors, though the ſame were

(17) *i. e.* The King's.

future, and be preſent at every ſermon made there, except hindered by ſickneſs, or other reaſonable cauſe: to celebrate the Communion in that church, on all the principal feaſts: to convene before him, and puniſh, ſuch as did not come unto, and frequent the Common-Prayer, and ſervice in the church, or did not come to God's board, and receive the Communion at leaſt once a year: to ſearch out and convene before him, more diligently than he had done, all adulterers: to keep the cathedral of St Paul's, and other churches in London, in due repair, and ſee that the tithes were duly paid to the reſpective incumbents: And, to abide and keep reſidence in his houſe in London, 'till he had licence from the Council to depart elſewhere (*y*). On the day appointed for his preaching, which was September 1, he made a ſermon to a crouded audience (aſſembled on purpoſe to hear what he would ſay) on the points delivered to him. But he ſaid not a word of the laſt, namely, 'of the King's royal power being of no leſs authority and force in his 'youth, than was that of any of his predeceſſors; and therefore that all his ſubjects were 'as much bound to obey him, as if he had been thirty or forty years old.' For this contempt, he was complained of to the King by John Hooper, afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter, and William Latimer, B. D. (*z*), whereupon Commiſſioners were appointed [*K*] to proceed ſummarily againſt him. He appeared before them September 10, 13, 16, 18, 20, 23, and October 1; and, after a long trial [*L*], was committed to the Marſhalſey, and towards the end of October, deprived of his Biſhopric (*a*). But he moſt ſeverely revenged himſelf afterwards on his proſecutors. Not long after the acceſſion of Queen Mary to the throne, he was reſtored to his Biſhopric; namely, by a commiſſion dated Auguſt 22, 1553 (*b*), which was read in St Paul's cathedral, the 5th of September following (*c*). In the Convocation which met in 1554, he was made Vicegerent, and Preſident of the ſame [*M*], in the room of Archbiſhop Cranmer, newly committed to the tower (*d*). The ſame year, he viſited his Dioceſe, in order to root up all the ſeeds of the Reformation (*e*), and was guilty of ſeveral furious and extravagant actions [*N*]. On the 25th of October, he ſent an order to all parſons and curates within his Dioceſe, to put out ſuch paſſages of ſcripture as had been painted on the church-walls, in the late King Edward's time (*f*): And ſet up the Maſs again at St Paul's, before the act for reſtoring it was paſſed (*g*). The ſame year, he was in a commiſſion to turn out ſome of the reformed Biſhops (*h*). After he was reinſtated in his ſee, he would not allow of ſeveral leaſes made by

(*y*) Foxe, p. 1304, 1305. and Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 121, 122.

(*z*) Foxe, ubi ſupra, p. 1311.

(*a*) Ibid. p. 1310—1320. Newcourt, ex Reg. Bonner, p. 210, ſays it was Octob 1; but it appears from Foxe, that the ſentence was pronounced after that day.

(*b*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 247.

(*c*) Regiſtr. Bonner, c. 764. Immediately after he deprived all married Prieſts in his dioceſe of their livings, without ſtaying for the Queen's order. Life of Archbiſhop Cranmer, by J. Strype, fol. p. 328, 329.

(*d*) Foxe, ubi ſupra, p. 1426.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 1474.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 1475. Burnet, Part ii. p. 289, 290, 291.

(*g*) Nov. 29. Burnet, ibid. p. 276.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 274, and Collect.

were much elder, as may appeare by example of Joſias, and other yong Kings in ſcripture; and therfore, all our ſubjectes to be no leſſe bound to the obedience of our preceptes, lawes, and ſtatutes, than if we were of thirty or forty yeares of age (18).

(18) Foxe, as above, p. 1310, 1311.

[*K*] *Whereupon Commiſſioners were appointed.*] Being Archbiſhop Cranmer, Biſhop Ridley; Sir William Petre, and Sir Thomas Smith, Secretaries of State; and William May, LL. D. and Dean of St Paul's. Their Commiſſion was dated Sept. 8, 1549 (19).

(19) Rymer's Acta Regia, Vol. XV. p. 191.

[*L*] *And after a long trial.*] The matter laid to his charge was, 'Diſobedience to the King's Majeſty, 'in that he did not ſet forth in his ſermon the King's 'royal power in his minority, according to the tenor 'of the article delivered to him for that purpoſe.' But he endeavoured to turn it off, and to make people think, that he was called to anſwer, not for his contemptuous diſobedience, but for matters of religion; ſaying, that the cauſe of his trouble was not for the matter they pretended againſt him, but becauſe he ſet forth in his ſermon the true preſence of the body and bloud of Jeſus Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the altar. And he ſtrove to blacken his accuſers, by repreſenting them as evil, infamed, and notorious criminous perſons, manifeſt and notable hereticks and ſeducers of the people, eſpecially touching the Sacrament of the altar; conſequently excommunicate, and therefore not to be admitted as witneſſes. Particularly concerning Hooper he ſaid, 'where I preached and affirmed 'the very true body and bloud of our Saviour Jeſus 'Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the altar, the ſelfe-'ſame in ſubſtance that was hanged and ſhed upon the 'croſſe; he [Hooper] like an aſſe (as he is an aſſe in-'deed) falſely changed and turned the word *that* into '*as*, like an aſſe, ſaying that I had ſaid, as it hanged, 'and as it was ſhed upon the croſſe (20).' At another time he ſaid to one of his accuſers, that he ſpake like a gooſe; and to the other, that he ſpake like a woodcock. He likewiſe behaved with rudeneſs towards his judges, calling them pretended Commiſſioners, and the proceedings againſt him unjuſt and unlawful; and the people preſent daws, woodcocks, fools, &c. (21). The firſt day of his appearance he exhibited a proteſtation againſt the Commiſſioners juriſdiction (22), and the 20th of September appealed from them to the King, and ſent a petition to the Privy-Council, dated the 7th of October, and another dated the 26th of the

(20) Foxe, as above, p. 1313.

(21) Ibid. p. 1312.

(22) Ibid. p. 1313.

ſame month (23). But, notwithſtanding all his endeavours, he was committed to the Marſhalſey on the 20th of September, for not giving a full and perfect anſwer to the articles exhibited againſt him, and for refuſing Secretary Smith to be his judge (24). And about the end of October was finally deprived (25). This ſentence, we are told (26), was much cenſured, and by many thought over fevere.

(23) Ibid. p. 1325, 1328, 1330.

(24) Ibid. p. 1324—1326.

(25) Ibid. p. 1330.

[*M*] *He was made Vicegerent and Preſident of the ſame.*] And made in it an oration in praiſe of Prieſthood, which ſhews *a great piece of his profound and deep learning*, as is well obſerved by Mr Foxe, who hath preſerved this fragment of it (27). 'Wherefore 'it is to be known, that Prieſts and Elders be worthy 'of all men to be worſhipped, for the dignity-ſake 'which they have of God, as in Matth. xvi. *Whatſo-'ever ye ſhall looſe upon earth*, &c. *And whatſoever 'you ſhall bind*, &c. For a Prieſt by ſome means is like 'Mary the Virgin, and is ſhewed by three points. 'As the bleſſed Virgin by five words did conceive 'Chriſt, as it is ſaid Luke i. *Fiat mihi ſecundum verbum tuum*; i. e. Be it unto me according to thy 'word; ſo the Prieſt, by five words, doth make the 'very body of Chriſt. Even as immediately after the 'conſent of Mary, Chriſt was all whole in her womb; 'ſo immediately after the ſpeaking of the words of 'conſecration, the bread is tranſubſtantiated into the 'very body of Chriſt. —— Therefore here is to be 'known, that the dignity of Prieſts by ſome means 'paſſeth the dignity of angels, becauſe there is no 'power given to any of the angels to make the body 'of Chriſt; whereby the leaſt Prieſt may do on earth, 'that the greateſt and higheſt angel in heaven cannot 'do. —Wherefore Prieſts are to be honoured before 'all Kings of the earth, Princes and Nobles. For a 'Prieſt is higher than a King, happier than an Angel, 'maker of his Creator,' &c. Horrible abſurdities (28)!

(26) Burnet, ubi ſupra, Part ii. p. 127. and Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 281.

(27) Page 1426.

(28) See Foxe, ubi ſupra, p. 1426.

[*N*] *And was guilty of ſeveral furious and extravagant actions.*] Particularly, at Hadham, he was exceſſively angry, becauſe the bells did not ring at his coming, and the rood-loft was not decked, nor the Sacrament hanged up. So, ſwearing and fuming in the church at Dr Bricket the Rector, and calling him knave and heretick, he went to ſtrike at him, but the blow fell upon Sir Thomas Joſcelyn's ear, and almoſt ſtunned him (29).

(29) Ibid. p. 1474.

by Bishop Ridley to his sister, and other persons, to their great injury (*i*); though Bonner's mother had been constantly entertained by that Bishop during his residence at Fulham, and treated as if she had been his own mother; besides his kindness to his other friends (*k*). In the years 1555, 1556, 1557, and 1558, he most inhumanly committed to the flames, and otherwise destroyed, hundreds of innocent persons [O], for their firm adherence to the Protestant Religion, and their refusing to embrace the gross errors of Popery (*l*). Being known to be fierce and cruel to the utmost degree, Bishop Gardiner, in 1555, left the condemning and burning of Hereticks wholly to him; who undertook it chearfully (*m*): But, soon after considering how odious was the employment, he complained that the execution of the laws was left entirely to him, while the rest looked on. Therefore, when the Justices and Sheriffs sent up Hereticks to him, he sent them back, and refused to meddle further. Upon which, the King and Queen writ to him on the 24th of May, admonishing him, that when persons who leaned to any erroneous and heretical opinions were brought unto him, he should endeavour to remove them from their errors, or else proceed against them according to the laws (*n*). On the 14th of February, 1555-6, he came to Oxford (with Thirlby, Bishop of Ely) to degrade Archbishop Cranmer; whom he used with his wonted insolence (*o*) [P]. The 29th of December following he was put into a commission to search and raze all registers and records, containing professions against the Pope, scrutinies taken in religious houses, &c (*p*). And the 8th of February, 1556-7, he was also put in another very unusual commission, or kind of Inquisition, for searching after, and punishing all Hereticks; that is, all persons that were of the Protestant Religion (*q*). Upon Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, he had the confidence to go and meet her at High-gate, with the rest of the Bishops; but she looked on him as so much defiled with blood, that she could not show him any mark of her favour (*r*). For some months he remained unmolested (*s*), but being called before the Privy-Council, on the 30th of May 1559, he refused to take the oath of Allegiance and Supremacy then tendered to him (*t*): Upon which account he was deprived a second time of his Bishopric, the 29th of June following (*u*); and committed to the Marshalsey (*w*) [Q]. In pursuance of the statute 5 Eliz. chap. i. the oath of Supremacy being again tendered to him, he was, upon his refusing to take it, indicted of a *Præmunire* [R], but found means to come off (*x*). After having lived in his confinement some years, in a chearful condition, [which made some compare him to Dionysius the tyrant (*y*), that behaved better in adversity

(*i*) J. Foxe, ubi supra, p. 1765.

(*k*) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 320.

(*l*) J. Foxe, Vol. II. Burnet, Part ii. Book ii.

(*m*) Burnet, ibid. p. 304.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 311. and Collect. B. ii. No. 20. p. 285. He was usually called the common Cut-throat, and general Slaughter-Slave to all the Bishops of England. Foxe, ubi supra, p. 1842.

(*o*) Foxe, as above, p. 1881, 1882.

(*p*) Burnet, as above, p. 341. and Collect. of Records, Book ii. No. 28, p. 301.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 347. and Collect. of Records, B. ii. No. 32. p. 311.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 374. She would not give him her hand to kiss. Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 635.

(*s*) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 396.

(*t*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra, col. 160.

(*u*) Strype's Ann. as above, p. 141.

(*w*) Wood ubi supra. Under a very easy restraint. See Bishop Godwin, ubi supra, p. 251.

(*x*) Strype's Ann. as above, Vol. I. p. 378, &c. Dyer's Reports, fol. 237. Mich. 6 & 7 Eliz. plac. 15.

(*y*) Brife View of the State of the Church of England, &c. by Sir John Harrington, 12*mo*. Lond. 1653, p. 16.

[O] *He most inhumanly committed to the flames, and otherwise destroyed, hundreds of innocent persons.*] The persons whom he is recorded to have sent to the flames, or to whose death he was otherwise accessary, were, in 1541, John Porter. In 1546, Anne Askew. In 1554, Laur. Saunders, at Coventry. In the beginning of 1555, John Rogers, and Bishop Hooper. March 16, 26, he caused two to be burnt in Smithfield; and on the 26th one at Raleigh, and one at Horndon on the hill; the 28th one at Braintree, and one at Maldon; the 29th one at Colchester, all in Essex. April 24, one at Westminster. May 30, two in Smithfield. June 10, one at Rochford, one at Raleigh; one at Coggeshall, one at Chelmsford. June 14, one at Colchester; the 15th, one at Manningtree, and one at Harwich, all in Essex. In July, John Bradford, and another, in Smithfield. July 22, one at Lewes; the 23d, one at Stenyng, and one at Chichester, all in Sussex. Aug. 2, one at Bury; Aug. 8, two at Uxbridge; the 26th, one at St Alban's; the 28th, one at Uxbridge; the 31st, one at Walden, and one at Stratford. And likewise, in the same month, one at Stratford, one at Ware, and one at Barnet. December 18, John Philpot. In 1556, January 27, seven in Smithfield. April 24, six in the same place; April 28, six at Colchester. May 25, two at Stratford; the 16th, four in Smithfield. June 6, four at Lewes in Sussex; June 27, thirteen at Stratford, In 1557, March 6, five in Smithfield. August 2, five men and five women at Colchester. September 17, four at Islington. November 18, three in Smithfield. December 22, two in the same place. In 1558, March 28, three in Smithfield. May 26, three at Colchester. June 27, seven in Smithfield (30). July 14, six at Brentford, &c (31). In a word, he is reported to have burnt no less than *two hundred* in three years (32), besides many imprisoned by him for their religion, who died in different gaols; and others whom he whipped, or caused to be cruelly tortured.

(30) When these were led out to be burnt, it was proclaimed in the Queen's name, that no man should pray for them, or speak to them, or say, *God help them*. Burnet, as above, Part ii. p. 364.

(31) See J. Foxe, Vol. II. throughout, and Burnet, as above, Part ii. Book ii.

(32) J. Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. p. 396, and J. Foxe, as above, p. 2043.

[P] *Whom he used with his wonted insolence.*] For, as he was degrading him, he insulted over him in the following manner. 'This is the man who hath ever 'despised the Pope's holiness, and now is to be judged 'by him. This is the man who hath pulled down so 'many churches, and now is come to be judged in a 'church. This is the man that contemned the blessed 'Sacrament of the altar, and now is come to be condemned afore that blessed Sacrament hanging over 'the altar. This is the man, that like Lucifer, sat in 'the place of Christ upon an altar to judge others, and 'now is come before an altar to be judged himself '(33).' This last sentence alludes to the Archbishop's sitting at Bonner's trial, on a Scaffold erected for that purpose in St Paul's church, and it seems over one of the side-altars; but the Archbishop declares he knew it not.

(33) Foxe, as above, p. 1882.

[Q] *And committed to the Marshalsey.*] It shewed, as Dr Burnet observes (34), a great temper in the whole nation, that such a man as Bonner had been, was suffered to go about in safety, and was not made a sacrifice to the revenge of those who had lost their near friends by his means. — There were great complaints made against him, that he had in many things, in the prosecution of those that were presented for Heresy, exceeded what the Law allowed; so that it was much desired to have him made an example. But as the Queen was of her own nature merciful, so the reformed Divines had learned in the Gospel, not to render evil for evil.

(34) Ubi supra. Part ii. p. 396.

[R] *Indicted of a Præmunire.*] Of which the punishment is, to be out of the King's protection, forfeit lands and goods, and be imprisoned and ransomed at the King's pleasure; and if not to be found, outlawed (35). As he was going back from the place where the oath was tendered to him, to the Marshalsey, one of the multitude that stood gazing at him, said, 'The Lord confound, or else turn thy heart?' To whom he answered, 'The Lord send thee to keep 'thy breath to cool thy porridge.' To another saying, 'The Lord overthrow thee;' he said, 'The 'Lord make thee as wise as a woodcock.' And in his lodgings afterwards, a Minister endeavouring to persuade him by many arguments to yield, and acknowledge the Queen's supremacy, he answered him tauntingly, 'By God, you are well learned.' To whom the Minister said, 'Where learned you, Mr 'Bonner, to swear?' — 'I pray you, said he, did 'not Christ swear, *Amen, Amen, dico vobis*;' i. e. Verily, verily, I say unto you (36).

(35) Statut. 16. Ric. II. c. 5.

(36) Strype's Annals, ubi supra, p. 378, 379.

[S] *Addicted*

verſity than proſperity] he died there September 5, 1569 (z). Three days after, he was buried, at midnight, in St George's church-yard in Southwark (a); attended with ſome of his Popiſh friends and relations: which was ordered to be done at that ſeaſon of the night, and in that obſcurity, to prevent any diſturbances that might have been made by the citizens, who hated him extremely; for, having been the death of ſo many of their paſtors, friends, and relations, if they ſhould have ſeen him in the day-time carried with pomp and ſhew to his burial, as many of his acquaintance had intended to do. He ſtood excommunicate many years, and took no care for his abſolution, and ſo might have been denied Chriſtian burial; but the Biſhop of London would not make uſe of that rigour (b). Such was the end of that bloody man, Biſhop Bonner. He was, with reſpect to his character, a violent, furious, and paſſionate man, addicted to ſwearing [S]; and extremely cruel in his nature, as is but too manifeſt from his actions above related. He was generally looked upon as a perſon of no principle (c); but if ſo, 'tis a wonder he ſcrupled embracing the ſeveral alterations made in religion, in the reign of King Edward VI. He is likewiſe repreſented as an Atheiſt, and ſaid to have believed, that there is neither heaven, nor hell, nor God, or devil (d): and indeed, his monſtrous behaviour renders ſuch an opinion but too probable. For, who that believes a God would burn people for ſpeculative opinions? The Biſhop, in his manner and converſation, was bluſtering and vehement (e); but withal ſatirical, and ſometimes full of witty repartees [T]. As to his perſon, he was very fat and corpulent [U]; which made one ſay to him, that he was full of guts, but empty of bowels (f). He was a great maſter of the Canon Law, being excelled in that faculty by very few in his time; and alſo was well ſkilled in Politics (g): But he underſtood little of divinity (h). Accordingly, he made no figure in the learned world. However, ſeveral things were publiſhed under his name, which are mentioned below in the note [W]. One important ſervice he did to his Biſhopric, in that, through his

(z) J. Le Neve, Faſti, &c. as above, p. 180.

(a) 'Tis more probable that it was there, as the Marſhalſey ſtands in St George's pariſh; than that it ſhould be in Barking church-yard, as Biſhop Godwin aſſerts, *De Præſulibus*, &c. edit. 1616, 4to, p. 251. *In loco humatus eſt latronum & ſicariorum ſepulturæ deſtinato, cæmeterio*, viz. Barkingenſi.

(b) Strype's Annals, ubi ſupra, p. 573.

(c) Burnet, P. ii. p. 128.

(d) Foxe, p. 1843. Strype's Annals, ut ſupra, p. 573.

(e) See Foxe, throughout, and Burnet, ubi ſupra. Book ii. Part ii. of the Hiſt. of the Reformation.

(f) i. e. Compaſſion. Foxe, ubi ſupra. and Fuller's Hiſt. of Waltham Abbey, p. 18.

(g) Dr Heylyn's Hiſt. of the Reformation.

(h) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 128.

[S] *Addicted to ſwearing.*] See the note immediately before this. His uſual oaths were, By God, Before God, By St Mary, By All the Saints, &c. (37). And in one of his letters he hath theſe ſhocking words, — 'If amongſt you I have no puddings, then 'muſt I ſay, as Meſſer, our Prieſt of the Hoſpital, 'ſaid to his mad horſe, in our laſt journey from Hoſtia, '*Al diavolo, al diavolo, al tutti diavoli*; i. e. To the 'devil, to the devil, to all the devils.' This he writ from the Marſhalſey (38).

(37) See Foxe, as above, p. 1191, 2014, and in many other places.

(38) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformat. Part ii. Book i. Collect. Records, No. 37. p. 170.

[T] *And ſometimes full of witty repartees.*] For inſtance; after his deprivation, as he was once walking with his tippet in the ſtreet, one begged it of him, in ſcoffe, to line a coat; 'No, (ſaith he) but thou 'ſhalt have a fool's head to line thy cap.' To another that bad him 'Good morrow Biſhop (*) *quon-'dam.*' He ſtraight replied, 'Farewel, Knave *ſem-'per* (†).' And one ſhewing him his own picture in the Book of Martyrs, in the firſt edition, on purpoſe to vex him, he laughed at it, ſaying, 'A vengeance 'on the fool, how could he get my picture drawn ſo 'right?' And when one aſked him, 'If he were 'not aſhamed to whip a man with a beard?' He laughed, and told him, 'His beard was grown ſince; 'but (ſaith he) if thou hadſt been in his caſe, thou 'wouldſt have thought it a good commutation of pen-'nance to have thy bum beaten, to ſave thy body from 'burning (39).

(*) Sometime, or formerly.

(†) Always.

(39) Harrington, ubi ſupra.

[U] *He was very fat and corpulent.*] Upon which account the following Epigram was made upon him (40).

(40) Alluding to the picture of him in Foxe, when whipping Thomas Hinſhaw, p. 2043. After his deprivation, every ill-favoured fat fellow that went in the ſtreet was called *Bonner*. Harrington, ubi ſupra, p. 16.

Quæ nova forma viri, quid virga, quid ora, quid alvus,
Pondera quid ventris craſſitiéſque velit?
Corpus amaxæum, diſtento abdomine pigrum
Rides annes ſtupes, lector amice, magis?
Vaſta quid iſta velint, ſi neſcis, pondera, dicam;
Nam nihil hic mirum veoter obeſus habet.
Carnibus humanis & ſanguine veſtitur atro,
Ducentos annis hauſerat ille tribus.
Ergo quid hoc monſtri eſt, recto vis nomine dicam?
Nomen nec patris, nec gerit ille matris.
Qui patre Savago natus, falſoque Bonerus
Dicitur: hunc melius dixeris Orbilium.

The ſenſe of which, in two words, is, that the reaſon of his being ſo fat was, becauſe he ſo voraciouſly fed upon humao fleſh and blood. And that he devoured two hundred perſons in three years, &c.

[W] *Several things were publiſhed under his name, which are mentioned*, &c.] Being as follow. I. Preface to the Oration of Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, concerning True Obedience. Printed at London, in Latin, 1534, 1535, and at Hamburgh in 1536, 8vo. Tranſlated into Engliſh by Michael Wood, a zealous Proteſtant, with a bitter Preface to the Reader, and a Poſtſcript. Roan, 1553, 8vo. It is alſo inſerted in J. Foxe's Book of Martyrs (41). In that Preface, Bonner ſpeaks much in favour of King Henry VIIIth's marriage with Anne Boleyn, and againſt the Tyranny exerciſed by the Biſhop of Rome in this kingdom. II. Several letters to the Lord Cromwell (42). III. A Declaration to the Lord Cromwell, deſcribing to him the evil behaviour of Steven [Biſhop of] Wincheſter, with ſpecial cauſes therein contained, wherefore, and why he miſliked of him (43). IV. Letter of his about the Proceedings at Rome, concerning the King's Divorce from Katharine of Arragon (44). V. An Admonition and Advertiſement given by the Biſhop of London, to all Readers of the Bible in the Engliſh Tongue, 1540 (45). VI. Injunctions given by Bonner, Biſhop of London, to his Clergie, [about preaching] with the names of Books prohibited, 1542 (46). VII. Letter to Mr Lechmore (47). VIII. *Reſponſum & Exhortatio.* Lond. 1553, 8vo; *i. e.* Anſwer and Exhortation to the Clergy in praiſe of Prieſthood; ſpoken by our author in St Paul's Cathedral. London, 16 Octob. 1553, after a Sermon preached there before the Clergy, by John Harpesfield (48). IX. A Letter to Mr Lechmore, 6 Sept. 1553 (49). X. 'Articles to be enquired of in the general Viſitation of Edmund Biſhop 'of London, exerciſed by him in the year 1554, in 'the City and Dioceſe of London, &c (50).' To ridicule them, John Bale, Biſhop of Oſſory, writ a book, intituled, 'A Declaration of Edmonde Bonner's 'Articles, concerning the Cleargye of London Dyo-'ceſe, whereby that execrable Anty-Chryſte is in his 'righte Colours reveled.' 1554 and 1561, 8vo. XI. A profitable and neceſſary Doctrine, containing an expoſition on the Creed, Seven Sacraments, Ten Commandments, the Pater-noſter, Ave Maria, and the Seven Sacraments; with certain Homilies adjoining thereunto, for the inſtruction and information of the Dioceſe of London. Lond. 1554, 1555, 4to. This Book was drawn up by his Chaplains John Harpesfield and Henry Pendleton; and the former part of it, which is a Catechiſm, is moſtly taken out of the *Inſtitution of a Criſten Man*, ſet out by King Henry VIII, only varied in ſome points (51). XII. Several Letters, Declarations, Arguings, Diſputes, &c. of his, are extant in J. Foxe's Book of Martyrs, Vol. laſt. XIII. His Objections againſt the Proceſſe of Robert Horne, Biſhop of Wincheſter, who had tendred the Oath of Supremacy to him the ſecond time, are preſerved by Mr Strype in his Annals of the Reformation (52). As is likewiſe a Letter of his concerning King Henry the VIIIth's appeal to the Pope, by Biſhop Burnet (53). But

(41) Edit. as above, p. 1060.

(42) Ib. p. 1088, 1089.

(43) Ibid. p. 1090.

(44) Burnet, as above, Part i. Collect. p. 111.

(45) Ibid. p. 251.

(46) Ib. p. 252.

(47) Ibid. Part ii. Collect. p. 170.

(48) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra. See alſo above note [M].

(49) Burnet, ubi ſupra, Part ii. Collect. p. 248.

(50) Ib. p. 260, &c. and Part iii. Collect. p. 148.

(51) Wood, ubi ſupra; and Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 382, 383.

(52) Vol. I. p. 379, &c.

(53) Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. iii. Collect. p. 37.

his great intereſt with Queen Mary I, he obtained from her ſeveral Manors and Advowſons to be united to the ſee of London [*X*].

But upon the whole it appears, how falſe and ill-grounded is the great Character given [of ſome of the Popiſh Biſhops, and] of *him* in particular, by Sanders; that they were 'all men excellent for their Learning 'and Gravity.'— *Omnes doctrina & gravitate præſantes viri* — (54).

(54) De Schiſm. Anglic. edit. Col. 1631, 8vo, Agrip. p. 248.

[*X*] *Through his great intereſt with Queen* Mary I. *he obtained from her ſeveral Manors and Advowſons to be united to the See of* London.] Namely theſe following. St Alphage, St Anne Alderſgate, St Clement Eaſtcheap, St James Garlickhithe, St Catherine Coleman, St Magnus, St Martin's Ludgate, St Martin's in the Fields, St Matthew Friday-ſtreet, in London and Weſtminſter; Hanwell in Middleſex; Aſhwell and Sabridgeworth in Hertfordſhire; Creſhall, Fering, Patſwick, Packleſham, Tay Parva, and Wennington, in Eſſex. They were granted to him and his ſucceſſors by Letters Patent dated the 3d of March, 1553 (55).

(55) See Newcourt's Repertorium Eccleſ. &c. under thoſe reſpective pariſhes.

C

BOOTH (BARTON) one of the beſt and moſt applauded Actors, more eſpecially in Tragedy, that ever trod the Engliſh Stage. He deſcended from a very ancient and honourable family, originally ſeated (*a*) in the county palatine of Lancaſter, in which he was born, and ſince ſpread into Cheſhire and ſeveral other counties. His father, John Booth, Eſq; was a perſon of great worth and honour, though his fortune was not very conſiderable, and highly attentive to the education of his ſons, of whom Barton, the third, was born in 1681 (*b*). When he was about three years old, his father removed himſelf and his whole family to town, and ſettled in Weſtminſter. At the age of nine years, Barton was put under the tuition of the famous Dr Buſby, who was then at the head of Weſtminſter-ſchool, where he bred ſome of the ableſt men, that, in the laſt and preſent age, have done honour to this nation (*c*). The great pregnancy of Mr Booth's parts were very quickly diſcovered, he had a ſtrong paſſion for learning, and a peculiar turn for Latin poetry; he not only read it with attention, and ſtudied the beſt authors with diligence, but fixed many of the fineſt paſſages ſo firmly in his memory, that he was able to repeat them, not only with propriety and correctneſs, but with ſuch a graceful action, ſo fine a tone of voice, and ſuch peculiar emphaſis, that it was taken notice of by the whole ſchool (*d*). It was in conſequence of this, that when, according to the cuſtom of the ſchool, a Latin Play was to be acted, a conſiderable part therein was given to young Booth, who performed it with ſuch excellence, as gained him the notice of the Doctor, as well as the univerſal applauſe of all the ſpectators [*A*]. This gave him firſt an inclination for the Stage, to the great concern of his father, who intended him for the Church, and with that view had been particularly careful in his education. But as the paſſions firſt implanted in youth commonly act with violence, eſpecially when they meet with any reſtraint or contradiction; ſo when Mr Booth had reached the age of ſeventeen, and the time approached when he was to be ſent to the univerſity, he reſolved to run any riſk, rather than be obliged to enter upon a courſe of life, ſo inconſiſtent with the livelineſs of his temper, and the natural bent of his inclination. It happened that there was then here one Mr Aſhbury, who had been long Maſter of a company at Dublin, and was allowed to underſtand perfectly the management of a theatre, with whom young Booth became acquainted, and finding that under his direction there was no danger of his getting bread, he quitted all hopes and all pretenſions in another way, ſtole away from ſchool, and went over to Ireland

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 481.

(*b*) Life of Barton Booth, Eſq;

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 923.

(*d*) From the information of the Rev. Mr Knipe.

[*A*] *As well as the univerſal applauſe of all the ſpectators.*] There has been very few, if any, ſince the time of the famous Ben Johnſon, that have come upon the ſtage with ſo much true learning as Mr Booth, which probably was the reaſon that he became ſo ſoon, and ſo good an actor. He was ſtruck with the Roman Poets, when at Weſtminſter, to a degree of enthuſiaſm. He was charmed with the ſound and cadence of their verſes before he underſtood them; but his paſſion for harmony was ſo ſtrong, that Virgil and Terence were familiar to him when he had very little acquaintance with Salluſt or Livy. When he repeated his leſſons, he did it with ſuch propriety and force, and was himſelf ſo ſtrangely affected with them, that the under-maſters could not avoid taking notice of it; nor was it long before it reached Buſby's ears (1). One might naturally imagine, from the opinion commonly entertained of this famous perſon, that ſuch a report could not much recommend a lad to his notice; but the fact was otherwiſe. This propenſity to playing was Buſby's own foible. In his youth he had performed in a Play of Mr William Cartwright's, called the *Royal Slave*, with prodigious applauſe. He had always a prejudice in favour of this kind of eloquence, and thought nothing was ſo ſure a mark of genius as a reliſh for dramatick poetry (2). When he heard therefore of Booth's ſtrong inclination to this ſpecies of literature, he careſſed inſtead of correcting him, examined his proficiency, and aſſigned him a principal part in the Latin Play, which, according to a cuſtom introduced by this Dr Buſby, was annually performed by the ſcholars, and perhaps this might have ſome ſhare in quickening his diligence to get it up, which he did ſo well, that Dr Buſby himſelf praiſed him with ſuch warmth, as diſcovered ſufficiently, that tho' upwards of ninety, he had not forgot the pleaſure that equal praiſes gave him in like circumſtances. But Mr Booth's father, who had an invincible averſion to the ſtage, would ſometimes tell his ſon, alluding to this accident, *that the old man poiſoned him with his laſt breath.* This happened about three years before he left the ſchool, and choſe this for his profeſſion. How much the young people at Weſtminſter value themſelves upon Booth's coming from amongſt them, will appear from the following Prologue, ſpoke during his life-time before one of their annual performances (3).

(1) From the informations mentioned in the text.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 923.

(3) Hiſt. of the Engliſh Stage, p. 142.

Your antique actors, as we read,
No more than anticks were indeed;
With wide-mouth'd maſks their babes to fright,
They kept the countenance from ſight.
Now faces on the ſtage are ſhewn;
Nor ſpeak they with their tongues alone,
But in each look a force there lies,
That ſpeaks the paſſion to the eyes.
See then which beſt deſerves our praiſe,
The vizard, or the human face?
Old *Roſcius* to our *Booth* muſt bow;
'Twas then but art, 'tis nature now.

[*B*] *At*

Ireland with Mr Aſhbury in 1698 (*e*). He very ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf on the Stage at Dublin, where he had great natural advantages over moſt of his contemporaries, eſpecially in Tragedy; he had a grave countenance, a good perſon, an air of dignity, a fine voice, and a very manly action. He ſpoke very juſtly, his pronunciation was very correct, and the cadence of his voice was extreamly grateful to the ear. In ſhort, he gained in three ſeaſons ſo high a reputation in that country, and was complimented ſo much, upon his theatrical talents, by the Engliſh gentlemen who ſaw him there, that he reſolved to return home, and try how far it was poſſible for him to puſh his fortune here (*f*). He accordingly came back to England in 1701, and applied himſelf to Lord Fitzharding, who was of the Bedchamber to Prince George of Denmark, and was by him recommended to Mr Betterton, who very readily took him under his care, and gave him all the aſſiſtance, in every reſpect, that was in his power, which he was the more enabled to do, as he was then at the head of a company (*g*). There never were two men better met. The tutor had all imaginable kindneſs for his pupil, and the pupil all poſſible veneration for his tutor. The firſt Play in which he acted was the Tragedy of *Valentinian*, in which he performed the part of *Maximus*; Mr Verbruggen played *Valentinian*, Mr Betterton *Etius*, and Mrs Barry, *Lucina*. It was ſcarce poſſible for a young Actor to hope, or even to wiſh, a better reception than he met with, and the kindneſs of the town had a very happy effect upon this new candidate for theatrical fame, as it gave him a proper degree of confidence without vanity, and inſpired him with a juſt paſſion for maintaining, by his future behaviour, the early reputation he had acquired (*h*). The *Ambitious Stepmother*, a new Tragedy that came ſoon after upon the Stage, in which he performed the character of *Artaban*, added to the character he had acquired, and raiſed him juſtly to the reputation, of being one of the moſt conſiderable Actors then upon the Stage (*i*). In the year 1704, he married Mrs Frances Barkham, daughter of Sir William Barkham of Norfolk, Baronet, who lived with him ſix years, and died then without iſſue (*k*). In all the theatrical revolutions that happened in thoſe days, Mr Booth, notwithſtanding his great capacity, and his ſtanding ſo well as he did with the Town, had very little ſhare. He adhered conſtantly to Mr Betterton, as long as that could be of any uſe to him; and when his tutor retired from the management of the Stage, he truſted to his merit, and to the juſtice of the Publick, in which he was not at all deceived; for though he did not force himſelf into the management of the Drury-Lane Theatre, and though he oppoſed thoſe that did, yet he was very well received there, purely upon the ſcore of his abilities, which, after the death of Betterton, placed him very clearly at the head of his profeſſion, in Tragedy at leaſt (*l*) [*B*]. But we muſt now come to that period of time, in which Mr Booth's ſole merit raiſed him into a ſuperior point of light, and procured for him that reward which he had long deſerved. The Tragedy of *Cato*, which had been written in the year 1703, or at leaſt the four firſt acts of it, was brought upon the Stage in 1712, chiefly on a political principle, and to ſupport the cauſe of the Whigs. It was ſo long before Mr Addiſon could be prevailed upon to venture it, that the proper ſeaſon was elapſed, and the benefits came on in the month of April when it was firſt acted (*m*). The part of *Cato* was given

(*e*) Hiſt. of the Engliſh Stage, p. 143.

(*f*) From the information of the late Mr. Elrington.

(*g*) Hiſt. of the Engliſh Stage, p. 143.

(*h*) Remarks on the Britiſh Theatre, p. 293.

(*i*) From a Letter to the late N. R. Eſq; on the ſucceſs of that Play.

(*k*) Life of Barton Booth, Eſq;

(*l*) Remarks on the Britiſh Theatre, p. 297.

(*m*) See the article of ADDISON (JOSEPH.)

[*B*] *At the head of his profeſſion, in Tragedy at leaſt.*] It has been ſhewn in another place, that very ſoon after the Reſtoration the two companies, ſtiled the *King's* and *Duke's*, were formed of perſons perfectly ſkilled in their profeſſion, and that when theſe companies united they compoſed the moſt complete ſet of actors this nation ever ſaw. It was from the ſight of theſe extraordinary perſons in his youth, that Mr Booth caught the paſſion he had for the ſtage, and under them he received thoſe inſtructions that were requiſite to give him that high degree of perfection he attained. There were however various circumſtances that in this reſpect were very favourable: He was in the prime of his life when they were in their decline, ſo that he had vigour enough to carry fully into execution thoſe lights which he derived from his experience. He was always ſtudious in his profeſſion, and had a very ſtrong deſire to ſupport it's reputation, as well as his own; and this made him take great pains in the parts he played, and alſo made him cautious of accepting any, but thoſe he could perform to advantage. He was very willing to receive all the inſtructions that either authors who brought new Plays could give, the ſeniors in his own profeſſion could afford, or that might be derived from the remarks of the many able criticks who flouriſhed in thoſe days, and ſhewed a peculiar regard for, and attention to, the entertainments of the theatre; ſuch as Mr Manwaring, Mr Addiſon, Mr Steele, and many others. It was from his modeſty and circumſpection in all theſe points, and the gratitude he conſtantly expreſſed for any aſſiſtance that he received, his character came into general eſteem, and he was reputed one of the ableſt and moſt diligent of thoſe that were then on the ſtage, when there yet remained ſeveral great and applauded actors. It is indeed true, that his taſte for, and excellence in, Tragedy, rendered him a leſs general Player than ſome of his predeceſſors: But though this might in ſome reſpect make him leſs uſeful to the managers, yet it did not at all detract from his credit with the publick, more eſpecially when it appeared, that in ſome of the parts he played in Comedy, he was extremely perfect, and gave them a gracefulneſs and propriety which few other actors could reach. In this point of light he ſtood, when, in compliance with the importunities of his friends, Mr Addiſon conſented that Cato, which had been already peruſed and admired by the beſt judges, ſhould be produced to the publick, and make it's appearance on the ſtage. The author himſelf and his friends were very ſenſible, that the ſucceſs of this excellent Tragedy, would in a great meaſure depend on the manner in which the character was played, and therefore in putting it into the hands of Mr Booth, they might be ſaid to reſt in a great meaſure their expectations from that celebrated piece on his capacity and care. It is no leſs true, that from his firſt rehearſal of it they became in ſome meaſure confident of it's being received with applauſe; and it muſt be alſo allowed, that though Mr Booth did not excel himſelf in this character, for in that of Othello he was thought ſuperior, yet he excelled all who have attempted that part ever ſince, and ſupported it with that dignity of behaviour, that captivated the minds of a well-judging audience, and rendered Cato as much admired and revered in Britain, as he ever had been in Rome. This might look like Panegyrick, if the world did not know, from the ſmall interval of time ſince elapſed, that it is no more than naked truth.

given to Mr Booth without hesitation or dispute, the then managers, who were Players, being very well satisfied that no body else could perform it. To say that his action added in any degree to the character drawn by the Poet would be flattery, but to affirm that he entered fully into the spirit of his part, and came up to all that either the town or the author could expect, is barely doing justice to his memory, in support of which, we may depend upon the testimony of numberless living witnesses (*n*) who saw it. We may also take the liberty of affirming, that as party prejudices never ran higher than at that time, and the excellency of the Play was distinguished by the surprizing contest between both parties which should applaud it most; so the merit of the Actor received the same marks of approbation, both parties taking care to distinguish their satisfaction in that respect, by bestowing upon him (*o*) unusual and unprecedented rewards. But to enumerate the remarkable circumstances that attended our Actor's extraordinary display of his abilities upon this occasion, would too much interrupt the thread of our narration, and we have therefore given them a place in the notes [*C*]. The run of *Cato* being over at London, the Managers thought fit to remove to Oxford in the summer, where the Play met with so extraordinary a reception, that they were forced to open the doors at noon, and the house was quite full by one o'clock; the same respect was paid it for three days together; and tho' the universal applause this Play met with at London, surpassed every thing of that kind that had been remembered; yet the tribute of praise it received from this famous university, surpassed even that (*p*). The reputation Mr Booth was now in, seemed to entitle him very justly to as great advantages from the Theatre as any concerned therein enjoyed, which at that time was very considerable, the management, as we before observed, being in the hands of three capital Actors, *viz.* Cibber, Dogget, and Wilks (*q*); yet this perhaps he would never have obtained from the bare consideration of what he deserved, but the favour he was in with that powerful Minister, the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, was so great,

(*n*) Remarks on the British Theatre, p. 299.

(*o*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 379.

(*p*) Remarks upon the late excellent Tragedy of Cato, p. 23.

(*q*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life.

[*C*] *Have therefore given them a place in the notes.*] The best way to come at all historical truths in general is, to have recourse to the most knowing and candid writers, because such will always take care to be well informed themselves, and be cautious how they deliver the facts they relate, that they may not misinform their readers. This rule is as necessary, and as essential towards instructing ones self well as to Theatrical History, as it is in respect to the History of the World, the same obstacles lying in the way of both, and thereby rendering the means equally difficult, though their ends are not of the same importance. This fully justifies taking the following copious and curious account from the very impartial Mr Cibber, who speaks thus (4):

(4) Apology for his own Life, p. 379.

'Although Cato seems plainly written upon what are 'called Whig principles, yet the Tories of that time 'had sense enough not to take it as the least reflection 'upon their administration, but, on the contrary, they 'seemed to brandish and vaunt their approbation of 'every sentiment in favour of liberty, which by a public act of their generosity was carried so high, that 'one day while the Play was acting they collected fifty 'guineas in the boxes, and made a present of them to 'Booth, with this compliment——*For his honest opposition to a perpetual Dictator, and his dying so bravely 'in the cause of liberty.* What was insinuated by any 'part of these words is not my affair; but so publick 'a reward had the appearance of a laudable spirit, 'which only such a Play as Cato could have inspired. 'Nor could Booth be blamed, if, upon so particular a 'a distinction of his merit, he began himself to set more 'value upon it. How far he might carry it in making 'use of the favour he stood in, with a certain Noble'man then in power at Court, was not difficult to penetrate, and indeed ought always to have been expected by the meanest actors; for which of them '(making the case every way his own) could with such 'advantages have contented himself in the humble 'station of an hired actor? But let us see how the managers stood severally affected upon this occasion. 'Dogget, who expected, though he feared not the attempt of what after happened, imagined he had 'thought of an expedient to prevent it; and to cover his design with all the art of a statesman, he insinuated to us (for he was a staunch Whig) that this 'present of fifty guineas was a sort of Tory triumph, 'which they had no pretence to, and that for his part 'he could not bear that so redoubted a champion for 'liberty as Cato, should be bought off to the cause of a 'contrary party. He therefore in the seeming zeal of 'his heart, proposed, that the managers themselves 'should make the same present to Booth which had 'been made from the boxes the day before. This, 'he said, would recommend the equity and liberal 'spirit of our management to the town, and might be 'a means to secure Booth more firmly in our interest, 'it never having been known that the skill of the best 'actor had received so round a reward or gratuity in one 'day before. Wilks, who wanted nothing but abilities 'to be as cunning as Dogget, was so charmed with the 'proposal, that he longed that moment to make Booth 'the present with his own hands, and though he knew 'he had no right to do it without my consent, had no 'patience to ask it. Upon which I turned to Dogget 'with a cold smile, and told him, that if Booth could 'be purchased at so cheap a rate, it would be one of 'the best proofs of his œconomy we had ever been beholden to. I therefore desired he might have a little 'patience, that our doing it too hastily might be only 'making sure of an occasion to throw away the fifty 'guineas; for if we should be obliged to do better for 'him, we could never expect that Booth would think 'himself bound in honour to resund them. This 'seemed so absurd an argument to Wilks, that he began with his usual freedom of speech to treat it as a 'pitiful evasion of their intended generosity. But Dogget, who was not so wide of my meaning, clapping 'his hand upon mine, said, with an air of security, 'Oh! don't trouble yourself, there must be two words 'to that bargain, let me alone to manage that matter. 'Wilks, upon this dark discourse, grew uneasy, as if 'there was some secret between us that he was to be 'left out of. Therefore, to avoid the shock of his intemperance, I was reduced to tell him, it was my 'opinion, that Booth would never be made easy by any 'thing we could do for him, 'till he had a share in the 'profits and management; and that as he did not want 'friends to assist him, whatever his merit might be before, every one would think, since his acting of Cato, 'he had now enough to back his pretensions to it. 'To which Dogget replied, that nobody would think 'his merit slighted by so handsome a present as fifty 'guineas and that for his farther pretensions, whatever the Licence might avail, our property of house, 'scenes, and cloaths, were our own, and not in the 'power of the Crown to dispose of. To conclude, 'my objections, that the money would be only thrown 'away, &c. were over-ruled, and the same night Booth 'had the fifty guineas, which he received with a 'thankfulness that made Wilks and Dogget perfectly easy, insomuch that they seemed for some time to 'triumph in their conduct, and often endeavoured to 'laugh my jealousy out of countenance. But in the 'following winter the game happened to take a different turn, and then, if it had been a laughing matter, I had as strong an occasion to smile at their former security.'

[*D*] *May*

great, that in 1713, he procured a new licence, recalling all former licences, in which Mr Booth's name was added to thoſe of the former Managers (*r*). They were none of them pleaſed with this act of juſtice done to Booth's merit, at the expence of what they call their property, but none of them carried it ſo high as Mr Dogget, who abſolutely refuſed to accept of any conſideration for his ſhare in the ſcenes and cloaths, which had, however, no other effect, than depriving him, through his own obſtinacy, of his ſhare, which brought him in one thouſand pounds a year, though the beſt judge of this matter now living informs us, that this was only a pretence, and that the true reaſon of his quitting, was his diſlike to another of the Managers, whoſe humour was become inſupportable to him (*s*). At the time he came to have this ſhare in the management of the houſe, he was certainly in the beſt condition for making it turn to the entire ſatisfaction of the publick, and the emolument of his aſſociates, as well as his particular benefit, for he was at that time in the thirty-third year of his age, and in the higheſt reputation as an Actor (*t*). He was extremely diligent both in his profeſſion and in his office, ſo that his abilities in the former, and his integrity in the latter, joined to the reſpect paid him as a gentleman of family, ſet him altogether in as high a point of eſteem, as any man had attained in his ſtation. He enjoyed theſe ſingular advantages for many years unenvied and unequalled, and his fame, as a Player, inſtead of ſinking by degrees, as ſometimes has happened to thoſe who have been moſt applauded, increaſed very perceptibly, and audiences, inſtead of growing thin from a ſatiety of ſeeing the ſame parts performed by the ſame man, became fuller from the fear of loſing him (*u*). Some years after this, he married Mrs Santlowe, who from her firſt appearance as an Actreſs, in the character of the *Fair Quaker of Deal*, to the time ſhe quitted the Stage, had always received the ſtrongeſt marks of publick applauſe, which were repeated, when, after a retreat for ſome time, ſhe appeared there again. By her prudence, in managing the advantages that aroſe to her from the figure ſhe made upon the Stage, and her great diligence in her profeſſion, ſhe acquired a conſiderable fortune, which was very uſeful to Mr Booth, who, from the natural turn of his temper, though he had a ſtrict regard to juſtice, was not much inclined to ſaving (*w*). This ſecond marriage, however, does not ſeem to have been founded on intereſt, but rather in affection, and, during the few years they lived together, there was the greateſt harmony between them. By degrees, the health of Mr Booth began to decline, ſo that it was impoſſible for him to continue to act with as much diligence as uſual, which did not, however, leſſen the favour of the Publick towards him, but, on the contrary, afforded room for freſh inſtances of their eſteem, by the crowded audiences his appearance drew, whenever the intervals of his diſtemper permitted him to tread the Stage (*x*). But when once his conſtitution began to decline he broke very faſt, and being attacked by a complication of diſeaſes, he at length gave way to Fate, May 10, 1733. He ſhewed his great modeſty, and contempt of that kind of fame that ſome people are ſo fond of after death, by directing that he ſhould be interred with all imaginable privacy, in the pariſh church of Cowley, near Uxbridge, in Middleſex, the conſtant place of his retirement in the ſummer, which was complied with, and no monument raiſed to his memory, though he intended to have erected one for his revered tutor and admired friend Mr Betterton (*y*). He teſtified likewiſe his ſincere love for, and entire ſatisfaction in the conduct of, his wife, to whom he left all his fortune, for reaſons therein aſſigned, which he declared amounted to no more, than two thirds of what he had received with his wife upon the day of marriage (*z*). His character, as an Actor, has been celebrated by ſome of the beſt judges, and was never queſtioned by any. To ſay the truth, it was more criticiſed by himſelf than by any other, for he carried his own notions of Betterton's merit ſo high, that he always conſidered his performance as inimitable, and treated all attempts to flatter his own manner of acting as equal to his maſter's, not only with contempt but indignation. This ſome have imagined was carried too far, and that it was the effects only of the vigorous impreſſions made by Betterton's manner of playing on the youthful mind of Booth, which took the ſtamp ſo deeply, that no length of time could wear it out (*a*). But others have judged that in this he was not at all miſtaken, and that, if we are to look for the equals of Betterton, or, if it was poſſible, for his ſuperiors, it muſt be in the records of earlier times, there being a great probability, that parts are beſt played ſoon after they are firſt writ, and when it is poſſible for the Actor to receive the inſtructions of the author; but this, perhaps, may be no more than an opinion as well as the former [*D*]. Amongſt thoſe, who, out of reſpect to his great abilities, have done honour to

(*r*) Short Hiſtory of the Theatre, addreſſed to H.G. T.D.O.N.L.C.

(*s*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life.

(*t*) Life of Barton Booth, Eſq;

(*u*) Remarks on the Britiſh Theatre, p. 300.

(*w*) See a Copy of his Will in the London Magazine, for 1733, p. 126.

(*x*) Hiſtory of the Engliſh Stage, p. 145.

(*y*) He had ſpoke of this very ſeriouſly; perhaps the ſtate of his affairs hindered him from performing it.

(*z*) See his laſt Will, as before cited.

(*a*) Remarks upon the Britiſh Theatre, p. 59.

[*D*] *May be no more than an opinion as well as the former.*] It appears from the moſt authentick writers of thoſe times, that the original actors in Shakeſpear's beſt Plays were almoſt idolized by the populace, who ſet up the ſigns of their heads while they were living, and paid them ſuch reſpect and veneration as we can hardly conceive or credit (5). Richard Burbage, who played Richard the Third, was one of theſe remarkable perſons, and John Lowen, who played Hamlet, another. This laſt muſt have lived and acted to a good old age, if there be any truth in what ſome have ſuggeſted, that Sir William D'Avenant had ſeen him act Henry the Eighth, and from thence gave Betterton thoſe inſtructions which enabled him to ſhine in that character (6). It is however allowed, that Shakeſpear himſelf did not ſucceed in playing; but for all that he might be very capable of inſtructing others, and ſo very probable he was, ſince the remarks upon acting in his play of Hamlet are allowed to be very judicious. A great critick of the laſt age, makes no ſort of ſcruple in aſſigning the merit of the actors, as the true cauſe of the great ſucceſs of our moſt taking old plays. As for inſtance, thus he delivers himſelf upon the ſubject (7). 'Amongſt thoſe who will be objecting againſt the 'doctrine

(5) See Stowe's Annals, p. 698. Wood's Faſt. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 167.

(6) An Anſwer to Mr Pope's Preface to Shakeſpear, in a Letter to a Friend, p. 19.

(7) The Tragedies of the laſt Age, conſidered and examined in a Letter to Fleetwood Shepheard, Eſq; by Thomas Rymer, Eſq; p. 5.

to the memory of Mr Booth, Aaron Hill, Esq; a gentleman, who by the share he had in the management of the Play-House, could not but have sufficient opportunities of considering and becoming well acquainted with his merit, has given us a character of him at large, which, as it is every way worthy of the reader's notice, and is withal but short, we have placed in the notes (*b*) [*E*]. But the most perfect thing of it's kind that has appeared upon this subject, is the same character drawn by the hand of Mr Cibber, whose judgment and candour are equally commendable; since, in the History he has given us of the Theatre, there are a multitude of particulars, which shew how fit he was for the management of it, and all his accounts of contemporary Actors and Authors, are written with great justice and impartiality, so that it may be truly said, that he has taken freedom with no man's character but his own. What he says of Booth and Wilks is equally curious and entertaining, and we may be sure that he was very capable of entering deeply into their sentiments and tempers, whom he had known with intimacy for many years, and as Actors, during the course of their lives (*c*). He has given us their characters with much plainness and perspicuity, allowing their full share of merit to both, without lessening or concealing the failings of either, and thereby affords us more clear and certain light into the real advantages they had over other Actors, than could have been obtained any other way [*F*]. But it was not only in his profession, though it was chiefly in that, Mr Booth excelled.

(*b*) History of the English Stage, p. 147.

(*c*) Apology for Cibber's Life, p. 476.

'doctrine I lay down, may peradventure appear a sort 'of men who have remembered so and so, and value 'themselves upon their experience. I may write by the 'book (say they) what I have a mind, but they know 'what pleases. These are a sort of stage quacks and 'empericks in Poetry who have got a receipt to please, 'and no collegiate like them for purging the passions. 'These say (for instance) *A King and no King* pleases. 'I say the comical part pleases; I say that Mr Hart 'pleases, most of the business falls to his share, and 'what he delivers every one takes upon content, their 'eyes are prepossessed and charmed by his action, be'fore ought of the Poet's can approach their ears, and 'to the most wretched of characters he gives a lustre 'and brilliance which dazzle the sight, that the defor'mities in the poetry cannot be perceived; therefore 'a distinction is to be made between what pleaseth 'naturally in itself; and what pleases upon the account 'of machines, actors, dances, and circumstances which 'are merely accidental to the tragedy. Aristotle observes, 'that in his time there were some who (wanting the ta'lent to write what might please) made it their care that 'the actors should keep out where the Muses failed.'

In another place, criticizing the Maid's Tragedy, he (8) Id. ibid. p. 138. says (8), 'We may remember, (however we find Melan'thius and Amintor written in the book) that at the 'theatre we have a good scene acted, there is work 'cut out, and both our Æsopus and Roscius are on 'the stage together. Whatever defect may be in 'Amintor and Melanthius, Mr Hart and Mr Mohun 'are wanting in nothing. To these we owe for what 'is pleasing in the scene, and to this scene we may 'impute the success of *the Maid's* Tragedy.' But with all the deference due to so severe a judge, and so great a critick, may we not have leave to enquire, Whether this prodigious excellence of the actor arises entirely from himself, or whether it is not owing to his diligence and attention in studying his author, 'till he attains his full sense, and thereby acquires a capacity of expressing himself with so much force and vivacity? If there be any thing in this, as I believe every judicious reader will allow there is, then the actor is as much indebted to the poet, as the poet to the actor. This also affords us a solution of a question before-mentioned, which is, why the original actors are commonly superior to their successors? which may reasonably be supposed to arise from the opportunities they have of entering fully into the author's designs, and in which those who come after them must be deficient.

[*E*] *And is withal but short, we have placed in the notes.*] The author of this little piece is still living, and from time to time obliges the publick with very entertaining performances in verse and prose. He has been thought to understand the business of the stage as well as most people, as having a double advantage from genius and experience.

The character of Mr BOOTH.

'TWO advantages distinguished him in the 'strongest light from the rest of his fraternity, 'he had learning to understand perfectly whatever it 'was his part to speak, and judgment to know how 'far it agreed or disagreed with his character. Hence 'arose a peculiar grace, which was visible to every 'spectator, though few were at the pains of examining 'into the cause of their pleasure. He could soften 'and slide over with a kind of elegant negligence the 'improprieties in a part he acted, while on the con'trary he would dwell with energy upon the beauties, 'as if he exerted a latent spirit which had been kept 'back for such an occasion, that he might alarm, 'awaken, and transport in those places only, where the 'dignity of his own good sense could be supported by 'that of his author. A little reflection upon this re'markable quality, will teach us to account for that 'manifest languor which has sometimes been observed 'in his action, and which was generally, though I 'think falsly, imputed to the natural indolence of his 'temper. For the same reason, though in the custo'mary rounds of his business, he would condescend to 'some parts in Comedy, he seldom appeared in any 'of them with much advantage to his character. The 'passions which he found in Comedy were not strong 'enough to excite his fire, and what seemed want of 'qualification was only absence of impression. He 'had a talent at discovering the passions, where they 'lay hid in some celebrated parts, by the injudicious 'practice of other actors, when he had discovered he 'soon grew able to express them. And his secret for 'attaining this great lesson of the Theatre, was an 'adaption of his look to his voice, by which artful 'imitation of nature, the variations in the sound of 'his words gave propriety to every change in his 'countenance. So that it was Mr Booth's peculiar 'felicity to be heard and seen the same — whether as 'the *pleased*, the *grieved*, the *pitying*, the *reproachful*, 'or the *angry*. One would almost be tempted to 'borrow the aid of a very bold figure, and to express 'this excellence the more significaotly, beg permission 'to affirm, that the blind might have seen him in his 'voice, and the deaf have heard him in his visage. 'His gesture, or, as it is commonly called his action, 'was but the result and necessary consequence of his do'minion over his voice and countenance; for having 'by a concurrence of two such causes, impressed his 'imagination with such a stamp and spirit of passion, 'he ever obeyed the impulse by a kind of natural de'pendency, and relaxed or braced successively into all 'that fine expressiveness with which he painted what 'he spoke without restraint or affectation.'

A. HILL.

It must be admitted, that with many signs of friendship and respect, this character carries in it sufficient marks of sincerity, and a just concern for truth. The author knew, that with great abilities Mr Booth had some failings, which he is far from concealing, though he attributes them to certain causes that do him no dishonour; and it falls out very happily, that in excusing him he does not violate probability in the least. All who knew Mr Booth must allow, that he has given a very fair account of his disposition, and very rightly ascribed to the temper of the man, those incqualities that were discovered in him as an actor; so that in this character he seems equally studious of doing justice to him and to the publick.

[*F*] *Than could have been obtained any other way.*] There are a great many passages in Mr Cibber's book which

excelled. He was a man of letters alſo, and an author in more languages than one. He had a taſte for poetry, which diſcovered itſelf when he was very young, in tranſlations from ſeveral Odes of Horace, and in his riper years, he wrote ſeveral ſongs and other original poems, which were very far from injuring his reputation. He was alſo the author of a maſque or dramatick entertainment called *Dido and Æneas* (*d*), that was very well received upon the Stage, which, however, did not get the better ſo far of his indolence, as to produce any thing of the ſame kind afterwards. But his maſter-piece was a Latin inſcription to the memory of a celebrated Actor, who died while he was young, Mr William Smith, one of the greateſt men of his profeſſion, and of whom Mr Booth always ſpoke in raptures. This ſhort elogy has all the ſtrength, beauty, and elegance, which is neceſſary to recommend a thing of that kind, without any mixture of that flattery, which ſo often vitiates inſcriptions of this nature, and is therefore the propereſt ſpecimen that can be offered to the reader's notice, of our author's genius and learning.

(*d*) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 282.

which relate to Mr Booth, and which we ſhould have collected, as the beſt account of him in his theatrical capacity, if we had not been afraid of tiring the reader. But what follows (9) is ſo much to the purpoſe, ſo juſt a criticiſm, and ſo fair a repreſentation of his excellencies and defects, that to have omitted it muſt have injured the end aimed at in this article. 'Tho' 'the majority of publick auditors are but bad judges 'of theatrical action, and are often deceived into 'their approbation of what has no ſolid pretence to it; 'yet as there are no other appointed judges to appeal 'to, and as every ſingle ſpectator has a right to be 'one of them, their ſentence will be definitive, and 'the merit of an actor muſt in ſome degree be weighed 'by it. By this law then Wilks was pronounced an 'excellent actor, which if the few true judges did not 'allow him to be, they were at leaſt too candid to 'ſlight or diſcourage him. Booth and he were actors 'ſo directly oppoſite in their manner, that if either of 'them could have borrowed a little of the other's 'fault, they would both have been improved by it.' 'If Wilks had ſometimes too violent a vivacity, Booth 'as often contented himſelf with too grave a dignity. 'The latter ſeemed too much to heave up his words, 'as the other to dart them to the ear with too quick 'and ſharp a vehemence. Thus Wilks would too frequently break into the time and meaſure of the harmony by too many ſpirited accents in one line, and 'Booth, by too ſolemn a regard to harmony, would 'as often loſe the neceſſary ſpirit of it: So that (as I 'have obſerved) could we have ſometimes raiſed the 'one and ſunk the other, they had both been nearer 'to the mark. Yet this could not be always objected 'to them, they had their intervals of unexceptionable 'excellence that more than ballanced their errors. 'The maſter-piece of Booth was *Othello*; there he 'was moſt in character, and ſeemed not more to animate or pleaſe himſelf in it than his ſpectators. 'Tis 'true he owed his laſt and higheſt advancement to his 'acting Cato; but it was the novelty and critical appearance of that character that chiefly ſwelled the 'torrent of his applauſe; for let the ſentiments of a 'declaiming patriot have all the ſublimity that poetry 'can raiſe them to, let them be delivered too with 'the utmoſt grace and dignity of elocution that can 'recommend them to the auditor, yet this is but one 'light wherein the excellence of an actor can ſhine, 'but in *Othello* we may ſee him in the variety of nature. There the actor is carried through the different accidents of domeſtick happineſs and miſery, 'occaſionally torn and tortured by the moſt diſtracting 'paſſion that can raiſe terror or compaſſion in the ſpectator. Such are the characters that a maſter actor 'would delight in, and therefore in *Othello* I may 'ſafely aver, that Booth ſhewed himſelf thrice the 'actor that he could in Cato; and yet his merit in 'acting Cato need not be diminiſhed by this compariſon. Wilks often regretted, that in Tragedy he had 'not the full and ſtrong voice of Booth to command 'and grace his periods with. But Booth uſed to ſay, 'that if his ear had been equal to it, Wilks had voice 'enough to have ſhewn himſelf a much better Tragedian. Now though there might be ſome truth in 'this, yet theſe two actors were of ſo mixed a merit, 'that even in Tragedy the ſuperiority was not always 'on the ſame ſide. In ſorrow, tenderneſs, or reſignation, Wilks plainly had the advantage, and ſeemed 'more pathetically to feel, look, and expreſs his calamity, But in the more turbulent tranſports of the 'heart, Booth again bore the palm, and left all competitors behind him. A fact perhaps will ſet this 'difference in a clearer light. I have formerly ſeen 'Wilks act *Othello*, and Booth the Earl of *Eſſex*, in 'which they both miſcarried. Neither the exclamatory rage or jealouſy of the one, or the plaintive diſtreſſes of the other, were happily executed, or became either of them, though in the contrary characters they were both excellent. When an actor 'becomes, and actually looks the character he ſtands 'in, I have often obſerved it to have had as fortunate 'an effect, and as much recommended him to the approbation of the common auditors, as the moſt correct or judicious utterance of the ſentiments. This 'was ſtrongly viſible in the favourable reception Wilks 'met with in Hamlet, when I own the half of what 'he ſpoke was as painful to my ear, as every line that 'came from Betterton was charming, and yet it is not 'impoſſible, could they have come to a poll, but 'Wilks might have had a majority of admirers; 'however, ſuch a diviſion had been no proof that the 'preheminence had not ſtill remained in Betterton; 'and if I ſhould add that Booth too was behind 'Betterton in *Othello*, it would be ſaying no more than 'Booth himſelf had judgment and candour enough to 'know and confeſs. And if Booth and Wilks, 'are allowed in the two above-mentioned characters 'a ſecond place to ſo great a maſter as *Betterton*, it 'will be a rank of praiſe that the beſt actors ſince my 'time might have been proud of.'

(9) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 476.

It has been before obſerved in ſpeaking of BETTERTON, that his hiſtory included in a great meaſure that of the Britiſh theatre, from 1660 to 1710. We may with like juſtice aſſert in regard to BOOTH, that his article continues the fame hiſtory twenty years lower, and therefore merited all the regard that has been paid to it. Some perhaps may imagine, that theſe characters are not of importance enough to deſerve ſo great attention; but in a body of perſonal hiſtory, it is certainly right to have due regard to a point which has ſo neceſſary a connection with the repreſentation of the times; and even the ſevereſt readers will find, that the hiſtory of the ſtage has it's uſes, and that it would be no inconſiderable ſervice done to the Republick of Letters, if due care was taken to furniſh us with a compleat account of the characters of the principal performers before the Reſtoration, which perhaps we are not to expect in haſte. As to the particulars of the behaviour of Mr Booth, conſidered in the light of a manager, it does not concern us ſo much, though it muſt be offered as an addition to his reputation, that during the twenty years he continued in this ſtation the theatre was in the greateſt credit, and that his illneſs, amongſt other things, contributed not a little to it's declenſion. We have a very fair account of this matter from Mr Cibber, who, towards the end of his book, gives us the following detail of the ruin of their adminiſtration, by whoſe care the ſtage had been rendered equally beneficial to the managers, advantageous to thoſe in their ſervice, and ſatisfactory to the publick. A thing ſo much the more remarkable, as nothing like it ever happened before, or in all probability will happen again, at leaſt in our times (10).

(10) Ibid. p. 487.

'During our four laſt years, ſays he, there hap-'pened ſo very little unlike what had been ſaid, that 'I ſhall conclude with barely mentioning thoſe un-'avoidable accidents that drew on our diſſolution.

ing (e) [G]. In his private life he had many virtues, mixed with a few, and thoſe very pardonable, failings. He was very juſt, punctual, and ſincere in all his dealings. He was not haſty in giving his word, becauſe he never broke it. He had no envy in his compoſition, but, on the contrary, readily approved, and as readily rewarded, merit, as it was in his power. He was ſomething rough in his manner, and a little haſty in his temper, but very open and free to ſpeak his ſentiments, which he always did with an air of ſincerity, that procured him as much credit with people at firſt ſight, as he had with thoſe to whom he had been known ever ſo long. He was very kind to all the Players whoſe circumſtances were but indifferent, and took care not to make them uneaſy, either in point of ſalary or of uſage. He was no great ſpeaker in company, but when he did, it was in a grave lofty way, not at all unlike his pronunciation on the Stage. He had a great veneration for his parents while they were living, and was alſo very uſeful to his brother and ſiſter after their deceaſe. In a word, he diſcharged all the duties of private and publick life in a genteel and generous manner, ſo that his death was very much regretted, and as, in his judgment, the Town ſaw nothing equal to Betterton after he quitted the Stage, ſo many are perſuaded, that ſince the death of Mr Booth, his parts have been performed by none with ſuperior grace.

(e) Hiſtory of the Engliſh Stage, p. 148.

'The firſt that for ſome years had led the way to 'greater, was the continued ill ſtate of health that 'rendered Booth incapable of appearing on the ſtage. 'The next was the death of Mrs Oldfield, which hap-'pened on the 23d of October, 1730. About the 'ſame time too Mrs Porter, then in her higheſt repu-'tation for Tragedy, was loſt to us by the misfortune 'of a diſlocated limb from the overturning of a chaiſe. 'And our laſt ſtroke was the death of Wilks, in Sep-'tember the year following, 1731.'

[G] *Our author's genius and learning.*] It is a misfortune to the reader that we can give him no tolerable account of the perſon this memorable inſcription referred to, beyond or excluſive of what is contained therein. His name was William Smith, and it is reaſonable to believe he was of a good family, ſince he was a Barriſter at Law of Gray's-Inn, before he quitted the Bar for the Stage. There is good reaſon to think that he came as early upon it as Betterton, or at leaſt that he was not much his junior, ſince we find that he was embarked with him in the deſign of procuring a conjunction of the two companies, ſo long ago as the year 1681. We have reaſon therefore to believe, that the following lines were penned by our author in the earlier part of his life, while he preſerved in their full perfection thoſe literary qualifications which he had acquired at Weſtminſter-ſchool, and that happy turn in writing the Roman language, which peculiarly diſtinguiſhes ſuch as have paid their firſt vows to the Muſes in thoſe venerable cloyſters. The ſentiments expreſſed in theſe few lines ſufficiently ſhew Mr Booth's notions of his profeſſion (11).

(11) Hiſt. of the Engliſh Stage, p. 148.

Scenicus eximius,
Regnante Carolo Secundo:
Bettertono Coætaneus & Amicus,
nec non propemodum Æqualis.
Haud ignobili ſtirpe Oriundus,
Nec Literarum rudis humaniorum,
rem Scenicam
per multos feliciter annos adminiſtravit;
Juſtoque moderamine & morum ſuavitate;
Omnium intra Theatrum
Obſervantiam, extra Theatrum Laudem,
Ubique benevolentiam & amorem ſibi conciliavit.

In Engliſh thus.

An Excellent Player
In the reign of Charles the Second:
The contemporary and friend of Betterton,
and almoſt his equal.
Deſcended of no ignoble family,
nor deſtitute of polite Learning.
The buſineſs of the ſtage
He for many years happily managed:
And by his juſt conduct and ſweetneſs of manners
obtained
the reſpect of all within the Theatre,
the applauſe of thoſe without,
and the good will and love of all mankind.

E

BOULTER (Hugh) D. D. Archbiſhop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland, is one of thoſe ſubjects that cannot be handled without panegyrick, the naked relation of his actions being ſuch. He was born in or near London, of a reputable and eſtated family [A], and received his firſt rudiments of learning at Merchant-Taylor's ſchool (a), in that great metropolis, where having with a quick proficiency got through Grammar learning, and ſuch parts of knowledge as are uſually taught in ſchools, he was admitted

(a) Memoirs communicated by one who was moſt intimate with Dr Boulter from his youth to his death.

[A] *Born of a reputable and eſtated family.*] His father had an eſtate near Oxford, and in houſes and ground-rents in the Minories and Cripplegate, London; as alſo in Bermondſey in Southwark, and in Kenſington in Middleſex; all which Dr Boulter enjoyed to the time of his death, ſubject to a few ſmall incumbrances left on them by his father: And he by his own Will, dated the 19th of November, 1729 (1), directed, that on the contingency of the death of his wife without iſſue by him, the ſaid ſeveral eſtates (ſpecially named in the Will) ſhould be ſold, and the money ariſing by ſuch ſale he ordered to be diſpoſed of as follows; namely, Firſt, to his brother Charles Savage he deviſed one hundred pounds; to Dr Robert Welſted one hundred pounds, or, if he were dead, one hundred pounds to his eldeſt ſurviving ſon; and the overplus of the money ariſing from ſuch ſale, together with the remainder of the money he had in the ſtocks, he directed ſhould be remitted to his truſtees in Ireland, to be laid out in manner following; namely, that out of the money they returned, and the overplus of his effects undiſpoſed in Ireland, his truſtees ſhould build four houſes for the widows of ſuch Clergymen as had been Curates at leaſt ten years in the dioceſe of Armagh; and that an eſtate of fifty pounds a year ſhould be bought by his truſtees, to be equally divided among the ſaid four widows, after deducting for neceſſary repairs; and that the ſaid widows be nominated by his ſucceſſors, and be ſubject to their order and viſitation. And as to what ſhould remain of ſuch funds, he directed it to be paid to his ſucceſſors, to be employed in augmenting poor livings, and buying glebes, according to the directions of the truſtees of the firſt-fruits. And for doing the more ſervice with ſuch money, he ordered, that whatever purchaſe was made with it in tythes or land, that the ſame ſhould not be made over to any incumbent abſolutely 'till ſuch tythes or land ſhould repay half the purchaſe-money without intereſt. And this he did in order to make the fund more conſiderable for the purpoſes intended.

(1) Prerog. Office of Ireland.

[B] *Remembered*

admitted from thence a Commoner (*b*) in Chriſt-church in Oxford, ſome time before the Revolution. His merit became ſo conſpicuous there, that immediately after that great event, he was elected a Demy (*c*) of Magdalen-college, together with the late Mr Addiſon, and Dr Joſeph Wilcox, the preſent Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Dean of Weſtminſter. Dr Hough, who was then reſtored to the Preſidentſhip of that college (from which he had been unwarrantably ejected in the reign of King James the II.) uſed to call this election by the name of the *golden election* (*d*), from the merit and learning of the perſons who were choſen; and the ſame reſpectful appellation was long after made uſe of in common converſation in the college. He was afterwards made Fellow (*e*) of Magdalen-college, for which, as well as for Chriſt-church, he always retained ſentiments of reſpect and gratitude, and, as a proof thereof, he afterwards remembred them both in his Will [*B*]. He continued in the univerſity 'till he was called to London, by the invitation of Sir Charles Hedges, Principal Secretary of State in the year 1700 (*f*), who made him his Chaplain; and ſome time after he was preferred to the ſame honour (*g*) by Dr Thomas Teniſon, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. In theſe ſtations he was under a neceſſity of appearing often at Court, where his merit and virtues fell under the notice of Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, Principal Secretary of State, by whoſe influence and intereſt he was advanced to his firſt promotions in the Church, namely, to the parſonage of St Olave in Southwark, and to the archdeaconry of Surrey (*h*). The pariſh of St Olave was very populous, and for the moſt part poor, under which circumſtances it required a vigilant Paſtor, and in this particular Dr Boulter was by no means deficient (*i*), applying himſelf in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, to their inſtruction, correction, and reproof; nor was his purſe wanting to help the neceſſitous, according to his abilities and their emergencies. When King George I. paſſed over to Hanover in the year 1719, Dr Boulter was recommended to attend him in quality of his Chaplain (*k*). During his abode there he took a good deal of pains to learn the German language; in which, nevertheleſs, he did not arrive to any great perfection (*l*). He alſo, at the King's inſtance, took Prince Frederick under his care, to inſtruct him in the Engliſh tongue; and for that purpoſe drew up for his uſe, *A Set of Inſtructions in writing*, which, together with his great moderation and ſweetneſs of temper, riveted him in the King's favour, and cauſed his Majeſty to lay hold of the earlieſt opportunity of promoting him in the Church, which ſoon happened (*m*). For, during his abode at Hanover, the biſhoprick of Briſtol, and deanery of Chriſt-church, Oxford, became vacant by the death of Dr George Smalridge, on the twenty-ſeventh of September 1719 (*n*), and the news thereof arriving at Hanover, the King of his meer motion granted to him that See and deanery, and he was conſecrated (*o*) Biſhop of Briſtol, on the fifteenth of November following. In this laſt ſtation he was more than ordinarily aſſiduous (*p*), in the viſitation of his dioceſe, and the diſcharge of his paſtoral duty, well knowing how much the intereſt of the Church depended upon a ſtrict reformation of the lives and morals of the clergy, and a faithful and diligent execution of the truſt committed to them. While he was employed in the buſineſs of one of theſe viſitations, he received a letter (*q*) by a Meſſenger from the Secretary of State, acquainting him, that his Majeſty had nominated him to the archbiſhoprick of Armagh, and primacy of Ireland, then vacant by the death of Dr Thomas Lindſay, on the 13th of July, 1724 (*r*), and deſiring him to repair to London as ſoon as poſſible, to kiſs the King's hand for his promotion. What would have given joy to another, to this good Biſhop afforded only matter of grief; and we have heard it affirmed by indiſputable teſtimony, that he never appeared more diſconcerted in his life, than upon receiving the news of the King's pleaſure. He conſulted with his own thoughts for a few hours, and adviſed with ſuch of his friends as were preſent, how he ſhould conduct himſelf on this grand occaſion. At length he called for a pen and ink, and ſent an anſwer by the meſſenger, refuſing (*s*) the honour the King intended him, and requeſting the Secretary to uſe his good offices with his Majeſty, in making his excuſe. Whither his refuſal was owing to an unwillingneſs in him to quit his native country, where he ſtood ſo fair in the King's favour, as to hope for high advancements, or to a timorouſneſs of accepting a charge, that his great modeſty judged was too weighty for him to ſupport, muſt be left a doubt to poſterity; but thus much may be affirmed with certainty, that the people of Ireland were upon the point of loſing a *man*, for whom they will for ever have reaſon to be thankful to *God*. The Meſſenger was diſpatched (*t*) back to him by the Secretary, with the King's abſolute commands that he ſhould

(*b*) Memoirs communicated, &c.
(*c*) Memoirs, &c.
(*d*) Memoirs, &c.
(*e*) Memoirs, &c.
(*f*) Memoirs, &c.
(*g*) Memoirs, &c.
(*h*) Memoirs, &c.
(*i*) Memoirs &c.
(*k*) Memoirs, &c.
(*l*) Memoirs, &c.
(*m*) Memoirs, &c.
(*n*) Court Regiſter, p. 70.
(*o*) Court Regiſter, p. 70.
(*p*) Memoirs, &c.
(*q*) Memoirs, &c.
(*r*) Biſhops of Ireland, p. 132.
(*s*) Memoirs, &c
(*t*) Memoirs, &c.

[*B*] *Remembered Magdalen-college and Chriſt-Church in his Will.*] Upon the contingency of his wife's death without iſſue by him, he bequeathed (2) five hundred pounds to Magdalen-college in Oxford, to be applied towards rebuilding the ſame; and on the like contingency he bequeathed a thouſand pounds to Chriſt-Church in the ſame univerſity, to be applied to the purchaſe of an eſtate for founding five exhibitions of equal value, to be diſtributed among five of the pooreſt and moſt deſerving of the Commoners of that college, to be enjoyed by them for four years from the time of their election; and directed, that no Commoner of above three years ſtanding ſhould be elected into the ſaid exhibitions. He veſted the ſaid election in the Dean and Canons of that houſe, and directed that the exhibitioners ſhould be choſe upon a publick examination in the hall, and recommended the ſons of Clergymen to be in the firſt place, *cæteris paribus*, conſidered. He alſo bequeathed the further ſum of five hundred pounds to the laſt mentioned college to buy an eſtate, to be diſtributed in equal exhibitions to five Servitors of the ſaid college, of whom none were to be capable of election who were of above two years ſtanding, nor to enjoy the exhibition longer than for three years; and he veſted the right of election in the Dean and Chapter.

(2) Prerog. Office of Ireland.

[*C*] *Ireland*

ſhould accept of the poſt. He ſubmitted to his Majeſty's pleaſure, though not without ſome reluctance, and ſoon after addreſſed himſelf to his journey to Court. Ireland was at that juncture not a little inflamed, by a ruinous project ſet on foot by one Wood [*C*], and it was thought by the King and Miniſtry, that the judgment, moderation, and wiſdom of the Biſhop of Briſtol, would tend much to bring back matters to a calm there. He arrived in Ireland on the third of November, 1724, and had no ſooner paſſed patent (*u*) for the primacy, than he ſet about ſtudying the real and ſolid intereſt of that kingdom, in which his lot was caſt for life, and which all his actions ſhewed, he ever after conſidered as his own. He appeared at all boards of publick concernment, and gave a weight and vigour to them; and in every reſpect, was indefatigable in promoting the good and real happineſs of the people. It would tire the reader to be over minute in relating all the good actions of his Grace, nor would it be an eaſy taſk to do ſo, ſince they are branched out into ſuch a multiplicity of parts; and more eſpecially, as he rather ſtudied to do good, than deſire to have it publiſhed. Yet ſome things muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence, and it were to be wiſhed that proper dates of facts could be aſcertained, in order to carry on a thread of a relation, which now muſt be mentioned as they occur to memory, without obſerving any order of time.——In ſeaſons of great ſcarcity in Ireland, he was more than once, under God, inſtrumental in averting a peſtilence and famine, which threatened the nation [*D*]. When the ſcheme was ſet on foot for making a navigation, by a canal to be drawn from Lough-Neagh to Newry, not only for bringing coal to Dublin, but to carry on more effectually an inland trade in the ſeveral counties in the north of Ireland, through which it was intended to be carried, he greatly encouraged and promoted the deſign [*E*], not only with his counſel but his purſe, to the vaſt benefit of the kingdom at preſent, and much more in expectation when the ſcheme is fully compleated.

Droghedah

(*u*) Rolls Office Ireland, Pat. 31 Aug. 1724.

[*C*] *Ireland inflamed by a ruinous project of one Wood.*] This project was a patent Wood had obtained from the Crown, by falſe ſuggeſtions, for coining three hundred and ſixty tons of copper into halfpence and farthings, to be iſſued in Ireland, of which he ſent over great quantities ſtruck in a baſe metal, and under weight. All ranks and degrees of people murmured at this proceeding. The Parliament, the Lords Juſtices and Council, and the County and City of Dublin, addreſſed his Majeſty upon the occaſion; the Preſs groaned with pamphlets written in oppoſition to the ſcheme, and ſome in particular were admirably well done by Dr Swift, Dean of St Patrick's Dublin, under the fictitious name of *Letters from a Drapier*, as if written by a tradeſman to incite people againſt receiving this baſe coin, which the patent left at the liberty of the ſubject whether to receive or reject.

[*D*] *Inſtrumental in averting a peſtilence and famine which threatned the nation.*] In the winter of 1728, aud the ſummer following, bread, corn, and all other eſculents, bore and exceſſive high rate in Ireland, the middle price of wheat being then from 1 *l.* 2 *s.* 3 *d.* to 1 *l.* 5 *s.* *per* Briſtol barrel. The poor were thereby reduced to a miſerable condition, and the nation not only threatened with a famine, but with the conſequences of it, a peſtilence. The Primate could not bear to ſee his fellow-creatures periſh while he had abilities to relieve them, and accordingly he diſtributed vaſt quantities of corn for the relief of the poor through ſeveral parts of the kingdom, which, it is verily believed, was a great means of averting the threatened evil. The Houſe of Commons was ſo ſenſible of the ſervices he did upon this occaſion, that they paſſed a vote of publick thanks to him, and ordered it to be entered in their Journals, and directed all the vagrant poor that crowded the ſtreets of the city of Dublin to be received into the poor-houſe, where they were maintained at the private expence of this Prelate, 'till the following harveſt brought relief. —In the latter end of the year 1740, and the ſpring, and part of the ſummer of 1741, Ireland was again afflicted with a great ſcarcity. Upon this occaſion the Primate's charity was very extenſive and remarkable, though conducted with more regularity than before. The poor were fed in the workhouſe twice every day, according to tickets iſſued by people intruſted, of which, from January to Auguſt, the number of tickets amounted to ſeven hundred and thirty-two thouſand three hundred and fourteen. The accounts of the diſtribution of this charity is kept in the workhouſe in Dublin, and it is eſtimated thereby, that two thouſand five hundred ſouls were fed there every morning, and as many every evening, moſtly at the primate's expence, though ſome few others contributed to the good work. As a grateful memorial of his Grace's overflowing charity in relieving ſo many diſtreſſed families upon this occaſion, in the year 1741, a few lay-gentlemen, at their private expence, erected, in the hall of the poor-houſe, a grand noble portrait of the Primate at full length, deſigned by Mr Bindon, an eminent Painter, attended with a lively group of proper objects of different ages and ſexes, all waiting for food ſupplied by his bountiful hand.

[*E*] *Encouraged and promoted the ſcheme for drawing a Canal from Lough-Neagh to Newry.*] Lough-Neagh is a large navigable meer of water, about twenty Engliſh miles long, and from ten to twelve miles broad, ſurrounded by the counties of Down, Londonderry, Antrim, Tirone, and Armagh; and Newry is a conſiderable trading town, ſeated on the Newry water, in the ſouth of the county of Down, not far from the opening of Carlingford bay. A great fund of valuable coals being diſcovered on lands in the county of Tirone, bordering the ſaid lake, it was judged by ſome gentlemen, who wiſhed well to the wealth and trade of their country, that if a navigation was made by a canal from the lake to Newry, a great ſaving would ariſe to the kingdom by bringing coals through the ſaid lake and canal to Newry, and from thence by a free good navigation by ſea to Dublin. When the ſcheme for opening this navigation was propoſed in Parliament, in the year 1729, the Primate patronized it with all his intereſt, and after paſſing the bill, and that the work was ſet about the year following, his Grace was very inſtrumental in carrying it on with effect. The colliery ſtood on the See-lands of Armagh, which were then in leaſe to a tenant. The Primate fearing that the leſſee might be exorbitant in his conditions in ſuffering coals to be raiſed out of his lands, purchaſed in the leaſe at a large expence in order to accommodate the publick. He alſo gave timber out of his woods to carry on the work; and often, when the fund eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament for cutting the canal did not readily come in, his Grace advanced his own proper money for the occaſion without intereſt, that no interruption might from thence ariſe to the deſign. See a deſcription and account of this canal in a little treatiſe publiſhed in Dublin in the year 1744, intitled, *The Antient and preſent State of the County of Down*, chap. 4. The importance of this navigation, beſides the article of coals, (of which the benefit is not yet fully felt) and the opening a trade by water-carriage among the northern counties, has appeared this preſent year 1745. For the wetneſs of the preceding harveſt having occaſioned a great dearth of corn, and ſcarcity of fodder in thoſe parts, moſt of the carriage-horſes in that country were deſtroyed; and when a relief of corn came to Newry from England, it would have been impoſſible to have diſtributed it ſeaſonably through the country, if it had not been for the advantages of this navigation, by which it was laid down in the neighbourhood of moſt of the inhabitants of the ſaid counties.

[*F*] *After*

Droghedah is a large and populous town within the dioceſe of Armagh, and his Grace finding that the eccleſiaſtical appointments were not ſufficient to ſupport two clergymen there, and the cure over burthenſome for one effectually to diſcharge, he allotted out of his own pocket a maintenance for a ſecond Curate, whom he obliged to give publick ſervice every Sunday in the afternoon, and prayers twice every day. He had great compaſſion for the poor clergy of his dioceſe, who were diſabled from giving their children a proper education, and he maintained ſeveral of the ſons of ſuch in the univerſity, in order to qualify them for future preferment. He erected four houſes at Droghedah for the reception of clergymens widows, and purchaſed an eſtate for the endowment of them, after the model of Primate Marſh's charity [*F*]; which model, nevertheleſs, he enlarged in one particular; for as the eſtate he purchaſed for the maintenance of the widows, amounted to twenty-four pounds a year more than he had ſet apart for that uſe, he appointed that the ſurplus ſhould be a fund for ſetting out the children of ſuch widows apprentices, or otherwiſe to be diſpoſed of for the benefit of ſuch children, as his Truſtees ſhould think proper. He alſo by his Will directed (*w*), that four houſes ſhould be built for clergymens widows at Armagh, and endowed with fifty pounds a year; which building has been finiſhed, and the endowment made ſince his death. During his life, he contracted for the building of a ſtately market-houſe at Armagh, which has been ſince finiſhed by his executors, at upwards of eight hundred pounds expence. He was a benefactor alſo to Dr Stevens's Hoſpital in the city of Dublin [*G*], erected for the maintenance and cure of the poor. His charities for augmenting ſmall livings, and buying of glebes, (particularly mentioned in the remark *A*) amounted to upwards of thirty thouſand pounds, beſides what he deviſed by his Will for the like purpoſes in England [*H*]. The wiſdom of man could not contrive a more effectual method for the inſtruction of the poor Popiſh natives of Ireland in the principles of Chriſtianity, and for inuring them to induſtry and labour, than the inſtitution of the incorporated Society for promoting Engliſh Proteſtant working ſchools in that country. Though the original projection of this ſcheme cannot be imputed to Primate Boulter [*I*], yet he was a zealous and active, and the

(*w*) See for this particular under remark [*A*].

[*F*] *After the model of Primate Marſh's charity.*] Primate Marſh built and endowed alms-houſes at Droghedah for the reception of twelve widows of decayed Clergymen, to whom he allotted a lodging, and twenty pounds a year for a maintenance; and he appointed that the widows intitled to the proviſion ſhould be ſuch whoſe huſbands ſerved cures in the dioceſe of Armagh, or, for want of ſuch, in the dioceſe of Meath; and, if numbers did not offer to take up the charity in both theſe dioceſes, then it was to go the widows of Clergymen who ſerved cures in the province of Armagh at large. Primate Boulter founded his charity upon the ſame model.

[*G*] *Was a benefactor to Dr Stevens's hoſpital.*] Dr Stevens, a Phyſician of eminence in the city of Dublin, bequeatbed by his Will an eſtate of about ſix hundred pounds a year to his ſiſter Mrs Grizel Stevens during her life, and, after her deceaſe, to build and maintain an hoſpital for the cure of wounded and diſeaſed poor people, who ſhould be judged to be curable. The Lady, from a principle of charity and goodneſs, ſet about the work, and finiſhed the beſt half of the ſhell of the houſe, in which ſhe has reſerved an apartment for her own habitation, where ſhe now reſides; and ſhe has allotted almoſt the whole eſtate for the ſupport and maintenance of her brother's deſign. After the houſe was finiſhed, ſeveral well diſpoſed perſons became contributors towards fitting up and furniſhing the wards; and, among others, Primate Boulter ſubſcribed fifty pounds, and alſo at a conſiderable expence furniſhed one of the wards for the reception of patients, and ſubſcribed fifty pounds a year towards the charity, to continue during pleaſure, which laſted during his life.

[*H*] *Beſides what he deviſed by his Will for the like purpoſes in England.*] Upon certain contingencies mentioned in his Will (3), he appointed one thouſand pounds to be diſpoſed of by his Engliſh Truſtees, towards augmenting ten poor livings in England, on condition that ſome other perſon for each hundred pound ſo advanced ſhould pay in one hundred pounds more, in order to obtain from the governors of Queen Anne's bounty, two hundred pounds towards the augmenting ſuch poor livings; and he left it to his Truſtees what livings ſhould be ſo augmented.

(3) Prerog. Office in Ireland.

[*I*] *The original projection of the ſcheme for Charter working ſchools not to be imputed to Primate Boulter.*] The firſt riſe of this ſcheme was thus effected, and from ſmall and inconſiderable beginnings. — In the year 1717 Dr Henry Maule, late Biſhop of Cloyne, afterwards of Dromore, and now the preſent Biſhop of Meath, being at that time only a beneficed Clergyman, promoted a private ſociety in Dublin for the encouragement of the Engliſh common charity-ſchools, for teaching poor children to read and write, and inſtructing them in the principles of religion and virtue. Many good Clergymen and well diſpoſed laymen joined in the deſign, and the late Archbiſhop of Tuam, Dr Synge, came among them, and gave a countenance to the undertaking. The members ſubſcribed only half a crown a quarter. They had anniverſary ſermons, ſome of which were printed and ſpread abroad, and by their influence many charity-ſchools were erected in town and country. In 1730 a propoſal was drawn up by Dr Maule, being then Biſhop of Cloyne, and Mr Dawſon, a Clergyman, who was at that time Curate of St Michan's, intitled, *An Humble Propoſal for obtaining his Majeſty's Royal Charter to incorporate a Society for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge amongſt the poor Natives of the Kingdom of Ireland.* Printed, Dublin, 1730. What gave a foundation to this propoſal was, the obſervations the Society had made on the great ſucceſs of a legally eſtabliſhed charter for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts, and that Scotland had grafted on the ſame model, and obtained a charter to enable them to receive two thouſand pounds a year in land, and money to any ſum, for promoting the like deſign. This propoſal made it's way into the Court of St James's by the means of the late Marquis of Montandre, Maſter of the Ordnance in Ireland, and was well reliſhed by his Majeſty. The ſame year many Biſhops and gentlemen of diſtinction met together at the Lord Primate's, to concert means for forwarding a petition to the King upon the occaſion, which was then drawn up and ſigned in the Parliament-Houſe a few days after, and, being laid before his Majeſty, was graciouſly received; and, after the uſual references, a charter was paſſed on the 24th of October, 1733, conſtituting the Duke of Dorſet, then Lord-Lieutenant, the Lord Primate, all the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, the Judges of the ſeveral Courts, the Prime Serjeant, Attorney and Sollicitor-General, and moſt of the Nobility and prime Gentry of the kingdom, into a Corporation and Body Politick to endure for ever, by the name *of the Incorporated Society in Dublin for promoting Engliſh Proteſtant Schools in Ireland.* The Charter was opened with ſolemnity in the Council-Chamber on the 6th of February, 1733. The Lord-Lieutenant was elected Preſident, and the Lord Primate Vice-Preſident and Treaſurer. A ſubſcription was immediately ſet on foot, to which the late Earl of Kildare contributed five hundred pounds, and many others leſs ſums. The

the chief inſtrument in forwarding the undertaking, which he lived to ſee carried into execution with conſiderable ſucceſs. Theſe are a part, and only a part, of the Primate's publick charities, which have come to our knowledge; as to his private ones, they were ſo ſecretly conducted, that it is impoſſible to give any particular account of them; in general it may be confidently aſſerted, that they were very great, and ſuitable to his noble mind; and we have it affirmed by thoſe who were in truſt about him, that he never ſuffered an object to leave his houſe unſupplied, and he often ſent them away with conſiderable ſums, according to the judgment he made of their merits and neceſſities.—— In relation to his political virtues, and the arts of government, when his health would permit him he was conſtant in his attendance at the Council-Table, and it is well known what weight and dignity he gave to the debates of that Board. As he always ſtudied the true intereſt of Ireland, ſo he judged, that the diminiſhing the value of the gold coin would be a means of increaſing ſilver in the country, a thing very much wanted; in order to effect which, he eſpouſed and ſupported a ſcheme at the Council-Table, which raiſed the clamours of unthinking people againſt him [*K*]: But experience has demonſtrated the wiſdom of his proceedings. He was ten times one of the Lords-Juſtices, or Chief Governors of Ireland [*L*]; which office he adminiſtered oftener than any other Chief Governor ſince the commencement of the Engliſh power in Ireland. He embarked for England on the ſecond of June 1742, and after two days illneſs died at his houſe in St James's Place, on the twenty-eighth of September following, to the ineſtimable loſs of Ireland, leaving to his ſucceſſors an example that is ſcarce imitable. He was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey, where a ſtately monument is erected to his memory.—— His character reſults from the relation given of him; yet we muſt add a few particulars more, which have not fallen under any of the heads before-mentioned. His deportment was ſtayed and grave, his aſpect venerable, and his temper meek and humble. He was always open and eaſy of acceſs both to rich and poor. He was ſteady to the principles of liberty both in Religion and Politicks. His learning was univerſal, yet more in ſubſtance than ſhew; nor would his modeſty permit him to make any oſtentation of it. He always preſerved ſuch an equal temper of mind that hardly any thing could ruffle; and I have heard a gentleman of great worth and integrity, and at this day in high ſtation, (who had lived fourteen years in his family as his domeſtick Chaplain) affirm, that in all that time he never ſaw him diſcompoſed but once, and that upon a very provoking occaſion; yet that he recovered his uſual ſerenity and good humour in leſs than three minutes. He always maintained a ſteady reſolution of ſerving his country, *i. e.* Ireland, which he often called by that name; and he readily embraced every thing propoſed for the good of it, though by perſons remarkable for their oppoſition to him: and when the moſt publick-ſpirited ſchemes were introduced by him, and did not meet with the reception they deſerved, yet he never took offence at the partial proceedings of ſome few, who liked nothing that came from him; but was glad when any part of his advice for the publick good was purſued, and was always willing to drop ſome point, that he might not loſe them all; often ſaying 'he would do 'all the good to Ireland he could, though they did not ſuffer him to do all he would.' His life was moſtly ſpent in action, and therefore it is not to be expected that he ſhould have left many remains of his learning behind him; nor do we know of any thing he hath written, except a few Charges to his clergy at his viſitations, which are grave, ſolid, and

Lord Primate was the main inſtrument of forwarding this good work, not only by his advice and counſel, but by his money. He paid all the fees for paſſing the Charter through the ſeveral offices out of his own purſe, ſubſcribed twenty-three pounds a year, afterwards paid upwards of four hundred pounds towards the building of a working-ſchool on the lands of Santry near Dublin. Beſides all this, the Society were often obliged to his Grace for their neceſſary ſupport, who, to his annual and occaſional benefactions, frequently added that of being their conſtant reſource upon all emergencies, by anſwering the draughts made on him as Treaſurer, when he had no caſh of the Society's in his hands, which amounted to conſiderable ſums. It was unhappy for the Society that his Grace made his Will in 1729 before the erection of the Charter, and was taken off with ſo ſhort a warning, that he had not the power of altering it. For undoubtedly he would have been a noble benefactor to a ſcheme, which in his life-time he had ſo much at heart.

[*K*] *Eſpouſed a ſcheme that raiſed the clamours of unthinking people.*] The ſcarcity of ſilver coin in Ireland was exceſſive great for ſome years preceding that of 1737, occaſioned by the ſinking of the current value of gold coin in England ſome years before, the ſame having been reduced there ſix-pence in each guinea, which made it more advantageous to dealers to ſend over ſilver than gold in payment of the ballance of trade which lay againſt Ireland. To remedy this inconvenience, the Primate ſupported a ſcheme introduced at the Council-table to reduce the value of gold coin in Ireland three-pence in each guinea, and other pieces in proportion, in order to bring ſilver and gold nearer a par in value, and by that means to put a ſtop to the practice of ſending ſilver abroad. This ſcheme was carried into execution by proclamation on the 10th of September, 1737, and experience has ſhewed that it had the intended effect, both by making ſilver more plentiful in the kingdom, and keeping down exchange to a more certain and moderate rate. Few people are capable of making a juſt judgment of the ſprings and motives of the actions of government, nor does it belong to any to do ſo, but to thoſe who are placed by his Majeſty at the head of affairs. The populace, encouraged by ſome dealers in exchange, who were the only loſers by the alteration, grew clamorous, and laid the ruin of their country (as they ignorantly or maliciouſly called it) at the Primate's door. Many libels and bitter invectives were written againſt him upon the occaſion, as if he were the auther of woes, which were only felt in imagination. Conſcious of his own intregrity he deſpiſed the fooliſh noiſe, the people in a ſhort time recovered their ſenſes, and the Primate has left an example, perhaps unparallelled in hiſtory, of a perſon, who, from a ſtate of diſtaſte and odium, recovered as high a degree of popularity, as has fallen to the ſhare of any ſubject.

[*L*] *He was ten times one of the Lords-Juſtices or chief Governors of Ireland.*] He enjoyed that office in 1726 with the Lord Chancellor Weſt, and William Conolly,

and inſtructive. It has been ſaid indeed, that in his younger days he was the author of four or five occaſional papers in the Free-thinkers, publiſhed for the encouragement of loyalty, virtue, and religion; but we cannot affirm this particular with any degree of certainty. In ſhort, his conſtant buſineſs in this world was to do good to mankind.

Conolly, Eſq; In 1728 with the Lord Chancellor Windham, and the ſaid Mr Conolly. In 1730 with the ſaid Chancellor, and Sir Ralph Gore, Bart. Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. In 1732 with the ſame. In 1733 with the Lord Chancellor Windham. In 1734 with the Lord Chancellor Windham, and Henry Boyle, Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. In 1736 with the ſame. In 1738 with the ſame. In 1740 with the Lord Chancellor Joceline, and Mr Boyle; and in 1741 with the ſame. D

BOURCHIER or BOWSCHYRE (*a*) or BOWCER (*b*) (THOMAS), Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the ſucceſſive reigns of Henry VI, Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, and Henry VII, was ſon of William Bourchier Earl of Ewe in Normandy, and the Counteſs of Stafford [*A*], and brother of Henry Earl of Eſſex (*c*). He had his education at Oxford, and was Chancellor of that univerſity three years, *viz.* from 1434 to 1437. His firſt dignity in the Church was that of Dean of St Martin's in London; from which, on the ninth of March 1434, he was advanced, by Pope Eugenius IV, to the See of Worceſter [*B*]: but his conſecration was deferred to the twentieth of April, 1435, by reaſon (as is ſuppoſed) of a defect in age. He had not ſat a full year, before he was elected by the Monks of Ely Biſhop of that See, and confirmed therein by the Pope: but, the King refuſing his conſent, Bourchier did not dare to comply with the election, for fear of incurring the cenſure of the laws, which forbad, under very ſevere penalties, the receiving the Pope's Bull without the King's leave. Nevertheleſs, ſeven or eight years after, the See of Ely ſtill continuing vacant, and the King conſenting, he was tranſlated thither, the twentieth of December 1443 (*d*). The author of the *Hiſtoria Elienſis* (*e*) ſpeaks very diſadvantageouſly of him during his reſidence on that See [*C*], which was ten years, twenty-three weeks, and five days At laſt he mounted to the pinacle of Church preferment, being elected Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the room of John Kemp, the twenty-third of April 1454. This election was the more remarkable, in that the Monks were left entirely to their liberty of choice, without any interpoſition either from the Crown or the Papal Chair. On the contrary, Pope Nicolas Vth's concurrence being readily obtained, the Archbiſhop was inſtalled with great ſolemnity. In the month of December following, he received the red hat from Rome, being created Cardinal-Prieſt of St *Cyriacus in Thermis* (*f*). The next year, he was made Lord High-Chancellor of England, but reſigned that office in October the year following (*g*). Soon after his advancement to the See of Canterbury, he began a viſitation in Kent, and made ſeveral regulations for the government of his dioceſe [*D*]. He likewiſe publiſhed a conſtitution for reſtraining the exceſſive abuſe of Papal Proviſions [*E*]. This Archbiſhop deſerved highly of the learned

(*a*) Dies Obituales Archiep. Cantuar. *apud* Wharton. Anglia Sacra, Vol. I. p. 63.

(*b*) Hiſtoria Elienſis, *apud* Wharton. ibid. Vol. I. p. 671.

(*c*) Hiſt. Elienſis, ibid.

(*d*) Continuatio Hiſt. de Epiſc. Wigorn. *apud* Wharton. ubi ſupra, p. 537.

(*e*) Ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Canonicus Lichfeldenſ. de Succeſſione Archiep. Cantuar. *apud* Wharton. Vol. I. p. 123.

(*g*) Wharton, ib. p. 795.

[*A*] *He was ſon of William Bourchier, Earl of Ewe in Normandy, and the Counteſs of Stafford.*] If this genealogy be right, Biſhop Godwin muſt be miſtaken in ſaying he was the ſon of Henry Earl of Eſſex. *Patre is natus eſt Henrico Bourchier Eſſexiæ Comite* (1). Fuller tells us, this Prelate's father Sir William Bourchier was created Earl of Ewe in Normandy by King Henry V, and that it is ſuppoſed the Archbiſhop was born at Hawſted in Eſſex, one of the family-ſeats of the Bourchiers (2), or Bourgchiers, of whom Robert Bourchier was Chancellor of England in the time of Edward III, from whom, Camden tells us (3), an honourable ſeries of Earls and Lords are deſcended.

(1) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Archiep. Cantuar. an. 1454.

(2) Worthies of England, Eſſex, p. 324.

(3) Britannia, by Biſhop Gibſon, laſt edit. col. 421.

[*B*] *He was advanced by Pope Eugenius* IV. *to the See of Worceſter.*] The author of the *Continuation of the Hiſtory of the Biſhops of Worceſter* (4) informs us, that, upon the death of Thomas Polton, Biſhop of Worceſter, Pope Eugenius, then ſitting in the Council of Baſil, conferred that Biſhoprick, by right of Proviſion, on Thomas Brouns, Dean of Saliſbury, and wrote letters to King Henry, deſiring his approbation thereof. The King, on the contrary, ſent letters to Thomas Brouns, commanding him to renounce the Proviſion, otherwiſe he would never ſuffer him to obtain any Biſhoprick in England, much leſs that of Worceſter. At the ſame time he wrote to the Pope, abſolutely refuſing his conſent to the Proviſion, and offering this compromiſe, that if his Holineſs would advance Bourchier, who was his kinſman, to the See of Worceſter, he conſented that Thomas Brouns might be promoted to that of Rocheſter. The Pope, not daring to oppoſe the King of England during the ſitting of a General Council, complied with the propoſition; and by this means Bourchier obtained the Biſhoprick of Worceſter.

(4) *Apud* Wharton. Anglia Sacra, Vol. I. p. 537.

[*C*] *The author of the* Hiſtoria Elienſis *ſpeaks very diſadvantageouſly of him during his reſidence on that See.*] He tells us, this Biſhop of Ely cruelly oppreſſed the Church in collecting the rents of his Biſhoprick; that he falſely impriſoned ſeveral of their tenants, and refuſed to deliver them up by indenture to their bailiff, according to the form and cuſtom of their lands; that, by the advice of John Hay his Seneſchal, he amerced the Prior and ſeveral of the Monks in large fines; and that, excepting the day of his inſtallation, he never once celebrated Maſs or Divine Service in his cathedral church (5). What credit is to be given to this author, who was himſelf a Monk at that time in that very church, and how far he may have aggravated the truth, muſt be left to the reader's judgment.

(5) Hiſtoria Elienſis, *apud* Wharton. ibid. p. 671, 672.

[*D*] *He made ſeveral regulations for the government of his dioceſe.*] To mention the moſt material; he decreed, Firſt, 'that thoſe Religious, who threw 'off the habit of the Cloiſter, and entered upon Pa-'rochial Cures, ſhould be puniſhed as revolters from 'their order.' Secondly, 'that benefices ſhould not 'be let to farm without conſent of the Biſhop.' And Thirdly, 'that marriages ſhould not be celebrated, 'nor Wills made, without two witneſſes at the leaſt.' Theſe, with ſome other conſtitutions for the reformation of the Clergy and Laity, he ordered to be publiſhed at Paul's-Croſs (6).

(6) Council. T. XIII. col. 1394. *ap.* Collier, Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 674.

[*E*] *He paſſed a conſtitution for reſtraining the exceſſive abuſe of Papal Proviſions.*] The avarice and partiality of the Court of Rome, in conferring benefices, were at this time carried to an extravagant height. For if men brought money and ſtrong recommendations, that Court uſually overlooked the conſiderations of probity and merit. The weight of theſe grievances put the univerſity of Oxford upon addreſſing the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to ſtep in to their relief, who made a Synodical Conſtitution, 'that for 'the future, no perſon ſhould be admitted to Holy Or-'ders, without a teſtimonial from the Archdeacon of 'the place, or the Chancellor of the univerſity, or 'his deputy.' This expedient, though at firſt it gave ſome

learned world, for being the principal inſtrument in introducing the noble art of Printing into England [*F*]. He was ſtrangely impoſed upon by the ſpecious pretences of Richard Duke of Glouceſter, when he undertook to perſuade the Queen to deliver up the Duke of York, her ſon, into the Protector's hands [*G*]. He preſided over the Church thirty-two years [*H*], in the moſt troubleſome times of the Engliſh government [*I*]. He gave the church of Canterbury a fine image or repreſentation of the Trinity, of ſolid gold, adorned with precious ſtones, and a complete ſet of ſacerdotal veſtments (*h*); to his ſucceſſor two thouſand marks, to compenſate for dilapidations; to the churh of Worceſter an image of the Virgin Mary, of ſilver gilt, to the value of ſixty-nine pounds (*i*); to the church of Ely two hundred marks for repairing the ſteeple (*k*); and to the univerſity of Cambridge 180 pounds [*K*]. This great Prelate performed the marriage ceremony between Henry VII and the

(*h*) Dies Obitual. Archiep. Cantuar. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Wharton, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Archiep. Cant. an. 1454.

ſome hopes of reformation, proved inſignificant through the mercenary diſpoſition of the Biſhop's officers, who were generally too much in haſte for their fees to wait for any teſtimonials of this kind (7).

(7) Wood's Hiſt. & Antiq. of the Univerſity of Oxford, B. i. p. 224.

[*F*] *He was the principal inſtrument in introducing the noble art of Printing into England.*] This diſcovery being ſo beneficial to learning, and it's introduction among us reflecting ſo much honour on this Prelate's name, a ſhort account of it may not be unacceptable in this place. You are to know then, that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury being informed that the inventor, Toſſan, *alias* John Guthenberg, had ſet up a Preſs at Harlem, was extremely deſirous that the Engliſh ſhould be made maſters of ſo beneficial an art. To this purpoſe he perſuaded King Henry VI. to diſpatch one Robert Tournour, belonging to the wardrobe, privately to Harlem. This man, furniſhed with a thouſand marks, of which the Archbiſhop ſupplied three hundred, embarked for Holland, and, to diſguiſe the matter, went in company with one Caxton, a merchant of London, pretending himſelf to be of the ſame profeſſion. Thus concealing his name and his buſineſs, he went firſt to Amſterdam, then to Leyden, and at laſt ſettled at Harlem; where having ſpent a great deal of time and money, he ſent to the King for a freſh ſupply, giving his Highneſs to underſtand, that he had almoſt compaſſed the enterprize. In ſhort, he perſuaded Frederic Corſelli, one of the Compoſitors, to carry off a Set of Letters, and embark with him in the night for London. When they arrived, the Archbiſhop, thinking Oxford a more convenient place for printing than London, ſent Corſelli down thither. And, leſt he ſhould ſlip away before he had diſcovered the whole ſecret, a guard was ſet upon the Preſs. And thus the Myſtery of Printing appeared ten years ſooner in the univerſity of Oxford than at any other place in Europe, Harlem and Mentz excepted. Not long after there were preſſes ſet up at Weſtminſter, St Alban's, Worceſter, and other monaſteries of note. After this manner Printing was introduced into England, by the care of Archbiſhop Bourchier, in the year of Chriſt 1464, and the third of King Edward IV (8).

(8) Wood, ibid. p. 226, 227.

[*G*] *He undertook to perſuade the Queen to deliver up the Duke of York into the Protector's hands.*] Richard Duke of Glouceſter, who, upon the death of his brother King Edward IV, had been appointed by the Council Protector of the realm, and ſecretly aſpired to the Crown, having got into his power the young King Edward V, endeavoured likewiſe to ſecure the Duke of York his brother, whom Queen Elizabeth their mother, jealous of Richard's treacherous deſigns, had lodged for ſanctuary in Weſtminſter-Abbey. The Protector, to gain his point, made a ſpeech to the Council, charging the Queen with ſiniſter intentions in flying with her ſon to a ſanctuary, and repreſenting, that it was highly fitting the young Prince ſhould be lodged and educated in the King his brother's Court; and therefore he moved, that ſome perſon of diſtinction and intereſt with the Queen, might be ſent to perſuade her to put the Duke of York into their hands. The Council approving the motion, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury was pitched upon as the propereſt perſon to undertake the buſineſs. This Prelate, ſuſpecting no foul practices, waited upon the Queen, and did his utmoſt to prevail with her to deliver up her ſon, aſſuring her, that nothing was intended in the whole affair but what was honourable and juſt. But the Queen, whoſe fears were alarmed by her affection, and who ſeems to have dived farther into the Protector's deſigns, was by no means ſatisfied with the Archbiſhop's reaſons for her parting with her ſon. She expreſſed her fears and apprehenſions in the ſtrongeſt terms, and declared ſhe had not courage to put the young Duke into Richard's hands, who was already poſſeſſed of his brother, and who, if both the children ſhould miſcarry, might probably lay claim to the Crown. The Archbiſhop, perceiving the Queen's diſtruſt of the Protector, and averſion to a compliance, thought it beſt to put the matter upon a ſhort iſſue. He told her, that if ſhe pleaſed to truſt her ſon with himſelf, or any other Lord of the Council, he would pawn both body and ſoul for his ſecurity; but if ſhe was unalterably reſolved to the contrary, he would forbear ſoliciting, and give her Highneſs no farther trouble; adding withal, that he thought the Queen had a mean opinion of the honeſty or underſtanding of himſelf and the reſt of the Council; and that her ſuſpicion amounted to a charge of treachery or want of common-ſenſe. The Queen, ſeeing the Arbhbiſhop diſconcerted, and ready to take his leave, and conſidering that it was impracticable to remove her ſon to any other place, concluded it more adviſable to comply, than ſubmit to force; for by voluntarily delivering up the young Duke, and committing him to their truſt, ſhe thought the honour and inclination of the Lords would be faſter engaged for his preſervation (9). The behaviour of Archbiſhop Bourchier on this occaſion ſhews plainly, that he was too credulous, and that he was perfectly over-reached by the Protector.

(9) See Sir Tho. More's Life and Reign of Edw. V. *apud* Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 486—491. See alſo Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. of Great Britain, B. vii. Vol. I. p. 685.

[*H*] *He governed the Church thirty two years.*] Godwin tells us, this was three years longer than Archbiſhop Chichley ſat, and that Bourchier had enjoyed the prelacy fifty-one years from the time of his firſt conſecration; a longer term (he obſerves) than was to be found in the hiſtory of any other Engliſh Biſhop. *Diuturnitate præſidendi Chichleium tres annos ſupergreſſus, ſedit archiepiſcopus annos 32, vixit autem poſt primam conſecrationem annum unum ſupra quinquaginta. Inter Anglos noſtros non reperiri quenquam, qui unquam epiſcopatum tam diu geſſerit* (10).

(10) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

[*I*] ——— *in the moſt troubleſome times of the Engliſh government.*] Namely, thoſe of Henry VI, and Edward IV; the former of whom, though accounted a moſt religious Prince, yet, through an inactivity unworthy of a monarch, ingloriouſly loſt the kingdom of France, which his father had conquered; and Edward, by his attempts to dethrone Henry, plunged his country in a civil war, which laſted many years, nor had an end, 'till, a little before the death of this Prelate, by the happy marriage of Henry VII. with Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward, the factions of York and Lancaſter were extinguiſhed, and a ſolid peace reſtored. *Majora præſtiturum Bourchierum facile crediderim, niſi in tempora incidiſſet turbulentiſſima, Henrici nimirum ſexti et Edwardi quarti, quorum ille, ob pietatem vir habitus ſanctiſſimus, ob inertiam tamen inter peſſimos reges numerandus (nam Galliam a patre ſubactam amiſit turpiter, ac poſtea deinde Angliæ etiam regno excidit) Edwardus vero paterque ejus, Henricum evertere ſatagentes, inteſtino bello multos per annos patriam graviſſimè afflixerunt. Neque id finem habuit, priuſquam, paulo ante obitum hujuſce præſulis, feliciſſimo connubio Henrico Richmundano cum Elizabetha Edwardi filia primogenita conjuncto, Lancaſtrenſium et Eboracenſium factiones extinctæ, ac pax tandem ſolida et diu exoptata coaluit* (11).

(11) Id. ibid.

[*K*] *He gave to the univerſity of Cambridge* 120 *pounds.*] This ſum, together with 100 pounds given by one Billingworth, were laid up in a particular cheſt (called from thence *Bourchier's and Billingworth's cheſt*) to be lent, as occaſion required, to poor ſcholars (12). Wharton tells us (13), it was thirty years after the Archbiſhop's death, before the univerſity of Cambridge could recover this legacy of his executors.

(12) Id. ibid.

(13) Angl. Sacra. Vol. I. p. 795.

[*L*] *He*

the daughter of Edward IV; so that, as Dr Fuller observes (*l*), *his hand first held that sweet posie, wherein the white and red roses were tied together.* And he had the happiness to be contemporary with many Prelates of the most distinguished birth in the English History [*L*]. He was certainly a man of good learning [*M*]; though nothing written by him has come down to us, if we except a few Synodical Decrees (*m*). Dart tells us (*n*), he founded a Chantry, which was afterwards surrendered to King Henry VIII. Archbishop Bourchier died at his palace of Knowle, on Thursday the thirtieth of March 1486 (*o*), and was buried on the north side of the choir, by the high altar, in a tomb of marble (*p*), on which is an inscription mentioned below [*N*].

(*l*) Worthies of England, Essex, p. 324.

(*m*) Pits. de Illustr. Angl. Script. in Append. p. 914.

(*n*) History of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, p. 162.

(*o*) Wharton, ubi supra.

(*p*) Godwin, ubi supra.

[*L*] *He was contemporary with many Prelates of the noblest birth in the English history.*] This observation belongs to the author of the *Worthies of England*, who has enumerated those Prelates. Take it in his own words. 'I know not what generous planet had 'then influence on the Court of Rome; this I know, 'that England never saw such a concurrence of noble 'Prelates, who, as they were Peers by their places, 'were little less by their descent. I behold their birth 'a good buttress of episcopacy in that age, able in 'Parliament to check and crush any anti-prelatical pro- 'ject by their own relations. But let us count how 'many were contemporaries with Thomas Bourchier, 'from his first consecration of Worcester to the day of 'his death; John Stafford, son to the Earl of Stafford, 'Archbishop of Canterbury; Robert Fitz-Hugh —— 'Bishop of London; Henry Beaufort, son to John 'Duke of Lancaster, Bishop of Winchester; William 'Gray, son to the Lord Gray of Codnor, Bishop of 'Ely; Marmaduke Lumley, extracted from the Lord 'Lumley, Bishop of Lincoln; Richard Beauchamp, 'brother to the Lord Saint Amand. Bishop of Sarum; 'Lionel Woodvile, son to the Earl Rivers, Bishop 'of Sarum; Peter Courtney, extracted from the Earl 'of Devon, Bishop of Exeter; Richard Courtney, 'of the same extraction, Bishop of Norwich; John 'Zouch, descended of the Lord Zouch, Bishop of Lan- 'daff; George Nevile, brother to the Make-King Earl 'of Warwick, Archbishop of York; William Dudley, 'son to the Lord Dudley, Bishop of Durham; and 'William Piercy, son to the Earl of Northumberland, 'Bishop of Carlisle (14).'

(14) Fuller, ubi supra.

[*M*] *He was a man of good learning.*] Pits informs us, that this Prelate was more than once intrusted with an enquiry into Heresies, and that he wrote his opinion about these things to the Pope and the Court of Rome; that *Johannes Burienſis* dedicated to him his work against Reginald Peacock; and that it appears from Polydore Virgil and Onuphrius Panvinius, that he wrote several pieces; but what they were, excepting some Synodical Constitutions, neither he nor they could find. From all which this author collects, that Bourchier was a learned man. *Doctrinam hominis ex eo colligimus, quod examen hæreticorum non semel illi fuerit concreditum, et quod super his rebus ad summum pontificem et curiam Romanam suam sententiam in scriptis miserit. Item quod Joannes Burienſis suum opus contra Reginaldum Pæcoccum seu Pavonem ei nuncupaverit. Cæterum ex Polydoro Virgilio et Onuphrio Panvinio colligi potest, eum multa scripta edidisse, sed quænam illa fuerint, præter decreta quædam Synodalia, et me latet, et illos* (15).

(15) Pits. de Illustr. Angl. Script. in Append. p. 914.

[*N*] *The inscription on his tomb.*] It is as follows (16). *Hic jacet Reverendissimus in Christo pater et Dominus, D. Thomas Bourchier, quondam Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ et S. Cyriaci in Thermis Cardinalis, et Archiepiscopus hujus Ecclesiæ, qui obiit trigesima die Martii,* 1486, *cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen.* Which inscription is in old text characters, and engraved round the verge of the monument; in English thus. 'Here lies the most Reverend Father in Christ and 'Lord, the Lord Thomas Bourchier, some time Cardi- 'nal of the holy Roman Church, and of *St Cyriacus* '*in Thermis*, and Archbishop of this Church, who 'died the thirtieth day of March, in the year of our 'Lord 1486, on whose soul God have mercy. Amen.'

(16) Dart's Hist. of the Cathedral of Caoterbury, p. 162.

T

BOYDE, the name of a very antient, noble, and once the most flourishing family in Scotland, the genealogy of which we shall give in the note [*A*], and begin this article with the first nobleman thereof, ROBERT BOYDE, whose great abilities raised him

[*A*] *The genealogy of which we shall give in the notes.*] With regard to the antiquity of this family, the Scotch genealogist, Mr Crawfurd, (1) observes, that the common bearing of the Boydes and Stewarts, (2) has given ground to a conjecture that they are branched from the Royal Family of Stewart; long before the name of Stewart was used by the younger sons of that illustrious family; but upon what occasion they assumed this name, he does not take upon him to say. The first who assumed the sirname of Boyde, is said to be Robert the son of Simon, third son of Allan, Lord high-steward of Scotland, in the year 1111 (3); and in right of this Robert, from whom the Kilmarnock family is lineally descended, this branch of the name of Boyde claims to be chief, and acted as such when chieftainship was in repute in that part of the country; but for more than a century and an half, chiefs in that part of Scotland neither have nor claim any other advantage than that of precedency.

(1) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 242.

(2) The arms of the Boydes are; Sapphire, a Fess, Checque, Pearl, and Ruby: and those of the Stewarts; Topaz, a Fess, Checque, Pearl, and Sapphire. There is no doubt but the Boydes are a branch of the family of Stewart; and Mr Nisbet says expressly they are, though they never took the sirname of Stewart. Nisbet, Vol. I. p. 54.

Historians have left a blank in the genealogy of the family, from the last mentioned Robert Boyde, in the year 1111, to a descendant of his, called Sir Robert Boyde, who, in the year 1263, gave signal proofs of his valour and military skill, in that famous battle of the Largs, fought between the Scots and Norwegians who had made a descent in that part of the country; for which he obtained a grant from the crown of several lands in the shire of Cunningham (4). He was succeeded by another Sir Robert, who added no small lustre to the family, by his loyalty, exercising his valour, like his predecessor, in defence of his King and country; and, like him, happening to live in an age when virtue was the only way to preferment, he received as a reward of his services and signal merit, the lands of *Kilmarnock*, from Robert the first, then King of Scotland, to whom he most faithfully adhered in all the vicissitudes of fortune that befel him. (5) These lands have continued ever since in the family, and given the title of Earl to four of them, the last of whom, was the unfortunate Lord who so lately suffered death for treason and rebellion to his King and Country.—To this Sir Robert succeeded his son Sir Thomas (6), a man eminent for learning and piety, and who discharged several employments of great trust and honour, to the satisfaction both of his King and Country; and was succeeded hy his son Sir Thomas, who inherited his father's virtues as well as his wealth; he married one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir John Gifford of Yester, in the shire of Tweedale, by which marriage Sir Thomas got a third part of the barony of Yester (7); and was succeeded by Thomas his son, who held places of great trust under the crown, and was esteemed a man of such weight in his country, that he was received by the English as one of the hostages for the ransom of King James the first (8). He married Jane, a daughter of the family of Montgomery, and dying in 1432 was buried at Kilmarnock, where the portraiture of himself and his Lady are to be seen in stone, as big as the life, and an inscription, only shewing when they died (9). Sir Thomas was succeeded by a son of his own name, who did not long survive his father, for he was killed at Craignaught-hill, by Sir Alexander Stewart, in 1439, in revenge for the Lord Darnley's death, whom Sir Thomas Boyde had killed (Buchanan says treacherously) (10) in a feud, some time before. Historians make no other mention of this Sir Thomas, than that he was the father of the great *Robert Boyde*, the Lord Chamberlain, who is the principal subject of this article.

(3) British Compendium, Vol. III. p. 315. Crawfurd's Hist. of Remfrew, p. 55.

(4) Crawfurd, ubi supra.

(5) Charta Penes Comitem de Kilmarnock. Nisbet's System of Heraldry, in the Remarks on Ragman Roll, p. 33.

(6) Chartain Rot. Rob. II. ad ann. 1374, per Tho. Fleming of Fulwood.

(7) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 242. Charta Penes Marchionem de Tweedale.

(8) British Compendium, p. 315.

(9) Historical Collection by Mr Timothy Pont, in the hands of Sir Robert Sibbald, M. D. MS.

(10) Buchanan, Hist. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 7.

him to the higheſt pitch of grandeur, and whoſe life and actions therefore deſerve particular notice. How, or where, he paſſed the firſt years of his life, or what age he was at the time of his father's death, is uncertain; but towards the end of the reign of King James II. of Scotland, he began to make a conſiderable figure in the world. He was a man of great penetration and ſound judgment, knew mankind as well as any one of his time, was courteous and affable in his behaviour, by which means he acquired the eſteem and confidence of all ranks of people, as well as of his Prince, by whoſe favour he was created a Baron, and called to Parliament, by the name and title of Lord Boyde of Kilmarnock. What added to his grandeur, was his alliance with many other great and noble families, and the large additions he had made to his own paternal inheritance. The firſt time we find his Lordſhip engaged in any publick employment, was in the year 1459, when he was, with ſeveral Prelates, Lords, and Barons, ſent to Newcaſtle with the character of Plenipotentiaries, to prolong the truce with England, juſt then expired, which they did for nine years *(a)*. Upon the unhappy death of King James II. in 1460, the Lord Boyde was made Juſticiary *(b)*, and named one of the Lords of the Regency, in whoſe hands the adminiſtration of affairs was lodged during the minority of the young King *(c)*. Buchanan is miſtaken in ſaying, that the Lord Boyde was at this time Lord Chancellor of Scotland, for that office was then held by the Lord Evandale, as appears plainly by a charter ſtill extant, under the great ſeal of King James III, dated 23 Jan. 1461, which is witneſſed by *Andrea Domino Evandale Cancellario Noſtro (d)*. Nor was the Lord Boyde ever in the poſt of Chancellor. His Lordſhip had a younger brother who had received the honour of knighthood, and was ſtiled Sir Alexander Boyde of Duncow, a man in great credit and favour with the King, whom he was appointed to teach the rudiments of military diſcipline, in the knowledge of which he was reckoned to exceed all others. As the Lord Boyde had a large ſhare in the adminiſtration of publick affairs, by virtue of his office, ſo his brother Sir Alexander, by his conſtant acceſs to the King's perſon, had a great influence over his youthful inclinations, inſomuch, that the two brothers found means to engroſs moſt of the places and preferments about Court, to their own family and friends. Sir Alexander began to inſtil into the young King, then twelve years old, notions of manhood and liberty, inſinuating that he was now capable of governing without the help of guardians and tutors, and that he might free himſelf from their reſtraint. This advice was readily liſtened to, and the King reſolved to take upon himſelf the government, which, however, was no other than transferring the whole power, from the other Regents, to the Boydes. The King was at this time at Linlithgow, where the Lord Kennedy, another of the Regents, had a watchful eye over him; ſo it was neceſſary to remove his Majeſty to Edinburgh, to take upon him the Regal Government. This the Boydes effected, partly by force and partly by ſtratagem, as the reader may ſee in the note [*B*]; and having got the King to Edinburgh, the Lord Boyde began to provide for his own ſafety, and to avert the danger which threatened him and his friends, for what they had done in the face of an Act of Parliament; and accordingly prevailed upon the King to call a Parliament at Edinburgh, in October 1466, which having then met, the Lord Boyde fell down upon his knees before the throne, where the King ſat, and in a long and elaborate harangue, complained of the hard conſtruction put upon the King's removal from Linlithgow, and how ill his ſervice to the King in bringing him to Edinburgh was interpreted by his enemies, who threatened that the adviſers of that affair ſhould one day ſuffer puniſhment for the ſame; humbly beſeeching his Majeſty to declare his own ſenſe and pleaſure thereupon, and that if he conceived any ill-will or diſguſt againſt him for that journey, that he would openly declare it, that ſo the calumnies of his detractors might be prevented *(e)*. The King, after adviſing a little with the Lords, made anſwer *(f)*, that the Lord Boyde was not his adviſer, but rather his companion in that journey, and therefore that he was more worthy of a reward for his courteſy, than of puniſhment for his obſequiouſneſs or compliance therein, and this he was willing to declare in a publick Decree of the Eſtates, and thereby to ſilence his enemies; and in the ſame Decree proviſion ſhould be made, that this matter ſhould never be prejudicial to the Lord Boyde or his companions. His Lordſhip then deſired, that this Decree might be regiſtered in the Acts of the Aſſembly, and confirmed by Letters Patent under the Great Seal. This was alſo complied with, and the Declaration was recorded in the books of Parliament, and an inſtrument

(a) Rymer's Fœd. Angl. Tom. II. p. 423.

(b) Charta Penes Comitem de Wigton.

(c) Crawfurd's Lives of the great Officers of State in Scotland, p. 313. Buchanan and Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland.

(d) Charta Penes Ducem de Montroſs.

(e) Records of Parliament.

(f) Buchanan, Vol. II. p. 66, &c.

[*E*] *Partly by ſtratagem, and partly by force, as the reader will ſee in the notes.*] It was in this manner: The Boydes having ordered an hunting match for the King, on the 10th of July, 1466, they, with ſome other friends, inſtead of purſuing the chaſe, turned into the road leading to Edinburgh, in which they had not gone far, before the Lord Kennedy, who ſuſpected this to be a game of ſtate, came up with them, and laying his hands upon the bridle of the King's horſe, requeſted him to return again to Linlithgow, and bid him beware of thoſe guides who thus treaſonably attempted to carry him away; for by a late ſtatute it was declared high-treaſon to ſeize upon or carry away the perſon of the King, without the expreſs conſent of the Eſtates aſſembled in Parliament. But the Boydes thought the King's perſon would guard them from the penalty of the law, and that an after-ſtatute, which they doubted not of obtaining, would cancel the former. With this aſſurance, Sir Alexander Boyde, as if he meant to reſent the inſolence offered the King, after ſome angry words, gave the Lord Kennedy a blow with his hunting ſtaff, who thereupon went off, and left them to purſue their journey to Edinburgh (11). By this affair, not altogether juſtifiable on the part of the Boydes, the ſeeds of enmity were ſown between the two families, which grew up to the great detriment of the nation; and at laſt, to the total ruin and deſtruction of one of them.

(11) Crawfurd's Lives of the Chancellors, p. 314. Buchanan, Scott, &c. Act of Approbation to the Lord Boyde, &c. in the Records of Parliament.

[*C*] *This*

inſtrument importing the ſame thing, was granted to his Lordſhip under the Broad Seal, and ſtill extant in the King's archives at Edinburgh. The Act of Approbation to the Lord Boyde and his friends, is alſo publiſhed in the Appendix to Mr Crawfurd's Lives of the great officers of State in Scotland. At the ſame time alſo, the King, by advice of his Council, gave him Letters Patent, whereby he was conſtituted ſole Regent, and had the ſafety of the King, his brothers, ſiſters, towns, caſtles, and all the juriſdiction over his ſubjects, committed to him, 'till the King himſelf arrived to the age of twenty-one years (*g*). And the Nobles then preſent ſolemnly promiſed to be aſſiſtant to the Lord Boyde, and alſo to his brother, in all their publick actions, and that they would be liable to puniſhment, if they did not carefully, and with faithfulneſs, perform what they then promiſed. To this ſtipulation, or promiſe, the King alſo ſubſcribed (*h*). Mr Crawfurd obſerves upon this occaſion, that though the Lord Boyde was veſted with ſuch great powers, yet, in juſtice to the memory of ſo great a man, he acknowledges (*i*), (what, he ſays, no authors have done before him, becauſe they did not look into the Records) that his Lordſhip's nomination to this great dignity and truſt, was not done by a private *junto*, nor unduly or unfairly obtained, but openly and in full Parliament, and as the King himſelf declares, *ex Conſenſu cæterorum Dominorum noſtri Concilii* (*k*). Great as his Lordſhip was, he had not, however, yet arrived to the ſummit of his glory; the honours he had already received only paved the way to ſtill greater; for having now the whole adminiſtration in his hands, it was not long before he had an opportunity of getting into one of the greateſt offices in the kingdom, which was that of Lord Great-Chamberlain of Scotland, now vacant by the death of the Lord Livingſtone. The Lord Boyd's commiſſion for this great office (*l*), (which Mr Crawfurd has ſeen in the hands of the Earl of Kilmarnock) was *pro vita*, and paſſed the Great Seal, upon the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, 1467. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that though the Lord Boyde, now Lord Chamberlain, ſeemed to have the ſole power and management of every thing himſelf; yet the Parliament had referred ſome particular matters which were of the higheſt concern and importance to the State (*m*), ſuch as the marriage of the King, his ſiſter, and his brothers, the Duke of Albany, and Earl of Mar, to the joint determination of the Lord Boyde, and others named and authorized by the Parliament for that purpoſe. This, however, did not hinder the Lord Chamberlain from making a very bold ſtep, ſtill farther to aggrandize his family; this was no leſs than the procuring the Lady Mary Stewart, the late King's eldeſt daughter, in marriage for his ſon Sir Thomas Boyde, and which, by his intereſt and addreſs with the King, he found means to accompliſh, notwithſtanding the care and precaution of the Parliament. The Lord Boyde's ſon was a moſt accompliſhed gentleman, and this match and near alliance to the Crown, added to his own diſtinguiſhed merit, raiſed him to a nearer place in the affection as well as confidence of his Sovereign, by whom he was ſoon after created Earl of Arran (*n*), perhaps to render the match more equal in point of rank with his royal bride, with whom he alſo obtained many lands (*o*), and, ſays Mr Crawfurd (*p*), was himſelf conſidered as the fountain from whence all honours and preferments muſt flow. The Lord Chamberlain, by this great acceſſion of honour to his family, now ſeemed to have arrived at the higheſt pinnacle of power and grandeur, and this, in appearance, raiſed upon ſo firm a baſis as not to be eaſily ſhaken. The King, we have ſeen, was his declared friend and patron; great part of the Nobility in league with him; the adminiſtration of the whole government in his hands; his brother in no leſs eſteem and favour with the King; and the future greatneſs of his poſterity ſecured by his ſon's marriage into the royal family: But ſuch is the inſtability of human affairs, and of ſo deceitful are the ſmiles of fortune, that what ſeemed to be a prop and eſtabliſhment of the power and greatneſs of this family, proved the very means of it's overthrow, by ſtirring up it's moſt bitter enemies to ſeek and determine it's deſtruction. About this time, a marriage having been concluded, by Embaſſadors ſent into Denmark for that purpoſe, between the young King of Scotland, and Margaret, a daughter of the King of Denmark; the young Earl of Arran was pitched upon, as a Nobleman every way qualified for ſo honourable and magnificent an embaſſy, to go over to Denmark, to eſpouſe the Daniſh Princeſs in the King his brother-in-law's name, and to conduct her to Scotland. The Earl of Arran, judging all things ſafe at home, willingly accepted this honour, and in the beginning of the autumn of the year 1469, ſet ſail for Denmark with a proper convoy, and a noble train of friends and followers (*q*). This was a fatal ſtep to the downfal of this illuſtrious family, for the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl's father, being now much abſent from the Court in the neceſſary diſcharge of his office, as well as through age and infirmities, the caſe alſo of his brother Sir Alexander Boyde; the Earl of Arran had no ſooner ſet out on his embaſſy, than thoſe enemies, which envy alone, that inſeparable attendant on power and greatneſs, had raiſed him, ſet about contriving his ruin, and that of his family. The ſeeds of enmity, long ſince ſown between the Kennedies and the Boydes, though hitherto unproductive of any bad conſequences, now began to ſhoot out with greater vigour. Every art that malice could ſuggeſt was tried to alienate the King's affection from the Boydes. Every publick miſcarriage was laid at their door; and the Kennedies induſtriouſly ſpread abroad reports, to inflame the people likewiſe againſt them. They repreſented to the King, that the Lord Boyde had abuſed his power during his Majeſty's minority; that his matching his ſon, the Earl of Arran, with the Princeſs Mary, was ſtaining

(*g*) Charta in Rotulis Jacobi III.

(*h*) Buchanan, Vol. II. p. 67, 8vo.

(*i*) Lives of the Lords Great Chamberlains of Scotland, p. 314.

(*k*) Records of Parliament.

(*l*) Charta Penes Comitem de Kilmarnock.

(*m*) Black Acts of Parliament.

(*n*) Chart. in Rot. Jac. III. Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 243.

(*o*) Charta in pub. Archives.

(*p*) Lives of the Lords Chamberlains, ut ſupra.

(*q*) Buchan. Scott, &c. Britiſh Compendium, p. 315.

ſtaining the royal blood of Scotland, was an indignity to the Crown (*r*), and the prelude to the execution of a plot they had contrived of uſurping even the ſovereignty itſelf; for they repreſented the Lord Chamberlain as an ambitious, aſpiring man, guilty of the higheſt offences, and capable of contriving and executing the worſt of villanies (*s*): with what juſtice, Hiſtory does not inform us. Buchanan (*t*) is the only one that ſays the Boydes were the occaſion of the King's degeneracy into all manner of licentiouſneſs, by their indulgence of his pleaſures. The King, however, young, weak, credulous, and wavering, and naturally prone to jealouſy, began to be alarmed, gave way to the importunities of his new counſellors, and being beſides flattered by them with the proſpect of filling his coffers out of the unhappy victim's confiſcated eſtates, the conſequence of their conviction, he quickly became the tool of the loweſt revenge, and was prevailed on to ſacrifice, not only the Earl of Arran, but all his family, to the malice and reſentment of their enemies, notwithſtanding their own and their anceſtors great ſervices to the Crown, and in ſpite of the ties of blood which united them ſo cloſely. At the requeſt of the adverſe faction, the King ſommoned a Parliament to meet at Edinburgh the twentieth of November 1469 (*u*), before which the Lord Boyde, the Earl of Arran, though in Denmark, and Sir Alexander Boyde of Duncow, were ſummoned to appear, to give an account of their adminſtration, and anſwer ſuch charges as ſhould be exhibited againſt them. The Lord Boyde was aſtoniſhed at this ſudden blow, againſt which he had made no proviſion, and betook himſelf to arms (*w*), at leaſt appeared with ſuch attendance of armed men, as obliged the government to draw ſome forces together for it's own defence; but the match being ſo unequal, the weaker party thought fit to diſband, and his Lordſhip finding it impoſſible to ſtem the torrent, and having no confidence in the Parliament, which he knew his enemies found ways and means to model for their own miſchievous purpoſes, and deſpairing of ſafety, took an opportunity to make his eſcape into England; but his brother, Sir Alexander, being then ſick, and truſting to his own integrity, was brought before the Parliament, where he, the Lord Boyde, and his ſon the Earl of Arran, were, at his Majeſty's inſtance, indicted of high-treaſon, for having laid hands on the King, and carried him, againſt an Act of Parliament, and contrary to the King's own will, from Linlithgow to Edinburgh, in the year 1466. Sir Alexander alledged in his defence, that they had not only obtained the King's pardon for that offence in a publick Convention, but it was even declared a good ſervice by a ſubſequent Act of Parliament (*x*), and he deſired that a copy of that pardon might be tranſcribed out of the Parliament rolls, but this was denied him, and no regard was had to it, becauſe it was obtained by the Boydes when in power, and maſters of the King's perſon (*y*). That the record only expreſſed that the King forgave him his perſonal reſentment, which did not exempt them from the puniſhment of the law (*z*). Upon the whole, the crime being proved againſt them, they were found guilty by a jury of very noble Lords and Barons (*a*), and ſentence of condemnation pronounced againſt them as in caſes of high-treaſon: Sir Alexander Boyde, being preſent, was condemned to loſe his head on the Caſtle-Hill of Edinburgh, which ſentence was executed accordingly. The Lord Boyde had without doubt undergone the ſame fate, if he had not made his eſcape into England, as before related, where, however, he did not long ſurvive his great reverſe of fortune, which he might well lay to heart in his old age. He died at Alnwick in the year 1470. The Earl of Arran, though abſent, and that upon the King's and the publick buſineſs, was declared a publick enemy, without being granted a hearing, or allowed the privilege which every man has a right to, of defending himſelf; and all their eſtates were confiſcated (*b*). Things were in this unhappy ſituation, when the Earl of Arran arrived from Denmark, with the eſpouſed Queen, in the Frith of Forth. Before he landed he had received intelligence of the wreck and ruin of his family, for his Lady, upon the firſt news of the approach of the Daniſh fleet, made immediately to her beloved Lord, and informed him there was no hopes of re-admiſſion to the King's favour, his enemies having ſtopped all paſſages thereto (*c*). When he found it was not ſafe to ſet foot on his native ſhore, he reſolved to retire into Denmark, and without ſtaying to attend the ceremonial of the Queen's landing, or to trouble his weak and ungrateful maſter and brother, with the account of his embaſſy, he took the opportunity of one of the Daniſh ſhips which convoyed the Queen, and were under his command, and embarking his Lady, ſet ſail for Denmark, where arriving, he met with a noble reception, ſuitable to his high birth and real merit. From thence he travelled through Germany into France, where he prevailed, according to Mr Crawford (*d*), with Lewis XI, to endeavour his reconciliation with King James, but in vain. Buchanan ſays (*e*), he could not obtain the French King's mediation at all; however this be, 'tis certain he left the French Court, and went to pay a viſit to Charles Duke of Burgundy, who received him moſt graciouſly, and being then at war with his rebellious ſubjects, the unfortunate Lord offered him his ſervice, which the Duke readily accepted, and finding him to be a brave and wiſe man, he honoured and ſupported him and his Lady, in a manner becoming their rank. But the meaſure of their afflictions was not yet full; the King their brother not yet ſatisfied with the miſeries of their family, wrote over to Flanders to re-call his ſiſter home, but knowing the great love ſhe bore her huſband, and fearing ſhe would not be induced to leave him, he cauſed others to write to her, and give her hopes that his anger towards her huſband might be appeaſed, and that

if

(*r*) Abercromby from Ferrerius, p. 387.

(*s*) Crawfurd's Lives of the Chamberlains, p. 316.

(*t*) Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 69—93.

(*u*) Crawfurd's Lives, &c. p. 316.

(*w*) Crawfurd, ubi ſupra.

(*x*) Act of Parliament ſtill extant in the Records.

(*y*) Extract of the whole Tryal copied from the Records by Sir Lewis Stewart of Kirkall.

(*z*) Buchanan, Vol. II. p. 70, &c.

(*a*) Extract of the Tryal, ut ſupra.

(*b*) Buchanan, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Lives of the Chancellors, &c. p. 317.

(*e*) Ubi ſupra.

f ſhe would come over and plead for him in perſon, there was no doubt but ſhe might prevail with her brother to pardon him, and reſtore him again to his favour (*f*). The Counteſs of Arran, flattered with theſe fair hopes, reſolved to try if her preſence and intreaties could not move her brother to compaſſion; ſhe returned, and was no ſooner arrived in Scotland, than the faithleſs King began to urge her to a divorce from her huſband, cruelly detained her from going back to him, and cauſed publick citations, atteſted by witneſſes, to be fixed up at Kilmarnock, the capital ſeat of the Boydes before their fall, wherein Thomas Earl of Arran was commanded to appear in ſixty days, which he not doing, his marriage with the King's ſiſter was declared null and void, and a divorce made, (according to Buchanan) the Earl ſtill abſent and unheard, and the Lady Mary was compelled, by the King, to marry James Lord Hamilton, a man much inferior to her former huſband both in point of birth and fortune. This tranſaction was in the year 1474, and the Earl of Arran, now in the laſt ſtage of his miſeries, and borne down with the heavy load of his misfortunes, ſoon after died at Antwerp [*C*], and was honourably interred there, at the expence of the Duke of Burgundy, who likewiſe erected a ſuperb monument to his memory, with an inſcription ſuitable to the great character he left behind him (*g*). The Lord Chamberlain Boyde, father of the Earl of Arran, by Marion his wife, daughter of Sir Robert Maxwell of Calderwood, had alſo iſſue two other ſons, Alexander and Archibald, and a daughter who married the Earl of Angus, Chancellor to King James IV. But after the fall of the Boydes, the Barony and Lordſhip of Kilmarnock fell to the Crown, and there continued 'till the year 1482, when the King, taking compaſſion upon the innocent children of the late Earl of Arran, and out of the love he bore his ſiſter the Counteſs, reſtored James her ſon to the barony of Kilmarnock, and the other lands of his anceſtors, and to the title of Lord Boyde (*h*), but he dying without iſſue (Boëthius (*i*) ſays he was killed by the Lord Montgomery) the lordſhip of Kilmarnock returned again to the Crown, and the line was carried on by Alexander Boyde, ſecond ſon of the Lord Chamberlain Boyde, and brother of the late Earl of Arran [*D*]. This Alexander, through the intereſt of the Earl of Angus his brother-in-law, and for his own dutiful behaviour, was, by King James IV, made Baily and Chamberlain of Kilmarnock for the Crown (*k*), was reſtored to part of that lordſhip, and had alſo a grant of the lands of Bordland (*l*) Robert, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded, and was a perſon in great favour with King James V, whom he faithfully ſerved both at home and abroad (*m*), wherefore that Prince beſtowed on him the whole lordſhip of Kilmarnock, the twentieth of May, 1536 (*n*). He afterwards had, by grant of the Earl of Arran, Governor of Scotland during the minority of Queen Mary, many other lands that had formerly belonged to his anceſtors, and at the ſame time is retoured heir to James Boyde of Kilmarnock, his father's brother's ſon (*o*). In the perſon of his ſon Robert, the next generation ſaw the honour of the family revive; he was a nobleman of great parts, and poſſeſſed in an eminent degree, all thoſe hereditary qualifications which had rendered his family illuſtrious. The troubles of the times during the unhappy reign of that unfortunate

(*f*) Buchanan, ut ſupra.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 243.

(*i*) Hector Boëthius's Hiſt. of Scotland, tranſlated by Bellandine, Book xii. C. v. edit. 1536.

(*k*) Rymer's Fœd. Angl. ad annum 1502.

(*l*) Black Acts of Parliament. Charta in pub. Archives, ad ann. 1494. Charta in Rot. Jac. IV.

(*m*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 244.

(*n*) Chart. in pub. Arch. Jac. V.

(*o*) Charta Penes Com. de Kilmarnock, dat. 23 Oct. 1544.

[*C*] *This was tranſacted in the year* 1474, *and the Earl of Arran died ſoon after.*] We have related this ſtory of Lady Arran's divorce, from Buchanan, becauſe he is very particular in his relation of it, and the thing itſelf is very probable, tho' far from certain; for Boëthius (12) ſays, that the daughter of King James the ſecond, after the death of Lord Boyde, (meaning the Earl of Arran) married the Lord Hamilton; and Mr Bellandine the tranſlator of Boëthius was actually living at the very time; and Buchanan did not write 'till a century after; and poſſibly he might frame this ſtory on purpoſe to ingratiate himſelf with his patron the Earl of Murray, who was a great enemy to the Hamiltons, and might be pleaſed to have it recorded of that family, that it's greatneſs, and alliance with the Blood Royal, was founded in adultery. The hiſtorian Mr Scott (13), (who in general copies Buchanan) concerning this affair, only ſays, that the King detained the Counteſs of Arran from returning to her huſband, and urged her to ſue for a divorce, to which ſhe would not conſent; but ſays nothing of her being compelled to marry Lord Hamilton; and adds, that Lord Arran finding himſelf bereft of his Lady, contracted great grief and died; and ſhe remained a widow 'till the year 1474, which expreſſion implies, that her huſband had been dead ſome time before; but this is not probable, if we conſider, that the Earl of Arran did not arrive in Scotland from his Daniſh embaſſy, 'till the year 1470, after which he retired to Denmark, from thence travelled thro' Germany into France, at both of which courts he might ſtay a conſiderable time; and at laſt went to the Duke of Burgundy's court, where he ſerved in the wars, and his Lady bare him a ſon and a daughter there, and at length returned to Scotland; all which could not well be brought about much ſooner than the year 1474, ſo that the Counteſs of Arran muſt have married Lord Hamilton not long after her arrival in Scotland; and as it is certain, Lord Arran did not die 'till after ſhe came there, and was refuſed leave to return back, it muſt have been very ſoon after (if not before) the Earl's death, that ſhe married Hamilton; and as ſhe was an affectionate wife to her firſt huſband, it was perhaps rather by compulſion than choice, that ſhe married a ſecond ſo ſoon; or probably, a divorce was intended and actually begun by the King her brother, tho' not compleated before Lord Arran's death; for the fact is very agreeable to the character of that prince, who was very unforgiving, and retentive of injuries, and to be ſure would never ceaſe perſecuting the unhappy Earl of Arran, as long as he lived. The author of the Britiſh Compendium (14), places the Earl's death in 1470, but this appears from the above account, to be a great error.

(12) Hector Boëthius's Hiſt. of Scotland, tranſlated by Bellandine, printed in 1536. Book xii. chap. v.

(13) Hiſtory of Scotland.

(14) Page 72.

[*D*] *The line was carried on by Alexander Boyde, ſecond ſon of the Lord Chamberlain*] Mr Crawfurd, in his Peerage of Scotland (15), and from him other writers, are miſtaken in ſaying, that upon the death of Lord Arran's ſon without iſſue, the line was continued by Sir Alexander, ſon of Sir Alexander Boyde of Duncow, brother of the Lord Chamberlain, and that from him are deſcended the Earls of Kilmarnock; for the Lord Chamberlain left two other ſons beſides Lord Arran, who, according to the order of ſucceſſion, had a right of precedency before the ſon of Sir Alexander Boyde of Duncow, who was only the younger brother of the Lord Chamberlain; and it appears beyond doubt, that Alexander, the ſecond ſon of the Lord Chamberlain, continued the line; for in a grant which he afterwards had of the lands of Bordland, he is ſtiled *Filius Roberti quondam Domini Boyd* (16). Mr Crawfurd has acknowledged this himſelf in his lives of the Chancellors (17).

(15) Page 243.

(16) Charta in pub. Archives, ad ann. 1494.

(17) Page 317, in the notes.

unfortunate Princeſs, Queen Mary, gave him a ſufficient opportunity of exerting his great talents. That Princeſs, in the year 1549, had been graciouſly pleaſed to recognize his title to the honour of Lord Boyde, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal (*p*), and he continued to be greatly truſted by her, to whom he faithfully adhered, and preſerved his loyalty in the worſt of times, and 'till the almoſt total ſuppreſſion of her intereſt, aſſiſting her with his counſels, and riſking his life in her defence as often as he had an opportunity, though he condemned the imprudent meaſures which involved the Queen in the diſaſters of her reign, as well as the violent meaſures purſued by the ſubjects againſt her; and upon her marriage with Bothwell, in 1567, he had actually entered into an aſſociation with other Lords, to puniſh the King's murderers, and diſſolve the Queen's marriage, according to Rapin (*q*); but Scott ſays, to defend the infant Prince her ſon, from his mother and ſtep-father (*r*), yet this was only on account of her religion, in which he differed from her, and was one of thoſe who adviſed her to iſſue a proclamation, to declare all tolerations formerly granted to Roman Catholicks null and void, and to grant no further freedom to them than private worſhip. However, he continued to ſerve her, and was made one of the Lords of her Privy-Council the ſame year, 1567 (*s*), and was pitched upon by the Queen to treat with the rebel Lords about compoſing their differences, but they refuſed to treat with her. The Lord Boyde commanded a part of the Queen's army at the battle of Langſide, where ſhe was defeated in 1568. Upon the Queen's retiring into England, and Commiſſioners being appointed by Queen Elizabeth, and the Lord Murray Regent of Scotland, to hear and determine the controverſy between the Queen of Scots and her ſubjects, Lord Boyde was appointed one of the Queen's Commiſſioners, to meet and vindicate her character. His Lordſhip was alſo employed in the fatal affair of the intended marriage of the Duke of Norfolk with Queen Mary, and was one of her Commiſſioners upon all occaſions, and in all meetings with her opponents, 'till the year 1571, when, according to the Hiſtorian before cited (*t*), the Earl of Morton, at that time Regent, found means to tempt the Lord Boyde, together with the Earl of Argyle, to deſert the Queen's party; for Morton having then ſeveral church-lands in his gift, offered a large ſhare thereof to be divided between thoſe Lords, which they accepted of, and joined the King's party. At the ſame time the Earl of Argyle was divorced from his Lady, and married to the Lord Boyde's daughter. If this account of Mr Scott's be true, it may very well be urged in Lord Boyde's defence, that the Queen's affairs were at this time ſo deſperate, that it was ſcarce in the power of her moſt loyal ſubjects to do her any ſervice, and that his Lordſhip was amongſt the laſt of her friends, who ſubmitted to the Regency during her ſon's minority, and in ſo doing, he only made a virtue of neceſſity, by complying with the times and humour of the people, who had ſet her infant ſon upon the throne without any regard to the mother's title. After this, his Lordſhip acted as one of the Regent's Commiſſioners in the treaty of Perth, and was one of the Lords that ſubſcribed the articles of that treaty. In 1578, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners to treat with the Engliſh about ſuppreſſing the incurſions of the borderers (*u*). In 1581, he, with ſome other Lords, having joined in a confederacy to remove the Duke of Lenox, who was a Papiſt, from Court; in order to this, they ſeized the King and confined him at Ruthven Houſe, where they in a manner compelled him to baniſh the Duke; but Lord Boyde had liked afterwards to have loſt his life for this, and was obliged to go over to France (*w*), from whence returning in 1585, he was pardoned, and was the ſame year, with the Earl of Bothwell and another, ſent Ambaſſador into England to conclude a league in defence of the Proteſtant religion (*x*), and for a firm and laſting peace between the two realms, which they concluded and ſigned (*y*) [*E*]. This Nobleman died in 1589, aged 72, and was interred with his anceſtors in the church of Kilmarnock, under a fair tomb, with the following ſtrange verſes by way of epitaph, as in note [*F*], which, however, ſhew the great ſervice and importance he was of to his country. He married Margaret, daughter and ſole heireſs of George Colqhuone of Glins, by which he made a conſiderable addition to his paternal inheritance. By her he had iſſue ſeveral daughters, one of whom married the Earl of Eglington; and a ſon named Thomas, who ſucceeded him (*z*). He married Marion, the daughter of Matthew Campbel of Loudon, anceſtor to the Earl of that name, by whom he had iſſue a daughter, who married James Hamilton, Earl of Abercorn, and a ſon named Robert, who marrying the daughter of Mark Ker, Earl of Lothian, and died before his father, but left two ſons;

(*p*) Charta Penes Com. de Kilmarnock, ad ann. 1549.

(*q*) Rapin's Hiſt. of England, Vol. VIII. p. 359, 8vo.

(*r*) Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 468.

(*s*) Scott, ibid.

(*t*) Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 449.

(*u*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 244.

(*w*) Scott, p. 489.

(*x*) Scott, p. 496.

(*y*) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

(*z*) Britiſh Compendium, p. 316.

[*E*] *Which league they concluded and ſigned.*] The occaſion of this league was this; The Pope, Kings of France and Spain, and other Potentates of the Church of Rome, had entered into a league to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion; upon which Queen Elizabeth ſent Sir Thomas Wotton her Ambaſſador to Scotland, to propoſe a league offenſive and defenſive with the King, in the cauſe of Religion; upon which King James having convened the Eſtates of the Kingdom at St Andrews, the ſame was agreed to, and Ambaſſadors appointed to go to Berwick and meet thoſe from the Queen, who mutually ratified and ſigned the ſame (18), conſiſting of thirteen articles.

(18) Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 493.

[*F*] *As in note* [*F*].

Here lies yat godly, noble, wiſe, Lord Boyd,
Who Kirk and King, and Commons, all ecor'd,
Which were, while they this jewel all enjoy'd,
Maintain'd, govern'd, and council'd by that Lord.

His antient Houſe ſo of't peril'd, he reſtor'd,
Twice ſix, and ſixty years he liv'd; and fine,
By death the third of January devor'd,
In anno thrice five hundred, eighty nine (19).

(19) Monumental Inſcriptions in the church of Kilmarnock.

ſons, Robert, who ſucceeded his grandfather; and James, who afterwards alſo came to the eſtate. This Robert married Chriſtian, daughter to Thomas Hamilton Earl of Haddingtoun, by whom he had iſſue Robert who ſucceeded him, and was a nobleman of great hopes and parts, and died without iſſue much regretted, in 1640 (*a*). He was ſucceeded by James his uncle, who, dying in 1654, was ſucceeded by William his ſon (*b*), who gave early proofs of his abilities, and that he inherited all the ſhining qualities of his progenitors. He was eſteemed a man of wit and learning, which recommended him to the gay Court of King Charles II. He was remarkably active in the intereſt of that Monarch, when there was the leaſt proſpect of his Reſtoration; for which, and ſome ſervices he did the Crown afterwards, he was created Earl of Kilmarnock, by Letters Patent, bearing date Auguſt 7, 1661 (*c*). He married Janet, daughter to William Cunningham, Earl of Glencairn, and died in the year 1692. He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon William, who ſurvived his father but a few months, leaving iſſue William, the third Earl of Kilmarnock, and Thomas Boyde, a gentleman eminent in the profeſſion of the Civil and Municipal Law of Scotland, who, for his diſtinguiſhed merit, was promoted to the honour of Lord Advocate. William, the third Earl of Kilmarnock, was no leſs diſtinguiſhed for his abilities than the reſt of his predeceſſors: he was remarkably zealous in the Parliament of Scotland, for the famous Act called the Act of Security. He was ſomewhat wavering in his conduct with regard to the Union; and affected, in the beginning of that affair, to join the party headed by the Marquis of Tweedale, who were diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Squadrone Volante*, on account of their pretending to join neither of the parties, but to caſt the ballance between them; but the Earl at laſt left that party, and joined thoſe who promoted the Union. In the rebellion 1715, he was very active in the ſervice of the Government. He died in November 1716, leaving iſſue by Euphene his wife, daughter to William Lord Roſs, William, the fourth and laſt Earl of Kilmarnock (*d*), the unfortunate Nobleman, who, by deviating from the ſteps of his illuſtrious anceſtors, ſo lately fell a ſacrifice to the juſtice of his country. We ſhall not long detain the reader with this Nobleman's Hiſtory, as there is nothing remarkable recorded of him, 'till the laſt unhappy period of his life, having, 'till then, lived rather in a private ſtation, without publickly concerning himſelf either with civil or military affairs. His Lordſhip was but thirteen years old when his father died, and diſcovered betimes a genius not unequal to his birth. He found the family eſtate pretty much encumbered, and great part of the patrimony alienated, and by no means anſwerable to his Lordſhip's generous and noble diſpoſition. It was his Lordſhip's misfortune, to be too ſoon let looſe among the gaities and pleaſures of life; as he grew up, inſtead of applying himſelf to the dry amuſements of ſtudy, he launched out into the world in purſuit of pleaſures which were more expenſive than his fortune could ſupport, and by this means conſiderably reduced his eſtate, which, from the moſt probable conjecture, was the true reaſon of his taking up arms againſt the King. And indeed, his Lordſhip himſelf owns in his confeſſion to Mr Foſter (*e*), (while under ſentence) that his rebellion was a kind of deſperate ſcheme, proceeding originally from his vices, to extricate himſelf from the diſtreſs of his circumſtances: for, he ſays, 'the true root of all was his careleſs and diſſolute life, by which he had reduced himſelf 'to great and perplexing difficulties; that the exigency of his affairs was in particular very preſſing at the time of the rebellion; and that, beſides the general hope he had of 'mending his fortune by the ſucceſs of it, he was alſo tempted by another proſpect of 'retrieving his circumſtances, by following the Pretender's ſtandard.' It does not appear that his Lordſhip was in the original deſign of the rebellion; on the contrary, he declares both in his ſpeech at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, and in his petition to the King after ſentence (*f*), that it was not 'till after the battle of Preſton Pans that he became a party in it (*g*), having, 'till then, neither influenced his tenants or followers to aſſiſt or abet the rebellion, but, on the contrary, influenced the inhabitants of the town of Kilmarnock, and the neighbouring boroughs, to riſe in arms for his Majeſty's ſervice, which had ſo good an effect, that two hundred men from Kilmarnock very ſoon appeared in arms, and remained ſo all the winter at Glaſgow and other places. It is ſaid, that when the Earl joined the Pretender's ſtandard, he was received by him with great marks of eſteem and diſtinction; was declared of his Privy-Council, made Colonel of the Guards, and promoted to the degree of a General (though his Lordſhip himſelf ſays, he was far from being a perſon of any conſequence among them). How he behaved in theſe ſtations, (quite new to him, and foreign from his former manner of life) we cannot determine; but common fame ſays, he behaved with courage and reſolution 'till the fatal battle of Culloden, when the Earl was taken, or rather ſurrendered himſelf, priſoner, to the King's troops, though involuntarily, and with a deſign to have facilitated his eſcape; for his Lordſhip acknowledged to Mr Foſter (*h*), whilſt under ſentence, that when he ſaw the King's dragoons, and made towards them, he thought they had been Fitz-James's horſe, and that if he could have reached them by mounting behind one of the dragoons, his eſcape would have been more certain, than when he was on foot. This it was proper to mention, becauſe his Lordſhip, in his ſpeech to the Houſe of Lords (*i*), had made a merit of having ſurrendered himſelf, at a time when he ſaid he could eaſily have made his eſcape, and in which he owned, when in a ſtate of repentance, he had falſified. His Lordſhip was, after he had been taken ſome time, brought to the Tower, and on Monday the twenty-eighth of July, 1746,

(*a*) Balfour's Annals.

(*b*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 245. Charta in Cancellaria, S. D. N. Regis.

(*c*) Charta in Rot. Carol. II. Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 245.

(*d*) Britiſh Compendium, p. 317.

(*e*) See Mr Foſter's Account of the Behaviour of Lord Kilmarnock, p. 10, 11.

(*f*) Appendix to Mr Foſter's Account, &c. No. 3. p. 45.

(*g*) Proceedings in the Houſe of Peers againſt Lord Kilmarnock, &c. p. 31.

(*h*) Mr Foſter's Account, ut ſupra.

(*i*) See the Proceedings in the Houſe of Peers, &c. ut ſupra.

1746, was, together with the Earl of Cromertie, and Lord Balmerino, conducted to Weſtminſter-Hall, and at the bar of the Lord High-Steward's court, there erected for that purpoſe, arraigned, and pleaded guilty to his indictment, ſubmitting himſelf to his Majeſty's mercy and clemency. On the Wedneſday following, the three Lords were again brought from the Tower to receive ſentence, when the Lord Kilmarnock being aſked by the Lord High-Steward, if he had any thing to offer why ſentence of death ſhould not be paſſed upon him? his Lordſhip, addreſſing himſelf to his Grace and the whole auguſt Aſſembly, then conſiſting of an hundred and thirty-ſix Peers, delivered an eloquent ſpeech (*k*), after which, ſentence of death was pronounced upon him, and he returned to the Tower. After this, he preſented petitions to the King, the Prince of Wales, and Duke of Cumberland (*l*), wherein he ſet forth his family's conſtant attachment to the Revolution intereſt, and that of the illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover; his father's zeal and activity in ſupport of both in the rebellion in 1715, and his own appearing in arms (though then but young) under his father, and the whole tenor of his conduct ever ſince that time. But the ſervices of his forefathers could not ſatisfy the publick demand for juſtice, nor avail him ſo far as to procure him pardon. He was beheaded on Tower-Hill, Auguſt 18, 1746, and was interred in the Tower church, with this inſcription upon his coffin, viz. *Gulielmus Comes de Kilmarnock, decollat.* 18 *Auguſti*, 1746, *ætat. ſuæ* 42. His Lordſhip's whole deportment, from the time he was condemned 'till his execution, was exceedingly becoming and ſuitable to one in his unhappy circumſtances; and as he gave the moſt lively marks of a ſincere humiliation and repentance for all his miſcarriages, ſo his behaviour in the hour of death was reſigned, but ſtrictly decent and awful, free from an extreme dejectedneſs, yet not eager and rapid to meet death; it may therefore be ſaid, that he died with a *becoming reſolution*; for, as his Lordſhip himſelf obſerved with as much truth as goodneſs, that for a man who had led a diſſolute life, and yet believed the conſequences of death, to put on an air of daringneſs and abſolute intrepidity, muſt argue him either to be very ſtupid or very impious (*m*). He was a nobleman of fine addreſs and polite behaviour; his perſon was tall and graceful; his countenance mild, but his complexion pale; and he had abilities, which, if they had been properly applied, might have rendered him capable of bringing an increaſe of honour to his family, inſtead of ruin and diſgrace. His Lordſhip lived and died in the publick profeſſion of the Church of Scotland, and left behind him a widow (who was the Lady Anne Livingſton, daughter of James Earl of Linlithgow and Callander, attainted in 1715, with whom he had a conſiderable fortune) and three ſons, the eldeſt of whom his Lordſhip had educated in the principles of duty and loyalty to his Majeſty, and in whoſe ſervice he now bears a commiſſion; another ſon was in the rebellion with his father, and eſcaped ſomewhere abroad; and the third is in the ſea ſervice. With this diſmal cataſtrophe of the laſt unhappy Earl of Kilmarnock, we are to cloſe our memoirs of this illuſtrious family, having followed it through ſeveral centuries, from the earlieſt account of it to the preſent time. We have traced it from it's firſt riſe or dawn, to it's meridian height of glory; we have then ſeen it the ſport of fortune, ſink into obſcurity, emerge out of it again; and by degrees reſume it's antient ſplendor; and glad ſhould we have been, to have ſtopped at this happy period, and not have ſeen the luſtre of ſo great a family ſullied by ſo foul a crime as that of rebellion; to have ſeen, in one fatal day, the richeſt blood contaminated, and which for ages has ran untainted in an illuſtrious chanel; to have ſeen a Nobleman, who could boaſt a train of anceſtors, as long and as noble as moſt families, and amongſt whom were men ſingularly eminent for their loyalty, and conſpicuous for their virtue, thus degenerate from their noble principles, and fatally purſue meaſures that involved himſelf and family in ruin. H

(*k*) In the Proceedings of the Houſe of Peers, &c. publiſhed by S. Billingſley.

(*l*) In the Appendix to Mr Foſter's Account, &c. No. 3, 4, 5.

(*m*) Mr Foſter's Account, &c.

BOYLE (RICHARD) one of the ableſt Stateſmen in the laſt century, who not only raiſed himſelf to the higheſt offices, and to the dignity of the peerage in Ireland, by his perſonal merit, but obtained alſo a very unuſual addition to theſe honours, being generally ſtiled the *great Earl* of Cork. He was deſcended from an antient and honourable family, that had been long ſeated in Herefordſhire, ſome think before the Conqueſt (*a*) [*A*]. But

(*a*) Letter from Dr John Beale to Mr Samuel Hartlib.

[*A*] *Seated in Herefordſhire, as ſome think before the Conqueſt.*] It has been a common opinion, and as ſuch is laid down in ſome Memoirs, that the noble Family of Boyle ſprung from Sir Philip Boyle a knight of the Kingdom of Arragon in Spain (1), who came over to England, and ſignalized himſelf in a tournament held in the reign of King Henry VI. Thus much of truth there is in that notion, that the Family of Boyle is of great antiquity in Spain (2), and that this Sir Philip was of that family, yet no anceſtor of the Earl of Cork, whoſe line may be traced much higher with great certainty. It is thought that this ſirname was antiently written Biuvile, and by degrees was changed or corrupted into Boyle. The firſt account we have of them is, that they were ſeated at Pixely Court near Leadbury in the County of Hereford, of which Humphry de Biuvile was Lord, as is recorded in Dooms-day Book, *tit.* 28. *Terra Humfridi de Biuvile in Radelau Hund. Humfridus de Biuvile tenet de rege Pichelei Auſtil tenuit.* Theſe words *Auſtil tenuit*, in the general conſtruction of Antiquaries, import that it was in the time of Edward the Confeſſor (3). Lodowick Boyle, who lived in the reign of King Henry III, was father of John Boyle, and he of James, who had iſſue Lodowick, whoſe ſon was ſucceeded by James his ſon and heir, father of Lodowick Boyle of Bidney, and of the Friers in the city of Hereford, in the reign of King Henry VI (4). This Lodowick married Elizabeth, daughter of William Ruſſel, Eſq; and had iſſue a daughter, Eleanor, married to Watkin Ruſſel; and two ſons, John Boyle, Eſq; who had the eſtate in Herefordſhire, and Roger Boyle ſecond ſon (5); this Roger married Jane, daugter of Thomas Pattiſhall of the County of Hereford, and had iſſue John Boyle of Hereford, Roger

(1) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 2.

(2) Herera, Hiſtor. de las Indias Occidentales, Decad. 1. lib. ii. cap. 20. p. 63.

(3) Letter from Dr John Beale to Mr Samuel Hartlib.

(4) Viſat. Com. Hereford. in Bibl. Harleian. 90 A. p. 72, 73. Seager's Baron. MS. in Bibl. Cot.

(5) Genealogies of Families omitted in the Baronage, MS. p. 131.

But his father, Roger Boyle, being a younger brother, and marrying Joan, the daughter of Robert Naylor of Canterbury, Esq; settled in Kent, where his second son Richard was born, October 3, 1566 (*b*). He was educated first at Canterbury, then sent to Cambridge by the care of his mother, having lost his father before he was ten years of age; studied there for some time in Bennet-college, thence he removed to the Middle Temple, proposing to have made the Law his profession (*c*). But his mother dying, and having little or no dependance, he, in some measure, dropped that design, and entered into the service of Sir Richard Manwood, Chief-Baron of the Exchequer. He did not remain long in that station, for finding he should rise very slowly thereby, he resolved to travel in order to better his fortune, which, as himself tells us, was very slender, when he left England (*d*) [*B*]. He landed at Dublin, June 23, 1588, and having good recommendations, was very soon brought into business, acting sometimes in one part of the country, sometimes in another, but residing chiefly in Dublin, where he was held in very great esteem by the principal persons employed in the Government, and was very serviceable to many of them, in penning memorials, cases, and answers, which gave him vast opportunities of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the kingdom, and of the state of publick affairs (*e*), of which he very well knew how to make a right use. In 1595 he married Joan, the daughter and coheiress of William Ansley, of Pulborough, in the county of Sussex, Esq; with whom he had five hundred pounds *per annum* in land, which was the beginning of his fortunes (*f*). As he was of a very frugal disposition, and had a head very well turned for making an establishment in a country where land was cheap, and he had money to lay out, he quickly laid the foundation of an estate, but interfering in some of his purchases with powerful men there, they began to insinuate things to his prejudice at home, which forced him to go over to England, where he not only got over all the difficulties they had thrown in his way, but returned with fresh credit, and much greater honour, into Ireland (*g*) [*C*]. Sir George Carew (afterwards Earl of Totness) being appointed

(*b*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

(*c*) Queen Elizabeth's Worthies, MS.

(*d*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

(*e*) Historical Reflections, by R. Vowel, p. 191.

(*f*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 359.

(*g*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

Roger second son, and Michael Boyle of London, third son, who left a numerous issue; whereof Richard his second son was Bishop of Cork and Ross; being allowed also to keep the See of Cloyne in Commendam, was afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, and died March 19, 1644 (6). He left issue, Michael Boyle, Archbishop of Armagh, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who died aged 93, in the year 1702, and was father to Murrough Boyle, created Lord Viscount Blessington (7); Michael, another son of the said Roger, was Bishop of Waterford and Lismore; and Sir George Boyle his fourth son died without issue (8); Roger Boyle, the second son, married Jean, daughter of John Naylor, of Kenvile in the county of Kent, and had issue John Boyle, Bishop of Cork and Ross, in Ireland; Richard Boyle second son, Earl of Cork, of whom I am to treat; Hugh Boyle third son, who died without issue; and a daughter, married to Sir Pierce Power of Ireland, Knt. (9), a numerous and fortunate line.

(6) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 622.

(7) Baronag. Hibern. p. 291.

(8) Thoresby's Hist. of Leeds, p. 64.

(9) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 358, 359.

[*B*] *Was very slender when he left England.*] This great man, when in the height of his prosperity, took pleasure to look back upon his slender beginnings, and that they might be truly known to posterity, he thought fit on the 23d of June 1632, to commit the most memorable circumstances of his life to writing, under the title of *True Remembrances* (10), and it is from these we have many particulars that otherwise would have escaped notice, and amongst them, this that follows in his own words.

(10) The MS. of this short piece was formerly in the hands of Mr Smith, Apothecary, in the Strand, who lived long with the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq;

'When first I arrived at Dublin in Ireland, the 23d of June, 1588, all my wealth then was twenty-seven pounds three shillings in money, and two tokens which my mother had given me, viz. a Diamond Ring, which I have ever since, and still do wear; and a Bracelet of gold worth about ten pounds; a Taffety Doublet cut with and upon Taffety, a pair of Black Velvet Breeches laced; a new Milan Fustian suit, laced and cut upon Taffety; two Cloaks, competent Linnen, and necessaries; with my Rapier and Dagger; and since the Blessing of God, whose heavenly Providence guided me hither, hath enriched my weak estate in the beginning with such a fortune, as I need not envy any of my neighbours, and added no care or burthen to my conscience thereunto.'

[*C*] *Much greater honour into Ireland.*] We have various accounts of this transaction, which, tho' it may seem private in it's nature, yet has been very justly accounted a very remarkeble proof of Queen Elizabeth's wisdom, as well as a singular instance of the true genius and spirit of her government (11); it may not be amiss to observe, that in none of the accounts I have seen, the year in which it happened has been fixed; but from the circumstances mentioned in the following relation taken from the noble person's own Remembrances beforementioned, it appears clearly to have been in the spring of the year 1598.

(11) Queen Elizabeth's Worthies, p. 93.

'When God had blessed me, says he (12), with a reasonable fortune and estate, Sir Henry Wallop of Wayers, Sir Robert Gardiner, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Sir Richard Bingham, Chief Commissioner of Connaught, being displeased for some purchases I had made in the province; they all, joined together by their lies, complaining against me to Queen Elizabeth, expressing that I came over a young man without any estate or fortune, and that I had made so many purchases as it was not possible to do, without some foreign Prince's purse to supply me with money; that I had acquired divers castles and abbies upon the sea-side, fit to receive and entertain Spaniards, that I kept in my abbies fraternities and convents of Friers in their habits, who said Mass continually, and that I was suspected in my religion, with divers other malicious suggestions; whereof having some secret notice, I resolved to go into Munster, and so into England, to justify myself; but before I could take shipping the general rebellion in Munster broke out, all my lands were wasted, as I could say, that I had not one penny of certain revenue left me, to the unspeakable danger and hazard of my life; yet God preserved me, as I recovered Dingle and got shipping there, which transported me to Bristol, from whence I travelled to London, and betook myself to my former chamber in the Middle Temple, intending to renew my studies in the Law, 'till the rebellion were passed over. Then Robert Earl of Essex was designed for the government of this kingdom, into whose service I was recommended by Mr Anthony Bacon: Whereupon his Lordship very nobly received me, and used me with favour and grace, in employing me in the issuing out his Patent and Commission for the government of Ireland; whereof Sir Henry Wallop having notice, and being conscious in his own heart that I had sundry papers and collections of Michael Kettlewell's, his late Under-Treasurer, which might discover a great deal of wrong and abuse done to the Queen in his late accounts, and suspecting if I were countenanced by the Earl of Essex, that I might bring these things to light, which might much prejudice or ruin his reputation or estate; altho' I vow to God, until I was provoked, I had no thought of it: Yet he, utterly to suppress me, renewed his former complaints against me to the Queen's Majesty. Whereupon, by her Majesty's special directions, I was suddenly attacked and conveyed close prisoner to the Gate-house; all my papers seized and searched; and altho' nothing could appear to my

(12) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

appointed Reſident of Munſter, Mr Boyle was, by the Queen, ſent over with him as Clerk of the Council in that province, and the Preſident knowing how well he ſtood with her Majeſty, was remarkably kind to him (*h*). He was very ſoon made Juſtice of the Peace and of the Quorum, through the whole province, conſtantly attended the active Lord Preſident in all his expeditions, and by intercepting Florence Mac Carthy's letters, written to promote rebellion, while entertained in the Preſident's houſe, did the State eminent ſervice, and juſtified the confidence repoſed in him (*i*). On December 14, 1599, died his firſt Lady in child-bed of a ſtill-born ſon, to his great grief, but he preſerved the eſtate ſhe brought him (*k*). The war againſt the Iriſh continued all this time, and as they were now openly aſſiſted by the Spaniards, ſeemed more dangerous than ever, but by the prudence, vigilance, and ſkill of the Lord Deputy (Blount) Montjoy, and Sir George Carew, they were hindered from atchieving any thing of conſequence, and at laſt, upon the 24th of December, 1601, the Iriſh and their Spaniſh auxiliaries were totally routed near Kinſale, with the loſs of 1200 killed, and 800 wounded (*l*). The Preſident of Munſter, knowing how welcome this news would be to Queen Elizabeth, diſpatched Mr Boyle therewith to England, who performed his buſineſs with almoſt incredible expedition (*m*) [*D*]. Upon his return into Ireland, which was in the month of June following, he found the Lord Preſident ready to attack the ſtrong caſtle of Donboy near Beerhaven, which he accordingly performed on the eighteenth, took it by ſtorm, and put all the garriſon, conſiſting of one hundred and forty-three choſen men out of the whole Iriſh army, to the ſword. He afterwards reduced the weſtern part of the province, and leaving proper garriſons in them, ſet out on his return to Cork (*n*). As they were on the road together, the Lord Preſident told Mr Boyle, it was his intention to ſend him over again into England, in order to procure the Queen's leave for his return; and, that their buſineſs might go on together, he adviſed Mr Boyle to purchaſe all Sir Walter Ralegh's eſtate in that iſland, promiſing him, if he approved this propoſal, to do him all the ſervice therein which lay in his power (*o*). Mr Boyle accepted the commiſſion readily, and embraced the advice thankfully, came over ſpeedily, and tranſacted his affairs very ſucceſsfully [*E*]. He made no long ſtay in England, but having procured a licence for the Lord

(*b*) See that noble Perſon's account of his own adminiſtration, intituled, *Hibernia Pacata.*

(*i*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 432.

(*k*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

(*l*) Pacata Hibernia, p. 233.

(*m*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 15.

(*n*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 450.

(*o*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

' my prejudice, yet my cloſe reſtraint was continued ' 'till the Earl of Eſſex was gone to Ireland, and two ' months afterwards; at which time, with much ſuit, ' I obtained the favour of her Sacred Majeſty, to be ' preſent at my anſwers, where I ſo fully anſwered ' and cleared all their objections, and delivered ſuch full ' and evident juſtifications for my own acquittal, as it ' pleaſed the Queen to uſe theſe words, viz. *By God's ' death, theſe are but inventions againſt this young man, ' and all his ſufferings are for being able to do us ſer- ' vice, and thoſe complaints urged to foreſtal him there- ' in: But we find him to be a man fit to be employed by ' ourſelves, and we will employ him in our ſervice; and ' Wallop and his adherents ſhall know, that it ſhall not ' be in the power of any of them to wrong him, neither ' ſhall Wallop be our Treaſurer any longer.* Thereupon ' ſhe directed her ſpeech to her Lords in Council there ' preſent, and commanded them preſently to give her ' the name of ſix men out of which ſhe might chuſe ' one to be Treaſurer of Ireland, her election falling ' upon Sir George Carew of Cockington. And then ' the Queen aroſe from Council, and gave orders not ' only for my preſent enlargement, but alſo diſcharged ' all my charges and fees during my reſtraint, and gave ' me her royal hand to kiſs, which I did heartily, ' humbly thanking God for that deliverance.'

[*D*] *With almoſt incredible expedition.*] This deciſive battle was fought upon a Thurſday, which was Chriſtmas Eve, ſome more Spaniards were landed a day or two after in Ireland, but finding their friends were beaten, thought fit to retire (13). This and the Preſident's return to Cork, might probably hinder Mr Boyle from ſetting out 'till the twenty-eighth. The account he gives us of his journey, and of the conſequences of it, are very ſingular and entertaining, and at the ſame time it is but neceſſary, to ſhew how expreſsly it is laid down in his own words, in order to be ſatisfied as to the fact, which, as Mr Budgell obſerved, nothing but the Earl of Cork's authority could make one believe (14).

(13) Pacata Hiberni, p. 233.

(14) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

' I attended the Lord Preſident in all his employ- ' ments, and waited upon him all the whole ſiege of ' Kinſale, and was employed by his Lordſhip to her ' Majeſty, with the news of that happy victory, in which ' employment I made a ſpeedy expedition to the Court; ' for I left my Lord Preſident at Shannon Caſtle, near ' Cork, on Monday morning about two of the clock, ' and the next day being Tueſday, I delivered my ' Packet, and ſupped with Sir Robert Cecil (being ' then Principal Secretary of State) at his houſe in ' the Strand; who after ſupper held me in diſcourſe ' 'till two of the clock in the morning, and by ſeven ' that morning called upon me to attend him to the ' Court, where he preſented me to her Majeſty in her ' Bed-chamber; who remembered me, (calling me by ' my name, and giving me her hand to kiſs) telling me ' ſhe was glad that I was the happy man to bring the ' firſt news of that glorious victory; and after her Ma- ' jeſty had interrogated with me upon ſundry queſtions ' very punctually, and that therein I had given her ' full ſatisfaction in every particular, ſhe again gave me ' her hand to kiſs, and recommended my diſpatch for ' Ireland, and ſo diſmiſſed me with grace and favour.'

[*E*] *Came over ſpeedily and tranſacted his affairs very ſucceſsfully.*] It muſt have been in the winter of 1602 that Mr Boyle returned into England, bringing with him two letters from the Lord Preſident, one addreſſed to Sir Robert Cecil, (then Secretary, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury) in which his merit and abilities were much magnified, together with a requeſt that he would aſſiſt in forwarding the propoſed bargain with Sir Walter Ralegh; the other to Sir Walter himſelf, recommending Mr Boyle as a fit purchaſer, and adviſing him to part with a concern, which, though it made a large ſound, was ſo far from producing any thing, that, to his, the Lord Preſident's knowledge, it coſt Sir Walter two hundred pounds a year to ſupport his titles (15). Theſe letters produced a meeting between Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Ralegh, and Mr Boyle, in which, by the mediation of the former, the purchaſe was concluded, and the aſſurances perfected. *This*, ſays our Noble Author, *was the third addition and riſe to my eſtate* (16). A great augmentation it muſt have been, for, according to the loweſt computation, Sir Walter Ralegh's eſtate conſiſted of twelve thouſand acres in the counties of Cork and Waterford (17), which, from the foregoing account, it is evident enough that he bought at a very low rate, and living upon the ſpot being already a rich man, having a head the beſt turned that ever man had for ſuch improvements, and coming immediately after into great power, there is no doubt that he very ſoon made thoſe lands highly valuable; indeed there is direct and full proofs of the matter of fact, and that within the compaſs of a very few years. This eſtate was not only well tenanted, but the beſt ſettled, and abſolutely in the moſt thriving condition (18) of any eſtate in Ireland. He might therefore well call it the third addition to his fortune, accounting what he acquired by marriage, the firſt; and his preferment in Munſter, the ſecond; though probably this purchaſe was more profitable than both.

(15) This was conferred on him by Queen Elizabeth for his ſervices in Ireland.

(16) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

(17) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 352. Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 29.

(18) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. in the Preface.

[*F*] *Though*

Lord Preſident to return, he carried it to him in Munſter, and then accompanied him back to Dublin, where he was to embark for England. In their journey thither, the Lord Preſident took notice to him, that having now acquired ſo conſiderable an eſtabliſhment, it would be prudent for him to think of another marriage (*p*), by which he might have iſſue to inherit it. This propoſal alſo was readily embraced, and the Lady who was the daughter of Sir Geoffery Fenton, being likewiſe mentioned, the Lord Preſident undertook the negociation with her father, and proſecuted it ſo effectually, that they were contracted in his preſence, March 9, 1602, to the great ſatisfaction of all parties (*q*). The marriage, however, was not immediately ſolemnized, which perhaps might be occaſioned by the great change that in a few days happened, as well to them in their reſpective ſtations, as to the nation in general, by the death of Queen Elizabeth. His friend and patron, Sir George Carew, was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland; his father-in-law was continued in his place of Secretary of State; and himſelf received from his patron's hand the honour of knighthood, July 23, 1603, the very day he celebrated his ſecond marriage (*r*). He aſſures us himſelf, that intereſt had no ſhare in this marriage, and that he never ſo much as thought of a fortune; but, however, Sir Geoffery Fenton, the Lady's father, gave him that very day, of his own motive, one thouſand pounds in gold (*s*). We have another very ſingular circumſtance in relation to this marriage, mentioned on the authority of the Counteſs of Warwick, his Lordſhip's daughter, which, though attended with many difficulties, may poſſibly be, and probably is, true (*t*) [*F*]. His fortune now began to proceed more briſkly than before, and almoſt every day produced new acceſſions, either of dignity or eſtate. He owed the baſis and foundation of his greatneſs to the kindneſs of Queen Elizabeth; but all the ſuperſtructure was raiſed under King James. Thus, in 1606, he was ſworn at the Council-Board at Dublin a Privy-Counſellor for Munſter, but the then Lord-Preſident Dunkard refuſed to admit him to that office notwithſtanding, but was at laſt forced to ſubmit (*u*). He was, by this promotion, put into a condition of conſulting his own and the publick intereſt at the ſame time, as he had a vaſt property in this province. He was very induſtrious in ſettling and improving his eſtates, taking due care to let his lands to Engliſh Proteſtants only, and to erect, as occaſion required, ſeveral towns and boroughs, nay, and ſome caſtles too, for their ſecurity (*w*). Intending the promotion of the affairs of that kingdom, as well as his own private concerns, he thought proper to make a journey over the beſt part of that province, in

(*p*) Id. Ibid.

(*q*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

(*r*) Catalogue of Honours conferred in Ireland, by W. St Leger.

(*s*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

(*t*) Birch's Life of the Honourable Robert Boyle, prefixed to his Works, p. 3.

(*u*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

(*w*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, in the Introduction to the ſecond Volume. See alſo what is ſaid in note [*G*].

[*F*] *Though attended with many difficulties very probably may be, and poſſibly is, true.*] We have this ſtory in a ſermon, where the preacher poſitively aſſerts, that he had it from the mouth of the lady at whoſe funeral he delivered this diſcourſe; his relation runs thus (19). 'Mr Boyle (after Earl of Cork) who was then a widower, came one morning to wait upon Sir Geoffery 'Fenton, at that time a grear officer of ſtate in the 'kingdom of Ireland; who being engaged in buſineſs, 'and not knowing who it was that deſired to ſpeak with 'him, a while delayed him acceſs; which time he ſpent 'pleaſantly witb his young daughter in her nurſe's 'arms. But when Sir Geoffery came and ſaw whom he 'bad made ſtay ſomewhat long, he civilly excuſed it: 'But Mr Boyle replied, he had been very civilly entertained, and ſpent his time much to his ſatisfaction in 'courting his daughter, if he might obtain the honour 'to be accepted for his ſon-in-law. At which Sir Geoffery, ſmiling to hear one who had been formerly married, move for a wife carried in arms and under two 'years old, aſked him if he would ſtay for her? to 'which he frankly anſwered him he would, and Sir 'Geoffery as generouſly promiſed him he ſhould then 'have his full conſent; and they both kept their words 'honourably; and by this virtuous lady he had thirteen children.' We have, beſides this, another direct evidence to the material part of the fact, viz. the ingenious and judicious John Evelyn, Eſq; who, in a private letter to a friend of his, expreſſes himſelf thus (20). 'Tbat Mr Boyle coming to adviſe with Sir Geoffery 'Fenton, now knighted, finding him engaged with another client, and ſeeing a pretty child in the nurſe's 'arms, entertained himſelf with them 'till Sir Geoffery came to him, making his excuſe for cauſing him 'to wait ſo long; Mr Boyle pleaſantly told him, he 'had been courting a young lady for his wife; and ſo 'it fortuned, that ſixteen years after Mr Boyle made 'his addreſſes in good earneſt, and married the young 'lady.' Tbe obſervation made upon this by the Rev. Dr Birch, is very pertinent and judicious (21). 'Both 'theſe accounts, ſays he, are attended with very great 'difficulties; eſpecially that of Dr Walker, which is 'abſolutely irreconcilable with the Earl of Cork's 'own narrative, from which it appears that his firſt Lady died on the 14th of December 1599; and that 'he married his ſecond, Sir Geoffery Fenton's daughter, the 25th of July, 1603; ſo that it is impoſſible 'that while he was a widower, he ſhould enter into any 'engagements for the latter, while ſhe was in her nurſe's 'arms, and under two years old; ſince there was only 'an interval of three years and eight months between 'the death of his firſt wife, and his marriage with 'the ſecond.' As to Dr Walker, he was a man of a very lively and fertile imagination, and therefore I lay no ſtreſs at all upon the circumſtances with which he tells the ſtory; and which, as they are manifeſtly falſe and abſurd, ſo I ſee no reaſon to charge them on the Counteſs of Warwick, who very probably told the naked truth of this ſtory, viz. *That the Earl of* Cork, *her father, courted the Lady by whom he had all his children, in her nurſe's arms*, and this might be very true As to what Mr Evelyn ſays, it is alſo very agreeable to the Earl of Cork's ſhort notes of his own life; for as he went over in 1588, and did not marry this lady 'till the Summer of the year 1603, this admits of between 15 and 16 years from the time he might firſt ſee the lady he afterwards married; and if ſhe was then a little more than two years old, ſhe might be near eighteen when he married her; neither was there any great diſproportion between their ages, ſince he was then in his *thirty ſeventh* year. Beſides it is not at all improbable, tbat his old maſter, the Lord Chief Baron Manwood, might recommend him when he went to Ireland to Sir Geoffery Fenton; and if ſo, this interview might happen within a ſhort time after his coming to Dublin; and thus all the difficulties relating to the principal matter of fact are clearly removed, and the ſtory, as it is told by Mr Evelyn, ſhewn to be both poſſible and probable. But it may be objected, that at leaſt this reſts upon ſuppoſition, and that if the lady was older at the time of her marriage, all that I have laid down falls to the ground. But then this objection alſo is as much founded upon ſuppoſition, for I think it is impoſſible to prove that this lady was older. The inſcription upon the fine tomb that was erected for her in St Patrick's Church, at Dublin, might have cleared up this, if any mention had been made therein of the lady's age (22); but as there is not, we can come at no greater certainty in this reſpect, than what ariſes from the foregoing conjectures.

(19) Sermon preached at the Funeral of Mary Counteſs of Warwick, by Dr Anthony Walker, p. 45, 46.

(20) John Evelyn, Eſq; to Dr William Wotton, dated Sept. 10, 1703, from Wotton in Surrey, formerly in the cuſtody of Mr. Smith.

(21) Life of the Honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq; prefixed to his Works, p. 3.

(22) See Borlaſe's Hiſtory of the Reduction of Ireland, p. 210.

[*G*] *A*

in which he was a Counſellor, and then made a journey to Dublin for the inſtructions of the then Governors, after which he embarked for England, and having given a very ſatisfactory account to his Majeſty of the ſtate of things in Ireland, he returned thither in the month of February 1612, and was on the fifteenth of the ſaid month ſworn a Privy-Counſellor of State for the kingdom of Ireland, by the Lord Deputy Chicheſter, in Chicheſter houſe, by the King's expreſs command, as a reward for his good ſervice in giving ſo clear and perfect a relation of the ſtate of the publick (*x*). He continued the ſame diligence and activity in his ſtation, and thereby ſo conciliated the affections of all ranks of people, and was of ſo great aſſiſtance to thoſe entruſted with the Goverment, that his Majeſty thought fit to raiſe him to the dignity of the Peerage, which he accordingly did, September 29, 1616, by the ſtile of Baron of Youghall in the county of Cork (*y*), and four years after, as a further mark of royal favour, he was created, Oct. 6, 1620, Viſcount Dungarvan and Earl of Cork (*z*). His credit with two Sovereigns, appeared to be rather increaſed than diminiſhed under a third; for Charles I. had not ſat long upon the throne, before he manifeſted his kindneſs and regard for this noble Peer, in a manner very unuſual and extraordinary, by conferring titles of honour on his younger ſons, even in their infancy (*a*), not only in tacit conſideration of the Earl's great ſervices rendered to the Crown, and his acting like a good patriot in that iſland, but ſo expreſſed, as the royal motives to thoſe ſingular marks of diſtinction [G]. He perſiſted ſtill in the ſame

(*x*) Remarks on the principal events of the reign of King James.

(*y*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 370.

(*z*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

(*a*) Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 363.

[G] *As the royal motives to theſe ſingular marks of diſtinction.*] The caſe of theſe honours ſtood thus: The Lord Falkland being Lord Deputy of Ireland, and the Earl of Cork's great friend, here preſented his ſervices to the Crown and Nation in ſo fair a light, that King Charles was pleaſed to ſend his letter to the Deputy, dated the 30th of November, 1627 (23), in the third year of his reign, directing him to confer the honours of Baron and Viſcount upon the Earl's ſecond ſurviving ſon Lewis, tho' he was then only eight years old. This letter ran thus: 'Having taken in our gracious conſide-
'ration the many eminent virtues and abilities of our
'right well beloved couſin Richard Earl of Cork, and
'his ſingular good deſerving, as well in planting thoſe
'remote parts of our dominions with ſeveral Engliſh
'colonies, in ſettling true religion, and introducing ci-
'vility and government there, where he found barbariſm
'and ſuperſtition, and in the erecting of ſeveral churches,
'towers, caſtles, and other buildings, at his own charge,
'for the perpetual ſecurity of thoſe countries, and our
'good ſubjects inhabiting in them; as alſo in zealouſly
'purſuing all good cauſes tending to the advancement
'of our moſt important ſervices there; and under-
'ſtanding that he hath many younger ſons, whom he
'bred in true religion and virtuous diſcipline, there-
'by making them worthy and profitable members of
'that ſtate. We are pleaſed, for his and their encou-
'ragement to beſtow extraordinary marks of our favour
'upon them, and by that effect (by theſe our letters) to
'confer upon his ſecond ſon Lewis Boyle, Eſq; the
'honour, dignity, ſtile and title of a Baron and Vis-
'count of that our kingdom, requiring and authoriſing
'you thereby, forthwith to cauſe our Letters Patent to
'be paſſed unto him, in conſideration of his ſervices
'done, and to be done, unto us and our crown; there-
'by to create, conſtitute, and ordain him Baron of
'*Bandon-Bridge*, and Viſcount Boyle of *Kinalmeaky*
'in the County of *Cork*, to hold and enjoy to him and
'his heirs male of his body, and for default of ſuch
'iſſue male, the ſaid honours to be and remain to the
'heirs male ſucceſſively of the body of the ſaid Richard
'Earl of Cork, begotten, or to be begotten, and to
'the heirs male of their bodies, and for default of ſuch
'heirs male deſcending of the body of the ſaid Earl,
'then the ſame to be and remain to the heirs male of
'him the ſaid Richard Earl of Cork, for ever; and it is
'our further pleaſure, that you forthwith confer upon
'the ſaid Lewis Boyle the honour of Knighthood.'

(23) Tranſcribed from the original, and communicated by a perſon of great worth and learning at Dublin.

The Lord Deputy, by whoſe intereſt and interceſſion this favour was obtained, as well for his own juſtification, as in regard to the honour of this noble Earl, takes care, to enumerate the many and great ſervices by him performed in his Fiat, dated the 28th of February 1627, which in Engliſh runs thus (24). 'We taking notice of the
'excellent virtues and high faculties of Richard Earl
'of Cork, in advancing our affairs in Ireland, not only
'in Council, but in the government of the province of
'Munſter, in which he has ſhewed himſelf to be a per-
'ſon of high abilities, but alſo in many other works of
'great moment, viz. in building towns, and fortify-
'ing them with fair walls and towers, and filling them
'with Engliſh colonies, building churches, and re-
'ducing the people to civil obedience in eſtabliſhing
'religion, extirpating ſuperſtition, defending the paſſes
'of that country with caſtles, building many bridges for
'the convenience of the publick, guarding the ports
'and maritime places of the ſaid province, againſt fo-
'reign enemies, in firſt introducing manufactures and
'mechanick arts into the province, and afterwards eſta-
'bliſhing them by guilds and fraternities of artificers, to
'the plentiful increaſe of riches and civility, by plant-
'ing and continually ſupporting leaders and other men
'experienced in arms from England, to the number at
'leaſt of fifteen hundred, and to the perpetual ſecurity
'and defence of thoſe parts, and all this he did at his
'own expence, and by his own induſtry; all which
'tends not only to the preſent utility and ornament of
'thoſe parts, but to the perpetual ſecurity and defence
'of them really indeed excellent, and which it is diffi-
'cult to ſay, whether the like were ever undertaken
'by any other ſubject in times paſt. In contemplation of
'which, our Father adorned the ſaid Richard with many
'titles of honour, and placed him in the higheſt degree
'of nobility in Ireland, ſo that we have ſcarce any
'thing left us to heap upon our ſaid couſin, unleſs we
'derive honours to his ſons, and poſterity of his name
'to the perpetual elogy of his memory. And we being
'informed that our ſaid couſin has had a ſecond ſon
'named Lewis, a youth of great hopes, the true image
'of his father's genius, and in whom is eaſy to be ſeen
'a branch of that tree from whence he is ſprung. We
'alſo to ſhew our good diſpoſition to the ſaid Earl, and
'to give him ſome token of our favour, which may re-
'main to poſterity in an indelible character, have
'thought proper to place the ſaid Lewis, (for the ſake
'of his father) though in his tender years, among the
'nobles of this kingdom; and therefore by the advice
'of the Lord Deputy Faulkland, and according to the
'tenor of our Privy-Seal, dated at Weſtminſter, the
'30th of November, in the third year of our reign,
'have and do advance the ſaid Lewis Boyle to the
'ſtate, title, and honour, of Baron of Bandon-Bridge,
'&c.'

(24) Tranſlated, tranſcribed, and communicated, by the ſame worthy perſon.

At the ſame time by virtue of the King's letters the Lord Deputy by his Fiat of the ſame date, conferred the title of a Baron on Roger the Earl's fifth ſon, by the ſtile and title of Lord Boyle of Broghill; and as this young Lord was only between ſix and ſeven years old, a few lines from that inſtrument (ſhewing the reaſon of that creation) may not be improper (25). 'We conſi-
'dering the many acceptable ſervices done not only un-
'to us and to our Father, but to all Ireland, (eſpecially
'in Munſter) by Richard Earl of Cork, reſpecting alſo
'in him the nobility of his family, as being long made
'hereditary Lords, Viſcounts, and his daughters mar-
'ried into many noble families, and having received an
'account from our ſaid couſin, that he hath been bleſſed
'with another ſon called Roger, from whoſe genius
'and diſpoſition great things are to be hoped, and wil-
'ling to grant more ample favours to our ſaid couſin,
'We, for the ſake of his father, have taken the ſaid
'Roger, (as it were out of the cradle) to place him in a
'rank of honour, as a Baron of Ireland' It was the more neceſſary to take notice of this, becauſe of a very

(25) Communicated by the ſame hand.

ſame courſe, omitted nothing that could contribute to the ſecurity or improvement of the Engliſh and Proteſtant intereſt in that iſland, and therefore it was thought proper, as well as conducive to the publick ſatisfaction, on the departure of the Lord-Deputy Falkland, to make him, in conjunction with the Lord Viſcount Loftus of Ely, one of the Lords-Juſtices, and he was accordingly ſo conſtituted, Octob. 6, 1629 (*b*), and held that high office ſeveral years. The ſplendour of his publick character, could not, however, defend him from a ſevere ſtroke of fortune in his private capacity, for on the ſixteenth of February he loſt his Counteſs, by whom he had been the father of fifteen children, and for whom he had the moſt tender and ſincere affection (*c*). He cauſed her body to be interred with great ſplendour and magnificence in the cathedral church of St Patrick's in Dublin, where he erected a moſt pompous monument to her memory, which, long afterwards, he was, to his great ſorrow and mortification, obliged to pull down and remove (*d*) [*H*]. As yet, however, his favour was ſo entire, that he procured a patent for the high office of Lord-Treaſurer of Ireland, into which he was ſworn, November 9, 1631, and by a felicity peculiar to himſelf, for which there was no precedent, and which has proved no precedent to any thing of a like kind, he had intereſt enough to obtain this high poſt ſhould be made hereditary in his family, as it has ever ſince continued (*e*). As this was the greateſt, ſo it was one of the laſt honours he received, for in July 1633 (*f*), Thomas Lord Wentworth was declared Deputy of Ireland, and ſoon after went over into that iſland, and took upon him the government. While the Earl held the poſt of one of the Lords-Juſtices, he promoted, amongſt other things, the procuring Proteſtants to come over and ſettle there from England, with zeal and ſucceſs. He, from the ſame principle, contributed alſo to ſet the frauds of the Popiſh Prieſts in their true light, by cauſing St Patrick's purgatory, a deluſion which a long belief had rendered venerable, to be expoſed as a trick and an impoſture, as it really was, to all the world (*g*). He laboured alſo to ſuppreſs the inſolency of that faction, by diſpoſſeſſing them of ſome new maſs-houſes which they had opened in Dublin, without, and indeed againſt, law; and by other methods, which raiſed ſome clamour againſt him, but as plainly appears, from a letter written to him by Lord-Keeper Coventry, his ſervices were well received, and he was encouraged to proceed in the ſame courſe, as indeed he did, ſo long as he remained in poſſeſſion of authority (*h*). This letter therefore (as hitherto unpubliſhed) we have thought expedient to place in the notes, for the information and ſatisfaction of the reader

(*b*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 53.

(*c*) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances.*

(*d*) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 298.

(*e*) Catalogue of Honours conferred in Ireland.

(*f*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 55.

(*g*) Id. Ibid. p. 54.

(*h*) Borlaſe's Reduction of Ireland, p. 210.

very ſtrange and groundleſs miſtake in Mr Budgell's memoirs of this family, who ſays, that this young gentleman, after his return from his travels, was made a Captain of horſe by the Earl of Northumberland, and Baron of Broghill by the intereſt of the Earl of Strafford, who had a mind to gain him to his party (26): Whereas it is very plain, that he had been raiſed to the Peerage very near ſix years before the Earl of Strafford went firſt to Ireland, who was ſo far from favouring any branch of the Cork family, that it is certain, he looked with an evil eye upon theſe very creations (27).

(26) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 34, 35.

(27) Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 240.

[*H*] *He was to his great ſorrow and mortification obliged to pull down and remove.*] This Lady was privately interred on the 27th of February, 1629-30, but her funeral was publickly ſolemnized on the 11th of March following, ſoon after which, the Earl of Cork purchaſed from the Dean and Chapter of St Patrick's church, the inheritance of the upper part of the chancel where the vault was, in which the bodies of her grandfather by the mother's ſide, the Lord Chancellor Weſton, and of her father Sir Geoffery Fenton were laid, over which the Earl her huſband cauſed a fine marble tomb to be erected (28); this preſently gave offence to ſome people, who ſuggeſted that it ſtood where the altar ought to ſtand, of which they complained to the King, who mentioned it to Dr Laud, then Biſhop of London; who after the Lord Wentworth was made Lord Deputy of Ireland, and himſelf Archbiſhop of Canterbury, moved him that it might be enquired into, as it was, and this affair made afterwards a very great noiſe. The Earl of Cork procured a letter from Dr Uſher, then Lord Primate of Ireland, and alſo from Dr Launcelot Bulkeley, then Archbiſhop of Dublin, juſtifying, that the tomb did not ſtand in the place of the altar, and that inſtead of being an inconvenience, it was a great ornament to the church; which letters Archbiſhop Laud tranſmitted to the Lord Deputy, and at the ſame time acquainted him that they did not give himſelf any ſatisfaction. The poſtſcript to this letter, dated Lambeth, March 11, 1634, is very remarkable, and ſhews both the riſe and the falſhood of the common opinion, as if it was the Lord Deputy, afterwards Earl of Strafford, ſet this matter on foot out of prejudice to the Earl of Cork, and being very ſhort, I ſhall tranſcribe it (29). 'I had almoſt forgot to tell 'you, that all this buſineſs about demoliſhing my Lord 'of Cork's tomb, is charged upon you, as if it were 'done only becauſe he will not marry his ſon to my 'Lord Clifford's daughter, and that I do it to join 'with you; whereas the complaint came againſt it to 'me out of Ireland, and was preſented by me to the 'King before I knew that your Lordſhip was named 'for Deputy there. But jealouſies know no end.' The Archbiſhop afterwards wrote in very ſtrong terms to the Earl of Cork himſelf, in which he affirms the ſame thing, and deals very roundly with his Lordſhip upon that and other ſubjects, adviſing him to leave the whole to the Lord Deputy and the Archbiſhops. As to the iſſue of the affair, it appears clearly from a letter of the Lord Deputy Wentworth's, dated Auguſt 23d, 1634, to the Archbiſhop, in which he delivers himſelf thus (30). 'I have iſſued a commiſſion according 'to my warrant, for viewing the Earl of Cork's tomb, 'the two Archbiſhops and himſelf, with four Biſhops, 'and the two Deans and Chapters were preſent when 'we met, and made them all ſo aſhamed, that the Earl 'deſires he may have leave to pull it down without 'reporting further into England; ſo as I am content if 'the miracle be done tho' Mohammed do it, and there 'is an end of the tomb before it come to be entombed in-'deed.—And for me that my Lord Treaſurer do what 'he pleaſe; I ſhall ever wiſh his ways may be thoſe of 'honour to himſelf, and diſpatch to my maſter's affairs; 'but go it as it ſhall pleaſe God with me, believe me, 'my Lord, I will be ſtill *thorow* and *thorowout* one and 'the ſame, and with comfort be it ſpoken by myſelf, 'and your Grace's commendations.' I have placed all theſe facts together, becauſe they relate to the ſame ſubject, and though they happened at different times, they could not well be divided without rendering them dark and obſcure, whereas they are perfectly clear and well connected as they now ſtand, and fully explain a point, of which there are many hints, but no diſtinct account in any of the hiſtories of thoſe times: it may not be amiſs to add, that tho' the tomb has been taken away above a century, yet the inſcription that was upon it is ſtill extant; but as we have given the ſubſtance of it already, it may ſuffice if we inform the reader where it is to be found at large (31).

(28) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances.* Borlaſe's Reduction of Ireland, p. 210. Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 263.

(29) Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 211.

(30) Ibid. p. 298.

(31) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 263.

reader [*I*]. But this was far from being the only material ſervice that he rendered the State, during the time he was at the head of it. He was very inſtrumental in putting the army, which was of prodigious conſequence in that country, upon a right foot, and ſecuring for it a regular and competent ſubſiſtence, and in tranſplanting a multitude of barbarous Iriſh *Septs* or *Clans*, out of the fruitful and well cultivated province of Leinſter, into the wilds and deſarts of the county of Kerry (*i*). He was alſo diligent and active in his office as Lord-High-Treaſurer, and was at great pains in endeavouring to procure a mint to be ſettled in that kingdom, his reaſons for which, that they may be preſerved, which may perhaps be a means of procuring them their due weight, as they were never printed before, appear in the notes (*k*) [*K*]. On the coming over of the Lord-Deputy Wentworth, though ſome civilities paſſed between them, and they ſoon after engaged in a family-treaty for the marriage of the Lord Viſcount Dungarvan with the daughter of Lord Clifford of Laneſborough (*l*), to whom the Deputy was nearly related, yet a coldneſs quickly

(*i*) Letter from the Lords-Juſtices to the Lord-Deputy, containing the State of Ireland, dated Dublin-Caſtle, Feb. 26, 1631.

(*k*) See the new Tranſlation of Sir J. Ware's Works, Vol. II. c. xxxii.

(*l*) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 74.

[*I*] *In the notes, for the information and ſatisfaction of the reader.*] As ſoon as this noble Peer found himſelf at the head of the government in Ireland, he reſolved to put the laws in execution againſt Papiſts, as being ſenſible, that good laws were of very little importance, by being made, if they were not alſo carried into effect; and therefore he directed that the ſtatute in the 2d of Queen Elizabeth for proſecuting ſuch Papiſts as did not come to church, ſhould be given in charge at all the aſſizes, and he alſo thought fit to direct ſome maſs-houſes to be ſhut up, and ſome prieſts that had taken great liberties to be impriſoned; and of theſe proceedings, at the ſame time that he gave notice, as the duties of his office required, to the Secretaries of State in England, he (32) alſo wrote privately to the Lord Keeper, upon whoſe friendſhip he very much depended, who ſent him the following epiſtle in return, in which as he promiſes him what ſervice lay in his power, ſo it muſt be remembered to his honour, that he very religiouſly kept his word, and was at all times and in all circumſtances the Earl of Cork's faſt friend ſo long as he lived, tho' it coſt him ſome ill-will from other great men who had not the ſame opinion of the Earl that he had.

(32) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 54.

The Lord Keeper Coventry to the Earl of Cork.

My very good Lord,

'I HAVE received your Lordſhip's letters of the '9th of this month, whereby you have been pleaſed to give me private advertiſement of that which, by 'your general letters to my Lords of the Council, was 'yeſterday imparted to the board, concerning the late 'paſſages at Dublin, touching thoſe ſuperſtitious houſes, 'which, with ſuch inſolence and tumults, were ſought 'to be maintained in that chief city of the kingdom, 'againſt the laws, his Majeſty's ſtrict proclamation, 'and the policy of the publick ſtate and government. 'Wherein, as your Lordſhip will perceive, by the general letters from hence, in anſwer of your's, how 'graciouſly his Majeſty (who was preſent in Council 'at the firſt reading of them) did, and doth accept 'that good ſervice, and how ready the Lords were to 'give you the juſt applauſe and commendation of your 'own well deſerving in it; ſo muſt I, in particular, 'acknowledge the reſpect you were pleaſed to ſhew me 'in your private letters, and return your Lordſhip 'many hearty thanks for the ſame: And if there ſhall 'fall out occaſion hereafter for your making me be'holden to you in the like kind, for any thing that 'ſhall concern his Majeſty's ſervice, your Lordſhip 'ſhall find me careful to do you right to his Majeſty 'and the Lords, and in all reſpects towards your Lord'ſhip, to ſhew myſelf, your Lordſhip's very aſſured to 'do you ſervice,

THO. COVENTRY.

Durham-houſe, 31 January, 1629.

It is very probable, that this letter encouraged the Earl of Cork, as one of the Lords-Juſtices, to proceed farther in this way, notwithſtanding the people even at Dublin were ſo inſolent, as to ſet at liberty by force a Prieſt he had committed (33). He therefore ſhut up fifteen new religious houſes, and ſeized them to the King's uſe, as he did another principal houſe of theirs in the Back-Lane in Dublin, which was granted to the college; and thereupon a rector and ſcholars were ſent thither, and lectures ſet up, to which the Lords-Juſtices came ſometimes (34); but in Lord Wentworth's time this houſe was recovered by it's owners in a legal way, and afterwards let to the ſame uſe, which was made one of the articles of impeachment againſt him (35).

(33) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 54.

(34) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 15.

(35) Ruſhworth's Trial of the Earl of Strafford, p. 27, 63.

[*K*] *As they were never printed before, appear in the notes.*] In all the reigns from the conqueſt of Ireland, in that of Henry II, there was money coined in Ireland down to that of Queen Elizabeth, when the money coined for them was tranſmitted from England; theſe pieces were ſtampt with a harp, and from thence were called harpers, but they were not of pure ſilver, and of the value only of nine-pence. In the two laſt years of her reign, ſhe ſent over pieces in which the mixture of ſilver was ſo ſmall, that what the people were commanded by proclamation to receive for a ſhilling, was worth no more than two-pence half-penny (36). King James and King Charles reſtored the harpers to their original value, but eſtabliſhed no mint, to procure which, the Lord Treaſurer tranſmitted the following reaſons to England.

(36) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. II. p. 218.

Reaſons why a mint ſhould be in Ireland.

'Firſt, it is the fountain and the life of trade.

'Secondly, if there be money coined here it will be 'a great cauſe to keep it in England, and to enrich 'both kingdoms.

'Thirdly, few ſubjects have the means which they 'of this Kingdom have, to bring in Bullion; becauſe 'the moſt part of their traffick is victual; ſo that (we 'think) if there were any impoſition laid upon them, 'they would be very willing to bring in the tenth, or 'fifth part in Bullion for ſuch commodities as they carry forth; to the ſetting forward of ſo good a work, 'being certain of ſuch a rate as now it is in England.

'Fourthly, for want of this mint, the merchant is 'diſcouraged for bringing Bullion into this Kingdom, 'becauſe we are not able to make a return, unleſs we 'tranſport the ſame into England to the mint there, 'which is an adventure contrary to the laws of the land, 'ſo that we cannot give a price anſwerable to their expectation.

'Fifthly, as concerning the charge that the undertakers of ſo noble a work ſhall be at, his Majeſty (we 'conceive) will be willing that the fifths, which ſhall 'accrue and ariſe to himſelf, ſhall firſt go to ſatisfy the 'undertakers, in full ſatisfaction for their diſburſements, towards that buſineſs, which (we conceive) in 'a ſhort time will be regained again.

'Sixthly, this mint will be a means to bring over 'men of ſkill, and tools and inſtruments fitting to ſeek 'and make tryal of mines in this kingdom, which we 'ſuppoſe may hereafter be found; and we ſuppoſe the 'mine here already found will be a help; and likewiſe 'this mint will be a means to bring in an aſſay and 'touch in this kingdom, that we may work at a certainty, according to the aſſay of England, which without an *aſſay-maſter* we cannot.'

22d October, 1632.

The reader will obſerve, that mention is made in theſe reaſons of ſilver mines diſcovered in Ireland, which, by the King's authority, one Captain Whitmore was impowered to work, and the Earl of Strafford had great hopes of them, but at laſt they came to nothing (37), but it is not probable this had any influence on the propoſal for a mint, which I ſuppoſe failed rather by our Earl's loſs of power, and credit at court.

(37) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 218—224.

quickly arose, which swelled by degrees into unkindness and hatred on both sides. The Lord Deputy came over full of an opinion, that the Earl of Cork had too much power and too great interest, therefore he set himself immediately to lessen both, and encouraged all who shewed an inclination to oppose him; which, amongst many other controversies between him and other persons in office, produced one with the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, of which we are able to say something more than has been hitherto known (*m*) [*L*]. Abundance of suits were stirred up against him by the same means,

(*m*) See the methods practised to reduce the power of the Lord-Treasurer's Office, in Ware's Works, Vol. II. c. xxxii.

[*L*] *To say somewhat more than has been hitherto known.*] It was very natural for the chief governors of Ireland, to be extremely displeased with the Earl's having obtained the office of Lord High-Treasurer in fee, and therefore since this act was not to be undone, they studied to reduce the power of the Lord-Treasurer, in which they have succeeded very well; but the first step was not quite so fortunate, since the Treasurer prevailed in this contest; upon which he wrote to Mr John West, an officer of great knowledge in England, from whom he received the following clear and decisive answer; which, for some reasons contained therein, is not quite so clear as it otherwise might have been (38).

(38) Communicated by the same worthy person from Ireland.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Cork, &c.

'RIGHT Honourable and my singular good Lord, 'I have received your Lordship's letter by the 'hands of Mr Sidnam, wherein I found your Lordship's 'kind remembrance of the care I took for the recovery 'of the health of the young lady your Lordship's sweet 'daughter, which it pleased God to give a blessing un- 'to, to my great comfort, your Lordship's noble fa- 'vours to me, binding me hereto. I am much troubled 'that I received your Lordship's letters in a time where- 'in I was compassed with so many extremities which 'had fallen upon me, as the stone and the gout, holding 'me with violence and intolerable pain in my right 'thigh, which I broke waiting on my old master King 'James, at Guildford in Surry; and lastly, a great 'weakness in my sight, which old age and much read- 'ing have brought upon me, having no other remedy 'for all this but patience, which it hath pleased God 'to grant me, and in his goodness I hope will more and 'more afford me.

'As touching the answering those questions which 'are contained in your Lordship's letter, viz.

'First, whether within the verge of the Exchequer, 'and coming from the Exchequer-Chamber into the 'Court of Exchequer, the Lord Treasurer or the Chan- 'cellor of the Exchequer have precedency; and so in 'their going out, which of them goeth foremost so 'long as they are within the court?

'*The Lord* Treasurer *without any question hath the* 'precedency, *and is chief officer of that court*; *and in the* 'Exchequer Chamber *hath the first place*; *but in the* Ex- 'chequer Court *the* Chancellor *sitteth uppermost, as it* 'hath been always reputed.

'*Secondly*, where they are placed within the court, 'and whether Mr Chancellor or Lord Treasurer taketh 'the upper hand?

'*This is answered in the first question.*

'*Thirdly*, upon English bills preferred in the Ex- 'chequer, to whom they are directed, with the words 'of the title or direction, whether it be to the Lord 'Treasurer, and Chancellor, and Barons; or to the 'Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and Barons?

'*To the Lord* Treasurer, Chancellor, *and* Barons.

'*Lastly*, whether upon English bills preferred in that 'court; the subpœna requireth appearance to be, co- 'ram Cancellario, Thesaurario, & Baronibus, and un- 'der whose test those subpœna's go, and all other pro- 'ceſs upon English bills?

'*All the* subpœna's *are returnable* coram Baronibus, 'and test. *the* Chief Baron.

'*The* subpœna's, ad audiend' judic' *upon hearing of* 'causes *in the Echequer Chamber are* coram Thesau- 'rario, Cancellario, & Baronibus, test. *the Lord* Chief 'Baron.

'And thus having briefly answered the aforesaid 'questions, and not being able to enlarge my first aim 'further at this time, by reason of some of my friends 'absence out of town, with whom I meant to have had 'some conference, especially touching the Chancellor's 'sitting above the Lord Treasurer in the open Court, 'the Lord Treasurer always going before him at the 'rising —— of the Court. When I shall have fur- 'ther satisfied my self herein, I will make bold to give 'your Lordship further satisfaction therein; for I am 'strong of opinion, that it is not by way of any prece- 'dency, but to make the Lord Treasurer's greatness 'the more eminent, by sitting in the midst as it were, 'having the Chancellor on the right hand, and the 'Chief Baron on the left, and this is my conceit; but 'hereafter your Lordship shall understand more. And 'this with the remembrance of my humble duty and 'service to your Lordship, I rest for ever your Lord- 'ship's humble servant,

19th December, 1635.

JO. WEST.

His Lordship was so very sollicitous about this affair, that he wrote by the same messenger to Sir Julius Cæsar on the same subject, from whom he received the following clear and decisive answer; as I have taken it from the original in his own hand-writing, communicated by a person of worth in Ireland.

The Master of the Rolls (in England) to the Lord Treasurer in Ireland.

Right honourable and my very good Lord,

'I Have received your Lordship's by Mr Sidnam, 'in the first whereof, I find many of your most ho- 'nourable favours both to myself, and my nephew July 'Smith, as likewise, to his father before him, being 'once your Lordship's chaplain, for all which I most 'humbly thank your Lordship, and will endeavour on 'my part by all possible means to requite the same. 'And I humbly beseech your Lordship to continue 'your favour towards my nephew July Smith, for his 'preferment hereafter, as occasion shall happen; and 'I pray your Lordship to rest assured, that I will al- 'ways be thankful for the same. Now touching your 'Lordship's four questions; I know not your usage of 'Ireland, but I will answer in that I know, as being 'above twenty-one years since a Chancellor of the Ex- 'chequer in England myself, for the space of eight 'years at least.

'I. That the Lord Treasurer of England hath the 'precedency of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, both 'in the Exchequer and all places wheresoever.

'II. That in their sitting in the Exchequer; albeit, 'the Chancellor sits on the right hand of the Lord 'Treasurer upon the bench, yet the Lord Treasurer 'sitteth above him, for that he sitteth next to the 'King's arms in the Exchequer-Court, and in the Ex- 'chequer-Chamber sitteth alone upon the high bench, 'and the Chancellor upon the Bench of the right hand, 'and the Lord Chief Baron with the rest of the Barons 'on the Bench on the left hand.

'III. That when there is a Lord Treasurer in being, 'the English bills in the Exchequer-Chamber are pre- 'ferred to the Lord Treasurer, Chancellor, and Barons, 'and not to the Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and Ba- 'rons.

'IV. That the subpœna's upon English bills prefer- 'red, in that court require the appearance to be coram 'Thesaurario, Cancellario, & Baronibus, and not coram 'Cancellario, Thesaurario, & Baronibus; and under 'the test of the Lord Chief Baron: And if it please 'your Lordship, thus much will be testified under the 'hands of all the antient clerks of the Exchequer, who 'marvel very much that any one should doubt there- 'of; and I most humbly take my leave, your Lord- 'ship's humble servant,

JUL. CÆSAR.

Received as the former letter was, Jan. 13, 1635.

[*M*] *Much*

means, and beſides the cutting inſult offered to him in obliging him to demoliſh his Lady's tomb, though he would willingly have built a ſcreen before it, he ſuffered daily new mortifications (*n*). The Lord-Deputy, afterwards Lord-Lieutenant and Earl of Strafford, continued firm in his purpoſe, and took care to keep thoſe, upon whoſe aſſiſtance he depended moſt in England, in a continual ſtate of jealouſy as to the Earl of Cork, which he did not find very hard to do, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury being already a declared adverſary to the Earl, on the ſcore of ſuppoſed injuries done the Church (*o*); and Secretary Cooke ſeems to have approved the deſign of raiſing the King's revenue at any rate; ſo that after all his long ſervices to the Crown, and notwithſtanding all the improvements made for promoting the Engliſh Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland, the Earl of Cork was, for ſeven years together, abandoned to the reſentments of a man, much inclined, and no leſs able, to hurt him [*M*]. But it was not many years before a new change happened, which delivered the Earl from this oppreſſion, and in ſome meaſure put his antagoniſt in his power. The Earl of Strafford being impeached of high-treaſon in England, and the Earl of Cork being there in the ſpring of 1641, when that Lord was put upon his tryal, being brought by order of the Houſe of Commons to ſupport their charge, he gave evidence againſt him (*p*), which, though that great perſon took very much amiſs, ſo far as to proceed to very injurious inſinuations, yet the Earl of Cork declared, he did not come to England with any deſire or deſign to injure or proſecute him for things paſt, and as a proof, owned that he had brought no papers or proofs over with him, but being in town and ſummoned, thought himſelf obliged to obey, ſubmit to be examined, and tell the truth (*q*). He returned to Ireland ſoon after, and had not been there long before that fatal rebellion broke out, which was ſo detrimental to this, and ſhameful to that, country. It was very ſudden and unexpected, as may appear from the firſt account the Earl of Cork had of it, who, in caſe it had been ſooner detected, would ſcarce have been found from home at ſo critical a juncture, when both the publick, and all his private concerns, were at ſtake (*r*). This account, however, is unqueſtionably true [*N*]. It does not

(*n*) See this point further explained in note [*N*].

(*o*) See Archbiſhop Laud's ſharp Letter to the Earl of Cork, in Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 222.

(*p*) Ruſhworth's Trial of the Earl of Strafford at large, p. 175, 176, 181.

(*q*) The Earl's own Account at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, ibid. p. 228.

(*r*) Letter to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in England, dated Youghall, Aug. 25, 1642.

[*M*] *Much inclined, and no leſs able, to hurt him.*] The controverſy between theſe two noble perſons, is a very curious and a very uſeful piece of hiſtory; we have ſeveral touches of it in ſome of the beſt books extant, in relation to thoſe times; and there are ſome hints of it, even in our general hiſtories, but we have no where any accounts, either of the riſe of this miſunderſtanding, or how far it proceeded; and therefore, it may not be amiſs to examine it a little more particularly. There ſeems to have been ſeveral cauſes of the Earl of Strafford's diſlike of the Earl of Cork; but becauſe we have little room, I will name only three. His Lordſhip was Deputy of Ireland, many months before he went over thither, and in that ſpace of time, he wrote ſeveral letters to the Lords-Juſtices, of whom the Earl of Cork was one; and in theſe it plainly appears, that he was not a little offended with ſome points of their conduct, in which he thought his maſter's orders (but ſent by his advice) were not reſpectfully enough obeyed (39). Another cauſe of his diſlike was, the authority and intereſt of the Earl of Cork, which he makes no ſcruple of declaring in his letters, that he was determined to bring down, as ſuppoſing that if he could humble the great Earl of Cork, no body in that country could give him much trouble (40). A third reaſon was, that he looked upon the Earl of Cork, as a man chiefly promoted by the Lord Viſcount Falkland, who had proved no friend to Strafford, and whoſe creatures therefore he diſliked (41); we have mentioned in the text, various inſtances of the pains taken to diſquiet the Earl of Cork, and we ſhall add ſome others here; as for inſtance, the forcing the Earl to appear at the Council-Table, in relation to an affair of no great conſequence; threatning him with impriſonment in caſe he diſobeyed the Lord Deputy's orders, and all this openly in the ſight and hearing of ſuch as attended the Council-Table, with a view to leſſen his general credit and eſteem (42). The cauſing informations to be preferred againſt him by the Attorney-General, in order to deprive him of part of his eſtate; which, in one caſe was carried ſo far, that the Earl was content to give fifteen thouſand pounds to procure his pardon, and to have all the proceedings taken off the file (43). By bearing very hard upon families, to which he was nearly allied, and perſons who ſtood in cloſe relation to him; ſuch as the Lord Chancellor Lofthouſe, Viſcount Ely, the Earl of Kildare, and others. The refuſing him licence to go over to England when his affairs required it, merely to prevent his raiſing up a contrary intereſt at Court (44); but above all, Strafford's prejudice againſt the Earl of Cork, appears plaineſt from his own letters, in which he avowedly propoſes to obtain a vaſt ſum of money for the Revenue, by informations brought againſt this Nobleman, provided no favour was ſhewn him by the King, but he was left totally in the Lord Deputy's hands (45); laſtly, the countenancing ſuch as ſet up againſt him, or in any way endeavoured to diſturb him in his peace, or in his poſſeſſions. Yet with regard to one inſtance of this kind that is commonly mentioned, it ſeems to be pretty much out of the caſe, I mean, the ſuit ſet on foot by Dr John Atherton, Biſhop of Waterford and Liſmore, who, tho' he was promoted by the Earl of Strafford, as himſelf acknowledged upon a very ſolemn occaſion, yet I do not find, that he relied much upon the Lord Deputy's protection; ſince, on the 27th of June 1637 (46), he was contented to join with the Earl in a petition to the Lord Deputy and Council, the prayer of which was, that they would appoint arbitrators to decide their controverſies, which was accordingly done; and the Biſhop of Derry and the Maſter of the Wards were aſſigned upon this petition, and they afterwards made the report, by which it appeared, that the Earl had never purchaſed any thing directly from the Church, but from other perſons for valuable conſiderations forty years before, when he was not ſo well acquainted with the ſtate of Ireland, but for the ſake of Religion; and becauſe thro' the alienations of former Biſhops, there was not then above fifty pounds a year left to the See, the Earl was content to forego a part of his rights, in conſequence of which, the arbitrators awarded Liſmore and the lands belonging thereto, to the Earl; and Ardmore with other lands to the Biſhop (47); ſo that there ſeems to be no juſt cauſe in reſpect to this matter, either to blame the Earl of Strafford for ſupporting Biſhop Atherton againſt the Earl, or to ſuggeſt, as ſome have done, that the Earl of Cork had too great a hand in bringing him to the gallows, that he might be free from the law-ſuits he had brought againſt him in right of his See; for theſe, as we have ſhewn, were over before, and conſequently the Earl had leſs to fear from him, than from any of his ſucceſſors. But notwithſtanding theſe differences between the two noble Earls, it is certain, that Straffotd had a great kindneſs for the Lord Viſcount Dungarvan, the Earl of Cork's eldeſt ſon, and was very inſtrumental in his marriage with the Earl of Cumberland's daughter, by which the family acquired their Engliſh honours (48). He was likewiſe a very good friend to the Archbiſhop of Tuam, the Earl of Cork's near kinſman (49), and to his ſon in-law the Lord Goring, ſon to the Earl of Norwich (50).

[*N*] *This account, however, is unqueſtionably true.*] The Iriſh Rebellion was ſo very cloſely carried, and ſome of thoſe concerned in it, were ſuch deep Politicians, that they found ways and means not only to blind ſuch as

(39) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 77.

(40) Ibid. p. 305, 306.

(41) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 135.

(42) Ruſhworth's Trial of the Earl of Strafford, p. 175, 176.

(43) Anſwer of the Earl of Strafford, to the 4th article of the Commons impeachment.

(44) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 309.

(45) See his Letter upon this ſubject.

(46) Collections relating to Ireland, by P. W. P. 396.

(47) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 58.

(48) See the article of BOYLE (RICHARD) Earl of Burlington and Cork.

(49) See his Letter to the Earl of Strafford, among that Earl's Letters, Vol. II. p. 356.

(50) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 155.

not appear from any memorials now extant, that the Earl of Cork had ſerved in his youth, and yet, in his attendance on Sir George Carew, he muſt have ſeen a good deal of ſervice; he addreſſed himſelf, however, now it was neceſſary, to this new trade, of a ſoldier, as if it had been his old profeſſion, and it is almoſt incredible, how great a figure he made therein. The caſtle of Liſmore, his capital ſeat, he rendered a fortreſs capable of impoſing reſpect on the Iriſh, his ſervants were armed and diſciplined immediately, he repaired to Youghall, which was but a weak place, in perſon, and ſummoning all his tenants to ſerve under his ſons, whom he put at their head without delay, he ſaw himſelf, before Chriſtmas, at the head of a little army of five hundred horſe and foot, well armed, well diſciplined, and in good order, of his own people, under himſelf and his four ſons, and which, perhaps, was no very pleaſing circumſtance, all in his own pay (*s*). He now reaped the benefit of his own great induſtry and caution in planting his country with Engliſh only, for they adhered to him ſteadily, and his appearance in Munſter was ſo formidable, that it was the laſt part of the kingdom which the rebels ventured to attack. It is indeed worthy of memory, how he diſpoſed and regulated his little force, ſo as to make it anſwer ſo many purpoſes; his eldeſt ſon, the Lord Viſcount Dungarvan, he ſent with a fine troop of horſe, to join the Lord Preſident St Leger; his ſecond ſon, the Lord Viſcount Kynelmeaky, was appointed to defend his own town, for his father had given it him, of Bandonbridge, well ſeated, well fortified, and well peopled, there being in it upwards of ſeven thouſand ſouls, Engliſh Proteſtants, and not a ſingle Papiſt in the place (*t*). His ſon Roger, Lord Broghill, was left in Liſmore-caſtle to defend it; and his ſon Francis, the youngeſt that was able to act, remained with himſelf. In this poſture he continued many months, gaining freqent advantages over the rebels, from whom, in leſs than the ſpace of a year, his forces took ſeveral ſtrong caſtles, and killed them upwards of three thouſand men (*u*). But he paid his own troops all this time regularly, and when his money was gone, converted his plate into coin, thinking it better beſtowed in defending his lands, than being buried in the earth to keep it out of the hands of the Iriſh. At laſt, however, his forces, his treaſure, and his patience, were almoſt all wore out, which forced him to write to the Speaker of the Engliſh Parliament in very preſſing terms, and to lay the condition of the province open in the moſt moving manner poſſible (*w*). But what is very extraordinary, and deſerves to be for ever remembred to the honour of this noble perſon, when every body almoſt deſpaired of the publick ſafety, and were afraid of exaſperating the rebels, he had the courage to think of puniſhing them for their offences, and that too in a legal way; neither was this in a few caſes, or againſt particular perſons, more eaſy to be brought to juſtice, or who might be ſuppoſed to have given immediate cauſe of reſentment to this noble perſon, but generally (*x*). Bills were found, by juries free from all exception, againſt the Viſcounts, Roch, Mountgarret, Ikerrin, and Muſkerry; the Lords, Dunboyne, Caſtelconnel, and the heir of Lord Cahir, Theobald Bourke, Baron of Loughmere; and Richard Butler, Eſq; of Killcaſh, brother to the Earl of Ormond, with all perſons of note or figure, either laity or clergy, who dwelt, or had committed acts of rebellion in the counties of Cork or Waterford, to the number of eleven

(*s*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 95.

(*t*) From his own Letter to the Speaker, Lenthall

(*u*) Taken from the ſame Letter.

(*w*) See that Letter in Orrery's Letters p. 4.

(*x*) Orrery's Letters, p. 5.

as were moſt ſincerely attached to the Engliſh and Proteſtant intereſt, but which is very extrordinary, made them ſubſervient to their pernicious deſigns. The violent proſecution of the Earl of Strafford was driven on by them, and the greateſt part of the Iriſh Committee ſent over to proſecute him in England, were Papiſts. But the moſt ſingular turn of all was, that they hindred 4000 men from being ſent to Spain, becauſe of the great danger the nation might be in, from having ſo many men returned upon them, perfectly well diſciplined, and who knew every creek and corner of the country, out of a country always an inveterate enemy of England; but at bottom they wanted theſe very men to join them in the rebellion, as they afterwards did (51) By this thorough diſſimulation, they had acquired ſuch a degree of credit, that they were in hopes of ſeeing the military ſtores, and what quantity of arms were in the hands of the Government, and where placed; by giving out, that ſome of the Lord Strafford's creatures had framed a plot for blowing up the Parliament, and in this they had certainly ſucceeded, if Sir John Borlace, who was one of the Lords-Juſtices and Maſter of the Ordnance, had not wiſely and ſtoutly refuſed it (52). But the fulleſt proof of the ſecurity of the Proteſtants, and the art of the Papiſts, will appear by the following ſingular account of the firſt notice the Earl of Cork had of the rebellion, which we have from the Rev. Mr Morrice, Chaplain to the firſt Earl of Orrery, who probably had it from that Lord's own mouth; we ſhall give it in his own words, obſerving only, that the day on which this tranſaction happened was the 27th of October, 1641 (53). 'About two or three days after Lord Broghill's arrival in Ireland, he waited on 'his father at Caſtle-Lyons, where the Earl of Barri-'more, who had married Lord Broghill's ſiſter, had 'invited them to dinner. They met at Caſtle-Lyons, 'Lord Muſkerry, and ſome others of the Iriſh nation, 'all Papiſts, with whom they were very free and familiar; but it happened while they were at dinner, 'a gentleman came to my Lord of Cork with letters, 'who before he could be perſwaded to ſit down, deſired to ſpeak with his Lordſhip in private, and then, 'with horror in his face, told him, that the Iriſh had 'been in Rebellion three days. That they had committed many outrages and cruelties upon the Engliſh, 'and that in all the country from Leinſter down towards 'Clonmel (through which he had paſſed) the Iriſh Rebels were in arms, ſo that he was forced to chooſe all 'the bye-ways he could find, that he might bring thoſe 'ſad tidings to his Lordſhip. My Lord of Cork would 'diſcover no ſurprize at this diſmal news, but deſired 'him to ſit down to dinner, and ſay nothing. As 'ſoon as dinner was over, my Lord of Cork opened his 'packet, wherein he found proclamations to warn the 'Engliſh to be on their defence, declaring withal, that 'Rebellion, and the diſcovery of it. His Lordſhip 'communicated the account to the company then preſent, but Lord Muſkerry ſeemed to make light of it, 'and treated it as a ridiculous thing without truth or 'foundation; however, they all forthwith prepared to 'return to their ſeveral homes, and my Lord of Cork 'ſent notice of the tidings he had received, together 'with a proclamation, to Sir William St Leger, then Lord 'Preſident of Munſter, and went back with his company to Liſmore. After the Earl of Cork was gone, 'Lord Muſkerry alſo returned home, ſtill perſiſting 'there was no ſuch thing as a riſing either then in being, or intended to be; but the next account was, 'that Lord Muſkerry himſelf was up in Rebellion in 'the weſtern parts, with many thouſands of Iriſh'

(51) Hiſt. of the Reduction of Ireland, p. 72.

(52) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 71.

(53) Memoirs of Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, by the Rev. Mr Morrice, p. 6.

eleven hundred, which bills of indictment his Lordship transmitted to England, signifying at the same time, his resolution to prosecute all these persons to an outlawry (y). One would have imagined, that this must have provoked the rebels to have employed their then superior forces against the province of Munster in general, and the country of the great Earl of Cork more especially; but Sir William St Leger, then President, kept them in awe as long as he lived, though he had but a very inconsiderable force (z). On his death, the Provisional Command was conferred, by common consent, upon the Lord Inchiquin, who married the President's daughter, the rebels either conceiving some hope because he was of an old Irish family, or beyond measure exasperated at his acting against them, marched with a numerous army to attack him, and September 3, 1642, they came to a battle at Liscarrol, in which the rebels were defeated, and the only person of note killed on the side of the English, was the Viscount Kynelmeaky, whose body was interred in the tomb erected by the Earl of Cork for his family at Youghall (a). His father shewed his constancy in supporting this misfortune with firmness, and was not more affected with his private, than with the publick, calamity [O]. He continued his services to the kingdom with the same warmth and spirit, though he was no longer in a condition to do such mighty things as at the beginning, his estate being wasted and destroyed, his towns converted into garrisons, his houses into castles, his tenants in arms in the field, his servants doing duty in his presence, and his very goods disposed of to pay them. But what he could do he did, and continued his sons in arms, risking his whole family on the same bottom with the Protestant interest in Ireland (b). Yet how well soever he kept up his spirits in appearance, his inward concern, joined to the infirmities incident to old age, and the want of rest and quiet, made him break apace, and as if there had been some secret connection between this nobleman's fortune and that of his adopted country, he went to his grave on the very day (as is said) that the cessation was concluded with the Irish at Sigginstown, *viz.* Sept. 15, 1643 (c). He was interred in his own chapel, in his parish church at Youghall, near the noble monument he raised for his family, which is with great care and decency preserved to our times, with the inscriptions in relation to the honours he acquired, and the noble and numerous posterity he left behind him (d). His name is mentioned with honour by such as best understood the history of Ireland, and who considered him as one of the greatest promoters of the English interest, that ever settled in that island [P]. His wonderful rise, his vast estate, his prodigious improvements, his

(y) His Letter to the Speaker (Lenthall) before cited.

(z) Borlase's Hist. p. 209.

(a) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 363.

(b) See his own Letters to the Speaker, the Marquis of Ormond, and Lord Goring.

(c) Borlase's Hist. p. 209.

(d) Thoresby's Hist. of Leeds, p. 64.

[O] *Was not more affected with his private, than with the publick calamity.*] In this battle, which was very glorious for the English, who, with a force far inferior to that of the enemy, defeated them entirely; the Earl of Cork had four sons all at the head of troops of his own raising, viz. his eldest son, the Lord Viscount Dungarvan; Lewis, Lord Viscount Kynelmeaky; Roger, Lord Broghill, and Francis, afterwards Lord Shannon. They all distinguished themselves as became men descended from an antient English family; and Lord Kynelmeaky falling on the spot, his brother Francis, tho' not full twenty years of age, most gallantly rescued his body and his horse out of the hands of the rebels; of which fact we are ascertained by a letter under the Earl of Cork's hand, to the Marquis of Ormond, dated from Youghall, October 7, 1642 (54), in order to procure the company of foot which the deceased Viscount had commanded, for his elder brother Dungarvan; and the troop of horse which he also had, for his younger brother Francis. In this letter written on so melancholy an occasion, and so soon after so great a loss, the Earl shews a Roman magnanimity, and takes comfort for his son's death, from the glorious manner of his dying. His Lordship had also occasion to discover the same steadiness of mind, in respect to his son-in-law the Earl of Barrimore, who died September 29, in the same year, that is, about three weeks after the battle of Liscaroll, of whom he tells the Marquis of Ormond, that he left a distressed wife with four children, an incumbred and disjointed estate, all his country and livelihood being little better than wasted, which induced him to sollicit that generous nobleman, then commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, to continue the command of a troop of horse to the Earl's eldest son, for the better upholding of such an antient and honourable family (55). I mention this, the rather because it clearly shews the care taken by the Earl of Cork, to render the private establishments of his family beneficial to the publick, as they eminently were during the time of the great rebellion in Ireland, as the reader may easily collect from the account that will be hereafter given, of the manner in which his Lordship disposed of all his daughters (56).

(54) Orrery's Letter's, p. 9.

(55) Orrery's Letters, p. 5.

(56) See this explained in note [R].

[P] *One of the greatest promoters of the English interest, that ever settled in that island.*] It is so natural, as well as so common a thing, for men so distinguished by their actions, as to merit a place in history, to be represented therein, under very different characters, that we cannot at all wonder this should happen to the Earl of Cork. He has however this advantage, that he is openly and heartily commended by those who designed that their labours should see the light, and that the reflections on his character are chiefly to be met with in the private letters of men who were his declared enemies, or in histories written since his time upon the credit of such memoirs. In proof of this, we shall observe, that an author well acquainted with Irish history, gives us the following character of, and a curious particular relating to, his Lordship, which is no where else mentioned (57). 'He was a person for his abilities and 'knowledge in the affairs of the world eminently observable, in as much as (tho' he was no Peer of England) he was admitted to sit in the Lord's house upon 'the wool-sacks, *ut conciliarius*, and for all the estate 'he arrived at, (which was the greatest in the memory 'of the last age) none ever taxed him with exorbitances, 'but such as thought Princes had too little, and religious men not enough.' Sir Richard Cox (58), who was both very knowing, and a very impartial writer; and could not but be perfectly well acquainted with the matters of fact which he mentions, speaks of this noble person in the following terms. 'The noble Earl of 'Cork, Lord High-Treasurer, was one of the most extraordinary persons, either that, or any other age 'hath produced, with respect to the great and just acquisitions of estate that he made, and the publick 'works that he began and finished, for the advancement of the English interest, and the Protestant religion in Ireland, as churches, alms-houses, free-schools, bridges, castles, and towns, viz. *Lismore*, 'Tallow, Cleghnakilty, Inisheen, Castletown, and Bandon; (which last place cost him 14,000 pounds) insomuch, that when Cromwell saw these prodigious 'improvements, which he little expected to find in Ireland, he declared, *that if there had been an Earl of 'Cork in every province, it would have been impossible 'for the Irish to have raised a rebellion.* And whilst 'he was carrying on the solid works, he lived in his 'family at a rate of plenty, that exceeded those who 'consumed great estates in the lavish ways of ill-ordered excess. His motto, *God's providence is my inheritance*, shews from whence he derived all his blessings, 'the

(57) Borlase's Hist. p. 209.

(58) In his excellent Introduction to the second Volume of his Hist. of Ireland.

his amazing influence, and that spirit of œconomy and magnificence, which were so happily united in his manner of living, made him admired by the native Irish, to whom he owes the distinction or firname of *the great* Earl of Cork, by which he is amongst them always mentioned (*e*). A comparison between his beginning and conclusion is worth the making, not only in honour to his memory, and of the country which produced so extraordinary a man, but even of human nature, in respect to which such productions are rare. Such a comparison has been made with great force of wit and judgment, but being hitherto unpublished, we cannot certainly conclude this article better, than by giving it a place here (*f*) [*Q*]. As he enjoyed, while living, what are esteemed the most desirable and substantial blessings in this world, an honourable station for himself, and a very extensive power of doing good to others; so at his demise he left a family numerous and honourable, and may be very truly said, to have been no more distinguished by his good fortune in his life-time, than by the felicity of his descendants, many of whom will be subjects of succeeding articles, and all deserve very well to be remembered (*g*) [*R*].

(*e*) Budgell's Memoirs, p. 25.

(*f*) Worthies of Queen Elizabeth, MS.

(*g*) Thoresby's Hist. of Leeds, p. 64.

BOYLE

'the greatest of which was, the numerous and noble 'posterity he had to leave his estate unto.' The noble Earl himself assures us, as the reader has seen before, that tho' he raised such a fortune, as left him no room to envy any of his neighbours, yet he did it without care or burthen to his conscience (59); and one may reasonably presume, from the whole tenour of his life and conversation, that he was not a man capable of doing base or black actions without burthening his conscience; nor is it at all probable, that if he had known himself guilty of any such actions, he would have committed such a paragraph as that before referred to, amongst the rest of his true remembrances, to the perusal of his posterity; since this could have no other effect than to lessen their respect for his memory, and engage them to doubt the truth of all that he had written. One might add to this, numberless testimonies from his own letters (60), which according to the circumstances of time, visibly shew, that the procuring, promoting, maintaining, extending, or recovering the English interest in Ireland, was the great business of his life, from his first drawing in the air of that island, to the time that he breathed his last in that kingdom.

(59) See before in note [*B*].

(60) Many of them preserved in the Collection of the Earl of Strafford's and Lord Orrery's Letters.

[*Q*] *We certainly cannot conclude this article better, than by giving it a place here.*] There is hardly a reign in the English history, more fruitful in great events, or under which flourished greater men, than that of Queen Elizabeth, who was the first author of our Earl's fortune. This circumstance has put several upon recording the famous persons flourishing in her time, and I once saw part of a very large work, bearing the title of *Queen Elizabeth's Worthies*; it was divided into several books, one of which contained the *Statesmen* of her reign, and among the rest, Richard Boyle Earl of Cork, tho' he was not so created, 'till after her decease, part of whose character was delivered in these words. 'He was a person of 'very early as well as very great abilities, and had all 'the helps requisite to assist the parts which he had received from nature; for part of his breeding he had 'under a learned clergyman in Kent; part in the university of Cambridge, where he was remarkable for 'early rising, indefatigable study, and great temperance; 'the remaining part of his education in the Temple, 'where he acquired such a knowledge of the Law, 'as, tho' undervalued by himself, was much esteemed by others, and enabled him to form so true a judgment of such cases as fell under his consideration, that 'he was very seldom deceived in them. He went 'over to Ireland with fewer pounds in his pocket, than 'he acquired thousands a year; he was then about two 'and twenty, had a graceful person, and all those accomplishments requisite to make a young man succeed in 'a country which was so much a scene of action. He 'rendered himself useful to Sir Geoffery Fenton, who 'was long a Privy-Counsellor, and held several great 'offices in Ireland, to which it was thought, he chiefly 'attained by looking narrowly into the conduct of 'those, who were intrusted with the government, in 'reference to which, he held a constant correspondence 'with the Cecils, and it is believed, that Mr Boyle 'was one of his agents, which exposed him to the resentment of some great men, by whose procurement 'he was put into the Gate-house, when he first came 'over to England, ten years after his going to Ireland. 'But this proved more detrimental to them than to 'him, for his friends in England, procuring him a 'hearing before the Queen in Council, he there, in clearing himself, laid open their mismanagement so plainly, 'and supported all that he advanced with such pregnant 'proofs, that he was not only discharged, but preferred; and as the account he gave, procured Sir George 'Carew, descended from one of the first conquerors of 'Ireland, a great employment; so that worthy knight, 'whose merit afterwards raised him to a higher title, 'was ever a constant friend to Mr Boyle. He likewise became known about this time, to the renowned 'Sir Walter Raleigh, from whom he purchased his 'ship, called the Pilgrim; in which, well laden with 'arms and ammunition he returned to Ireland, where 'himself and his cargo were equally welcome. He 'thenceforward grew apace in reputation and fortune 'first, and then in places and titles of honour, which 'he affected not, until he was well able to maintain 'them, for he was in the thirty-seventh year of his 'age when he received the honour of knighthood, and 'in his fiftieth, when he attained to be a Baron; 'he made large purchases in Ireland, but not 'till he 'was able to improve them; and tho' he paid money 'for his lands, yet the rents that he received from them 'were the fruits of his own prudence, and he grew rich 'on estates which had ruined their former possessors, 'and increased his wealth, not by hoarding, but by 'spending; for he built and walled several towns at 'his own cost; but in places so well situated, that they 'were soon filled with inhabitants, who, tho' their 'rents were moderate, quickly repaid him the money 'he had laid out, with interest; and he as readily 'laid it out again; so that in the space of forty-years 'he acquired to himself, what in some countries would 'have been esteemed a noble principality, and as they 'came to years of discretion, he bestowed estates upon 'his sons, and married his daughters into the best families in that country; so that his power and credit 'were continually increasing, and he was generally 'esteemed, beloved by the English, and respected and 'obeyed by the natives; the former admired his wisdom, the latter stood amazed at his magnificence: 'For, as he had the power and property, so he had 'the soul and spirit of a Prince; and his castle of Lismore looked rather like the palace of a sovereign, 'than the residence of a private man, whose estate was 'of his own raising. He out-lived most of those who 'had known the meanness of his beginning, but he delighted to remember it himself, and even took pains 'to preserve the memory thereof to posterity, in the 'motto which he always used, and which he caused to 'be placed upon his tomb, viz. *God's providence is our 'inheritance*. He died in the 78th year of his age, 'having spent his last, as he did the first years of his 'life, in the support of the Crown of England against 'Irish Rebels, and in the service of his country.'

[*R*] *And all deserve very well to be remembered.*] The Earl of Cork by his second lady, had fifteen children, viz. seven sons and eight daughters (61). I Roger, born August 1, 1606, at Youghall, died at Says-Court at Deptford in Kent, October 10, 1615. II. Alice, born at Youghall, March 20, 1607; married to David Barry, Earl of Barrimore. III. Sarah, born at Dublin, March 29, 1609; married to Sir Thomas Moor, son and heir of the Viscount Drogheda, afterwards to Robert, Lord Digby. IV. Lettice, born April 25, 1610; married to George Goring, son to the Earl of Norwich. V. Joan, born June 14, 1611; married to George, Earl of Kildare, first Earl of Ireland, August 15, 1628. VI. Richard, born at Youghall, October 21, 1612; married to the Lady Elizabeth,

(61) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances*. Thoresby's Hist. of Leeds, p. 64. Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 366.

Elizabeth, daughter and heireſs of Henry Earl of Cumberland. VII. Katharine, born March 22, 1614; maried to Arthur Jones, Viſcount Renelagh. VIII. Geoffery, born at Youghall, April 10th, 1616; and died the ſame year. IX. Dorothy, born December 31, 1617; married to Sir Arthur Loftus, ſon and heir to the Viſcount Ely. X. Lewis, born May 23, 1619; created Viſcount Kynelmeaky in 1628; married Elizabeth, daughter of William Earl of Denbigh, he was killed in the battle of Liſcaroll, September 3, 1642; but his widow was created Counteſs of Guildford, in her own right, by King Charles II. XI. Roger, born April 25, 1621. XII. Francis, born June 25, 1623, created afterwards Lord Viſcount Shannon. XIII. Mary, born November 11, 1624; married to Charles, Earl of Warwick, a lady ſo kind to the poor, that it was ſaid her huſband *had left his eſtate to charitable uſes*; ſhe died April 12, 1678; and it was at her funeral, that Dr Anthony Walker preached the ſermon before-mentioned (62). XIV. Robert, born January 25th 1626. XV. Margaret, born in Channel-Row, Weſtminſter, April 30, 1629, who died unmarried. E (62) See the note [F].

BOYLE (RICHARD) Earl of Burlington and Cork, ſon to the former, a Nobleman of unblemiſhed loyalty in rebellious, and of untainted integrity in times of the greateſt corruption. He was born at the college of Youghall, Octob. 20, 1612 (*a*), his father being then Sir Richard Boyle, and in the beginning of his proſperity. The ſponſors, at the baptiſm of this noble perſon of whom we are now ſpeaking, were, the Earl of Thomond, Sir Thomas Aldworth, Mr Thomas Ball of London, merchant, and Lady Anne Parſons. We have no diſtinct account of the place or manner of his education, but there is not the leaſt queſtion of his having all the care taken of him in this reſpect due to his quality, ſince the Earl his father was very ſtrict and ſerious in that particular (*b*). It is alſo very probable, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf remarkably in the proſecution of his ſtudies, as the Lord Falkland, when Deputy of Ireland, conferred on him, at his father's houſe at Youghall, the honour of knighthood, Aug. 13, 1624 (*c*), when not quite twelve years old. We have no account of the manner in which the next ſeven years of his life were ſpent, but as the Earl himſelf was ſometimes in England, and ſometimes in Ireland, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, the Lord Dungarvan was ſeldom abſent from him. But when he drew towards twenty, the Earl thought proper to finiſh his education by ſending him abroad, which he did under a very diſcreet and prudent Governor, with an allowance of one thouſand pounds a year, June 4, 1632 (*d*). He paſſed through Flanders, France, and Italy, and after two years ſtay and upwards, returned home a graceful and accompliſhed young Nobleman, which induced the Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, to promote earneſtly a match between him and the Lady Elizabeth, daughter and ſole heireſs to Henry Lord Clifford, afterwards Earl of Cumberland, which though it met with ſome difficulties and impediments, yet was at laſt concluded, and the marriage with great pomp ſolemnized, in the chapel of Skipton caſtle in Craven, July 5, 1635 (*e*), which was a very great addition to the ſplendour of the family and to it's intereſts [*A*]. By this marriage he came to be very well known and received at Court, where his conduct gained him the eſteem of the Miniſters, and the love of all who were about it. He was particularly loyal and dutiful to the King (Charles I.) for he took, according to the letter, the injunctions given him on this head by his parents and preceptors, and having in the fullneſs of his heart given his Majeſty warm aſſurances of this kind, he made it the buſineſs and ſtudy of his life to come up to them (*f*). He raiſed, in the firſt troubles of the North, a gallant troop of horſe, at the head of which he propoſed, under the Earl of Northumberland, to ſerve againſt the Scots, in the army raiſed to chaſtize their firſt rebellion (*g*). He gained much honour by this ſtep, and many friends, even amongſt thoſe who were not much affected towards his father. On the breaking out of the bloody and inhuman rebellion in Ireland, he was immediately in arms and in action. He did not only command troops but raiſed them, and for a long time paid them; yet he treated them always as if they had a nearer relation to him than what was created by ſervice, and often put them in mind, they were not ſoldiers of fortune, but men in arms for the protection of

(*a*) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances*.

(*b*) See the Life of the Hon. Robert Boyle, Eſq; prefixed to his Works, p. 7.

(*c*) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances*.

(*d*) Rev. Mr Morris's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, p. 1.

(*e*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 346.

(*f*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 32.

(*g*) Life of the Hon. Rob. Boyle. prefixed to his Works, p. 10.

[*A*] *Great addition to the ſplendour of the family, and to it's intereſt.*] It is not with any intention of ſpeaking here at large, of the antient and noble family of Clifford, that we give this note upon the marriage of the Lord Dungarvan, becauſe this belongs to, and will come in, in it's proper place; and all that we have to do here is to point out to the reader, what accrued to the family of Boyle by this marriage. George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the reign of Queen Elizabeth by ſeveral naval expeditions, in which he hazarded both his perſon and his fortune, deceaſed October 30, 1605 (1); leaving iſſue by his Counteſs Margaret, third daughter of Francis Earl of Bedford, an only daughter, Anne, who firſt married Robert Earl of Dorſet, by whom ſhe had two daughters; and afterwards Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery (2); to this Lady Anne, the Earl her father, by his laſt will and teſtament, bequeathed the ſum of fifteen thouſand pounds as a portion, leaving all his eſtates to Sir Francis Clifford his brother, on whom the dignity was entailed; but in caſe of the failure of his heirs male, to his daughter Anne beforementioned (3). This Francis, Earl of Cumberland, took to wife Griſſold, daughter of Thomas Hughs of Uxbridge in the county of Middleſex, Eſq; widow of Edward Nevil, Lord Bergavenny (4), by whom he had his ſon Henry, and two daughters; the eldeſt of theſe daughters, Margaret, married Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Viſcount Wentworth, and Earl of Strafford; the ſecond, Frances, married Sir Gervaſe Cliſton, by whom ſhe had ſeveral children (5). His ſon Henry, Lord Clifford of Laneſborough, or rather Lonſborough, in the county of York, married Frances, only daughter of Robert Cecil, Earl of Saliſbury, and Lord High-Treaſurer of England, by whom he had iſſue an only daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, born at the caſtle of Skipton in Craven (6), who in the twenty-ſecond year of her age was married to the noble perſon of whom we are ſpeaking; her grandfather, Francis, Earl of Cumberland, being then living, and a widower; ſo that ſhe was conſidered as the preſumptive heireſs of this branch of the Clifford family, as the Lady Anne was of the elder houſe (7); which ſufficiently diſtinguiſhes the deſcents of theſe two families, and that is all that we propoſed in this note.

(1) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 345.

(2) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, p. 63.

(3) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

(4) See the Pedigree of the Clifford Family, in Dugdale.

(5) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, ubi ſupra.

(6) MS. Memoirs of the Clifford Family, cited by Dugdale, and now in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Leiceſter.

(7) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *Raiſed*

of their country (*b*). He was in several sieges and rencountres, more especially in the action at Liscarrol, but he never struck in with those, who thought the best way to promote the Protestant Cause, was to carry on the war so as to render the Papists desperate. It was on the contrary principle that he concurred with, and even advised, the Marquis of Ormond, in the affair of the cessation, and that once over, in September 1643 (*i*), he set himself to procuring the King that assistance, from the hopes of which he had consented to this measure. He was so zealous in this affair, that, at his own request, his regiment was made part of the Irish Brigade sent to his Majesty's relief, and his Lordship, now Earl of Cork, commanded in person (*k*). He was received at Oxford, by the King, with all possible marks of favour and attention, and every body spoke of his behaviour in the terms that it deserved. In consideration, therefore, of these timely and effectual services, as well as of those rendered by his deceased father-in-law, he was raised to the dignity of Baron Clifford of Lanesborough, by patent (*l*) [*B*]. He continued to wait upon the King as long as any one place held out for him in England, and was then forced to compound for his estate with the powers in being, which he did for 1631 pounds (*m*), but going beyond the seas before he had perfected his composition, advantage was taken of this, and the House of Commons, in January, appointed a Committee to consider of the debt owing by the Earl of Cork, which drew on his Lordship many and great inconveniencies (*n*). He satisfied this demand, however, and then went over to live as quietly as he could upon his estate in Ireland, though from the hardships of the times, and his own generous temper, he was soon, notwithstanding his large paternal fortune, brought under great difficulties, to which, the people then in authority, in the year 1651, added new burthens, which obliged his Countess (himself disdaining it) to supplicate Cromwell for redress, which she did by an admirable letter, which lets us into the circumstances of his Lordship at that time, and therefore deserves the reader's notice (*o*) [*C*]. By this application, and the interest of Lord Broghill, the Earl was freed from

(*b*) Antient and Present State of the county of Waterford, p. 58.

(*i*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 133.

(*k*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, p. 469.

(*l*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 346.

(*m*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 678.

(*n*) Whitlocke's Memorials, pag. 237.

(*o*) Collection of Letters from and to Cromwell, &c. published by Mr Nickoll's, p. 84.

[*B*] *Raised to the dignity of Baron Clifford of Lanesborough, by patent.*] In order to shew how well this patent, which was the foundation of the English honours to which this noble family have attained, was merited from the crown, we shall take notice of some remarkable facts that deserve to be remembered. Francis, Earl of Cumberland died in 1641, and was succeeded in that title by Henry, Lord Clifford, his son, father to the Viscountess of Dungarvan (8). This Henry Earl of Cumberland, was a man of a peaceable disposition, of a noble and generous temper, and truly loyal to the King his master, to whom, in the begining of the troubles, he repaired at York, and signed the famous Declaration dated from thence, June 13, 1642, at which time he was so much beloved in his country, that at the general request of all the loyal part of the county of York, the supreme command in military affairs was committed to this noble Peer (9), and that he was not in any degree biassed by the love of authority, and the splendour of such a commission, appears clearly by the character the noble historian gives of him, who says, that he was a man of great honour and integrity, and lived with very much acceptation and affection from the gentlemen and the common people, but was not in any degree of a martial temper. He adds, the great fortune of the family was divided, the larger part carried away by an heir female, and his father had so wasted the remainder, that the Earl could not live with that lustre, or draw so great a dependance upon him, as his ancestors had done; but so much the more that it was repugnant to his nature, and incompatible with the circumstances, the loyalty of the Earl appeared in accepting of this commission, which he kept as long as it was necessary for the King's service, and no longer; but willingly resigned it to the Earl of Newcastle, who was fitter for the employment, and upon whom, for that reason only his Majesty bestowed it (10). This worthy Earl deceased, December 11, 1643, being the fifth Earl of Cumberland of his family, and his Countess died (11) the February following; in the same month the Earl of Cork, heir in right of his wife to the estates of this family, landed at Chester, and marched his forces into Dorsetshire, after which, as is mentioned in the text, he repaired to Oxford, and for his own and his father-in-law's great services was created Baron Clifford of Lanesborough in the county of York (12), November 4, 1644, in the 20th year of the reign of King Charles I. and so became the first Peer of his family in England.

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 345.

(9) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, fol. edit. p. 76.

(10) Id. ibid. p. 282, 283.

(11) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 346.

(12) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 370.

[*C*] *And therefore deserves the reader's notice.*] This letter occurs in a collection, lately published, of papers that were formerly in the hands of the famous John Milton, which no doubt afford us, a far better picture of those unhappy times, than hitherto we had received; because private letters, more especially on such particular occasions, shew the true and genuine sentiments of people's minds, and the state of things, without any falsehood or disguise; but to come to the piece itself.

The Countess of Cork's letter to the then Lord-General, Oliver Cromwell, (13).

(13) Papers of State addressed to Oliver Cromwell, &c. published by Mr John Nickolls p. 84, 85.

My Lord,

'IF this prove an unseasonable time to move you 'in any private business, I do only hope for your 'pardon upon what necessitates me thereto, which is my 'Lord's deprivement of that benefit and favour you were 'pleased formerly to grant him, (by licensing his return, 'and enjoyment of his estate in Ireland) by an order 'of late issued from the Commissioners-General to the 'Commissioners of the Revenue, for to stop some levies 'of monies intended by my Lord, in and about Bandon. This order, grounded merely upon an information, (as appears by a copy of it here-with presented to 'your Excellency) was, by these later Commissioners, 'stretched beyond what it will literally bear, for they 'have extended it to the stopping of my Lord's rents 'in all places, and in such a time, as the lands were 'just then to be set for the ensuing year; so that 'tis 'to be doubted, they will for the most part lie 'waste, if some redress be not had speedily, the tenants standing at gaze, not knowing what to do. To 'declare the ground of all this business, which I may 'very properly term a mistake, I do here, with much 'truth inform your Lordship, that about February last 'my Lord was infinitely pressed for money by his creditors, that he was reduced to the necessity of trying 'all ways to raise some for the allaying their fury, or 'else to give up his person to a languishing imprisonment here; whereupon he sent over among his friends 'and tenants, desiring a quarter's rent advance, only 'to give some stop to the persecutions against him by 'his creditors here, and to come more speedily among 'them, in hopes to live quietly there, and settle his 'affairs so as to bring more tenants upon the lands 'for the common good, and his own private advantage. This was all the mystery which was no way 'done in secret, for my brother Broghil was therewith 'acquainted; as for any other matter that may be laid 'to my Lord's charge, as having been of the King's 'party, your Lordship will I hope herewith receive satisfaction, if you please to peruse his discharge from 'Goldsmith's-hall, which was upon Oxford articles, and 'clears him from all deliquency here; neither was 'the delinquent upon any higher score than for attend-

from theſe grievances, the weight of which, however, did not hinder him from contributing all he could to the Reſtoration, and ſupplying his Majeſty, King Charles II, with conſiderable ſums of money, 'till that could be brought about (*p*). In gratitude for, and to preſerve the memory of, theſe ſervices, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed, by letters patent bearing date March 20, in the ſixteenth year of his reign, A. D. 1663, to raiſe him to the dignity of Earl of Burlington or Bridlington, in the county of York (*q*). A melancholy accident that happened not long after in his family, afforded a new opportunity for the King to manifeſt his affection for this noble Peer, whoſe ſecond ſon, Richard, then a volunteer on board the fleet commanded by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, was killed by a cannon ſhot, June 3, 1665, in the battle off Solebay (*r*); upon the thirteenth of March 1666, conſtituted Lord-Lieutenant of the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, of the city of York, and county of the ſame. This he enjoyed during all that reign, and from the year 1679, with the addition of being alſo Cuſtos Rotulorum (*s*). Under King James II, he held the ſame employments as long as he thought proper to hold them, but when he found that unfortunate Prince expected him to make ſuch uſes of thoſe offices as manifeſtly tended to overthrow the Conſtitution, he very magnanimouſly reſigned them, upon which the lieutenancy was given to Lord Thomas Howard, a very zealous and buſy Papiſt (*t*). His Lordſhip, upon the coming over of the Prince of Orange, went heartily into the meaſures he thought conducive to ſettling the Government and redreſſing grievances, but neither ſought or accepted employment. However, July 16, 1689, in the firſt year of their reign, their Majeſties King William and Queen Mary, called his only ſon, Charles Lord Clifford of Laneſborough, by writ, up to the Houſe of Peers (*u*), an honour which he did not live long to enjoy, dying October 12, 1694 (*w*). This noble Peer, whoſe parts qualified him for the moſt active, naturally inclined to peaceful and leſs pompous offices, in which he gained the reſpect and eſteem of the gentry his neighbours, as his affability and beneficence charmed the common ſort, ſo that his influence was general, as appeared from the univerſal concern expreſſed by all ranks of people in Yorkſhire on his deceaſe, January 15, 1697-8, in the eighty-ſixth (*x*) year of his age, which exceeded any of the like nature that could be remembered [*D*]. He was ſucceeded in his honours, by his grandſon Charles Lord Clifford, who was a very great favourite with King William, and much eſteemed by Queen Anne, being generally looked upon as one of the moſt accompliſhed Noblemen in the Britiſh dominions (*y*). He died Feb. 9, 1703-4, and was ſucceeded by the preſent head of this illuſtrious family, Richard Earl of Burlington and Cork, and left beſides a numerous poſterity (*z*), of which, as well as of the deſcendants of his father and grandfather, we ſhall give a very ſuccinct account in the notes, that this, and the ſubſequent articles, may prove the more intelligible [*E*]. The reader will eaſily diſcern the utility of this precaution, in regard to a houſe that has produced more great, more diſtinguiſhed, and more remarkable perſons, in

(*p*) See the Preamble to his patent.

(*q*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 367.

(*r*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, pag. 820.

(*s*) Remarkables in the Reign of Charles II. pag. 195.

(*t*) Sir John Reſhy's Memoirs, p. 256.

(*u*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 368.

(*w*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 33.

(*x*) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, p. 64.

(*y*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 33.

(*z*) Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1704, p. 577.

' ing the King's perſon, for he never had any com-
' mand in England nor in Ireland, but by joint conſent
' of both King and Parliament, againſt the Iriſh rebels;
' and ſince his ſubmitting to the firſt ceſſation, is all
' that can be laid to his charge there (which is ſince
' wiped off, by the articles of Dublin); and for the
' making good of thoſe articles, the publick faith of the
' Parliament is engaged, by whoſe authority they were
' made and concluded. I hope upon your Lordſhip's
' reflection upon the whole matter, you will be pleaſed
' to interpoſe on my Lord's behalf with the Commiſſio-
' ners of Parliament in Ireland, that my Lord may re-
' ceive the benefit of Dublin articles, and that you will
' vouchſafe us your Lordſhip's letters to my Lord-De-
' puty and the Commiſſioners to that effect; all which I
' hope will be agreeable to your judgment and juſtice,
' it being only to relieve one (by the Parliament's own
' rules) who has ſuffered as much abroad by the Iriſh,
' and as much at home under my Lord Inchiquin's
' power, as any Engliſhman, until freed by thoſe ar-
' ticles, which having never ſince forfeited, I can't
' doubt of your Excellency's willingneſs to relieve us,
' but do of your leiſure, which that I may not for the
' future diſturb, in caſe delays ſhould be ſtill made of
' freeing my Lord's rents, I ſhould humbly beg a letter
' of recommendation from your Lordſhip to Mr Scott,
' or ſome other friend of your Lordſhip's here, to
' whom I may addreſs, with hopes to be heard, which.
' I have not hitherto been ſucceſsful in, that report
' your Lordſhip was pleaſed to recommend to the Houſe.
' the day you left the town, having been never yet
' made, which I ſhould not here mention to the addi-
' tion of your trouble, were it not that all remote rec-
' konings are charged upon, and daily levied upon my
' poor eſtate here, threatening it's utter ruin, and that
' of myſelf and ſix children. Thus your Lordſhip may
' from our ſufferings in all places, diſcern it is not af-
' fectation but utmoſt extremity that ſends forth theſe
' complaints and requeſts, with no leſs unwillingneſs
' than neceſſity, preſented to your Excellency by your
' moſt humble ſervant,

E. CORK.

[*D*] *Exceeded any of the like nature that could be remembered.*] It is very remarkable that this noble perſon was ſingularly happy in his private life, and in the circumſtances of his family, for as he married a lady of great birth, and who brought him a large fortune, ſo ſhe was, in every other reſpect, moſt agreeable (14); they were nearly of the ſame age, very like in their tempers, and, which is a thing unuſual amongſt perſons of their rank, lived happily together fifty-five years, and had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing a numerous poſterity (15). By this lady the Earl had two ſons mentioned in the text, and three daughters that lived to be married, viz. Lady Elizabeth to the Earl of Thanet; Lady Anne, to the Earl of Sandwich; Lady Henrietta, to the Earl of Rocheſter; by which two laſt daughters, the Earl of Cork ſaw many grand-children. His ſon and grandſon became both Peers of England in his life-time (16), and were no leſs happy in their families, which circumſtances the reader may be pleaſed to conſider, with the following prayer of his father the great Earl of Cork, on his behalf, when he was not as yet married. After having marked the time of his birth, and the names of his god-fathers and god-mothers, he proceeds thus (17). *God grant he may ſerve and fear him religiouſly, and be a faithful ſubject and ſervant to the King's majeſty and his heirs, and live many years full of good works and of virtuous children, and be a worthy pillar and patriot in this kingdom.*

(14) From the information of the Honourable Mr A. C. who knew both the Earl and his Counteſs.

(15) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 368.

(16) Hiſtory of Europe, 1704, p. 577.

(17) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances.*

[*E*] *The ſubſequent articles may prove the more intelligible.*] We will begin here with Charles Lord Clifford, ſon to the firſt Earl of Burlington and Cork, who married firſt, Lady Jane, youngeſt daughter and co-heireſs of William Duke of Somerſet; by whom he

in a variety of characters, than almoſt any theſe nations have to boaſt, and which, as it was originally well eſtabliſhed by it's founder, has continued flouriſhing and increaſing ever ſince.

he had iſſue (18) Charles, who ſucceeded him, Henry who became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1701, Secretary of ſtate in 1710, and was afterwards created a Peer of this realm, by the title of Lord Carlton (19); Lady Elizabeth, who married James Earl of Barrimore; Lady Mary, married to James Duke of Queenſbury and Dover; and Lady Arabella, to Henry Earl of Shelburne. By his ſecond Counteſs, Arethuſa, daughter to George Earl of Berkeley, he had only a daughter called after her mother, who married Mr Vernon, ſon to Mr Secretary Vernon (20). His eldeſt ſon Charles ſucceeded him in the Barony of Clifford, and ſat in the houſe of Peers by that title, 'till, by the deceaſe of his grandfather, he became Earl of Burlington and Cork (21). He married Juliana, daughter and ſole heireſs to Henry Noel, ſecond ſon to Edward, Viſcount Campden, by whom he had iſſue, Richard, the preſent Earl of Burlington; Lady Elizabeth, married to Sir Henry Bedingfield; Lady Juliana, to the Lord Bruce, afterwards Earl of Ayleſbury; Lady Jane, unmarried; Lady Henrietta, married to Henry Boyle, Eſq; grandſon to Roger, Earl of Orrery (22). Richard, the preſent Earl of Burlington and Cork, married March the 21ſt, 1721, the Lady Dorothy Saville, eldeſt daughter and coheireſs to the late Marquis of Halifax, by whom he had three daughters, but of theſe only Lady Charlotte is living, and unmarried (23). I might lay hold of this opportunity of telling the reader, that his Lordſhip inherits the virtues and abilities, as well as the eſtates and titles, of his family; that his merit has acquired him the moſt honourable reward of it in this kingdom, a blue ribbon; that he has had intereſt enough to obtain, and virtue enough to reſign, great employments; that he has been a courtier above ſuſpicion, a patriot without pique, or private views; a friend to his country in all circumſtances of a publick nature; as well as an honour to it in his perſonal accompliſhments, and correct taſte in the polite arts, more eſpecially architecture, in which it is not eaſy to ſay, whether his modeſty or knowledge deſerve applauſe moſt. But theſe are in a great meaſure beſide our purpoſe, which is to do juſtice to the dead, not to court the favour of the living; nor ſhould I think what has been already ſaid pardonable, but that it is no inconſiderable addition to the glory of a houſe, which has given Peers to all the three kingdoms, to have the preſent Earl of Burlington and Cork for it's head, in which light I hope this liberty (taken from no other motive) will be conſidered and excuſed. E

(18) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, p. 64.

(19) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 191.

(20) Thoreſby, above.

(21) Le Neve's Monument. Ang. Vol. IV. p. 70.

(22) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 193.

(23) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 369.

BOYLE (ROGER) Earl of Orrery, younger brother of Richard Earl of Burlington and Cork, and fifth ſon of Richard, ſtiled *the great* Earl of Cork (*a*); independent of deſcent and titles, one of the moſt learned, able, and valiant perſons of the age in which he lived, and thereby a great inſtrument of good to his country and nation. He was born April 25, 1621 (*b*), and by the credit of his father with the Lord-Deputy Falkland, he was, as we have already ſhewn, raiſed to the ſtate and dignity of Baron Broghill in the kingdom of Ireland, in 1628, when only ſeven years old (*c*). His education was at the college of Dublin, where he applied himſelf with ſuch diligence to his books, and ſo happily digeſted what he gathered from them, that he was very ſoon diſtinguiſhed as an early and promiſing genius, which induced his father to ſend him, about 1636, to make the tour of France and Italy, under the care of one Mr Marcombes, and in the company of Lord Kynalmeaky his elder brother (*d*) [*A*]. After his return from his travel, he found all things in England in very great confuſion, and a war on the point of breaking out with Scotland, in which he was invited to ſerve with peculiar diſtinction, the Earl of Northumberland (*e*), who was appointed General and Commander in Chief of this expedition, putting him at the head of his own troop. But this flame being ſtifled for the preſent, his thoughts were turned another way, and as the old Earl of Cork loved to ſettle his children very early in the world, a marriage was propoſed for Lord Broghill

(*a*) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, p. 64.

(*b*) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances.*

(*c*) See the article of BOYLE (RICHARD) Earl of Cork, note [*C*].

(*d*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. i.

(*e*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 35.

[*A*] *The care of one Mr Marcombes, and in the company of Lord Kynalmeaky, his elder brother.*] We have ſeen in our former article, that this was the method the Earl took to perfect his ſons, when they had ran through the ordinary compaſs of a domeſtick education (1). It is very remarkable, that all his ſons travelled under the care of this Mr Marcombes, who likewiſe attended the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Orrery, of whom we are now ſpeaking; ſo that he had the forming in this noble line for more than one generation. It was very excuſable in a country clergyman, like Mr Morrice, to write this gentleman's name as it was pronounced (2); but one cannot ſo eaſily pardon Mr Budgell, who had ſo many opportunities of knowing better; the calling this governor of Lord Broghill, Mr *Markham* (3), and thereby if the Memoirs of this Houſe had not fallen into more careful hands, burying in oblivion the very name of a perſon to whom this noble family owed many, and thoſe ſingular, obligations, as the reader will ſee hereafter; but for the preſent we ſhall give him his character as drawn by the pen of the honourable Mr Robert Boyle, who was alſo under his care (4).

'He was a man who in his garb, his mien, and out-ſide, 'had very much of his nation, having been divers years 'a traveller, and a ſoldier; he was well faſhioned, 'and very well knew what belonged to a gentleman; 'his natural, were much better than his acquired parts, 'tho' divers of the latter he poſſeſſed, though not in an 'eminent yet in a very competent degree; ſcholarſhip 'he wanted not, having in his greener years been a 'profeſſed ſtudent in Divinity; but he was much leſs 'read in books, than men, and hated pedantry as 'much as any of the ſeven deadly ſins; thriſty he 'was extreamly, and very ſkilful in the ſlights of 'thrift, but leſs out of avarice than a juſt ambition, 'and not ſo much out of love to money, as a deſire to 'live handſomely at laſt. His practical ſentiments in 'Divinity were moſt of them very ſound, and if he 'were given to any vice himſelf, he was careful, by 'ſharply condemning it, to render it uninfectious, be-'ing induſtrious, whatſoever he were himſelf, to make 'his charges virtuous; before company he was very 'civil to his pupils, apt to eclipſe their failings, and 'ſet off their good qualities to the beſt advantage; but 'in his private converſation he was cynically diſpoſed, 'and a very nice critic both of words and men, which 'humour he uſed to exerciſe ſo freely with Philaretus, 'that at laſt he forced him to a very cautious and con-'ſiderable way of expreſſing himſelf, which after turned 'to his no ſmall advantage. The worſt quality he had 'was his choler, to exceſs of which, he was exceſſively 'prone.' Under the direction of this gentleman, the two Lords, Kynalmeaky and Broghill, went to Paris, where they ſaw Lewis the XIV, a child in his nurſe's arms; they travelled from thence to Geneva, where they ſpent a whole year in the houſe of the famous Mr Deodati, which was of great advantage to him. They went from thence to Marſeilles, where both the young Lords embarked for Genoa, and ſoon after their arrival in that city, were ſeized with the ſmall-pox, but of a very kindly ſort, from which they ſpeedily and happily recovered; they went afterwards to viſit ſome other cities in Italy, and then making the tour of Switzerland, returned through France into England (5).

(1) See the article of BOYLE (RICHARD) Earl of Burlington.

(2) Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. i.

(3) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 35.

(4) Memoirs of his own Life under the name of *Philaretus*, by the Hon. Rob. Boyle.

(5) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. i.

[*B*] *To*

Broghill with the Lady Margaret Howard, daughter to the Earl of Suffolk, which was quickly concluded, and his Lordſhip, with his new married Lady, went over together to Ireland (*f*), where they landed the very day the rebellion broke out in that kingdom, *viz.* October 23, 1641. An account has been already given, of the manner in which the news came to his Lordſhip's family, and of their being immediately obliged to take up arms for their own and the publick ſecurity. The poſt aſſigned Lord Broghill, was the defence of his father's caſtle of Liſmore, in which he behaved with all the ſpirit of a young, and all the diſcretion of an old, officer. An inſtance of the former, he gave in a bold ſalley he made for the ſuccour of Sir Richard Oſborn, who was beſieged in his own houſe by the rebels, 'till relieved by Lord Broghill, who raiſed the ſiege, and ſaved him and all his family (*g*); and as ſtrong a proof of the latter, in adviſing Sir William St Leger, then Preſident of Munſter, to act vigorouſly againſt the Iriſh, notwithſtanding they produced the King's commiſſion, which, though he was but twenty years of age, he had ſagacity enough to diſcern muſt be a forgery, as it afterwards proved (*b*) [*B*]. After that ceſſation in Ireland, of which an account is given in the former article, Lord Broghill determined to go over to England, and pay his duty to King Charles I. at Oxford, which he accordingly did, and in ſeveral audiences which he had of that Monarch, he repreſented to him ſo fully the true character of the Iriſh Papiſts, and the falſehood of all the pretences of the Committee they had ſent over to deceive and miſlead his Majeſty, that the King was entirely convinced the Iriſh never meant to keep the ceſſation, and therefore it was againſt the true intereſt of the loyal ſubjects of that iſland, to depend upon it (*i*). As a proof of this, he carried, on his return thither, a commiſſion to Lord Inchiquin, then Preſident of Munſter, to proſecute the rebels on that ſide, and upon receiving this commiſſion, he publiſhed a kind of Manifeſto, containing his reaſons againſt the ceſſation, and requiring the faithful ſubjects of Ireland, to give their aſſiſtance to ſuppreſs the rebels in that province (*k*). Lord Broghill, however, had much too great an intereſt in that country, to content himſelf with barely exciting the Preſident of Munſter to what he judged his duty, he contributed alſo, as far as lay in his power, to the diſcharge of it himſelf, and when, by the King's command, the Marquis of Ormond ſurrendered Dublin, and whatever was in his power, to the Commiſſioners named by Parliament, both Lords, Inchiquin and Broghill, obeyed them, as the only means of promoting the Proteſtant intereſt. It was not long, however, before the former thought proper to alter his conduct, and quit the ſervice of the Parliament; but this did not influence Lord Broghill, who

(*f*) Orrery's Letters, p. 2, 3.

(*g*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(*b*) See this fully explained in the note [*D*].

(*i*) Memoirs of the Wars in Ireland, p. 395.

(*k*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. iii.

[*B*] *To diſcern muſt be a forgery, as it afterwards proved.*] As this was one of the firſt actions of a publick nature, in which Lord Broghill diſtinguiſhed himſelf; ſo perhaps in the courſe of his whole life there was none that did him greater credit, and therefore it is neceſſary that we ſhould enter into all the particulars of it. When the Lord Muſkerry entered Munſter, at the head of a great body of Iriſh rebels, the Lord Preſident, St Leger, with a ſmall body of Engliſh forces, marched to meet him, and would have given him battle; but he ſent a trumpet with one Mr Walſh, who demanded to ſpeak with the Lord Preſident, to whom he was well known; when he gave him audience, his Lordſhip could not help expreſſing his ſurprize, that he being a lawyer, ſhould engage himſelf among the rebels; to which Walſh anſwered, that they were no rebels, for that they had taken up arms for the King's ſervice, and Lord Muſkerry had his Majeſty's commiſſion, which he offered to produce to him, if he might have leave to wait upon him again. The Lord Preſident communicated this to the Earl of Barrimore, Lord Broghill, and his brother; the other two Lords were much aſtoniſhed, but Lord Broghill without heſitation, ſaid it was a cheat, that his Majeſty could have granted no ſuch commiſſion, and adviſed the Lord Preſident to be very cautious how he believed it; but, however, it was agreed, that he ſhould promiſe the man a ſafe conduct, and that their forces ſhould retire; Lord Muſkerry alſo upon the return of Walſh drew off his men, and the next morning Walſh appeared again in the Lord Preſident's quarters with a trumpet, who was immediately conducted to the Lord Preſident's houſe, where being received, Walſh renewed the ſame requeſt, that he might ſpeak with the Lord Preſident alone, and in private; which the other Lords oppoſed, but at laſt it was agreed, that one man ſhould ſtand at the door with a drawn ſword, and charged piſtols; this being done, Walſh produced a large parchment, wherein was a very formal commiſſion, drawn up for the Lord Muſkerry, to raiſe four thouſand men, and the broad ſeal affixed to it; St Leger having read it over, diſmiſſed Walſh, and returned to the Lords, declaring to them that Muſkerry had really a commiſſion for what he did; and that he would diſmiſs his men, and ſtir no more in this buſineſs, ſaying he would die before he would be a rebel; whereupon the Lords all withdrew to their ſeveral homes, only Lord Broghill declared he could not but think it a cheat. But it ſeems the Lord Preſident took this matter ſo much to heart, that he never held up his head afterwards, but within a ſhort time died, and Lord Inchiquin was by the King appointed Preſident in his room (6). Many years after this, when his Lordſhip was become Earl of Orrery, and went to pay a viſit to the Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at Kilkenny, he there met with my Lord Muſkerry, and the very fight of him putting the old affair in his head, he took an opportunity one day, when alone with Muſkerry, who happened then to be in a pleaſant open humour, to aſk him how the rebels obtained the commiſſion, which they had thus ſhewed to the then Lord Preſident, St Leger, under the King's great ſeal? Lord Muſkerry anſwered, *I will be free and unreſerved with you; it was a forged commiſſion, drawn up by Walſh and others, who having a writing, to which the great ſeal was fixed, one of the company very dexterouſly took off the ſealed wax from the label of that writing, and fixed it to the label of the forged commiſſion; whilſt this was doing, an odd accident happened, which ſtartled all preſent, and almoſt diſconcerted the ſcheme. The forged commiſſion being finiſhed, while the parchment was handling and turning, in order to put on the ſeal, a tame wolf which lay aſleep by the fire, awakened at the crackling of the parchment, and running to it, ſeized it, and tore it to pieces; notwithſtanding all haſte and ſtruggle to prevent him, ſo that after all their pains they were obliged to begin a-new, and write it all over again.* Lord *Orrery*, ſtruck with the wickedneſs of this action, could not refrain expreſſing himſelf, to that purpoſe to Lord *Muſkerry*; who, laughing, replied, *It would having been impoſſible to have held the people together without this device* (7). Such was the ſecret hiſtory of this fatal, this infamous, this execrable contrivance, which gained credit, purely from a ſuppoſition, that there could not be impudence and villany enough in men, to bring them to commit ſo foul and baſe an action, eſpecially in perſons well born, and who pretended to religion.

(6) Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, p. 7, 8.

(7) Ibid. p. 36.

[*C*] *Is*

who continued to act 'till the murder of the King (*l*) induced him to leave his country and estate, as ruined past all hopes, and hide himself in the privacy of a close retirement. How he came to alter his conduct, and strike in with a party which he had always abhorred, and this too both suddenly and warmly, is accounted for, as well as it can be, in the notes [*C*]. As soon as his Lordsh p had settled the business of his command in Ireland with Cromwell, he went immediately over into that country, without any force but his commission (*m*). This circumstance shewed the great extent of his personal interest, and the height to which he had already raised his reputation. In a very short time after his arrival, his friends came in, together with gentlemen that had served under him, so that he had presently a gallant troop of horse for the guard of his person, and in a very inconsiderable space, raised a regiment of fifteen hundred men, with which he hovered about Waterford, 'till Cromwell, according to his promise, came thither also, and then, conformable to his engagement, Lord Broghill joined him (*n*). But notwithstanding this apparent alteration in his Lordship's conduct, he still retained so great a regard for his old friends, that one of the first exploits at the head of his new army, was relieving Carrick, where the noble Marchioness of Ormond was besieged by the rebels(*o*). Cromwell pushing on the war with his usual impetuosity, found himself obliged to rely upon this Lord for keeping all safe at least, if not quiet, behind him, which with great military prudence he very happily performed, and grew thereby into esteem with that General (*p*). But this, though considerable enough in itself, was, however, very far inferior to what he did at Maccroom, where with two thousand horse and dragoons, without

(*l*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 31.

(*m*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

(*n*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 49.

(*o*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(*p*) See the article of CROMWELL, (OLIVER) Lord Protector.

[*C*] *Is accounted for as well as it can be, in the notes*] Upon Lord Broghill's coming from Ireland, he withdrew to Marston in Somersetshire, an estate which his father had purchased from Sir John Hippesly, where he lived very close for some time (8); but the sight of the sad situation of the country he was in, and the remembrance of the misery of that which he had left, would not allow his thoughts any quiet. He was ashamed to sit the tame spectator of so much mischief, without moving a finger to remedy those disorders, which overspread his private property at the same time that they overwhelmed the publick (9). These reflexions, after rolling some time in his breast, at length produced something like scheme of action, worthy a man of his parentage, parts, and principles. Warm with this new plan, he hasted to put it into execution; he had resolved to attempt something in favour of the King, and, accordingly, under pretence of going to the Spaw for his health, he determined to cross the seas, and apply himself to King Charles II, for a commission to raise what forces he could in Ireland, in order to restore his Majesty, and recover his own estate. Having formed this resolution, he desired the Earl of Warwick, who had an interest in the prevailing party, to procure a licence for him to go to the Spaw. He pretended to the Earl that he intended nothing more by his journey, than the recovery of his health; but let some of his friends of the royal party, in whom he thought he could confide, into the bottom of his design; and having raised a considerable sum of money, came up to London to prosecute his voyage. The Committee of State, who spared no money to get proper intelligence, being soon informed of his whole design, determined to proceed against him with the utmost severity. Cromwell was at that time General of the Parliament's forces, and a member of the Committee: It is allowed by his enemies, that he knew every person of great abilities in the three kingdoms. He was consequently no stranger to Lord Broghill's merit; and reflecting that this young Nobleman might be of great use to him in reducing Ireland, he earnestly intreated the Committee that he might have leave to talk with him, and endeavour to gain him before they proceeded to extremities. Having with great difficulty, obtained this permission, he immediately dispatched a gentleman to the Lord Broghill, to let him know that he intended to wait upon him. The Lord Broghill was surprized at this message, having never had the least acquaintance with Cromwell, and desired the gentleman to let the General know that he would wait upon his Excellency. But while he was expecting the return of the messenger, Cromwell entered the room; who, when mutual civilities had passed between them, told him in few words, that the Committee of State were apprized of his design of going over, and applying to Charles Stuart for a commission to raise forces in Ireland; and that they were determined to make an example of him, if he himself had not diverted them from that resolution. The Lord Broghil interrupted him, and assured him that the intelligence which the Committee had received was false; that he was neither in a capacity, nor had any inclination to raise disturbances in Ireland; and concluded with intreating his Excellency to have a kinder opinion of him: Cromwell, instead of making any reply, drew some papers out of his pocket, which were the copies of several letters which the Lord Broghill had sent to those persons in whom he most confided, and put them into his hands. The Lord Broghill, upon the perusal of these papers, finding that it was to no purpose to dissemble any longer, asked his Excellency's pardon for what he had said, returned him his humble thanks for his protection against the Committee, and intreated his directions, how he ought to behave in so delicate a conjuncture. Cromwell told him, that though 'till this time he had been a stranger to his person, he was not so to his merit and character; but that he had heard how gallantly his Lordship had already behaved in the Irish wars: And therefore, since he was named Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and the reducing that kingdom was now become his province, he had obtained leave of the Committee, to offer his Lordship the command of a general officer, if he would serve in that war. That he should have no oaths or engagements imposed upon him, nor be obliged to draw his sword against any but the Irish rebels; the Lord Broghill was infinitely surprized at so generous and unexpected an offer; he saw himself at liberty, by all the rules of honour, to serve against the Irish, whose rebellion and barbarities were equally detested by the royal party, and the parliament: He desired, however, the General to give him some time to consider of what had been proposed to him. Cromwell briskly told him that he must come to some resolution that very instant; that he himself was returning to the Committee who were still sitting; and if his Lordship rejected their offer, they had determined to send him to the Tower. The Lord Broghill finding that his liberty and life were in the utmost danger, and charmed with the frankness and generosity of Cromwell's behaviour, gave him his word and honour, that he would faithfully serve him against the Irish rebels; upon which, Cromwell once more assured him, that the conditions which he had made with him, should be punctually observed; and then ordered him to repair immediately to Bristol, to which place forces should be sent him, with a sufficient number of ships to transport him into Ireland. He added, that he himself would soon follow him, and was as good as his word in every particular. This story we have from Mr Morrice, who had it from the Earl of Orrery himself; and he adds, that it was very probable his Lordship's design was betrayed, out of pure love and affection, by his sister Ranelagh; but how this love and affection enabled her to foresee that Cromwell would interpose as he did, to take off the rope, which she thus (as he supposes) put about his neck, is what our reverend author does not explain.

(8) Memoirs of the interregnum after the King's Death, p. 133.

(9) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 41—48.

without waiting for his foot coming up, he attacked a body of Iriſh, conſiſting of upwards of five thouſand, whom he totally defeated, and took their General, the titular Biſhop of Roſs, priſoner (*q*). This battle was fought May 10, 1650. Lord Broghill offered the Biſhop his life, if he would order thoſe who were in the caſtle of Carigdroghid to ſurrender, which he promiſed; but when he was conducted to the place, he perſuaded the garriſon to defend it to the laſt extremity. Upon this Lord Broghill cauſed him to be hanged (*r*), (though Mr Morrice ſays the ſoldiers hanged him without (*s*) orders) and then commanded his heavy artillery to be brought up, which aſtoniſhed his own army exceedingly, they knowing he had not ſo much as a ſingle piece of battering cannon. He cauſed, however, ſeveral large trees to be cut, and drawn at a diſtance by his baggage horſes; the beſieged judging by the ſlowneſs of their motion, they were of a vaſt ſize, capitulated before they came up, as his Lordſhip adviſed, threatening otherwiſe to give them no quarter (*t*). He relieved Cromwell at Clonmell, when, according to his confeſſion, nothing could otherwiſe have ſaved him, he aſſiſted both him and Ireton in all their expeditions; but becauſe he ſought to moderate the fury of one, and mitigate the cruelty of the other, he incurred the ſuſpicion of both; nay, Ireton went ſo far as to ſay, *They could never be ſafe as long as* Broghill *lived.* (*u*). His Lordſhip knew this, and did not want opportunities of paying them in their own coin, but he deſpiſed them; for his maxim was, to do what was right on all occaſions, and truſt GOD with the event. He went, therefore, to the aſſiſtance of Ireton, at the ſiege of Limerick, which was the beſt defended place in Ireland, though he knew of his averſion for, and ill-will towards, him, and it was chiefly by his means that deſign ſucceeded (*w*). For Ireton finding his force inſufficient to take it by ſtorm, and fearing that the Iriſh in the field would become ſtrong enough to give him battle, and relieve it before it could be reduced to a neceſſity of capitulating for want, he gave Lord Broghill detachments from four regiments of horſe, and twenty-ſix companies of foot, with orders to act in ſuch a manner, as to hinder the ſeveral bodies of Iriſh, ſtill in arms, from joining (*x*). In purſuance of this order, he marched with great expedition to attack his old antagoniſt Muſkerry, who, with three times his force, was moving towards the army lately raiſed by the Pope's Nuncio. The diligence his Lordſhip uſed was ſuch, that he came up with the enemy unexpectedly, drove in, amidſt a ſtorm of thunder and lightening, their advanced guards on their main body, which ſoon after he attacked. The Iriſh had all advantages, ground, numbers, and old officers from Spain, and had certainly been too hard for the Engliſh, but for a quick ſtratagem of Lord Broghill, who, in the heat of action, ſaid to thoſe about him, *Repeat what I ſay*, then raiſing his voice cried out, *They run, they run*; which was ſoon echoed on all ſides (*y*). The firſt line of the Iriſh looked behind to ſee if their rear broke, thoſe in the rear, hearing the noiſe of their enemies, and ſeeing the faces of their friends, concluded it was ſo, and broke immediately; after which they were abſolutely defeated. This, diſperſed the Iriſh, made way for the taking of Limerick, and put an end to the war there (*z*). After Cromwell became Protector, he ſent for Lord Broghill merely to have his advice; and we are told, that not long after his coming to England on that account, he made an attempt to engage the Protector to reſtore the old conſtitution, and ſecure himſelf, his family, and his friends, by marrying one of his daughters to the King (*a*). This extraordinary ſtory, as it reſts on the credit, ſo it ſhall be given to the reader in it's author's own words [*D*]. He failed in that and ſome other ſchemes of the ſame nature, but

(*q*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. Part ii. pag. 16. Hiſt. of the execrable Iriſh Rebellion, p. 240.

(*r*) Borlaſe's Hiſt.

(*s*) Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

(*t*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 16.

(*u*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

(*w*) Hiſt. of the War in Ireland, p. 355.

(*x*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 67.

(*y*) Hiſt. of the War in Ireland, p. 359.

(*z*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol II. Part ii. p. 67. Hiſt. of the execrable Iriſh Rebellion, p. 283. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 154.

(*a*) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 413.

[*D*] *This extraordinary ſtory, as it reſts on the credit, ſhall be given to the reader in the author's own words.*] It may be urged to countenance this ſtrange ſtory, that we have ſome dark hints of it from other perſons, that Lord Broghill was certainly the greateſt favourite Cromwell ever had, and in all ſeaſons a friend to his family; and that Mr Morrice, in his way of telling his tale, evidently ſhews, that he had not a capacity for inventing it. Thus it runs (10): His lordſhip had now and then opportunities of a ſecret correſpondence with ſome perſons about the King, by whom he had ſounded the King's inclinations, which were favourable to a deſign of making a match between his Majeſty and one of Cromwell's daughters (the lady Frances, as I remember) to promote which, he had orders to do whatever lay in his power; and having his Majeſty's leave, he took a fit occaſion to move it to Cromwell, which he did in the following manner: He firſt acquainted Cromwell's wife and daughter with the deſign, and then cauſed a rumour of it to be ſpread abroad in the town; and one day, coming out of the city, and coming to Cromwell's cloſet, Cromwell immediately came to him, and walking with him alone, he aſked where he had been? My Lord anſwered, in the city; Cromwell aſked him what news there? My Lord anſwered, very ſtrange news; Cromwell earneſtly enquiring what it was, my Lord detained him a while, only by repeating it was ſtrange news, and ſmiling at the ſame time; Cromwell, by the delay, became more earneſt to know it; my Lord, at laſt, replied, that perhaps he would be offended to hear it. Cromwell, not enduring any longer delay, aſſured him he would not, and therefore conjured him to tell it; upon that, in a jocular way, my Lord told him, all the news in the city was, that he was going to marry his daughter Frances to the King; Cromwell then, with a merry countenance, aſked him, And what do the fools think of it? My Lord then replied, all liked it, and thought it the wiſeſt thing he could do, if he could accompliſh it; upon that, Cromwell made a ſtand, and looking ſteadfaſtly in my Lord's face, aſked him, And do you believe ſo too? His Lordſhip ſeeing him a little moved, he did believe it was the beſt thing he could do to ſecure himſelf. Cromwell then walked up and down the room, with his hands behind him, in a very thoughtful manner, and at laſt aſked my Lord, What reaſon he had to be of that belief? His Lordſhip repreſented to him how little he could confide in his own party, being, upon every occaſion ſubject to murmur and repine, how unlikely it was for him to continue long in that grandeur; the very ſame perſons who ſet him up, being willing to pull him down; and, on the other hand, the King, in his great exigencies, would be ready enough to hearken to any propoſition, rather than live in exile, ſo that he might make his own terms with him, and be General of all the forces during life; the loyal party would readily join with him in the work; and if his daughter had children by the King, (which was likely enough) he would thereby be endeared to King and Country,

(10) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

but he managed so dexterously, and shewed so true a desire of serving both parties, without betraying either, that after Ireton's death, which happened before he left Ireland, he was scarce ever suspected by Cromwell, who made him his companion, and thereby fixed him for his friend (*b*). In the year 1656, it was proposed to his Lordship by the Protector, to go down to Scotland with an absolute authority, either because he suspected Monk, or was willing to give the people of that country some satisfaction, who complained of his severity; but Lord Broghill was very unwilling to receive this charge, and took it at last on these singular conditions (*c*). The first was, that he should be left to himself and receive no orders; the second, that no complaints should find credit or procure directions in his absence; and the third, that he should be re-called in a year (*d*). These terms were agreed to and performed on both sides; Broghill acted absolutely enough; complaints came thicker against him than against Monk; but at the end of the year he came himself, disproved them, and gave Cromwell such satisfaction, as made him look on him as his best friend, and the ablest man in his service (*e*). He was very acceptable to the Scots, and gained a great influence over them, by speaking and acting moderately; but more especially by his disinterestedness, and by proceeding according to the dictates of his own reason, and not at all from lights received, or friendships contracted, in that country (*f*). After he came back, he was, with Whitlock and Thurloe, admitted into all the confidence, that could be expected from a person in the Protector's circumstances, who, if he had any chearful moments, spent them in their company, where he appeared quite another person than in the ordinary course of his conduct, which was built on a policy peculiar to his condition, the people he had to deal with, and the critical conjuncture of the times (*g*). There were, no doubt, many in Cromwell's Court that envied and hated Lord Broghill, and did not fail to do him ill offices, but they had no effect; for the custom Cromwell had of taking nothing upon trust, and his experience of Lord Broghill's fidelity in times of the greatest danger, hindered him from giving way to suspicions; as, on the other hand, the circumstances of those times affording frequent opportunities, Lord Broghill lost none of them, but with zeal and prudence took every advantage, and rendered important services to his patron, the Protector (*h*) [*E*]. He stood high in his favour to the last, and it was, no doubt, in some measure

(*b*) See the article CROMWELL (OLIVER) Lord Protector.

(*c*) Thurloe's State-Papers, Vol. V. p. 336.

(*d*) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

(*e*) Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell, p. 395.

(*f*) Memoirs of the Earl of Cassils, p. 33.

(*g*) Whitlock's Memoirs, p. 656.

(*h*) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, p. 414.

Country, and would have such interest in the crown, that no body could ever attempt any thing against him, having a King his son-in-law, and heir apparent to the crown his grand-son, and the whole power of the nation, in his own hands; by all which, his greatness would be for ever established: Whereas, if he neglected these means, he could not expect to transmit his greatness to the next heir; and perhaps, would hardly be able to preserve it, during his own life. Cromwell gave great attention to those reasons; but, walking two or three turns, and pondering with himself, he told Lord Broghill the King would never forgive me the death of his father; his Lordship desires him to employ some body to sound the King in this matter, to see how he would take it, and offered himself to mediate in it for him; but Cromwell would not consent, but again repeated, The King cannot, and will not, forgive the death of his father, and so left his Lordship, who durst not tell him he had already dealt with his Majesty in that affair; upon this my Lord withdrew, and meeting Cromwell's wife and daughter, they enquired how he had succeeded, of which, having given them an account, he added, they must try their interest in him; but none could prevail, guilt lay so heavy upon him, that he thought there could be no reconciliation, and so that business broke off.

[*E*] *Rendered important services to his patron the Protector.*] His Lordship always thought he owed his life to Cromwell; and this induced him to be very faithful to him, and very careful of his interest: It very clearly appears in every step he took, both in England and in Ireland; but though Mr Budgell (11) is pleased to compliment the Protector with an understanding superior to that of Lord Broghill, yet I very much doubt whether he received any such gift from nature; and I rather think the contrary, because I find that he allowed his Lordship to take great liberties with him; commonly took his advice, and readily came in to his opinion, though opposite to his own. These, tho' they are certainly testimonies of Cromwell's being a man of parts, and good sense, yet are they proofs at the same time, that Lord Broghill had greater parts, and better sense; nor could it well be otherwise, considering the difference in their education; and the opportunities his Lordship had of knowing much more of the world: His advising the Protector to take the title of King (12), was certainly a proof that he wished him well, though Mr Morrice thinks otherwise; and perhaps his Lordship, after the Restoration, might not be displeased to have it so thought, whatever his sentiments might be, at the time of giving this advice. He always recommended legal measures to the Protector, and persuaded him to behave mildly to all sorts of people. The Protector himself was so sensible of this, that when he had intelligence of the Marquis of Ormond's being in London, he spoke of it to Lord Broghill, and gave him leave to make what use of it he pleased (13). It is true, that not long after he was angry with his Lordship about Lady Ormond, whose papers he had seized, and among them, some tender letters to her Lord, in which were dark hints of designs against his government. Lord Broghill knew his humour, and desired to see those papers, which being complied with, he proved to him that they were not the Lady Ormond's letters, but those of another Lady, with whom the Marquis had both amorous and political intrigues, so that a conversation that began with warmth, ended in laughter; and his Lordship had a double pleasure in undeceiving the Protector, and preserving a very worthy woman from feeling the effects of his ill-grounded resentment (14). His Lordship opposed in parliament, and defeated the blackest measure that Cromwell ever entered into, which was the passing a law for decimating the royal party; and his Lordship's conduct in this, was by far the greatest action of his whole life. He made a fine speech, in which he shewed the injustice, cruelty, and folly, of that proposition; and finding upon the division that he should lose the question, which probably might have ended in losing his life; he had the boldness to say, *that he did not think so many* English-men *could be fond of slavery*; upon which, so many rose and followed him, that the Speaker, without telling, declared from the chair *the* Noes *have it*; and the bill was accordingly thrown out. Upon this he came immediately up to Cromwell, and said, *I have done you this day as great a service as ever I did in my life.* How? returned Cromwell; *By hindering your government*, replied my Lord, *from becoming hateful, which already begins to be disliked; for if this bill had passed, three kingdoms would have risen up against you, and they were your enemies, not your friends, who brought it in* (15). This Cromwell so firmly believed, that he never forgave or trusted them afterwards. A little before the Protector's death, as Lord Broghill

(11) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 63.

(12) See his Reasons for this in the Arguments published on this subject.

(13) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

(14) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 60, 61.

(15) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

measure owing to his gratitude, that he attached himself so firmly as he did to his son and successor Richard. On his assuming the supreme power, none were observed to have more credit with him than Lord Broghill, Dr Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester, and Col. Philips (*i*); but though they might be commonly called, yet sure they were never, strictly speaking, of his Cabinet Council, if they had, his administration had been more steady. Indeed, Lord Broghill was capable of being many ways useful to him, as enjoying at that time singular advantages. He was a General Officer in the army in Ireland, a Lord of Oliver's creation, or one of the other house, a Member of Parliament, in which he sat for some place in England, as in former representatives he had sat for Edinburgh, and as knight of the shire for Cork, so that few people could be supposed to have better intelligence, or more extensive influence (*k*). In all probability, therefore, Richard's government might have lasted longer, and done him more honour, if he had really done nothing without the advice of such a Cabinet Council, instead of applying himself on emergencies only to Lord Broghill, who, in such cases, however, was always ready; particularly when he was first attacked by the Council of Officers at Wallingford-House, on which occasion he served him with equal firmness and dexterity (*l*) [*F*]. As this exposed him to the resentment of the warmest and most powerful men at that time in the kingdom, and as there never was a time when private piques were capable of doing even innocent and worthy men more mischief, we need not wonder, that the army-leaders, who

(*i*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 632.

(*k*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 677.

(*l*) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

Broghill was going with him in his coach to Westminster, and the crowd was so great, they could not get along, his Lordship observed the door of a cobler's stall open several times, and saw something bright behind it; he took his sword from his side, and knocked against the door, upon which a tall man bursted out; and though Cromwell called to his guards to seize him, he made his escape. He was known to be an officer that Cromwell had disobliged in Ireland, and the Protector was so frighted at this design against his life, (for so he justly conceived it) that he would never go that way afterwards (16).

(16) Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell, p. 321.

[*F*] *Served him on that occasion with equal firmness and dexterity.*] It is a very singular thing to advance, but that there wants not evidence to support it, that Cromwell did not love his own family so well as Lord Broghill; he was asked upon his death-bed whom he appointed his successor; to which he answered, that in such a closet they would find his will, in which it seems he had named Fleetwood, but one of the Protector's daughters getting first to the drawer, took the will and destroyed it (17). Thus Richard obtained the government against his father's intention, and Lord Broghill endeavoured all he could to maintain him in it, even in spite of his own incapacity. Richard having consented to the meeting of a general council of officers without consulting those, called, his cabinet-council; the Lord Broghill blamed him for it, as of a dangerous consequence to the interest of his Highness, and on the day when the general council was to meet, he went thither with the Lord Howard, and Lord Falconbridge, who promised to assist him, to Wallingford-House (18); they found above five hundred officers assembled, after a long prayer by Dr Owen, major-general Desborough rose up, and in a tedious speech put them in mind, how gracious the Lord had been, and how their aims had prospered, tho' he feared this prosperity would not last long, since several sons of Belial had crept in amongst them, who, in all probablity would draw down the judgments of heaven upon them; to prevent this, he thought it would be convenient to purge the army, and that the best method of doing so, would be, to propose a test, which all persons who refuse to take, should be turned out; and the test which he proposed was, that every one should swear, that he did believe in his conscience, that the putting to death the late King Charles Stuart, was lawful and just. This proposal of Desborough's was received with great applause by most of the assembly, who cried out, well moved! and the Lord Howard and Falconbridge thinking it in vain to oppose so apparent a majority, rose up and went to the Protector, to let him know of what was doing. The Lord Broghill, who had his wits about him, tho' vexed to see himself deserted by his two friends, as soon as the assembly was silent, rose up in his place, and said that he was not of the same opinion with the noble Lord who spoke last; that he was against imposing any test upon the army, as a thing which they had often declared against; and if they once came to put tests upon themselves, they would soon have them put upon them by other people, and consequently lose that liberty of conscience for which they so often fought; that he was against the particular test proposed, because he thought it unjust and unreasonable to require men to swear to the lawfulness of an action, which they were not present at; that many gentlemen on whom he had his eye, besides himself, were not present when the late king was put to death, and therefore could not swear to the lawfulness of a proceeding, the circumstances of which, they were unacquainted with; but that if they would have a test to purge the army, he conceived he had as good a right to propose one, as another man; and therefore should take the liberty to propose one, which he hoped would be found more reasonable, and more lawful than that mentioned by the noble Lord, who spoke before him. He then proposed, that all persons should be turned out of the army, who would not swear to defend the established government, under the Protector and Parliament; this test he said was reasonable, since their own being depended upon it, and lawful, because it was to maintain the present government; he added, that if this test should have the ill fortune to be rejected in this council, he would move it the next day in the House of Commons, where he was pretty confident it would meet with a better reception; upon the conclusion of this speech, there was a louder cry of well moved, than when Desborough had spoken before. While the noise continued, and the assembly were in some confusion, Lord Broghill changing his place, and getting between Colonel Whaley and Gough, two hot men, and easily fired, used such arguments to them, that each of them in a warm speech declared for the test, last proposed; Fleetwood and Desborough, with some of their most trusty friends, finding it impossible now to carry the test which would have modelled the army, as they desired, retired to consult what was to be done; after a short stay, they returned to the Council, and declared, that they had seriously considered of what the Lord Broghill had said; they confessed that they had not at first seen all the ill consequences of imposing tests upon the army, but were at presently fully convinced of them; to avoid which, and that they might remain united among themselves, they proposed, that both the tests that had been offered should be withdrawn, to which the Lord Broghill after some little stiffness, consented. One cannot well conceive how an affair of this nature could be managed with greater dexterity, or presence of mind, and at the same time it gives us so perfect a notion of those times, and the spirit and genius of those who made a figure in them, that I can scarce believe we can meet with either more entertaining or instructive pieces of history, than those we have inserted in the course of this article (19). By them we plainly see, what an effect particular kinds of rule have upon human nature, and how soon the republican spirit had diffused itself through the more active part of this nation; for I presume that in Athens, or Rome, there never happened a freer debate than this, or where the issue was more plainly determined by the power of speaking. —— The next note will confirm this notion by as strong an instance of the same kind.

(17) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

(18) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 432. Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 65, 66, 67. Hist. of the Interregnum from the King's death to the Restoration, chap. ix.

(19) There was a long account of this and other transactions, in a MS. intituled, *Intrigues at Wallingford-House*, once in the Library of the first Earl of Anglesey.

[*G*] *As*

who were also in the House of Commons, transferred the campaign thither, and laboured to raise a spirit against him there, who had already got the better of them in another place. But in this too they miscarried, though their scheme was well laid, for his Lordship as easily baffled his own enemies in Parliament, as he had done the Protector's in the Council of Officers (*m*) [*G*]. But though he was so well able to defend his own power, he soon found it was impossible to support Richard, who wanted courage to maintain his own power, and firmness to retire into the city, and there declare for bringing back the King, and for a free Parliament, either of which, had he been well advised, or rather, could he have taken good advice, might have been very practicable (*n*). But when Lord Broghill saw, that the honesty and good nature of Richard Cromwell would infallibly render him a prey to his enemies, of whom some were of his own household, he did not think it at all necessary to sink with a man he could not save. He had advised him honestly on both the topicks beforementioned, and therefore, as soon as he had dissolved the Parliament, Lord Broghill thought the Government subverted, and himself absolved from all ties to the Cromwell family, considered as that of a Prince (*o*). To secure himself, therefore, at least from immediate danger, and to be out of the way of those new troubles which he foresaw would begin soon, he resolved to go over to his command in Ireland, which he accordingly did; but he was very cautious and expeditious in his journey, and thereby over-reached Fleetwood the third time, who had caused some steps to be taken in order to seize him, but too late, and which served only to convince his Lordship, how happy a thing it was for him, that he so prudently withdrew out of reach (*p*). As soon as he was fairly settled in Munster, he began to enquire, but with much circumspection, into the temper, interests, and power, of the several officers of the army in that kingdom; but before he was in any condition to work upon their sentiments, or discover his own, he was summoned by the Parliament Commissioners at Dublin to appear before them, which without hesitation he did, and though they had taken a resolution to confine him, yet he answered all they objected to him so clearly, and threw them into such a dilemma, by demanding the sole power of Munster upon their asking if he would undertake to keep it quiet, that they were glad to send him back, with an admonition to be true to them, to which he answered, he had been, and would be, always true, to the English and Protestant interest in that country (*q*). He soon saw, after his return to his command, that there subsisted no longer any kind of harmony amongst the officers, and that the body of the army were anxious for such a settled authority, as might secure to them the lands assigned them in that kingdom; these he judged to be circumstances favourable to his sincere design, of restoring the King and legal constitution, and as he conceived this rightly, he conducted it prudently, and accomplished it happily (*r*) [*H*]. It is somewhat strange, that

(*m*) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 432.

(*n*) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

(*o*) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, MS.

(*p*) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 203.

(*q*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. Part. ii. p. 2. Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 449.

(*r*) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery. Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 85. Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 450.

[*G*] *As easily baffled his own enemies in Parliament, as he had done the Protector's in the Council of Officers.*] In order to give a clear account of this matter, we are to resume the thread of the story from the last note. The Council of Officers broke up about eight at night, upon which Lord Broghill went directly to the Protector, Richard, whom he found with the Lords Howard and Falconbridge; having gently reproached these two noblemen for having deserted him in the day of battle, he was answered, that finding it impossible to oppose the torrent, and that Fleetwood and Desborough were sure of carrying their point, they thought themselves obliged to come away, and inform the Protector what was doing. The Lord Broghill then, to their no small surprize and satisfaction, gave an account of his success; but added, that he plainly saw, their council would do mischief if they were suffered to sit any longer (20); he therefore humbly advised the Protector to dissolve them immediately. Richard asked in what manner he should do it; Lord Broghill answered, that if his Highness pleased, he would draw up a short speech for him, which he might deliver the next morning at the general-council, after having sat amongst them about an hour. Richard promised he would do so, upon which, Broghill immediately drew up a short speech; the next day at ten in the morning, the Protector, as had been agreed, went to the council, and, to the surprize of the assembly, seated himself in a chair of state, which had been placed there for him, after having listened to their debates about an hour, he rose up, and with a much better grace than was expected, delivered himself to this effect (21). *Gentlemen*, 'I thankfully accept of your services, I have considered your grievances, and think the propereſt method to redress what is amiss amongst you, is, to do it in the Parliament now sitting, and where I will take care you shall have justice done you. I therefore declare my commission for holding this assembly to be void, and that this general-council is now dissolved; and I desire that such of you as are not members of Parliament, will repair forthwith to your respective commands.' This speech, tho' extremely mild, was a thunder-clap in the ears of *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, and all their party. They immediately guessed the Lord *Broghill* was the *author* of it (22), and resolved to fall upon him in Parliament; accordingly, when the *house* met, they complained (with their eyes fixed on Lord *Broghill*) *that they had been highly abused and affronted by a certain noble Lord in that assembly, that they thought themselves obliged to demand satisfaction, and therefore humbly moved, that an address should be presented to his Heighness, the Protector, to know who advised him to dissolve the council of war, without the consent or knowledge of his Parliament.* Some of Lord *Broghill*'s friends who saw the storm was pointed at him, made signs to him to withdraw; his Lordship however sat still 'till his enemies had done scolding, when he rose up and spoke in the following manner; *Mr Speaker*, 'I am not against presenting this address, but 'humbly move, that another may be presented to the 'Protector at the same time, to know who advised the 'calling of a General-Council of officers, without the 'consent or knowledge of the Parliament; for surely 'if the man is guilty, who advised the dissolution of 'this Council, those people are much more guilty, 'who durst advise his Highness to call such a Council, 'without either the knowledge or consent of his Par-'liament.' The house, who suspected the Council of officers no friend to their power, was highly pleased with this second motion; they cryed out, *well moved!* and *Fleetwood* had the mortification to see himself baffled a second time, by the dexterity of the Lord *Broghill*.

(20) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

(21) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 71, 72.

(22) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 432, 433.

[*H*] *Conducted it prudently, and accomplished it happily.*] It is not easy to conceive an enterprize more difficult or dangerous than this undertaken by Lord Broghill, and undertaken too, at a time, when, as we have seen, he was greatly suspected by such as had the supreme authority in Ireland, and who had besides a sufficient measure of power to have secured and crushed him, if any circumstance of his design came to their knowledge before it was ripened to such a degree, as might enable him to oppose, force by force (23); yet under

(23) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 83.

that after taking so much pains, and running so many hazards in bringing this important enterprize to bear, very few of our publick or general Histories, ascribe so much to him in this particular as he deserved; some accuse him of backwardness (*s*), others excuse his slowness in such a manner (*t*) as amounts to a new charge, and almost all agree, that, in this great event, he acted as an assistant or second to Sir Charles Coote (*u*). But upon a strict and impartial examination it will appear, that none of these imputations ought to stick on his memory, since there are the strongest proofs his loyal intentions were clear, his conduct prudent and discreet, and his declaration prior, in point of time, to Sir

(*s*) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 732.

(*t*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 203.

(*u*) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 753.

under all these difficulties, and in the midst of so many dangers, he determined to hazard every thing for the King's Restoration, but at the same time, addressed himself to the carrying on of this work with all the secrecy and circumspection that was necessary; both to prevent the Parliament Commissioners from gaining any intelligence, and to secure to himself a party strong enough to deal with those, who either from principle, or interest, might be absolutely irreconcilable to the return of the Royal Family, and the reviving of the old constitution in Church and State, the number and force of which party, no man living knew better than he did, or consequently how to deal with them. He sounded all the officers in his own regiments of horse, and regiment of foot, and found them very well disposed to follow his fortunes, only the Governor of Limerick, Colonel Wilson (24), not being immediately under his command, he was for some time cautious of trusting him; but as that strong place would have been an insurmountable impediment to his design, he resolved to venture and try what he could do with him; accordingly he sent a messenger to desire him to come to my Lord as privately as he could, because he had something of the last importance to confer with him about. When the governor came, he took him into his closet, and after due preparation, began at first to discourse in general, of the present state of affairs, how unsettled they were; adding, *What think you, Colonel?* the latter replied, that he could wish they were otherwise, and settled some way or other; the Lord Broghill continued the discourse thus: *I see plainly that those at the helm, will rather unsettle, than settle them; and therefore it would be well if some man of spirit would stir and try to bring things into a better order, for they cannot last as they are now.* The Colonel said, you, my Lord, are a fit man to stir, I wonder why you don't? The Lord Broghill replied, *I am not a man of any great interest, and am suspected already.* No doubt, says the Colonel, many persons will be glad to join with you in so necessary an undertaking, for my part, I will be one; *Well then,* replied my Lord, *will you indeed join with me in any good design?* the Colonel answered, I will, there's my hand, and will stick close to you to the death; Lord Broghill proceeded, *These kingdoms will never be well without a* Free-Parliament, *every one complains of the oppressions of Committees, will you join with me in declaring for a* Free-Parliament? I will, says the Colonel, with all my heart I will. *Will you do it continued my Lord, if there were a King at the bottom?* The Colonel answered, I like it the better; then Lord Broghill acquainted him, what his intentions were, to send to his Majesty and invite him to come to Ireland, where all Munster was ready to receive him, adding, that he would send to Sir Charles Coote in the North, and to Colonel Monk, in Scotland, to desire them to declare for the same thing; which the Colonel highly approved of, and vowed that he would live and die with him in it; my Lord enjoined him to secrecy, upon which the whole matter depended, and the Colonel immediately swore it. After which he returned to Limerick, to prepare for putting the design in execution, and by a gentleman who accompanied him thither from Lord Broghill's house, he returned a letter to my Lord, in which he said, that he wrote it, and subscribed it purposely with his own hand, that if ever he proved false, that letter might rise up in judgment against him. The Lord Broghill dispatched a gentleman whom he could confide in, to Sir Charles Coote, in the North of Ireland, to dispose him to engage with him in declaring for a Free-Parliament, which Coote did very readily, wanting only such an invitation from a person of name and interest, for he had taken disgust at the superiority of Lieutenant-General Ludlow, and the Parliament's Commissioners, and thought that his services which had been very eminent, were not sufficiently rewarded by the Presidency of Connaught; when the gentleman returned from Sir Charles Coote, and told the Lord Broghill, what his resolution was, his Lordship procured a letter signed by most of the chief officers in Ireland, to invite the King, then at Brussels, into that kingdom, Lord Broghill's brother, the Lord Shannon, was sent with this letter, which his Majesty received before matters were quite settled with Monk, and resolved to embark at Calais for Cork; where the Lord Broghill promised to receive him with a good force, but before he could take shipping, an address came from the Convention in England, which invited him thither, and put off the voyage to Ireland; in the mean time it began to be rumoured, that Broghill and Coote had intelligence with Monk, and that their design was for a Free-Parliament; Coote, impatient of delay, made that declaration, having engaged a good part of the army in Ireland to join with him in it. Colonel Brayfield, Governor of Athlone, refusing to do it, Sir Charles brought down his forces before it, and by tampering with some of the garrison, and affirming that Brayfield would deliver them up to him, prevailed with them to open the gates of the castle, and betray the Governor into his hands; Colonel Temple, possessed himself of Carlow, and turned out Colonel Pretty; Captain Lisle dispossessed Colonel Desborough of Drogheda; Colonel Fouke, assisted by the cavaliers, seized Youghal; Major Stanley, had done the same at Clonmell; Colonel Cooper was removed from his command in the North, and a friend of Coote's put into it with little or no opposition, and less still in Munster; where the Lord Broghill declared for a Free-Parliament, tho' not so hastily as Sir Charles Coote did, which occasioned a letter from the latter to his Lordship, wherein he tells him that the design of declaring for a Free-Parliament, began to take vent, and I am therefore, says he, forced to declare before the time determined, least I should be circumvented or hindred by the Rump-party; upon which account I desire your Lordship forthwith to do the same, that the whole force of the enemy may not be employed against me, but may be divided; remember your Lordship first put me upon this design, and therefore should not leave me, in what you first put me upon. Lord Broghill, who was ready to begin the work, if he had thought the time proper for it, could not help thinking that Coote had precipitated it; yet finding he had done so, resolved to support him, and accordingly declared for a Free-Parliament, which was then understood to be the King, whom they did not care directly to mention, it being made treason by so many laws, by this means the Parliament party were thrown into great perplexity, and knew not what method to take, being confined between the two powers, and Lord Broghill and Coote met with as little opposition as could well be expected, from persons who were in possession of the government. The gentlemen sent Captain Campbell to Colonel Mook, to acquaint him with their proceedings, but he had no more concern in the revolution in Ireland, than Lord Broghill had in that of England (25); it may however be affirmed, that this great turn of affairs in Ireland, could not but influence those of England in some measure, as it rendered it very apparent, that if the King was not brought in to prevent a war, nothing but a war could keep him out, and in making such a war, it had been very difficult for such as were most averse to the Royal Cause, to find officers and troops that they could trust, for tho' there might be many among the former, that did not love the King, yet at the same time they hated each other so heartily, that they were in no condition of acting in such manner as would have been requisite to oppose him (26), more especially after it became evident, that both Scotland and Ireland would declare for him.

(24) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

(25) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 449.

(26) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 677, & *seq.*

[*I*] *Which*

Sir Charles Coote's, which are points that deſerve to be diſcuſſed (w) [I]. He it was, that conducted the great ſtep of recovering the caſtle of Dublin, which Sir Hardreſs Waller had found means to ſecure, after it's being ſeized by the officers well affected to the King; he it was, that conducted all things in the Convention, and, by ſlow and ſure ſteps, led on that great change, in a manner equally happy for Prince and people; and he it was, made a juſt and honeſt ſtand for the Proteſtant intereſt againſt the Papiſts, who, though they began his father's troubles, would never yield Charles II. obedience, and at this time had not moved a finger in his quarrel, were now very loyal in their expreſſions, and thence hoped to run away with the reward (x). But Lord Broghill coming over to England, prevented many inconveniencies that might have happened, gave the King and his Miniſters true notions of the affairs of that country, explained the views, and ſtated the force, of the ſeveral parties there, and pointed out the true means of bringing

(w) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 83, 84, 85.

(x) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

[I] *Which are points that deſerve to be diſcuſſed.*] The great abilities, the great ſervices, and the great favour, that Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, was in, drew upon him, as might be naturally expected, a heavy load of envy; and it has been, in ſome meaſure, the misfortune of that Nobleman, that thoſe who were leaſt acquainted with his affairs, as well as leaſt ſatisfied with his conduct, have undertaken to give the world an account of it, which perhaps, has been too eaſily, and too generally believed. As for inſtance, the noble hiſtorian ſpeaks of him thus (27). 'The 'Lord Broghill, who was preſident of Munſter, and 'of a very great intereſt and influence upon that whole 'province, though he had great warineſs in diſcover-'ing his inclinations, as he had great guilt to reſtrain 'them, yet hated Lambert ſo much, that he leſs 'feared the King, and ſo wiſhed for a ſafe opportuni-'ty to do his Majeſty ſervice; and he had a good poſt 'and a good party to concur with him, when he 'ſhould call upon them, and think fit to declare.' One may very eaſily perceive that the Earl of Clarendon had conceived an ill opinion of Lord Broghill, and wrote under the influence of that conception, which induced him to think there was very little loyalty in that Lord's delaring for the King; but the buſineſs is to know whether the Earl's opinion was well founded; and there are many, and thoſe unqueſtionable proofs, that it was not; but that Lord Broghill was always a loyal ſubject, and always eſteemed ſo by ſuch as knew him beſt, both frends and enemies. While the Iriſh war laſted, he thought it his duty to do his utmoſt in favour of the Proteſtant intereſt; and to do this, he ſerved under the Parliament, in which he wanted not both rational and legal juſtifications (28). In 1648, when it was viſible that their army had got the better of the Parliament, it appears, by a letter from the Marquis of Ormond to Lord Broghill, that the latter had offered himſelf, and all that was in his power, for the ſupport of the royal cauſe (29). When he found it out of his power to ſtir in Ireland, he came over to live privately in England; but conceiving it diſhonourable to remain at his eaſe, while his maſter knew not where to hide his head, he wrote a letter to King Charles II, and offered him his ſervice. A copy of this letter, and of the King's anſwer, was found in Secretary Cowper's cabinet, at the taking of Guernſey caſtle, and ſent to the Parliament, who reſolved to take his life for it. But Cromwell knowing how uſeful he might be in Ireland, offered to be bound body for body, that he ſhould drop his former deſign, and enter into their ſervice, which he did, but not till he had aſked the King's leave, who gave it with this gentle reſtriction, *that when he was leſs in danger, he ſhould remember his duty* (30). How he ſerved in that war has been ſhewn, and againſt whom; but Cromwell ſtill ſuſpected, and Ireton hated him. Nay, after Lord Broghill had been in Scotland, and had done him ſo much ſervice there, he could not obtain leave to return to his command in Ireland, becauſe Henry Cromwell repreſented to his father, that his intereſt in that country was ſo great, and his intentions to ſerve the royal family ſo well known, that it would not be ſafe to let him come there (31). It is indeed true that he had thoughts of ſhewing his loyalty to the King, without being ungrateful to Cromwell, or to his family, for whom he had much tenderneſs and reſpect, but even this was done not without hazard, for Oliver had his ſpies abroad, and when Lord Broghill, in company with the Protector's children, Lord Falconbridge and Lord Carliſle, had drank the King's health, one evening at the Bear at the Bridge-Foot, the Protector had notice of it before they got home, but thought fit to paſs it by, for which his Lordſhip had not the leſs obligation to him (32). It is ſaid that he managed his deſign in Ireland for the King's reſtoration with great ſecrecy, and this is aſcribed to a certain habit in him, and ſurely that was no bad habit, ſince Sir George Booth about the ſame time had like to have loſt his life, by declaring precipitately (33). But Sir Charles Coote ſent over Sir Arthur Forbes to the King at Bruſſels; before Monk declared. And what then? Lord Broghill alſo ſent over his brother, the Lord Shannon, with a Letter quilted in the neck of his doublet; ſignifying, that he had ſecured the town of Cork, and had a body of five thouſand old Proteſtant troops ready for his Majeſty's ſervice (34). It is indeed true, that after the King came to London; he ſuffered himſelf in ſome meaſure, to be perſuaded that Sir Charles Coote was the firſt man that ſtirr'd for him in Ireland, but Lord Broghill ſoon ſet this to rights, by ſending the King Sir Charles Coote's letter upon his declaring, in which was the following paragraph, than which nothing can be clearer: *Remember, my Lord, that you firſt put me upon this deſign, and I beſeech you forſake me not in that which you firſt put me upon, which was to declare for the King and Parliament* (35). This, as might be well expected, placed every thing in a proper light; his Lordſhip was ſoon after made Earl of Orrery, ſworn of the King's Privy-Council, appointed one of the Lords-Juſtices, and Lord Preſident of Munſter. To ſhew that theſe favours were not the effects of policy, but of a ſincere ſenſe of his Lordſhip's merit, the following letter will appear a moſt convincing proof, tho' wrote two years after the Reſtoration (36).

(27) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 731.

(28) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 186.

(29) Carte's Hiſt. of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. III. p. 589.

(30) Love's Memoirs of Lord Orrery.

(31) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 563.

(32) Love's Memoirs of Lord Orrery.

(33) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 677.

(34) Love's Memoirs as above.

(35) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 87.

(36) Orrery's Letters, p. 65.

The King to the Earl of Orrery.

'MY Lord Orrery, I am ſo ſenſible of the many 'ſervices you have done me, as I am aſhamed 'this ſhould be the firſt letter to thank you for them; 'and though I have been failing to you in this kind, 'I aſſure you I will never be wanting to myſelf and 'you in the eſſential part of what I owe ſo good a 'ſervant as you are to me, and be confident, that 'upon all occaſions you ſhall find the value and kind-'neſs I have for you. I hope in a few days to di-'ſpatch the Act of Settlement with the reſt you ſent 'for my approbation, and will make all poſſible ſpeed 'to ſend my Lord-Lieutenant to you, whereby the 'intire ſettlement of that kingdom may be finiſhed, 'and I may receive the benefit of that which you 'have been ſo inſtrumental in. I ſhall not now enter 'into the particular thanks for every ſervice you have 'done me; I ſhould not have room in this ſheet to 'ſay any thing elſe; but in the general, I hope you 'are ſo juſt to me as to believe I have that ſenſe of 'them I ought to have. I will now tell you that I 'have read your firſt play, which I like very well, 'and do intend to bring it upon the ſtage as ſoon as 'my company have their new ſtage in order, that the 'ſcenes may be worthy the words they are to ſet 'forth, for the laſt I have only ſeen in my Lord-Lieu-'tenant's hands, but will read it as ſoon as I have lei-'ſure. I have no more to ſay to you at preſent, but 'aſſure you, I am,

White-hall, Feb. 26th, 1662. Your very affectionate Friend,

CHARLES R.

bringing all things in that kingdom into regularity and order (*y*). In conſideration of, as well as an inconteſtible proof of, theſe well-timed and eſſential ſervices, his Majeſty, by letters patent bearing date Sept. 5, 1660, advanced him to the honour of Earl of Orrery in the county of Cork (*z*); and Sir Maurice Euſtace, a faſt friend of the Duke of Ormond's, being appointed Chancellor, Roger Earl of Orrery, and Charles (Coote) Earl of Montrath, were, with him, made Lords-Juſtices, about the cloſe of that memorable year (*a*). In the month of January following, he went over to that kingdom, and entered on the diſcharge of his high office (*b*). But we are told by ſome who wrote Memoirs of his Life, that he rendered a moſt ſingular ſervice to the Proteſtans in Ireland before his departure, which totally defeated the ſchemes formed by the Iriſh, to render his Majeſty's Declaration, as to the ſettlement of that kingdom, void and ineffectual, at leaſt in a great meaſure (*c*). But I muſt acknowledge, that upon examining the matter ſtrictly, and comparing all it's circumſtances, one cannot help ſuſpecting there is ſome miſtake, either as to the fact itſelf, or in the manner of relating it. The paſſage, however, is curious, and as there is reaſon to doubt whether it was ever before called in queſtion, it ſhall be particularly examined in the notes [*K*]. His conduct, during the time

(*y*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 3. Carte's Hiſt. of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 212.

(*z*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 262.

(*a*) See the Table of Chief Officers of the Crown, &c. in the ſecond Volume of the Engliſh Tranſlation of Ware's Works.

(*b*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland.

(*c*) See this point clearly ſtated in note [*K*.]

[*K*] *It ſhall be particularly examined in the notes.*] One great deſign of this work is to rectify the miſtakes made by general hiſtorians, in reference to perſonal hiſtory, and the oppoſite error to this; the tranſgreſſions of private memoir writers, againſt the truth of general hiſtory. It is commonly obſerved in reſpect to ſuch as compoſe the memoirs, characters, or hiſtories, of eminent perſons, that they are carried to ſuch undertakings, either from a grateful ſenſe of favours conferred upon them; from a particular knowledge of ſome of the principal points, of which they undertake to write, or from a warm affection for the cauſe and conduct of the perſon whoſe memory they celebrate. It muſt be allowed, that all theſe are not only juſt but laudable motives to works of this ſort; yet ſtill they ſuppoſe a biaſs in favour of the perſon, whoſe actions are thus preſerved, ſuch a prejudice is not only incident to, but inſeparable from, human nature, and tho' in ſtrictneſs ſhe muſt allow it a weakneſs, yet it is ſuch a weakneſs as ought to be corrected without cenſure, which is what I aim at in this note. The noble perſon of whom I am ſpeaking, made ſo great a figure in his life-time,' that ſeveral perſons undertook to write memoirs of his actions from their own knowledge, and the notices they received from their Friends, and tho' in general thoſe performances are very uſeful, and let us into the truth of ſeveral tranſactions, about which we ſhould be otherwiſe in the dark; yet they are not totally free from defects, as will be evident from the inſtance we are now going to give, and in order to place this in as clear a light as it is poſſible, we will firſt of all ſtate the matter as theſe writers have repreſented it, and then ſhew to what objections their account is liable, how far it agrees with, and in what circumſtances there are good grounds to ſuſpect it deviates from truth. As for their account it runs thus (37). The Iriſh Roman Catholicks ſoon after the King's return, preſented a petition to him by Sir Nicholas Plunket, and others commiſſioned for that purpoſe, to deſire they might be reſtored to their eſtates. This in effect would have ruined the Proteſtants, who choſe the Earls of Orrery, Montrath, and ſix more to oppoſe their adverſaries, before the King and the Council. The Iriſh Commiſſioners were ſo apprehenſive of the Earl's eloquence, and addreſs upon ſuch occaſion, that Mr Morrice, his chaplain, aſſures us, they came to him, and offered him eight thouſand pounds in money, and to ſettle eſtates of ſeven thouſand pounds per ann. upon him and his heirs, if he would not appear againſt them at the council-board. But the Earl rejected this propoſal with a generous diſdain, and told them, that ſince he had the honour to be employed by the Proteſtants, he would never have the baſeneſs to betray them. This great cauſe was heard at length in a very ſolemn manner, before the King and Council; where, when the Iriſh Commiſſioners had offered all they thought proper, and expatiated upon the loyalty of their principles, the Earl, after an handſome compliment to the King, boldly affirmed that his Proteſtant ſubjects in Ireland were the firſt that formed an effectual party for reſtoring him, which the King readily bore witneſs to. He then repreſented, that the Iriſh Papiſts after the ceſſation of arms, had ſent no aſſiſtance to the late King, as they had promiſed to do, and would have cut off the Marquis of Ormond, his Majeſty's Lord-Lieutenant, at Kilkenny, which Lord Ormond averred to be true, and that they refuſed to receive him into Limerick, but endeavoured to intercept and murder him, in his return to Dublin. Then the Earl of Orrery produced a paper ſigned by Plunket, and ſeveral of the ſupreme council at Kilkenny, aſking him if it was not his hand, and if the hands of others of them, then preſent, were not of their writing. The Marquis of Ormond ſeeing it, cry'd, Sir Nicholas Plunket, that is certainly of your writing; which neither he nor the others could deny, and it being read, appeared to be an order of the ſupreme council to proſecute the Marquis of Ormond by name, then Lord-Lieutenant, and his party, with fire and ſword: Upon which the Earl of Orrery ſaid, thoſe muſt be very loyal ſubjects indeed, that had declared war againſt his Majeſty's Commiſſioners! He added; it will be proved to this moſt Honourable Board, that the Iriſh did not only declare war againſt his Majeſty's Lieutenant, but that Sir Nicholas Plunket himſelf had been impowered by them by a commiſſion under the hands of the ſupreme council, which he alſo produced, and the Iriſh Commiſſioners could not deny the hand writing of Plunket, and others of them, 'to offer 'the Pope the Kingdom of Ireland; and if he refuſed 'it, to offer it to the King of Spain; and in caſe he 'would not accept of it, to make the ſame offer to 'the King of France, the Duke of Lorrain, or any 'other catholick Prince.' Then his Lordſhip ſhewed the council another paper ſubſcribed as before, and deſired it might be read. It was a petition drawn up by the hands of the Iriſh nation, about the tranſplantation; wherein they gave the commonwealth parliament, the ſtile and title of the ſupreme authority, acknowledging it to be juſtly and lawfully lodged in their aſſembly, to whom they ſubmitted their lives and fortunes: Upon this the Iriſh petition was rejected, and Plunket and the other Popiſh deputies were forbidden the King's preſence and Court. The Earl of Montrath, and the ſix other Proteſtant Commiſſioners, were very inquiſitive to know how the Earl of Orrery procured theſe papers, and why he had not communicated them to his fellow-commiſſioners, before the hearing. His Lordſhip told them, That he would not truſt his brother with them, for fear that if it were known he had ſuch original papers, the Papiſts, who were confident of ſucceſs without ſuch evidence againſt them, might uſe ſome art or other to render them ineffectual, which if they were ſurprized with them they could not do. He ſaid that the manner of his coming by ſuch originals, was very extraordinary. That upon his being named one of the Deputies of Ireland, a plain, grave, country gentleman came to his houſe in Munſter, and deſired to ſpeak with him in private; and being admitted, he ſaid, 'That he heard his Lordſhip was going to court 'in ſuch a commiſſion, and knowing him to be a 'a man of integrity, he had brought ſome papers, 'which he thought would be uſeful to him for the 'Engliſh intereſt, againſt the Iriſh; that he would 'not truſt his own ſon with them, and therefore came 'in perſon to wait upon his Lordſhip, and deliver 'them to him.' The Earl aſked how he procured them? The gentleman replied, that he had had ſuch a commiſſion in the army, and one of his ſoldiers, in rifling the houſe of a papiſt of diſtinction, brought away theſe papers, which he took from him, and laid them

(37) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. vi. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 491. Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 106, & ſeq.

time of his being at the head of the government there, was such as contributed to make the subjects easy and contented; and his moderation, in conjunction with the same good quality in his colleagues, helped to reconcile all the jarring parties and different religions in that kingdom to a quiet obedience, at least, of the new establishment (d). When, therefore, the Earl of Montrath, who had so generously concurred with him in the King's Restoration, was removed by death, his Lordship together with the Lord Chancellor Eustace, were continued, and sworn again Lords-Justices, Jan. 14, 1661 (e). He gave all the necessary lights, to the King and his Ministry, as to the affairs of that island, by which they proceeded here; he drew the bill of settlement with his own hand, by which he came nearer the character of a Legislator, than almost any modern Statesman our History has recorded. For by this he fixed the property, and gave titles to their estates to a whole nation; and as it was the work of his head to contrive, so it was left to his industry and influence to get passed, the Act of Settlement, which he performed to the lasting security of the Protestant interest in Ireland. It is very remarkable, that as great a service as this was to the English nation, as much as it contributed to the ease and safety of the government, and as far as it went in composing the disputes that were almost ready to have kindled a new flame in Ireland, yet nobody disputed this merit with the Earl of Orrery (f). The Act of Settlement, though as just and reasonable as a law of so general a nature could be, did not satisfy every body. The Irish Papists were provoked, the enthusiastick Fanaticks were ill pleased, and though the wiser, better, and major part of the people saw good cause to be grateful and content, yet those who were otherwise, were by much the more restless, clamorous, and uneasy; and all these discharged their gall very freely on Orrery (g). When matters were brought into this condition, and all things wore a peaceable and regular aspect, his Lordship was discharged of the burthen of government, his Grace the Duke of Ormond being sworn Lord-Lieutenant, July 28, 1662, and the Earl of Orrery remitted to his more confined exercise of power in his province of Munster (h). But in this situation he continued to labour all in his power for the publick advantage, giving such lights and informations to the Duke of Ormond as he desired, and which, as they are still preserved, remain indelible proofs of his publick spirit, and private friendship (i). Amongst other great services rendered in this manner, one was in the following year, 1663, when he acquainted the Lord-Lieutenant with a design formed for seizing Dublin-castle, and which is commonly called Jephson's plot (k) [L]. His Lordship's active and free course of life had brought upon him some diseases and infirmities, which gave him much pain and uneasiness, and a fever that fell into his feet, joined with the gout with which he was often afflicted, abated much of that vigour which he had shewed in the earlier part of his life; but his industry and application were still the same, and bent to the same purposes, as appeats from his letters, which shew at once a capacity and an attention to business, which does honour to that age; and

(d) Lawrence's Interest of Ireland, Part iii. p. 99.

(e) See the large Table of supreme Governors and great officers in Ireland, in the second Volume of Sir James Ware's Works.

(f) See the Preface to the Earl of Orrery's State Letters.

(g) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 224.

(h) Cox's Hist. of Ireland.

(i) See his Letters during 1663, 1664, and 1665.

(k) Cox's Hist. of Ireland.

them up safe, to be made use of upon occasion, and none could be more proper than the present. —— It is very true, that soon after the Restoration, and while the Convention was sitting at Dublin, Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, Sir Charles Coote, afterwards Earl of Montrath, and others, were sent over to represent the desires of the nation to the King; and it is also true, that these Commissioners supported the cause of the Protestants against such as appeared on behalf of the Irish Papists (38); but I do not find that Plunket was then their agent. Many months after this, when the Parliament was sitting, and the Earl of Orrery was one of the Lords-Justices, Commissioners were appointed to support the Act of Settlement in England, and those chosen by the house of Lords were the Earl of Kildare, the Lord Viscount Montgomery, the Bishop of Elphin, and the Lord Kingston (39). After this, in 1661, the Lords-Justices sent the Bishop of Cork, the Lord Kingston, and Mr Piggot, then Master of the Wards, as their agents to England, and these were the persons that produced the papers in question, and defeated all the endeavours of Sir Nicholas Plunket, and the rest of the Irish agents, by producing the instructions of Plunket, as is very evident, from the order of council, dated at Whitehall, March 14, 1661-2, in which the whole affair is very clearly stated (40). At this time the Earl of Orrery was one of the Lords-Justices, and in Ireland; the Earl of Montrath died the 18th of October preceding the transaction; and Mr Carte informs us, that the Bishop of Cork had, by some means or other, found the originals of the instruments before mentioned, and was the person who produced them at the council-table (41). As for the Earl of Orrery's zeal for the Protestant interest, the offers made him by the Irish Papists, and his rejecting them, they may be, and probably were true; but as to the Earl of Orrery's producing these papers at the council-table, after they had fallen into his hands, in so extraordinary a manner, it is plain they are circumstances added at random, and have no foundation in truth.

(38) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 212.

(39) Memoirs of the Affairs of Ireland, from the Restoration to the Revolution, p. 133.

(40) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 5.

(41) Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 244, 5.

[L] *And which is commonly called Jephson's plot.*] We have in another place given the reader some account of this insurrection, and shall not therefore dwell upon it here. That it was discovered by the Earl of Orrery to the Lord-Lieutenant, appears to have been a thing of notoriety in those days (42), tho' there is no particular account of it in his Lordship's letters, but the following epistle from his most gracious master, which is preserved among them, will put the matter of fact entirely out of doubt, and establish this point of service as effectually as can be desired.

(42) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 6.

King Charles II. to the Earl of Orrery (43).

(43) Orrery's Letters, p. 71.

'MY Lord of Orrery. Though I had before I 'received your's of May 23, a relation of the 'confpiracy against the castle of Dublin, from my 'Lord of Ormond, as also of the part you had in the 'discovery of it: Yet I was glad to read in your's 'many more particulars, especially for the application 'you used, to prevent the further growth of this 'villany, which was so much, according to my judg-'ment, that I cannot but recommend to you the same 'manner of proceeding, if we shall be so unhappy 'as to meet with any more such occasions. In the 'mean time I desire you to be assured, that I have 'all the value I ought to have for your person, and 'affection to my service, and that I shall on all oc-'casions requite it as

White-hall, June 13th 1663. Your very affectionate Friend,

CHARLES R.'

and may ſerve as an example for this (*l*). But on particular emergencies, when the State could not be ſerved by ſpeeches or pen and ink, the Earl of Orrery forgot his ill ſtate of health and infirmities to ſuch a degree, as ſhewed how far publick ſpirit can ſupply all things, even youth and ſtrength, to ſuch as are truly affected therewith. On the King's ſignifying his deſire of ſeeing his Lordſhip in England, he went over in 1665, and found things at Court in ſome diſorder (*m*). His Majeſty had taken a reſolution of removing the Earl of Clarendon, Lord High-Chancellor, on account of his behaving ſo imperiouſly, that one of his Majeſty's complaiſant temper could no longer bear it; and he had ſo good an opinion of the Earl of Orrery's judgment, integrity, and fitneſs for that high employment, that he offered him the Seals, as Lord-Keeper, which, however, he declined, on account of his want of bodily vigour, which the King did not take at all amiſs (*n*). But he accepted, and performed, a moſt difficult and diſagreeable commiſſion from his maſter, which was to expoſtulate with his brother the Duke of York, and bring him to aſk pardon for ſome ſteps he had taken to ſupport the Chancellor, and that, by the Earl of Orrery's perſuaſion, he was brought to do. In this ſituation of things, ſtanding equally well with the royal brothers, he might have had any thing, but his Lordſhip deſired no more than he had, and therefore, as ſoon as he had done what was expected from him here, he went back again to Ireland, neither greater nor richer than he came from thence; and though no creature of Clarendon's, yet no mighty friend to the Miniſters that ſupplanted him (*o*). On his coming back to Munſter, he found himſelf called to a new ſcene of action. The firſt Dutch war was then at it's height, and the French acting alſo in confederacy with them, and both uſing all their endeavours, to rake together the ſcattered aſhes of rebellion, and by countenancing the regicides, and other dangerous perſons abroad, to ſpirit up an inſurrection either in England or Ireland, he, who knew better than any man, how to deal with and diſcover the intrigues of the Fanaticks, was put to keep a conſtant guard againſt their ſecret contrivances, and at the ſame time was obliged to watch with equal diligence, the attemps that might be made on the coaſts, by the enemies joint naval force (*p*). How he diſcharged his truſt in both, is largely ſet forth by his own pen, not in a ſtudied account of his own ſervices, but in papers occaſionally written in direction to others, or to deſire from the Lord-Lieutenant, with whom he ſtood then in high favour, inſtructions for himſelf (*q*). The ſcheme formed by the Duke de Beaufort, Admiral of France, for a deſcent upon Ireland, and ſecuring the noble harbour of Kingſale, was defeated by the Earl of Orrery, who diſcovered all the alacrity of a young man in repairing thither, aſſembling a force ſufficient to cover the town and port, and guns to mount upon the works; at the ſame time that he alſo ſhewed the judgment and experience of an old Stateſman, in laying hold of ſo fair an opportunity, to make the fright of the people, and the alarm of the Government, turn to the advantage of the country, by procuring a fort and regular fortifications to be erected (*r*). This was afterwards done under the direction of his Lordſhip, who had thereby an opportunity of ſignalizing his ſkill (which was great) as an engineer in the conſtruction of Fort Charles, and of demonſtrating, which was very ſingular, his publick ſpirit as a Patriot, by contributing his private credit, and advancing his own money for the ſervice of the nation (*s*). By his care in this particular, one of the beſt ports in the Britiſh dominions was put into a proper ſtate of defence againſt enemies, and rendered a moſt commodious refuge in time of war, both for our Eaſt and Weſt India fleets (*t*). But in the midſt of all his labours, and in ſpite of all his ſervices, in 1667, a diſpute aroſe between him and his old friend the Duke of Ormond (*u*), then Lord-Lieutenant, of which it is neceſſary, and therefore I have ſaid ſomewhat, though it is but too viſible, that after all that can be ſaid, in a great meaſure, poſterity will remain ſtill in the dark as to the true grounds of this quarrel [*M*].

(*l*) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(*m*) Love's Memoirs of Lord Orrery.

(*n*) Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) See this explained in note [*P*].

(*p*) Orrery's Letters, p. 114—298.

(*q*) See his correſpondence during that time, in his Letters.

(*r*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 238. Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 257. Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 5, 9.

(*s*) Orrery's Letters, p. 237.

(*t*) See the vaſt importance of this Port, explained by the Earl himſelf in his Letters to the Duke of Ormond, July 18, 1667, p. 271.

(*u*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

But

[*M*] *Poſterity will remain ſtill in the dark, as to the true grounds of this quarrel.*] It may to ſome ſeem tedious and to others trifling, to deſcend into a cloſe examination of the differences and diſputes between great men, who lived at ſuch a diſtance of time. But when it is conſidered that theſe diſputes, tho' private at the beginning, became at laſt of a publick nature, and produced firſt an attempt to frame an impeachment againſt the Duke of Ormond; and in revenge of this, the actual forming an impeachment againſt the Earl of Orrery, and this, in ſo ſhort a ſpace, after they were both highly advanced in honour, and cloſely united in friendſhip; I ſay, whoever conſiders this, cannot think ſuch an enquiry trivial; or, if kept within proper bounds, tedious. We read with great pleaſure, in Mr Bayle's admirable performance, differences and diſputes of far leſs conſideration, and with which, in compariſon of theſe, we have little or nothing to do. Beſides, this diſpute had very conſiderable conſequences: Some attribute thereto the removal of the Duke of Ormond from the Lieutenancy of Ireland; but whether this was ſo or not, moſt certain it is, that it produced the ſuppreſſion of the Lord Preſident's court in Munſter, which is a point of ſuch importance, as renders any thing relating to it worth knowing. It is evident, that the coldneſs began on the ſide of the Duke of Ormond, and is thus accounted for by his hiſtorian (44).

'Lord Orrery gave the Duke of Ormond an early 'account of his being ſollicited in this manner; but 'it was only in general, and he would not diſcover 'the perſons who had thus endeavoured to draw him 'into their combination, that his Grace might know 'againſt whoſe deſigns he was to guard himſelf. Nor 'did he ever give him the leaſt notice of the King's 'letter. He had promiſed to let the Duke know 'what was like to be objected againſt him, and in 'performance of that promiſe, had ſent him ſome 'articles, which his Grace deemed too ſenſeleſs to be 'real, and his jealouſy being already raiſed, he ſuſ'pected ſome of them to be that nobleman's in'ventions.'

It may ſeem a little ſtrange, that ſo wiſe a man as the Duke of Ormond, ſhould take ill the notices given him by a man of Lord Orrery's quality, who made high profeſſions of friendſhip to him, and, for any thing that appears to the contrary, was really his friend. But the news being unwelcome in itſelf, could not be well reliſhed; from whatever hand it came. His Grace however had afterwards very full ſatisfaction

(44) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 365.

as

But upon what grounds ſoever it began, both Peers very ſoon felt the bad effects of it, and reſorted into England, to defend their reſpective intereſts and pretenſions, both having been attacked by their ſecret enemies, who ſuggeſted many things to their prejudice, as well as that, if their power was once taken away, all that was alledged would be ſpeedily and fully made good (*w*). Such were the methods practiſed in thoſe days, and perhaps ſince, to bring down great men, and againſt ſuch methods, Who can be ſafe? But after all it is certain, that the King's affections to him were not eaſily ſhaken [*N*]. His coming over to England at that time, and the rumours which prevailed in Ireland as if he was intended for Lord-Lieutenant, increaſed the jealouſy of the Duke of Ormond, which was not at all abated, by the Earl's promoting a ſcheme, for enquiring into and improving his Majeſty's revenue in that kingdom (*x*). He failed in this, indeed, but it was not from any miſtake of his, but from the King's applying great ſums out of that revenue, which did not come plainly into account. This competition between Ormond and Orrery continuing, proved to them very diſadvantageous, eſpecially at a time when a new Miniſtry was coming in that liked neither, and was therefore employed in contriving to ruin both. The Preſidential Court the Earl was directed to lay down, becauſe the power was great, and the Earl of Orrery being exceedingly well qualified for executing that part of his office, made it appear greater, perhaps, than it really was (*y*). He ſubmitted, immediately to his maſter's pleaſure, that was ſignified by a moſt obliging letter, of which, however, there ſeems to be no copy remaining. In his next voyage to England, he perceived

(*w*) Remarkable Events under the reign of Charles II. p. 357.

(*x*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 369.

(*y*) See the Preface to Lord Orrery's Letters.

as to the truth of it, and as to Lord Orrery's not declaring from whom he had it, his Lordſhip's account ought to have ſatisfied the Duke; for he told him, that the ſame perſon who gave him this advice, enjoined him ſecrecy, and at the ſame time told him, if he would join in the deſign, he would diſcloſe to him the whole; but this the Earl poſitively refuſed, which put it out of his power to gain farther lights for the Duke. Some cauſes there were beſides this which diſguſted his Grace, and made him ſo ſuſpicious of every thing that came from the Earl of Orrery; and what theſe cauſes were, will beſt appear from the account of this matter, given by the Earl's hiſtorian, which runs thus (45).

(45) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

'After the Earl of Orrery had been ſome time in Ireland, the Duke of Ormond, being Lord Lieutenant, went in progreſs through the chief parts of that kingdom, and upon his coming into Munſter, Lord Orrery ordered all the Train-Bands of the ſeveral Baronies, through which his Grace was to paſs, to be ready in arms to conduct him through the Barony, and he himſelf went to the confines of the province to receive him, and waited upon him throughout all the province. But this action was by ſome wicked people, preſented to my Lord's great prejudice. For ſome did the ill office to inſinuate, that this was too popular for a ſubject, and therefore not proper to be tolerated; and that this was only to ſhew what he could do, if he were diſguſted, having ſo many at a day's warning ready to obey his command. From that time forward there grew an unhappy miſunderſtanding between the Duke and his Lordſhip, which my Lord Orrery never dreamed of, until it became too viſible not to be remarked; for thoſe wicked inſtruments, who firſt ſuggeſted this to the Duke, did not fail afterwards to miſrepreſent to him all other of Lord Orrery's words and actions.'

This matter is ſtill more fully explained by a very judicious writer, in the following words (46). 'His Grace of Ormond, who found himſelf unjuſtly, but ſenſibly declining, in his royal maſter's favour, and who ſaw in his progreſs into the county of Cork, the great intereſt and influence which the Earl poſſeſſed there, could not help liſtening to malicious inſinuations, whiſpered to him againſt the then Preſident of Munſter: Nor could he think himſelf in perfect ſecurity, (for two ſuns cannot ſhine in one hemiſphere) 'till the Preſidency Court was ſuppreſſed; and 'till Lord Orrery was diveſted of all means to vie with the Lord-Lieutenant, either in grandeur or in power. —— Stateſmen cannot look with the eye of affection towards their ſucceſſors: And the Duke of Ormond judged, that were he himſelf diſplaced, no man was ſo fit to ſupply the vacancy as Lord Orrery So that urged on by jealouſies on every ſide, the Duke of Ormond ſtopped the noble current of his nature, which flow'd moſt benevolently on all other occaſions, and entertained ſuſpicions of an old and intimate acquaintance, who had taken every opportunity to be his friend, and whom no provocation could ever force to be his enemy.'

(46) See the Preface to the Earl of Orrery's Letters.

[*N*] *But after all it is certain, that the King's affections to him were not eaſily ſhaken.*] We have an account from Mr Morrice, of a letter written to the Earl of Orrery, ſome time after the fall of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon (47). 'He received, ſays he, a 'kind letter from his Majeſty, written with his own 'hand, which I have ſeen, wherein the King gives 'him many thanks for his kind ſervices to him; particularly for ſettling things in ſo good a poſture in 'his province; aſſuring him, he would always be 'mindful of, and be ready to ſerve him in any thing he 'ſhould deſire: And in the concluſion his Majeſty 'lets him know, he was very well pleaſed with that 'part of the Black Prince he had ſent him, and conjured his Lordſhip to go on and complete it, which, 'if he could not do until he had a fit of the gout, 'he wiſhed him a fit preſently, that he might the 'ſooner finiſh it. King Charles was the firſt who put 'my Lord upon writing plays, which his Majeſty did 'upon occaſion of a diſpute that aroſe in his royal 'preſence, about writing plays in rhyme. Some affirmed it was not to be done; others ſaid, it would 'ſpoil the fancy to be ſo confined: But Lord Orrery 'was of another opinion, and his Majeſty being willing a trial ſhou'd be made, commanded his Lordſhip 'to employ ſome of his leiſure time that way, which 'my Lord readily did, and upon that occaſion compoſed the Black Prince.' It is impoſſible to fix the date of this letter, which is now no longer extant; but it ſeems to have been written before the difference broke out between his Grace of Ormond, and his Lordſhip; after which ſome endeavours were uſed to alter the kind ſentiments which, as appears from this letter, the King then had for his Lordſhip, of which, it is poſſible, he might have notice, and might have expreſſed his concern thereat, nor is it in the leaſt improbable, that the King ſhould receive an account of this, for without ſuppoſing ſome ſuch thing, it is not eaſy to give a reaſon for the King's writing him the following letter, which I take to be a clear and direct proof of what is aſſerted in the Text (48).

(47) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(48) Carte's Appendix to the Life of the Duke of Ormond, No. lxvi.

The King to the Earl of Orrery.

'MY Lord of Orrery, I am ſo well perſuaded 'of your particular kindneſs to me, and ſo ſatisfied with the conſtant ſervice you do me, upon all 'occaſions, as I have omitted to ſay any thing to you 'till now, upon the late change I have made, becauſe 'I hope you are ſo much aſſured of my true friendſhip 'to you, as no alteration could ſhake me in it; for 'you may be moſt confident, that you may ſtand upon 'your own legs, and that you need nobody's friendſhip with me, nor ought to fear the ill offices of any 'man can have any effect to your prejudice. Therefore I will ſay no more at this time, but to conjure 'you never to doubt of the conſtant kindneſs of

White-hall, Nov. 30th, 1667. Your very affectionate Friend,

CHARLES R.'

[*O*] *For*

ceived a great alteration both with regard to publick affairs and his own, the method uſed againſt Clarendon being eſteemed infallible by thoſe who employed it, and who were not long before they practiſed it againſt Orrery, by bringing a charge of high crimes and even of treaſon againſt him into Parliament, of which we ſhall ſay nothing here, for the beſt account that can be given, is that from the Journals of the Houſe (z) [O]. He defended himſelf ſo well, that it produced no effect, except opening the eyes of ſuch of his old friends as had differed from him, and who now ſaw, with how ſmall reaſon they had taken this ſtep, and how far he was from endeavouring to return it, reſtraining himſelf, on the contrary, within the ſtrict bounds of a direct defence, as the anſwer to the charge ſhews, and in the notes may be found ſome other ſingular (though leſs important) circumſtances, worth the reader's notice (a) [P]. But though this proſecution did not prove

(z) Journal of the Houſe of Commons, Nov. 25, 1669.

(a) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

[O] *For the beſt account that can be given, is that from the Journals of the Houſe.*] We have ſeveral accounts of this tranſaction, both in publick and general hiſtories, as well as in private and ſecret memoirs; but as none of theſe deſerve credit, farther than they are warranted by, or at leaſt are conſiſtent with, the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, it cannot but be agreeable to the reader to have that account laid before them

'On Thurſday, the 25th day of November, 1669, 'a petition ſigned by Sir Edward Fitz-Harris, and 'Philip Alden, Gent. was read, to which a paper 'was affixed, containing articles of impeachment 'againſt Roger Earl of Orrery of high-treaſon and 'miſdemeanours. The paper was alſo read, and the 'petitioners were then called in; who, at the bar of 'the houſe, avowed both the paper and the petition, 'affirming they were ready to make out the particulars by proof, and then they withdrew. They were 'after ſome time called in again; and Mr Speaker 'acquainted them, that the charge in the articles being in part treaſonable, the houſe deſired to know, 'whether as to that part they were witneſſes or proſecutors. They anſwered they were only proſecutors to 'that part; and though one of their witneſſes to 'make proof of it was in town, yet they had others 'who were not, and therefore deſired a warrant of 'ſummons, and time to bring them in; after which 'they withdrew, and the matter was debated, the 'previous queſtion being put, and paſſing in the affirmative, the main queſtion was put, whether the 'charge againſt the Earl of Orrery doth contain in it 'treaſonable matter; and this likewiſe paſſing, the 'following order enſued: *Ordered*, That the Serjeant 'at Arms attending this houſe, do go to the Lord Orrery, and let him know he has the order of this 'houſe to bring him into cuſtody to this houſe, to 'anſwer a charge exhibited againſt him. And if he 'find him in a condition not able to come, then to 'leave a ſervant to attend 'till he is; and that he do 'alſo deliver him a copy of the charge exhibited 'againſt him.

'On Wedneſday, December the 1ſt, 1669, the Lord 'Orrery attending near the houſe, and deſiring admittance to give in his anſwer, he was called in, and 'being informed, was permitted to give in his anſwer 'ſitting in his place; and every one of the ten articles being diſtinctly read to him, he did, upon reading every particular article, give in his anſwer thereto, in order, as they were writ down and were read; 'and then he withdrew. The previous queſtion being 'put, and carried in the affirmative; the main queſtion was put: That a day be appointed for the accuſers to produce witneſſes, to make good the charge 'againſt the Earl of Orrery. The houſe divided, and 'the yeas went out; yeas 118, no's 121. So it paſſed in the negative. Then the queſtion being put, 'that this accuſation againſt the Earl of Orrery, be 'left to be proſecuted at law? It paſſed in the affirmative.

'Friday, December the 10th, 1669, a debate being in the matter, touching Lord Orrery. *Reſolved*, 'That his Majeſty be humbly deſired by ſuch members 'of this houſe, as are of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, 'that the witneſſes in this matter, have liberty to 'come over out of Ireland, to give their teſtimony.'

[P] *Some other ſingular (tho' leſs important) circumſtances, worth the reader's notice.*] The Duke of Ormond had carried his point with reſpect to the Preſidential Court of Munſter, tho' as we have ſhewn in the text, the Earl of Orrery met with ſome alleviations in that affair; but in England the enemies of the Duke of Ormond had ſo far prevailed, that he was removed from his high office, and the Lord Roberts ſworn Lieutenant of Ireland, September 10, 1669 (49). Thus the enemies of thoſe two noble Peers found means to play them againſt each other, to their mutual detriment; for it is certain, they had very near the ſame enemies, and that thoſe enemies would ſcarce had power to hurt either, if their differences had not made way for the leſſening of both. The Duke of Ormond was now removed, but it was the ſentiment of a great and dangerous miniſter, Sir Thomas Clifford, that he ſhould be able to do nothing in Ireland, while Orrery was Preſident of Munſter; and this is the ſecret of bringing the impeachment againſt him into Parliament; the Earl having had timely notice of the deſigns of his enemies, came over and took his ſeat in the Engliſh Houſe of Commons; but being ſeized with a violent fit of the gout, that opportunity was taken by his adverſaries to bring on his affair, and to get him committed; which, tho' effected, did him no great prejudice, and conſequently did them no great ſervice; after this ſtep they could not deny him ſome time, which was all that he wanted to make his defence (50). When the day appointed for that purpoſe came, his Lordſhip attended by a great number of real friends (for ſuch only attend on theſe occaſions) went from his houſe in Leiceſter-fields to Weſtminſter, but his Lordſhip being ſcarce half recovered from his gout, went up the ſtairs leading from Weſtminſter Hall to the Court of Requeſts but heavily; which a friend of his obſerving, and expreſſing his concern for his Lordſhip's pain and trouble, he anſwered him immediately in theſe words; *It is true*, Sir, *my feet are weak, but if my heels will ſerve to carry me up, I promiſe you my head ſhall bring me ſafe down again* (51). His Lordſhip propheſied right, for tho' there never were more pains taken in forming an accuſation, or in giving dark colours to innocent and even to trivial things; yet his anſwer was ſo clear, ſo circumſtantial, and ſo ingenuous, that it ſatisfied even ſuch of his enemies as were men of integrity and honour; ſo that though the managers of this affair had intereſt enough to procure a vote, for bringing over witneſſes, yet they had more wit than to truſt the Houſe, or his Lordſhip, with the examination of thoſe witneſſes, and ſo the matter fell. But notwithſtanding the ſenſe his Lordſhip had of his own intereſt in the Houſe, as well as the goodneſs of his cauſe, he nevertheleſs thought it highly requiſite to neglect no precaution that might avail him, if the malice of his enemies had been ſupported by a greater meaſure of power than he expected; for he ſent his lady over to Ireland before the day of hearing came on, and ſhe executed her commiſſion, with ſo much diligence and dexterity, that whatever iſſue the impeachment might have had, with reſpect to his Lordſhip, his family muſt have been in all events ſafe; which ſufficiently ſhews the violence of thoſe times, when the very worthieſt men, were ſometimes at the mercy, and often in peril from the rage of factions, or the intrigues of wicked men; but if in the progreſs of this affair, his Lordſhip could not avoid meeting with ſome vexation, yet the end of it was not only to his ſatisfaction, but ſeveral concurring circumſtances abated much of the uneaſineſs he would otherwiſe have felt. As for inſtance, the Lord Inchiquin, between whom and the Earl of Orrery there had been for ſome time a coldneſs, being a member of the Houſe of Commons, and remarkably well heard in all matters relating to Ireland, taking up this matter roundly, and underſtanding it perfectly, ſhewed the charge to be in ſeveral reſpects groundleſs; in many directly falſe; in ſome full of groſs miſrepreſentations; in all highly malicious; did his Lordſhip much more ſervice thereby, than

(49) See the Table of General Governors and great Officers in Ireland, in the ſecond Volume of Ware's Works.

(50) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

(51) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

if

prove him guilty of any thing contrary to the publick welfare, or the King's ſervice; yet it was ſuch a convincing argument of the great influence of his enemies, that he is ſaid to have accepted a preſent of eight thouſand pounds from the King, as a compenſation for the Preſidency of Munſter, which the Miniſters were bent on having, and which, in ſuch circumſtances, it did not at all import the Earl to keep (*b*). But the loſs of his employment, did not, in his judgment, diſcharge him from his Majeſty's ſervice; and as the King gave him ſubſequent marks of his favour and eſteem, he came frequently to Court, and ſometimes to Council, more eſpecially after his return from a ſhort viſit to Ireland, whither he went chiefly to execute a deſign he had formed of repairing Caſtle-Martyr, an old ruined fortreſs, which he reduced to a very fair houſe, that he intended for the retreat of his old age (*c*). The King, who knew his abilities, laboured, when he came back, to bring him to reliſh the new ſyſtem, intending to have uſed his advice in his affairs; but his Lordſhip continued to adhere to the former plan with inflexible ſteadineſs, for which he was very much commended by ſome, who were far enough from purſuing the ſame conduct (*d*) [Q]. In another voyage to England, not long after, he ſaw what himſelf had foretold would come to paſs, and found the King involved in numberleſs difficulties, and the Duke of York under ſtill greater. The French war brought on the former, and the fear of Popery (for the Teſt Act had forced his Royal Highneſs to declare himſelf a Papiſt) had produced the latter. In this ſituation the Earl of Orrery was extremely welcome, both brothers knew his zeal for their ſervice, his happineſs in finding expedients, and his abilities for recommending them in the Houſe of Commons, where they were ſenſible it would be a very hard matter to get them approved, if they were not propoſed by ſome, who had no concern in the late offenſive meaſures (*e*). His Lordſhip, in obedience to their commands, framed the Plan of an Act of Limitation, by which it would have been put out of the ſucceſſor's power, to have encroached either on civil or religious liberties, and which, at that time, might, if propoſed from the King, have been probably accepted; but whether his Majeſty inclined to keep it in reſerve, as a thing that might help in extremity, or whether the Duke was ſecretly againſt it, ſo it was, that this expedient was laid aſide 'till the Excluſion Bill was ſet on foot, and then the ſeaſon was paſt, no limitations were regarded as ſatisfactory, or even as practicable (*f*). This too his Lordſhip foretold at the time he offered this expedient, the rejecting which was fatal to the Duke, though at that time he judged otherwiſe. The King conſulted him after this, and ſeemed uneaſy at his deſign of returning to Ireland, being willing to have beſtowed any employment to have kept him near his perſon; and a certain author tells us, he was thought of even for Lord Treaſurer (*g*); but the Earl of Orrery told his Majeſty plainly, that he was conducted by unſteady counſels, with which he could not act, and at the ſame time took the liberty to cenſure a cuſtom the King had, of being in the ſtreets in the night without guards or attendants (*h*). This ſhews how well he always ſtood with his maſter, and how much he deſerved it. On his going back to Ireland, he reſolved on leading a retired and quiet life, dividing his time between his houſes at Charleville and Caſtle-Martyr, encouraging manufactures, and giving, as they needed it, protection and aſſiſtance to his tenants (*i*). But being attacked more cruelly than ever by the gout, his Phyſicians adviſed him to go over to England for advice, and he did accordingly in May 1675, but did not ſtay long. This, as himſelf foreſaw and foretold, was his laſt voyage, and on his going home he ſat down to his ſtudies, that ſince he could be no longer uſeful in an active ſtate, he might at leaſt contribute his good wiſhes and advice, to his Sovereign and fellow-ſubjects (*k*). Yet even in this declining condition, he failed not to repair, in July 1678, to Kinſale, in order to rectify ſome miſtakes made in the fort which was erecting there, and took alſo no ſmall pains to enquire after, and obtain the beſt intelligence poſſible, of the cabals of the Iriſh Papiſts, for which (as one ſays) he was qualified by a natural ſagacity (*l*), tranſmitting all he could diſcover to the Duke of Ormond, now once again Lord-Lieutenant, and to whom he was cordially reconciled. This ſeems to have been the laſt effort of publick ſpirit, the dying blaze of that virtue, which had ſo long

(*b*) See the Preface to the Earl of Orrery's Letters, p. vi.

(*c*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

(*d*) See this explained in the note [Q].

(*e*) Remarkable Events under the Reign of Charles II. p. 371.

(*f*) Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(*g*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 391.

(*h*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

(*i*) Lawrence's Intereſt of Ireland, Part. iii. p. 189.

(*k*) See what he ſays to this purpoſe, in his Dedication of the Art of War to his Majeſty King Charles II.

(*l*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 496.

(52) Letter of Sir John Rereſby to the Marquis of Hallifax.

if their former friendſhip had ſubſiſted, without ſuffering any interruption (52).

[Q] *By ſome who were far enough from purſuing the ſame conduct.*] The great point then laboured, was to reconcile his Lordſhip to the French alliance, and the reducing of the Dutch; neither of which were at all agreeable to his notions, and therefore that he might the more freely expreſs the miſchievous conſequences which he apprehended from theſe meaſures, he digeſted his thoughts into a poem, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter; and this was very well received by the King, who hoped to make ſome impreſſion upon his Lordſhip in his turn, in a long audience that he gave him for that purpoſe; but the Earl's duty would not allow him to liſten to the King's reaſons, when he was ſenſible that thoſe reaſons, however ſpecious, were contrary to his Majeſty's own intereſt, and thoſe of his ſubjects; and this led him to declare in plain terms, that he could never concur in counſels, that were calculated, either to aggrandize France, which was already too great, or to break the power of the Dutch, which was barely ſufficient for their own defence (53). It is not poſſible to diſtinguiſh exactly the time when this tranſaction happened, becauſe the author from whom we have it, very ſeldom mentions dates.

(53) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

But there is a particular circumſtance mentioned by him, which muſt not be omitted here. As the Earl of Orrery came from this audience of his Majeſty, he was met by the Earl of Danby, who was then only Sir Thomas Oſborne, and aſked whether he had cloſed with the King's propoſals, to which Orrery anſwered No. *Then*, replied the other ſtateſman, *your Lordſhip may be the honeſter man, but you will never be worth a groat.* This paſſage is the more remarkable, becauſe this ſtateſman was, in opinion, as much againſt France as the Earl of Orrery, and temporized purely for the ſake of power (54), which coſt him afterwards, a long impriſonment, and very narrowly miſſed coſting him his life. So dear do even the wiſeſt men pay for ſacrificing their principles to their intereſts.

(54) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

long, and so warmly agitated his mind; for in two months after, he was seized with that distemper which brought him to his end; this disease, though deadly, was not violent in it's beginning, so that, as it put him in mind of mortality, it gave him leisure to contemplate, and to fit himself for so great a change, which, when he had done, and given the strongest proofs of Christian patience, manly courage, and rational fortitude, he breathed his last, October 16, 1679, in the fifty-ninth year of his age *(m)*, as much regretted by all degrees of people, as any man of his time, which was far from being barren of great men, in all, or any of, the senses of the word. His character has been often given, and generally to his advantage. If we seek it impartially from facts, it will appear great and good. His wit was pregnant and yet solid; his blossoms fair, but not fairer than the fruit. He came early into life with much credit, and maintained it to the last, for even the sun-set of his active life was glorious. He was always loyal, and shewed it as often, as far, and as effectually, as he could, of which his master, who was most concerned, was fully satisfied *(n)*. His compliance with Cromwell was from necessity at first, and afterwards from gratitude; but the services he rendered the Protector were no way prejudicial to the King, perhaps they might, at least we know they were intended to, be otherwise. His merit in the Restoration was as great as any man's, Monk's only excepted, but the settlement of Ireland, and securing the English and Protestant interest in that kingdom, is a merit cannot be denied him, indeed it was the principal crime charged upon him by his enemies, that is the Papists and Fanaticks, who, like Samson's foxes, tugged tail to tail in his impeachment. He was a friend to the Earl of Clarendon *(o)*, but not to a degree inconsistent with his duty; he was heartily loyal to the King, and had a sincere regard for the Duke, which hindered him from having any thing to do with the Exclusion *(p)*. In a word, as a Statesman, he gave generally soft, but always safe, counsels; no body knew better how to steer in storms than he, but he was not the less afraid of them. As a soldier, he was very intrepid, and did so many things by courage, as might have drawn his prudence into doubt, if he had not done many more purely by his conduct. He was esteemed an excellent officer by those, who, in that trade, could not be misled in their judgments; and he has also left us a memorial of his skill in that profession, which will evince to every competent judge, that he had few superiors in the art of war during the time he flourished *(q)*. As an author, his fame was equal to that of any man of his quality, in an age, when it was no uncommon thing for titles to adorn title-pages; and he was an author in many different ways, in some he certainly excelled, in others he might be deficient, but in none appeared flat or trivial. His faults were the faults of the times, his beauties were his own, and such as shew him to have had a great genius. His writings will be more particularly taken notice of at the bottom of the page [*R*]. His private life was altogether as regular as

(m) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

(n) See this justified in note [*I.*]

(o) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 384.

(p) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(q) See this farther explained, in the account given of his Works in note [*R*].

[*R*] *His writings will be more particularly taken notice of, at the bottom of the page.*] It is a very difficult task to give a full, distinct, and accurate account of this noble and learned person's writings; nor is the difficulty at all lessened by the many accounts already given, most of them being very erroneous, and all of them inconsistent with each other. The best is that of Walter Harris, Esq (55); which I shall make use of, with some additions and remarks, in order to render it agreeable to the design of this work; and, as far as it is possible, at this distance of time, to do justice to the performances, and thereby right to the memory of so excellent a Person. His works then, according to the best lights we could obtain, are these. I. *The* Irish *colours displayd; in a reply of an* English Protestant *to a letter of an* Irish Roman *Catholick.* London, 1662, 4to. This was written in answer to a piece penned by *Peter Walsh*, and addressed to the Duke of *Ormond*, to whom the same person likewise addressed a reply to this treatise, called, *The* Irish *colours unfolded.* This piece I have never seen, but from it's subject, being written against Father Walsh, and printed in the same size and year, I fancy differs not much from the next. II. *An answer to a scandalous letter lately printed, and subscribed by* Peter Walsh, *Procurator for the secular and regular Popish priests of* Ireland, *entituled,* A letter desiring a just and merciful regard of the Roman Catholicks of *Ireland*; given about the end of *October*, 1660, to the then Marquis, now Duke, of *Ormond*, and the second time Lord *Lieutenant* of that kingdom. *By the Right Hon. the Earl of* Orrery, &c. *being a full discovery of the treachery of the* Irish *rebels, since the beginning of the* Rebellion *there, necessary to be considered by all adventurers, and other persons estated in that kingdom.* Dublin, 1662, 4to. London, 1662, 4to. To this answer the letter itself is prefixed, which it answers for the information of the reader, and both have been reprinted at the close of the letters of the Earl of Orrery hereafter mentioned. One cannot part with this singular piece without observing, that if no other had ever fallen from his Lordship's pen, this alone might have procured him the character of an able Statesman, a great Lawyer, and a most correct and accurate Writer. I must next remark, that on perusing this admirable work, one may be tempted to suspect it occasioned the story before reported, and refuted, of his silencing the Popish deputies; for most of the facts mentioned in Mr Morrice's account of that affair, are actually set forth and urged in this treatise, in answer to the pretensions of the Irish Catholicks. There was a reply also to this by Peter Walsh.

(55) Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 177.

III. *A Poem on his Majesty's happy Restoration* (56). This we find mentioned by one of his Lordship's historians, it was presented by the Earl himself to the King; some copies were in those days handed about in MS. but we are told it was never printed, (which however I doubt) and yet we have no reason whatever assigned why it was not printed.

(56) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

IV. *A Poem on the death of the celebrated Mr* Abraham Cowley. London, 1667, fol. It has been since prefixed by Dr Sprat, (Bishop of Rochester) to his edition of Cowley's works. Mr Budgell has also reprinted, and highly commended this Poem (57), as it justly deserves, there being none of the Poems sacred to the memory of that excellent person, which do him more honour.

(57) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 94.

V. *The History of* Henry V; *a Tragedy.* London, 1668, fol. I take this to have been the Earl of Orrery's first play, notwithstanding the contrary is expressly affirmed in the preface to the new edition of his Lordship's dramatick works (58), and the place given to the Black Prince, on the authority of a letter of his Lordship's to a friend, from which this passage is cited. 'I have now finished a play in the 'French manner, because I heard the King declare 'himself more in favour of their way of writing than 'ours: My poor attempt cannot please his Majesty, 'but my example may excite others who can: Sir 'William Davenant will have it acted about Easter. 'As it is wrote in a new way, he may possibly take 'confidence to invite the King to see it; which if his 'Majesty should condescend to, and if you at the same 'time

(58) The Dramatick Works of the Right Honourable Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, Lond. 1739, two Vol. 8vo.

as his publick. He was very sincere in his religion, and that was the Church of England, but his conversation, did not, perhaps, recommend him to the zealots of any party. To the Prelates, and other well-beneficed churchmen, he talked of charity, forbearance, and moderation; but to the Dissenters he magnified Conformity, and the danger to which the Protestant cause was exposed, by their unmeaning feuds and divisions (r). He was a kind and good, as well as a very well-bred and curteous, husband, and Lady Orrery was esteemed one of the handsomest and most prudent women about the Court. He was a tender, and even a fond parent, but very attentive to the education and behaviour of his children, by which the benefit they received was not small. As a landlord, he

(r) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

time should wait on him thither, I intreat you do not let him know who is the author of the play, unless you have double assurances that he does not dislike it.' It is very evident this relates to his Lordship's first play, but nothing determines it to the Black Prince. I rather believe it refers to Henry V. 1. Because this play was to be perform'd by the Duke's company, whereas the Black Prince was first acted at the King's Theatre. 2. The vast respect paid to Henry V, by the royal Family, when acted at the King's Theatre. Mr Harris, who played Henry, having the Duke's Coronation suit; Owen Tudor, play'd by Betterton, (which gained him great reputation) wore the King's; and Mr Lilliston, to whom the part of Duke of Burgundy was given, wore the Earl of Oxford's (59). Why should all this be done, if Henry V. had been his Lordship's third play? 3. He had wrote two plays before the close of 1662, as appears by the King's letter and his Lordship's answer, one of which was to be very soon play'd (60; but this could not be the *Black Prince*, which was written during the first Dutch war, as will appear hereafter, from incontestible evidence.

(59) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 89.

(60) See his Majesty's Letter in Note [I].

VI. Mustapha, *the son of* Solyman, *the Magnificent, a Tragedy*. London, 1667, fol. and 1668. This seems to be the other play mentioned in the King's letter before-mentioned: It was very well received, and there are some very fine scenes in it, tho' it's being written in Rhime renders it unfashionable, and consequently unpleasing to us, at this time.

VII. *The* Black Prince, *a Tragedy*. London, 1672, fol. This, in the title-page of the new edition, is said to have been acted at the Duke of York's Theatre; but the actors names, as they are printed in that edition, shew this to be a mistake, and Langbaine says it was acted at the Theatre Royal (61), as undoubtedly it was. The prologue, by the Genius of England, alluding to the war with Holland and France, plainly proves it was acted in the winter of 1666, for the following spring; and we are also sure that it was written not long before, from a letter to his Lordship from the King his Master, in which notice is taken of this play as being unfinished, and of which his Majesty said pleasantly, *If it was not to be completed, but in the* Gout, (at which time his Lordship wrote most of his Poetry) *he wish'd him a lusty fit of it* (62).

(61) Account of English Dramatick Poets, p. 27.

(62) Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

VIII. *Tryphon, a Tragedy*. London, 1672. fol. The story is to be found in Josephus, and other historians, who have written of the affairs of the Jews; it is written, like the other plays, in heroic verse, and was acted with applause of the Duke's Theatre (63). There are very noble sentiments, and some very fine lines in it, which, however, will not atone with modern Critics, for the offences committed therein against the laws of dramatick Poetry. But as to such as have the history of the Earl of Orrery in their hands, and consider it purely as a piece of his writing, there will appear many things singular to a degree worthy notice, as well in the speeches of the several persons introduced therein, as in the general plan and disposition of the play. These four plays were collected and published together in folio, in 1690 (64), and make now the entire first volume of the new edition of the Earl's dramatick works.

(63) Langbaine's Account of English Dramatick Poets, p. 28.

(64) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 639.

IX. *Parthenissa*, a romance in three volumes. London, 1665, 4to. 1677, fol. This romance is divided into six parts, the last written at her earnest desire, and therefore dedicated to her Royal Highness the Princess Henrietta Maria, Duchess of Orleans (65), Few performances of this kind, and certainly none in our language, have either deserved or received so much approbation; and tho' it has long been in a great measure thrown aside and forgot, yet, perhaps, this may be chiefly owing to it's remaining unfinished, a thing deservedly regretted by the lovers of that kind of writing. One may justly wonder, that a person of this Nobleman's rank and abilities, should turn his thoughts or employ his pen on such a subject. But it may perhaps contribute to lessen this surprize in an assiduous and intelligent reader, to suggest, that some things may be said in a romance, that might not find a place in true history, and that notwithstanding this sort of writing cannot well be defended, yet the severest critick on the perusal of Lord Orrery's romance, will confess it is very well worth reading.

(65) This Dedication pleased Mr Budgell so well, that he has inserted it entire in his Memoirs of the Boyles, p. 99.

X. *A Dream* (66). This poem and the time when it was written, have been before-mentioned. In it the genius of France is introduced, saying, every thing the French Minister could say to inveigle King Charles II. to endeavour at making himself arbitrary, or to deceive him into a mean and scandalous dependance on Lewis XIV; to all which the ghost of Charles I. is next brought in, giving clear and copious answers, fully proving, that the sole foundation of a Monarch's power, is *the love and confidence of his people*. The nature of this performance rendered it unfit for the eye of the publick, and the freedom with which it was penned, made it very improper to allow more than one copy to be taken, which was for the KING himself. The original is long since destroy'd or lost. Upon this occasion two important and obvious remarks may be made; first, that his Lordship made no scruple of declaring fully and formally, against the political system of the Ministry, stiled the CABAL; secondly, that for various reasons, which here it would take up too much time to discuss, he chose to express his sentiments on the nicest and most important subjects, in the garb of poetry or fiction.

(66) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

XI. *The Art of War*. London, 1677. fol. This work which with much elegance, good sense, and in an admirable stile, he addresses to the King, in a large dedication, was but the *first* part of what he intended upon the subject, and was so strangely received, that the *second* never appeared. Yet it may be justly affirmed, nothing in our own, or perhaps in any other, language, was ever better, more judiciously, or more correctly, written. In this all the qualifications of it's noble author appear to advantage, except his turn for poetry, he shews himself a Soldier, a Statesman, a Scholar, and in none of these a Pedant. All he says is not only sensible, but just, and gives pleasure to every man of sense, as well as satisfaction to the most understanding men of the trade, who all agree, that his experience is as conspicuous therein, as either his genius or his learning. But perhaps the historical instances, remarks, and political reflections, are not the least valuable parts of this performance, and the notions of our noble author, as to the superiority of the power of France; when opposed to that of a confederacy, will appear to a judicious peruser, such a proof of political foresight, as cannot but recommend such parts of the treatise, as he is less capable of entring into with the same exactness.

XII. *Poems on the Fasts and Festivals of the Church*. This, tho' printed and publish'd, was never finished by it's noble author. It was written in the last year of his life, under much weakness of body, and therefore Budgell's remark (67), that his poetry in this composition runs low, ought not deeply to affect his reputation, which in all situations, and under all disadvantages, stands much above the level of such criticks. Poetry unrevised will generally appear to run low, and there are subjects too, so very opposite to some mens way of thinking, that they will always have such a bias against what is written on them, as will discover them to be no very impartial judges. Upon the whole, we may affirm the subject is well chosen, and some parts of it well executed; but after all, we shall not deny, it would have been better to have suppressed it.

(67) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 106.

The

he was both attentive to his own intereſt, and indulgent to his tenants. If a man was oppreſſed, no one more readily relieved him; if a farmer's family was numerous, or his circumſtances narrow, his aſſiſtance was never wanting, but he was in all caſes ſolicitous, that the people ſhould thrive as well as obtain ſubſiſtence, and his ſaying was, That the greateſt charity conſiſted in keeping people from needing it. With this view he procured, by the royal favour, grants of fairs and markets for Rathgogran and Ballymaathra, two villages of his, which, by this means, were ſo far improved, that he afterwards obtained charters, by which they were erected into boroughs, each ſending two members to the Iriſh Parliament (*s*), and eſtabliſhed, beſides, manufactures in them for their better ſupport. But in nothing his goodneſs and beneficence of heart appeared more, than in his treatment of his domeſticks. He was alike careful of their bodies, eſtates, and minds; they lived in the utmoſt plenty, but he ſuffered no waſte; and for debauchery, he had the utmoſt abhorrence. He provided for them according to their ſeveral capacities, that having lived well with him, they might not fall into indigence after they left him (*t*). He frequently obſerved, that the meaneſt of them had a ſoul to be ſaved as well as himſelf, and therefore, he not only obliged his Chaplain to have a due attention to their ſpiritual concerns, but frequently inſpected the diſcharge of his duty in this particular (*u*). His Lordſhip loved company, and kept always an open table, to which all the gentlemen in the country were welcome, and this was a publick benefit, the converſation on ſuch occaſions being as delicate as the proviſions (*w*). But it would carry us into too great a length, if we ſhould purſue any farther this account of his Lordſhip's private life, and therefore we ſhall ſtop here, and ſubjoin an account of his poſterity, as the proper concluſion of this article. This noble Earl, married, as we before obſerved, the Lady Margaret Howard, daughter to Theophilus Earl of Suffolk, highly commended for unaffected piety, love to her Lord, and ſweetneſs of temper (*x*). He had iſſue by her two ſons, Roger, the ſecond Earl of Orrery; and Henry; and five daughters. Lady Elizabeth, married to Foliot Wingfield, Lord Viſcount Powerſcourt, who died in 1709 without iſſue. Lady Anne died young. Lady Margaret, married to William Obrien, Earl of Inchiquin, Governor of Jamaica. Lady Catherine, wife of William Bret of the county of Somerſet, Eſq; and deceaſing in the twenty-eighth year of her age, on the third of September 1681, lies buried at Richmond in Surry. Lady Barbara, married to Arthur Chicheſter Earl of Donegal, but died before him without iſſue (*y*). Henry Boyle, the youngeſt ſon of the Earl, was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Duke of Schomberg's regiment, and died in Flanders in the year 1691, leaving iſſue by the Lady Mary his wife, daughter to Murrough Earl of Inchiquin, four ſons. 1. Roger, who died in 1705 unmarried. 2. Henry, ſeated at Caſtle-Martyr in the Kingdom of Ireland, who married the Lady Henrietta, daughter to Charles Earl of Burlington, and ſiſter to the late Earl, ſome time Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, and one of the Lords-Juſtices, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in that Kingdom. He hath iſſue by his Lady, five ſons and three daughters. Richard, Henry, William, Charles, Robert, Juliana, Henrietta, and Jane (*z*). 3. Charles, who was Captain of the ſhip Strombulo. And 4. William, who was Captain in Duke Schomberg's regiment of horſe, and married the only daughter of the celebrated Sir Samuel Garth; as alſo two daughters; Elizabeth, married in 1709, to Bettridge Badham of the county of Cork, Eſq; and Margaret, married to Joſeph Dean, of the county of Meath in Ireland, Eſq; Roger, the ſecond Earl of Orrery, was of a very ſerious and contemplative diſpoſition; one who loved retirement, and never inclined to enter into any of the ſcenes of buſy life. He married the Lady Mary, daughter of Richard Earl of Dorſet, by whom he had iſſue two ſons, Lionel and Charles, and one daughter, Lady Mary, who was married to Clotworthy Upton, Eſq; and died without iſſue (*a*). This noble Earl deceaſed in the month of September 1698, and was ſucceeded in his honours by his ſon Lionel, then a minor, who married a daughter of the Earl of Dorſet's, by whom he had no iſſue, and who, after his deceaſe, which happened Auguſt 23, 1703, married the late Field-Marſhal Viſcount Shannon. Lionel, Earl of Orrery, was ſucceeded in

(*s*) Collin's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 257.

(*t*) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

(*u*) Eſſay on Heroick Virtue, by R. B.

(*w*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

(*x*) It was upon this marriage (beſides an expreſs epithalamium) that Sir John Suckling wrote his elegant ballad, *I'll tell thee, Dick, where I have been.*

(*y*) Collin's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 258.

(*z*) According to a private Letter from Ireland.

(*a*) Collin's Peerage, ubi ſupra.

The poſthumous works of the Earl of Orrery are theſe that follow, *viz.* 1. *Mr Anthony, a Comedy.* London, 1692, 4to. which is not inſerted in the laſt edition of his works 2. *Guzmam, a Comedy.* London, 1693, 4to. upon a Spaniſh plot, and written in the Spaniſh manner. 3. *Herod the Great, a Tragedy.* London, 1694, 4to. 4. *Altemira, a Tragedy,* brought upon the ſtage by Mr Francis Manning, in 1702, dedicated to Lionel, Earl of Orrery, grandſon to the author, with a prologue by Henry St John, Eſq; afterwards Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke; and an epilogue by the Hon. Charles Boyle, Eſq; the late Earl of Orrery, who alſo interſperſed ſeveral ſongs in the work itſelf. We may add to theſe, his *State Letters* (68), which have been lately publiſhed in one volume in folio, and which do at leaſt as much honour to his Lordſhip's memory, as any of his other writings. It is much to be regretted, that we have not more of theſe letters, for thoſe that are publiſhed come no lower than his quarrel with the Duke of Ormond, and we may regret this the more, becauſe in 1677, when that Duke was to hold a Parliament in Ireland, the King gave him orders to conſult the Earl of Orrery, upon the points proper to be propoſed therein, who gave his opinion very readily in five ſheets of paper; wherein he propoſed the moſt effectual methods to ſecure the nation from foreign and domeſtick enemies, increaſe his Majeſty's revenue, confirm and ſettle claims to private property, and advance and protect the Proteſtant intereſt in that Iſland (69). Theſe propoſitions were ſo well received, and ſo thoroughly approved, that both the Lord-Lieutenant and the Lord-Chancellor, wrote him leters full of acknowledgments upon the occaſion. But with the reſt of his Lordſhip's papers of all kinds, theſe periſhed in the flames when his houſe at Charleville was burnt to the ground, in the year 1690, by a party of King James's ſoldiers, with the Duke of Berwick at their head. Lionel, then Earl of Orrery, and grandſon to our author, being a Minor, and abroad on his travels (70).

(68) London, Printed by James Bettenham, and ſold by Charles Hitch, 1742.

(69) Tranſlation of Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 176.

(70) See the Preface to Lord Orrery's Letters.

After

in his honours by his brother Charles Boyle, Esq; who, after he became Earl of Orrery, married the Lady Elizabeth Cecil, daughter to John Earl of Exeter (*b*), by whom he had his only son John, now Earl of Orrery, who married, first, the Lady Harriot Hamilton, daughter to George Earl of Orkney, by whom he has two sons and a daughter; and after her decease, which happened August 22, 1732, his Lordship married his present Countess, Margaret, daughter of John Hamilton, Esq; of Calledon, in the county of Tyrone in the kingdom of Ireland, by whom he has also issue (*c*).

(*b*) See the article BOYLE (CHARLES) Earl of Orrery.

(*c*) Collins's Peerage, ubi supra.

After so large an account of this noble person's performances as an author, it may not be amiss to add, that he was very much distinguished as a patron of learning, as appears by the compliments paid him by Sir William D'avenant (71), Mr John Dryden (72), and other wits of those times, who thought themselves highly honoured in being permitted to shelter their writings under his lordship's protection, whose credit stood equally fair with the political and learned world, and whose title to parts of every kind, was never question'd, even by envy herself (73). E

(71) In a poem to his Lordship printed in Sir W. D'avenant's Works, p. 275.

(72) In his elegant Dedication of his Play called the *Rival Ladies*.

(73) Langbain's Account of English Dramatick Poets, p. 28.

BOYLE (ROBERT) a man superior to titles, and almost to praise; illustrious by birth, by learning, and by virtue; but most so as the author and encourager of the New Philosophy; by which he has not only rendered his memory immortal, but has also derived honour to his country, which, perhaps, is the greatest felicity that human abilities can ever attain. He was the seventh son, and the fourteenth child, of Richard Earl of Cork (*a*), consequently the youngest brother of the two noble persons last mentioned. He was born at Lismore in the county of Cork, and province of Munster in the kingdom of Ireland, on the twenty-fifth of February, 1626-7 (*b*), and though he was the only one of his father's sons who attained to manhood without being honoured with a title, and also the only one that did not distinguish himself in publick business; yet his life deserves to be written with the utmost accuracy, and no pains can be too great, to fix all the dates therein as exactly as it is possible [*A*]. His father, who was very justly stiled the *Great*, and might with equal propriety have been called the *Wise*, Earl of Cork, committed him to the care of a country nurse, with instructions to bring him up as hardy as if he had been her own son, which she pursued, and thereby gave him a strong and vigorous constitution, that he afterwards lost, by being treated with too great tenderness (*c*). When he was about three years old he had the misfortune to lose his mother, for which he shews great regret, in some memoirs that he has left us of the more early part of his life, esteeming it a singular unhappiness, never to have seen one of his parents so as to remember her, and the more so, from the character he heard of her in his own family, and from all who knew her (*d*). Another accident happened to him while at nurse, which gave him no small trouble as long as he lived, and that was, his learning to stutter, by mocking some children of his own age, and of which, though no endeavours were spared, he could never be perfectly cured (*e*). His father sent for him home when he was towards seven years old, and not long after, in a journey to Dublin, he ran a very great risk of losing his life, if one of his father's gentlemen had not taken him out of a coach, that in passing a brook, raised by some sudden showers, was carried away by the stream and beat to pieces (*f*). While at home he was taught to write a very fair hand, and to speak French and Latin, by one of the Earl's Chaplains, and a Frenchman that he kept

(*a*) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances*.

(*b*) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle, by J. C. MS. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 163. Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 180.

(*c*) His own Account of the earlier part of his life, under the name of *Philaretus*, published by Dr Birch.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Memoirs of the Hon. R. B.

(*f*) His own Memoirs before cited.

[*A*] *To fix all the dates therein as exactly as it is possible.*] The honour of having produced worthy and famous men, has been always dear to every wise nation; and it may be truly said, that there are few persons the nature or extent of whose reputation, would incline a prudent or virtuous people to pride themselves more on having him for their countryman, than the distinguished Philosopher to whom this article belongs: yet so it is, that some voluminous Collections of Lives, as for instance, Collier's great Dictionary, have not mentioned him at all; and in others there are such strange mistakes, that one knows not how to overlook or excuse them. It is said by several authors, who in this, no doubt, have one copied the other, that he was sent from school to the University of Leyden, in Holland (1); and yet, as the reader will see in the text, this could not be true, for if it had, Mr Boyle, who wrote very particular memoirs of the first fifteen years of his life, would never have omitted this circumstance; and indeed those very memoirs plainly shew, that the fact is absolutely false, and that he was so far from studying at Leyden in his youth, that he never went thither at all (2). It has been a common observation, that the real adventures of some great men, have been in themselves more strange and surprising, than the boldest writers have dared to feign, who wrote with any view of being believed. It may not only be affirmed, but proved, with respect to Mr Boyle, that the declamations in his honour, and the characters written to give the world a high idea of his merit, have actually fallen short of the naked truth, and cannot raise such an admiration in the mind of a judicious reader, as the bear recital of matters of fact. Bishop Burnet says (3), *he began early to shew both a probity and capacity that promised great things*. But this word *early* conveys no distinct idea, and not one reader in twenty will so much as suspect, that it ought to refer to the eighth or ninth year of his age; nay it is very probable, the learned prelate himself might scarce apprehend that it reached so high, which however will very clearly appear from what is related in the text, and is farther explained in the subsequent note. To say the truth, the early part of Mr Boyle's life may be stiled the most remarkable, for although in his subsequent years he distinguished himself in a very extraordinary degree; yet the best judges of, and those who have look'd most closely into, human nature, cannot but allow that his early application to learning, and to those parts of learning to which he addicted himself, is still more surprising, and what would appear altogether incredible, if we had not as strong, as clear, and authentick proofs as the most severe criticks can demand in reference to facts of this nature (4). The pains therefore that we have taken to digest into a regular series of time these kind of facts, and the annexing such explanations as are requisite, as well as the proofs that become necessary, will, we hope, be considered as useful and entertaining, as well as new and curious improvements upon this subject, which, though so often handled, and so much beaten, can hardly ever be exhausted.

(1) See the article of BOYLE (ROBERT) in the General Dictionary, Vol. III. p. 542. Budgel's Memoirs of the Boyles, p. 118. Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 180.

(2) See Mr Boyle's own Memoirs prefixed to those of Dr Birch, and which are equally copious and curious.

(3) Sermon at the Funeral of the Hon. Robert Boyle, Lond. 1692, 4to, p. 23.

(4) See the Original Letters hereafter cited.

kept in the houſe (*g*). In the year 1635, when he was turned of eight years old, his father thought fit to ſend him to England, in order to his education at Eaton, under Sir Henry Wotton, the Earl of Cork's old acquaintance and friend. With this view, in company with Mr Francis Boyle, his elder brother, afterwards Lord Shannon, he ſet out for Youghall, and from thence, not without great danger of being taken by ſome of the Turkiſh pirates that then infeſted the Iriſh coaſt, he croſſes the ſeas to England, and landed happily at Briſtol (*h*). On his arrival at Eaton, he was put under the care of Mr Harriſon, then Maſter of the ſchool, of whoſe attention for, and kindneſs towards him, he makes very honourable mention in his Memoirs, and obſerves, that it was chiefly by the prudent methods he purſued, that he came to have that taſte and reliſh for learning, for which, even in the earlier part of his life, he grew ſo remarkable (*i*) [*B*]. While he remained at Eaton, there were ſeveral extraordinary accidents that befel him, of which he has given us an account, and which one would ſcarce think it poſſible he ſhould have remembered ſo diſtinctly, conſidering they happened before he was nine years old, if the letters that he wrote about that time were not ſtill preſerved, which ſufficiently demonſtrate, how capable he was of collecting and preſerving whatever appeared to him worthy of notice, even in the time of his childhood; ſo that we may well believe what he relates of his own care in this reſpect, from the teſtimonies that ſtill remain, of his having a wit ſo much ſuperior to his years (*k*) [*C*]. He remained at Eaton, in the whole, between three and four years, and then his father carried him to his own ſeat at Stalbridge in Dorſetſhire, where he remained for ſome ſhort time, under the care of Mr William Douch then Parſon of the place, and one of the Earl of Cork's Chaplains (*l*). In the autumn of the year 1638, he attended his father to London, and remained with him at the Savoy, 'till his brother, Mr Francis Boyle, eſpouſed Mrs Elizabeth Killigrew, and then, towards the end of the month of October, within four days after the marriage was celebrated, the two brothers, Francis and Robert, were ſent abroad upon their travels, under the care of Mr Marcombes, who we have formerly mentioned as Governor to the Lords Kinealmeaky and Broghill (*m*). They embarked at Rye in Suſſex, and from thence proceeded to Dieppe in Normandy, from whence they travelled by land to Rouen, ſo to Paris, and from thence to Lyons, from which city they continued their journey to Geneva, where his

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle. Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 134, 138.

(*i*) His own Memoirs.

(*k*) The Life of the Hon. Mr Boyle, by the Rev. Mr Bolton, prefixed to the Abridgment of his Works.

(*l*) His own Memoirs.

(*m*) See the article of BOYLE (ROGER) Earl of Orrery.

[*B*] *For which, even in the earlier part of his life, he became remarkable.*] We cannot exactly ſay in what month Mr Boyle came to Eaton ſchool; we know that it was ſome time in the year 1635, and when he was very little more than eight years of age (5), and though he came thither ſo ſoon, yet he did not come altogether uninſtructed, for he not only wrote ſo as to be read, but a ſtrong, fair, legible hand of the *italick* kind, and was tolerably acquainted with Latin (6): His diligence and application recommended him ſo much to Mr Harriſon, that he was extremely kind to him, inſtructed him out of ſchool hours in his own chamber, gave him true notions of the uſe and value of learning, confidered as a thing reſpecting himſelf, as well as what was expected from him; but whether he recommended to him Quintus Curtius, whether it fell into Mr Boyle's hands by chance, or came to be taken up as a ſchool-book, does not appear; yet this it ſeems was the author that ſtruck him moſt, and the reading of which gave him ſuch an appetite for learning, as his application thereto all his life after could never cloy. His own account of the matter is delivered in words that cannot be varied without changing the thought, and leſſening the force of the expreſſion. Speaking of himſelf, as he does throughout his memoirs in the third perſon, he treats this paſſage thus: *In gratitude to this book I have heard him hyperbolically ſay, that he not only owed more to* Quintus Curtius *than* Alexander *did, but derived more advantage from the hiſtory of that great Monarch's conqueſts, than ever he did from the conqueſts themſelves.* There is certainly ſomething in this book that operates ſtrongly upon young minds; it is ſaid the reading it made Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, a hero (7); and we have heard Mr Boyle himſelf confeſs, that he derived from it that paſſion for learning which made him a ſcholar.

(5) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(6) See his own Memoirs.

(7) Hiſtoire de Suede, p. 597.

[*C*] *His having a wit ſo much ſuperior to his age.*] We have in his own memoirs, an account of ſeveral accidents that happened to him in this ſpace of time, three of which were very near proving fatal to his life and hopes: The firſt was the ſudden fall of the chamber where he lodged when himſelf was in bed; when, beſides the hazard he ran of being cruſh'd to pieces, he had certainly been choaked with the duſt, during the time he lay under the rubbiſh, if he had not had preſence of mind enough to have wrapped up his head in the ſheet, which gave him an opportunity of breathing without hazard. A little after this, he had been cruſhed to pieces by a ſtarting horſe that roſe up ſuddenly, and threw himſelf backwards, but Mr Boyle happily diſengaged his feet from the ſtirrups, and caſt himſelf from his back before he fell. A third accident befel him from the careleſſneſs of an Apothecary's ſervant, who, by miſtaking the phials, brought him a ſtrong vomit inſtead of a cooling Julep. Theſe, and many other circumſtances of the like kind, he committed to memory firſt, and to writing afterwards. He made but few excurſions from ſchool, and thoſe only to ſee his relations, ſuch as his Siſter Goring, at Lewes, in Suſſex, and his Brother, the Lord Dungarvan, upon his coming to London: While he remained there he wrote the following letter (the original of which is before me) to his father, which will juſtify all that is ſaid in the text.

My moſt honoured Lord Father,

'HEARTILY praying for the continuance 'of God's favour to your Lordſhip ſtill in 'ſoul and body, I humbly proſtrate myſelf unto 'your honourable feet, to crave your bleſſing and 'pardon for my remiſſneſs, in preſenting my illite-'rate lines unto your honourable kind acceptance. 'Whereas I have been heretofore cloy'd with our 'colledge exerciſe, I could not ſo often viſit your 'Honour in writing; but now being by the ardent 'deſire of our Brother, and the licence of Sir Har-'ry Wotton, and our ſchool-maſter, come to Lon-'don, where we make four days reſidence, have 'found opportunity to offer unto your Honour that 'oblation due unto ſo good and ſo noble a 'Father, that is moſt humble duty, deſiring your 'Honour to pardon him for his brevity, who ſtrives 'to live after your Lordſhip's will and command-'ments.

London, decimo 4to Martii. *Truely and obediently,*

ROBERT BOYLE.

Superſcribed. *For my dear Lord Father, the Earl of Cork.*

[*D*]. *Purſued*

his Governor had a family, and there the two young gentlemen purſued their ſtudies quietly and without interruption (*n*) [*D*]. Mr Boyle, during his ſtay here, reſumed his acquaintance with the Mathematicks, or at leaſt with the elements of that ſcience, of which he had firſt obtained ſome knowledge at Eaton. He was now drawing towards fourteen, and his temper being naturally very grave and ſerious, his thoughts were often turned on religious ſubjects, but, however, not without ſome mixture of doubts and difficulties, as himſelf acknowledges, about the certainty of the *Chriſtian* Revelation (*o*). This, inſtead of having any bad effects, was productive of very good conſequences; he examined cooly and circumſtantially the evidence in favour of the Goſpel, and concluded, by dint of reaſoning, that this was the only certain and ſure way to ſalvation (*p*). We might poſſibly ſuſpect the truth of this, conſidering his youth, and the little care that perſons at ſuch years take, or indeed are capable of taking, in matters of ſo great importance; but it ſo falls out, that we have an original letter of his written at this time to his father, which plainly proves that his capacity was, even at that early ſeaſon, very capable of ſuch arduous enquiries [*E*]. While he remained at Geneva, he made ſome excurſions to viſit the adjacent country of Savoy, and even proceeded ſo far as to Grenoble in Dauphiné, and took a view alſo of thoſe wild mountains, where Bruno the firſt author of the Carthuſian Monks lived in ſolitude, at the time he erected that order (*q*). In September 1641 he quitted Geneva, and paſſing through Switzerland and the country of the Griſons, entered Lombardy, and taking his rout through Bergamo, Breſcia, and Verona, arrived at Venice, and having made a ſhort ſtay there, returned to the Continent, and ſpent the winter at Florence, and during his ſtay in that city, the famous Galileo died at a village not far from thence (*r*). While he reſided in this fair city, he had an opportunity of acquiring the Italian language, which he underſtood perfectly, though he never ſpoke it ſo fluently as the French, of which he became ſo great a maſter, that as occaſion required,

(*n*) His own Memoirs.

(*o*) Id. ibid.

(*p*) See Burnet's Sermon at the funeral of Mr Boyle. Bolton's Life of Boyle.

(*q*) His own Memoirs.

(*r*) See the Life of Galilei Galileo, by Mr Saliſbury prefixed to his Mathematical Collections.

[*D*] *Purſued their ſtudies quietly, and without interruption.*] He informs us in his own memoirs, that while he was at Eaton, and was afflicted with an ague before he was ten years old, it was thought neceſſary to interrupt his ſtudies, and to allow him to divert himſelf with any kind of writing that pleaſed him moſt, and as this happened to be romances, it brought upon him ſuch a diſtraction (8) of thought, and ſo great an unſettledneſs of mind, that when he recover'd his health, he found it very difficult to fix his attention to any thing: All this we muſt allow has nothing in it ſtrange or uncommon; but that a youth, or rather a child, at his age, ſhould ſeriouſly ſeek a remedy for ſuch an evil, and make choice of the extraction of the ſquare and cube roots, and the ſolution of algebraical equations for that remedy, is certainly very extraordinary. It was this that gave him the firſt taſte of mathematical ſcience, which he improved at Geneva under the care of Mr Marcombes, who not only taught him the Theory of Geometry, but the Application of it alſo; for there was this ſingularity in Mr Boyle's temper, that as ſoon as he became acquainted with any ſcience, he was for applying it to ſome uſe, and therefore the practical parts of Trigonometry delighted him much, and Fortification, inſtead of being conſidered as a ſtudy, appeared to him as the pleaſanteſt amuſement in the world; Geography was to him no more than travelling upon paper; Aſtronomy a voyage to the Heavens; and ſo of other things that commonly appear labours to others, he conceived in ſuch a manner, that they appeared deſirable to him. In theſe notions he was led on and ſuſtained by his governor, who appears to have had great parts as well as prudence, and to have underſtood the art of educating youth, by making them conceive education their own buſineſs, which Mr Boyle did to ſuch a degree, that both here and at Eaton his aſſiduity required rather a curb than a ſpur, and his preceptors were obliged to take more pains to abate the ſpirit with which he purſued learning, than they uſually did to excite it in others. This he tells with great ſimplicity, and if he had not told us, we muſt have learned it from his letters and his books.

(8) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

[*E*] *Very capable of ſuch arduous enquiries.*] In order to ſhew with how much ſtrength of judgment he might enter into the deepeſt diſputes of religion, we ſhall exhibit another original letter of his, written to his Father at this time, with an exactneſs and correctneſs hardly to be expreſſed; and yet, as ſome circumſtances therein plainly ſhew, without the privity, and conſequently without the aſſiſtance, of his governor. The ſentiments and language of this letter ſufficiently demonſtrate, that though the author was but in his fifteenth year, he had a general notion of the affairs of Chriſtendom, otherwiſe he could not have wrote of them ſo clearly, and yet ſo ſuccinctly as he does: but let us come to the letter itſelf.

My moſt honoured Lord and Father,

'AS your Lordſhip's long ſilence hath extremely 'afflicted us, ſo the receipt of your Lord'ſhip's letters, dated the 25th of June, hath infinite'ly rejoiced us; for by them we are not only aſ'ſured of your Lordſhip's health, (for the continua'tion whereof I pray God day and night) but 'alſo of the leave which we have ſo much deſired 'to go into Italy the firſt of September. I wonder that 'Mr Killigrew ſhould tell your Lordſhip, that we 'wore our old cloaths, and had no money in our 'pockets when he was here; for I aſſure your Lord'ſhip, that ſince we came to Geneva, we have been 'very far from wanting either the firſt or the laſt, and 'that Mr Marcombes hath too great a care of us to 'let us want the leaſt thing that is neceſſary, either 'for our bodies or minds: we are in his houſe in 'perfect health (thanked be God) and grow great 'proficients in the Mathematicks, which is a ſtudy 'ſo pleaſing and profitable, that when one hath 'once taſted the ſweetneſs of it, it is almoſt impoſ'ſible not to take delight therein, and by conſe'quence not to ply it hard. The news here are, 'that the Count de Soiſſons forces, and one of the 'King of France's armies having met near Sedan, 'the King's army was beaten, and the Count de 'Soiſſons killed. They ſay alſo, that Picolomini 'hath been ſhrewdly beaten in Germany, and that 'the King of France's affairs go very well in Cata'lonia, the Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux having beat'en the Spaniſh fleet, and Tarragone being taken 'by one of the King's generals. Having no other 'news worthy the writing to your Lordſhip, I end 'my letter with them, beſeeching you to believe 'that I loſe no time here, and that in plying hard 'my ſtudies and exerciſes, I will ſhew the ardent 'deſire I have to be juſtly eſteemed,

My Lord,

Your moſt dutiful and obedient Son, and humble ſervant,

ROBERT BOYLE.

From Geneva, the 20th July, 1646.

Superſcribed. *For my moſt honoured Father, the Earl of Cork, at his lodgings at Court.*

[*F*] *With*

quired, he paſſed for a native of that country in more places than one during his travels (*s*). About the end of March he began his journey from Florence to Rome, which took up but five days, and after having ſurveyed that famous city, the heats diſagreeing with his brother, he returned to Florence, from thence he went to Leghorn, and ſo by ſea to Genoa (*t*). He made but a ſhort ſtay there, and then paſſing through the county of Nice, croſſed the ſea to Antibes, from whence he went to Marſeilles by land. He was in that city in the month of May 1642, when he received his father's letters, with a dreadful account of the rebellion juſt then broke out in Ireland, and advice likewiſe, that with great difficulty his Lordſhip had procured two hundred and fifty pounds, which he remitted his ſons to enable them to return home, but of this money they never ſaw a farthing, for being put into the hands of one Perkins (*u*), a conſiderable trader in the city of London, he proved unfaithful to his truſt, which drove theſe two noble youths to the utmoſt diſtreſs, 'till, with much ado, their Governor, Mr Marcombes, ſupplied them with as much as brought them to Geneva, where they continued with him for ſome time, and having neither ſupplies nor advices from England, he was obliged, in order to enable them to go home, to take up ſome jewels on his own credit, which they diſpoſed of with as little loſs as might be, and with the money thus produced, continued their journey for England, where they arrived in the year 1644 (*w*). On his arrival there he found his father dead, and though he had made an ample proviſion for him, as well by leaving him his manour of Stalbridge in England, as other conſiderable eſtates in Ireland, yet it was ſome time before he could receive any money (*x*). During this ſpace he lodged with his ſiſter, the Lady Ranelagh, and by her intereſt, and that of his brother Lord Broghill, he procured protections for his eſtates in England and Ireland, from thoſe who had the power then in their hands (*y*). He alſo obtained their leave to go over for a ſhort ſpace into France, probably that he might have an opportunity of ſettling his accounts, with his old Governor and conſtant friend Mr Marcombes (*z*); but he did not ſtay long abroad, ſince we find him the December following at Cambridge. In the month of March, 1646, he retired to his own ſeat at Stalbridge, from whence he made various excurſions, ſometimes to London, ſometimes to Oxford, applying himſelf as aſſiduouſly to his ſtudies, as his own circumſtances, or thoſe of the times, would permit (*a*); and indeed it is very amazing to find, what a prodigious progreſs he made, not only in many branches of literature, but in ſome that have been always held the moſt difficult and abſtruſe. He omitted no opportunity, of obtaining the acquaintance of perſons diſtinguiſhed for parts and learning, to whom he was in every reſpect, a ready, uſeful, and generous aſſiſtant, and with whom he maintained a conſtant correſpondence (*b*) [*F*]. He was alſo one of the firſt members of that ſmall, but learned body, which held it's firſt meetings at London, then removed to Oxford, ſtiled by him, the *Inviſible*, by themſelves, the *Philoſophical* College, and which, after the Reſtoration, were incorporated and diſtinguiſhed, as they well deſerved, by the title of the *Royal Society* (*c*). It

(*s*) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(*t*) His own Memoirs.

(*u*) Id. Ibid.

(*w*) Memoirs of the honourable Robert Boyle.

(*x*) His own Memoirs.

(*y*) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(*z*) This appears by a Letter of his to Lord Broghill, dated Aug. 25, 1645.

(*a*) Birch's Life of the Hon. Robert Boyle, p. 15.

(*b*) See the great Collection of his Letters in the fifth Volume of his Works, which are, however, but a part of what he left behind him.

(*c*) See this point diſcuſſed in Biſhop Sprat's learned Hiſtory of the Royal Society.

[*F*] *With whom he held a conſtant correſpondence.*] Of theſe perſons who entered ſo early into an intimate acquaintance with Mr Boyle, and for whom he preſerved his friendſhip as long as he and they lived, we ſhall mention a few. Mr Francis Tallents (who was afterwards ſo well known, and ſo much reſpected in the world, for that laborious performance which he publiſhed under the title of *Chronological Tables*, (9) which was the work of years) had been, while he was under-graduate, ſub-tutor to ſeveral ſons of the Earl of Suffolk, (one of whoſe daughters was married to Lord Broghill) being removed from Peter-houſe to Magdalen-college for that purpoſe, and about the year 1642 travelled abroad with them as their tutor. After his return, he became ſenior Fellow and Preſident, or Vice-maſter, of his College, and having ſpent near twenty years in the Univerſity, was ſettled at Saint Mary's in Shrewſbury, where he was ejected for non-conformity in 1662. In the year 1670 he went a ſecond time as tutor to two young gentlemen, Mr Boſcawen and Mr Hamden. In the laſt part of his life he was paſtor to a congregation of Proteſtant Diſſenters at Shrewſbury, where he died April 11, 1708, in the 89th year of his age. Mr Samuel Hartlib (10) was another acquaintance of Mr Boyle's one for whom he had a great regard, and to whom he afforded conſiderable aſſiſtance. He was born in Pruſſia or in Poland, it is not eaſy to know which, for his father reſided many years in both countries: he came over to England in 1630, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many learned and uſeful writings, which gained him the friendſhip and eſteem of ſome of the greateſt men that age produced, which was ſo prolifick in great men; but among them there was none that either expreſſed a greater value for his uſeful qualities, or gave higher teſtimonies of the ſincerity of his affection than Mr Boyle; and from hence aroſe that cloſe and intimate correſpondence, which, as it gave the greateſt pleaſure to them while it continued, ſo the publication of their letters will do honour to their memories, and be of ſervice to the publick, as long as a true ſpiret of learning, and a juſt reſpect for Mr Boyle's writings, ſhall ſubſiſt. He was likewiſe very kind to Mr John Dury (11), a very worthy, well-meaning perſon, who ſpent many years, and took much pains in the proſecution of a deſign, which, however commendable, proved but very chimerical, which was the reconciliaton of the Lutherans and Calviniſts. He was alſo very intimate with Dr William Petty, Mr John Beale, and many other perſons diſtinguiſhed by their genius and love for learning, before he had attained the age of twenty (12). It is alſo farther remarkable, that as he was always communicative in point of knowledge, to ſuch as ſtood on a level with him in reſpect of fortune; ſo in regard to thoſe who had no large ſtock of any thing but merit, he was not only civil and kind in his expreſſions, but uſeful and beneficent to them in every other reſpect; ſo that he fully juſtified what a great man who knew him very well ſaid of him at this time, viz. That in his youth he had not only the proficiency, but the prudence of a man in years, and that at a time when others of his age thought of nothing but purſuing their pleaſures, he made it his ſole buſineſs to promote ſcience, and delighted in nothing ſo much as in doing good. It was a great honour to Mr Boyle that this was ſaid of him ſo early: but it was a much greater felicity, that it continued to be ſaid of him for upwards of forty years afterwards, and that not by a few whom he obliged, or by ſuch as hoped to be obliged, but by the world in general, and in the ſtrongeſt terms by ſuch as were acquainted with him beſt.

(9) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 548.

(10) See the article of HARTLIB (SAMUEL).

(11) See Worthington's Miſcellanies, p. 242, 252.

(12) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 21, 22, 23.

[*G*] *Which*

It is no small honour to this worthy person, that when he was so young a man, his merit and knowledge gained him admittance amongst persons, the most distinguished for the acuteness of their understandings and the singularity, as well as extent, of their science. We have an account of their first institution, written by the famous Dr Wallis, which deserves the reader's attention, and is therefore placed in the notes *(d)* [G]. The great diligence and application of Mr Boyle, was so much the more to be esteemed and commended, as at this time his health was very much disordered by frequent fits of the stone, a disease to which he was extremely subject, and to which his sedentary life, and close application to his studies, might possibly contribute *(e)*. But notwithstanding this, and the frequent occasions he had to remove from place to place, sometimes on the score of business, at others to visit his many noble relations, yet he never suffered his thoughts to be disordered, or the designs he had formed to be broken or interrupted by any of these accidents, as appears by his having compleated three regular and excellent pieces, before he had reached the age of twenty, *viz.* his *Seraphick Love*, his *Essay on Mistaken Modesty*, and the *Swearer silenced*, to which he afterwards gave the title that it now bears, of a *Free Discourse against customary Swearing (f)*. Besides these, it plainly appears, as well from the writings he has published, as from many of his private letters, that he had made large collections upon other subjects, from some of which he afterwards drew distinct treatises *(g)*. The retired course of life, which, for the sake of his health, from the bent of his temper, and from the nature of his designs, he took a pleasure to lead, could not hinder his reputation from rising to such a height, as made him taken notice of by some of the most eminent members of the Republick of Letters; so that in 1651, we find Dr Nathaniel Highmore, a very eminent Physician, dedicating to him his *History of Generation*, in which dedication he stiles him both his patron and his friend *(h)*. In 1652 he went over to Ireland, in order to visit and settle his estates in that kingdom, and there, if I am not mistaken, he met with a fall from his horse in a watery place, which gave him a very grievous fit of sickness *(i)*. He returned from Ireland to England in August 1653, but was soon after obliged to return again into that kingdom, where he spent his time but very unpleasantly, and it would have been still more so, if it had not been for the acquaintance of Dr Petty, afterwards Sir William Petty, who was his intimate friend, and, as in it's proper place will appear, one of the greatest men of that, or indeed of any other age *(k)*. In the summer of 1654 he returned to England, and put in execution a design he had formed when he was last in this kingdom, of settling at Oxford, as well for the sake of several of his ingenious friends who resided there, as for the many and extraordinary conveniencies which the place afforded, for the prosecution of his beloved studies in peace. He chose to live there in the house of Mr Crosse an Apothecary, rather than in a college, for the sake of his health, and because he had more room for making experiments *(l)*. It was now that he found himself surrounded by a number of learned friends, who resorted thither chiefly for the same reasons that he had done, the *Invisible College*, as he called it, or *Philosophical Society*, being now transferred from London to Oxford (*m*) [H]. It

(d) It is published by Mr Hearne, in the Appendix to the Preface to Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, p. clxi.

(e) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 27.

(f) See these Pieces in the new Collection of Boyle's Works.

(g) This is evident from comparing these Treatises together.

(h) This Dedication is dated May 15, 1651, and the book was then admired as very learned and curious.

(i) See his Preface to his Collection of Receipts in which this is related at large.

(k) See the article of PETTY (Sir WILLIAM).

(l) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 629, 630. Papers formerly in the custody of Dr Wotton. See also Dr Wallis's Letter in the following note.

(m) This corrects Bishop Sprat's Account in his Hist. of the Royal Society, p. 57, 58.

[G] *Which deserves the reader's attention, and is therefore placed in the notes.*] This letter was written by the famous Doctor Wallis to Doctor Thomas Smith, Fellow of Magdalen College, in Oxford, and with the rest of that great man's papers, fell into the hands of the indefatigable Mr Thomas Hearne, who has deserved so well of the publick, and whose memory has been so indifferently treated. In that letter Doctor Wallis gives an account of his own life, and therein is this remarkable passage (13). 'About the 'Year 1645, while I lived in London, at a time 'when by our civil wars academical studies were 'much interrupted in both our Universities, beside 'the conversation of divers eminent divines, as to 'matters theological, I had the opportunity of being 'aequainted with divers worthy persons inquisitive 'into Natural Philosophy, and other parts of humane 'learning; and particularly of what hath been called 'the New Philosophy, or Experimental Philosophy. 'We did by agreement divers of us meet weekly in 'London on a certain day, to treat and discourse of 'such affairs: of which number were Dr John Wilkins (afterwards Bishop of Chester), Dr Jonathan 'Goddard, Doctor George Ent, Doctor Glission, Doctor Merret, (Doctors in Physick); Mr Sam. Foster, 'then Professor of Astronomy at Gresham College, 'Mr Theodore Hank, (a German of the Palatinate, 'and then resident in London, who, I think, gave 'the first occasion, and first suggested those meetings) 'and many others. These meetings we held sometimes at Doctor Goddard's lodgings, in Wood-street, '(or some convenient place near) on occasion of his keeping an Operator in his house for grinding glasses for 'Telescopes and Microscopes, and sometimes at a 'convenient place in Cheapside, sometimes at Gresham College, or some place near adjoining. Our 'business was, precluding matters of theology and state 'affairs, to discourse and consider of philosophical 'enquiries, and such as related thereunto, as Physick; 'Anatomy, Geometry, Astronomy, Navigation, Statics, 'Magneticks, Chymicks, Mechanicks, and Natural Experiments, with the state of these studies as then cultivated at home and abroad: we there discoursed 'of the circulation of the blood, the valves in the 'veins, the venæ lacteæ, the lymphatick vessels, the 'Copernican hypothesis, the nature of comets and new 'stars, the satellites of Jupiter, the oval shape (as it 'then appeared) of Saturn, the spots in the Sun, and 'it's turning on it's own axis, the inequalities and 'selenography of the Moon, the several phases of Venus and Mercury, the improvement of Telescopes; 'and grinding of glasses for that purpose, the weight 'of air, the possibility or impossibility of vacuities and 'nature's abhorrence thereof, the Torricellian experiment in quick-silver, the descent of heavy bodies, 'and the degrees of acceleration therein, and divers 'other things of like nature. Some of which were 'then but new discoveries, and others not so generally known and embraced as now they are, with 'other things appertaining to what hath been called 'the New Philosophy, which from the times of Galileo, at Florence, and Sir Francis Bacon, (Lord 'Verulam) in England, hath been much cultivated in 'Italy, France, Germany, and other parts abroad as 'well as with us in England.'

(13) E Col. Smithianis, Vol. XXII. p. 38.

[H] *Being now transferred from London to Oxford.*] We have in the former note shewn (14), when, and how, these meetings were at first set on foot in London, and if the readers will consult the letters of Mr Boyle, interspersed through the large account of his life, prefixed to his Works, they will find undeniable evidence of the share he had in the institution of this

(14) See before, in note [G].

It was during his reſidence here, that he invented the air-pump, which was perfected for him by the ingenious Mr Hooke in 1658 or 1659, by the help of which he made ſuch experiments, as enabled him to diſcover and demonſtrate ſeveral qualities of the air, by which he laid the foundations for a complete theory (*n*). He was not, however, ſatisfied with this, but laboured inceſſantly in collecting and digeſting, chiefly from his own experiments, the materials requiſite for this purpoſe. He declared againſt the Philoſophy of Ariſtotle, as having in it more of words than things, promiſing much and performing little; in ſhort, giving the inventions of men for indubitable proofs, inſtead of the reſults of ſuch enquiries, as draw the knowledge of the works of nature from nature herſelf (*o*). He was ſo careful in, and ſo zealous for, the true method of learning by experiment, that though the Carteſian Philoſophy made then a great noiſe in the world, yet he would never be perſuaded to read the works of Des Cartes, for fear he ſhould be amuſed and led away with a fair pretence of reaſoning, and plauſible accounts of things, grounded purely on conjecture (*p*). But Philoſophy and enquiries into nature, though they engaged his attention deeply, did not occupy it entirely, ſince we find that he ſtill continued to purſue his critical ſtudies, in which he had the aſſiſtance of ſome as great men as have ever flouriſhed in this kingdom, particularly Dr Edward Pococke, Mr Thomas Hyde, and Mr Samuel Clarke (*q*). He had alſo a ſtrict intimacy with Dr Thomas Barlow, at that time Head-Keeper of the Bodleian Library, and afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln, a man of various and extenſive learning (*r*). He was likewiſe the patron of the very learned Dr John Pell, an eminent Mathematician (*s*); and the famous Dr John Wallis, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that and other branches of learning, did him the honour to dedicate to him his excellent treatiſe *on the Cycloid* (*t*). In 1659, being acquainted with the circumſtances of the learned Dr Robert Sanderſon, afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln, he beſtowed on him a ſtipend of fifty pounds a year, and that great man thankfully acknowledged the obligations he was under to ſo generous a patron, in a dedication of *his Lectures*, which were printed at Oxford the ſame year (*u*). After the Reſtoration, he was treated with great civility and reſpect by the King, and with much affection and eſteem by his two great Miniſters, the Lord-Treaſurer Southampton, and the Lord-Chancellor Clarendon, by whom he was preſſed to enter into Holy Orders, of which he had very ſerious thoughts, but at laſt thought fit to decline it, upon very juſt and diſintereſt motives (*w*) [*I*]. The ſame year he publiſhed two of his firſt pieces, one of which was printed at Oxford, and the other at London; the former was his *New Experiments touching the Spring of the Air* (*x*), which he addreſſed to his nephew the Lord Dungarvan, and this drew him into a controverſy with Franciſcus Linus, and the famous Mr Thomas Hobbes, whoſe objections he refuted with equal candour, clearneſs, and civility. The ſecond was his Diſcourſe *on Seraphick Love* (*y*), and both pieces were received with univerſal applauſe. The fame of his great learning and abilities extended itſelf, even at this time, beyond the bounds of our iſland, ſo that the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, a Prince diſtinguiſhed for learning, deſired Mr

(*n*) Life of Dr R. Hooke, by R. Waller, Eſq; p. 3. Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-college, p. 170.

(*o*) See Mr Boyle's obſervations to this purpoſe, in almoſt all his Philoſophic Treatiſes.

(*p*) Boyle's Life, p. 33.

(*q*) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(*r*) See his article in this Dictionary.

(*s*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 461.

(*t*) The Latin title of this work is, *De Cycloide, & corporibus inde genitis*, and is in the Collection of his Works, publiſhed in 1699, in three Volumes, folio.

(*u*) See Walton's Life of Biſhop Sanderſon, and Dr Barlow's Letter annexed.

(*w*) Burnet's Sermon at Boyle's Funeral.

(*x*) This work has borne three editions, *viz.* Oxford 1660, *8vo*; Lond. 1662, *4to*; with an Appendix, Lond. 1682, *4to*.

(*y*) This, as we have ſhewed, was finiſhed in 1648; it has run thro' many editions, and been tranſlated into Latin.

this learned Society, though no mention is made of him in the paſſage we have cited from the writings of Dr Wallis; yet conſidering the diſtance of time between thoſe tranſactions, and his relation of them, we may rather wonder that he remembered ſo many, than that amongſt them a ſingle name was omitted. Yet the ſame learned perſon, ſpeaking of the removal of this Society, and the manner in which their aſſemblies were held at Oxford, fails not to mention Mr Boyle, as may be ſeen in the following paſſage (15). 'About the year 1648-9, ſome of our company being 'removed to Oxford, (firſt Dr Wilkins, then I, and 'ſoon after Dr Goddard) our company divided. 'Thoſe in London continued to meet there as before, '(and we with them when we had occaſion to be there) 'and thoſe of us at Oxford; with Dr Ward (ſince 'Biſhop of Saliſbury); Dr Ralph Bathurſt (now Preſident of Trinity-college in Oxford); Dr Petty (ſince 'Sir William Petty); Dr Willis (then an eminent 'Phyſician in Oxford); and divers others, continued 'ſuch meetings in Oxford, and brought thoſe ſtudies 'into faſhion there, meeting firſt at Dr Petty's lodgings (in an Apothecary's houſe); becauſe of the convenience of inſpecting drugs, and the like, as there 'was occaſion; and after his remove to Ireland (though 'not ſo conſtantly) at the lodgings of Dr Wilkins '(then Warden of Wadham-college); and after his 'removal to Trinity-college in Cambridge, at the lodgings of the Hon. Mr Robert Boyle, then reſident for 'divers years in Oxford. Thoſe meetings in London 'continued, and (after the King's return in 1660) 'were increaſed with the acceſſion of divers worthy 'and honourable perſons, and were afterwards incorporated by the name of the Royal Society, *&c.* and 'ſo continue to this day.'

(15) See Dr Wallis's Letter, as before cited.

[*I*] *Upon very juſt and diſintereſted motives.*] The great regard that the Earl of Clarendon had for the Church of England, was one great reaſon why he was ſo earneſt, in perſuading the Hon. Mr Boyle to enter into Holy Orders. His noble family, his diſtinguiſhed learning, and, above all, his unblemiſhed reputation, induced that great and good man to think, that any eccleſiaſtical preferments he might attain, would be ſo worthily diſcharged, as to do honour to the clergy, and ſervice to the eſtabliſhed Communion. All theſe arguments Mr Boyle conſidered with due attention, but to ballance theſe he reflected, that in the ſituation of life he was in, whatever he wrote with reſpect to religion, would have ſo much the greater weight, as coming from a layman, from a perſon, who, in other reſpects, ſhewed himſelf free from all prejudice and prepoſſeſſions, concerned only to find out truth, and to ſtick cloſe thereto wherever he found it: He conſidered likewiſe, that, in point of fortune and character, he needed no acceſſions, and indeed he never had any appetite for either. But a certain great Prelate (16) tells us, that what had the greateſt weight in determining his judgment, was, the not feeling in himſelf any motion or tendency of mind, that he could ſafely eſteem a call from the Holy Ghoſt, which, according to the form uſed in the Church of England, is affirmed by ſuch as enter into Holy Orders. Now, whoever reflects upon either of theſe reaſons, or takes them together under his conſideration, cannot but diſcern, that what is aſſerted in the text is ſtrictly true, and that it was impoſſible for any man to proceed in a matter of ſuch weight and importance to himſelf and to the Church, more conſcientiouſly, and with a quicker ſenſe of juſtice and honour, than he did. To this we may add, that the laſt mentioned ſcruple evidently proves that there was nothing of enthuſiaſm in his diſpoſition, and, conſequently, this ought to give the greater weight, and afford the higher ſanction, to all that he has written.

(16) Biſhop Burnet, in his Sermon at the funeral of the Hon. Mr R. Boyle.

[*K*] *One*

Mr Southwell, then Reſident at Florence, to acquaint Mr Boyle with his deſire of holding a correſpondence with him (z). In 1661, he publiſhed his *Phyſiological Eſſays and other Tracts (a)*, which added greatly to the eſteem, that all true lovers of learning had for his knowledge in things of this nature. Some time after, he ſent abroad another curious and excellent work, intituled, *The Sceptical Chymiſt (b)*, which was printed at Oxford; but ſeveral treatiſes that are mentioned in this and the former work, as being in great forwardneſs, and which the world very impatiently expected, were afterwards loſt in the hurry of removing his effects at the time of the great fire. In 1662, a grant of the forfeited impropriations in the kingdom of Ireland, was obtained from the King in Mr Boyle's name, though without his knowledge, which did not hinder his intereſting himſelf very warmly, for procuring the application of theſe impropriations, to the promoting true religion and learning (c). He interpoſed likewiſe, in favour of the corporation for propagating the Goſpel in New England, and was very inſtrumental in obtaining a decree in the Court of Chancery, for reſtoring to that corporation an eſtate, which had been injuriouſly re-poſſeſſed by one Col. Bedingfield, a Papiſt, who had ſold it to them for a valuable conſideration (d). His activity in matters of this nature was ſo much the more honourable, as he was naturally inclined to, and, generally ſpeaking, followed that inclination in leading a private and retired life. But whenever the cauſe of virtue, learning, or religion, required it, his intereſt and endeavours were never wanting, and, by the peculiar bleſſing of Providence, were ſeldom employed but with ſucceſs. In 1663, the Royal Society being incorporated by King Charles II, by letters patent dated the twenty-ſecond of April (e), Mr Boyle was appointed one of the Council, and as he might be juſtly reckoned amongſt the founders of that learned body, ſo he continued one of it's moſt uſeful and induſtrious members, during the whole courſe of his life [K]. In the month

(z) See Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 403, 404.

(a) At London in 4to. They were printed again, in 1669, 4to, with large additions, and tranſlated into Latin.

(b) At Oxford, in 8vo. Again, at the ſame place, 1679, with conſiderable additions, in 8vo.

(c) Boyle's Life, p. 40.

(d) Baxter's Sermon at the Funeral of Henry Aſhurſt, Eſq; p. 46.

(e) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 134.

[K] *One of it's moſt uſeful and induſtrious members during his whole life.*] We have already mentioned the beginnings of this great Society, and now from the Hiſtory of it written by the incomparable pen of Biſhop Sprat, who, having firſt mentioned the occaſional meetings at Oxford and at London, proceeds then to give us the following account of the manner in which this Society was reduced to that ſtate in which we now behold it. 'Theſe gentlemen (ſays he, meaning thoſe 'who had formerly met for their mutual improvement 'in Philoſophical (17) ſtudies) finding the hearts of 'their countrymen enlarged by their joys, and fitted 'for any noble propoſition, and meeting with the con'currence of many worthy men, who, to their im'mortal honour, had followed the King in his ba'niſhment, Mr Erſkine, Sir Robert Moray, Sir Gil'bert Talbot, &c. began now to imagine ſome greater 'thing, and to bring out experimental knowledge from 'the retreats in which it had long hid itſelf, to take 'it's part in the triumphs of that univerſal Jubilee. 'And indeed, Philoſophy did very well deſerve that 'reward, having been always loyal in the worſt of 'times. For though the King's enemies had gained 'all other advantages, though they had all the gar'riſons, and fleets, and ammunitions, and treaſures, 'and armies, on their ſide, yet they could never, by 'all their victories, bring over the reaſon of men to 'their party. While they were thus ordering their 'platform, there came forth a treatiſe which very much 'haſtened it's contrivance, and that was, a propoſal 'by Maſter Cowley of erecting a Philoſophical college. 'The intent of it was, that in ſome places near Lon'don, there ſhould liberal ſalaries be beſtowed on a 'competent number of learned men, to whom ſhould 'be committed the operations of natural experiments. 'This model was every way practicable, unleſs, per'haps, in two things, he did more conſult the gene'roſity of his own mind than of other mens, the one 'was, the largneſs of the revenue with which he 'would have his college at firſt endowed; the other, 'that he impoſed on his operators a ſecond taſk of 'great pains, the education of youth. The laſt of 'theſe, is, indeed, a matter of great weight, the 'reformation of which ought to be ſeriouſly examined 'by prudent men. For it is an undeniable truth, 'which is commonly ſaid, that there would be need 'of fewer laws, and leſs force, to govern men, if 'their minds were rightly informed and ſet ſtraight 'while they were young and pliable. But, perhaps, 'this light is not ſo proper for experimenters to un'dergo. for it would not only devour too much of their 'time, but it would go near to make them a little more 'magiſterial in Philoſophy than became them, by being 'long accuſtomed to command the opinions, and di'rect the manners, of their ſcholars. And as to the 'other particular, the large eſtate which he required 'to the maintenance of his college, it is evident, that 'it is ſo difficult a thing to draw men in to be willing 'to divert an antient revenue, which has long run in 'another ſtream, or to contribute out of their own 'purſes, to the ſupporting of any new deſign, while 'it ſhews nothing but promiſes and hopes, that in 'ſuch caſes, it were (it may be) more adviſable to be'gin upon a ſmall ſtock, and ſo to riſe by degrees, 'than to profeſs great things at firſt, and to exact too 'much benevolence all in one lump together. How'ever, it was not the excellent author's fault, that he 'thought better of the age than it did deſerve. His 'purpoſe in it was like himſelf, full of honour and 'goodneſs, moſt of the other particulars of his draught 'the Royal Society is now putting in practice.—— 'Their purpoſe is, in ſhort, to make faithful records 'of all the works of nature or art, which can come 'within their reach; that ſo the preſent age, and 'poſterity, may be able to put a mark upon the errors 'which have been ſtrengthened by long preſcription; 'to reſtore the truths that have lain neglected; to 'puſh on thoſe which are already known to more va'rious uſes; and to make the way more paſſable to 'what remains unrevealed. This is the compaſs of 'their deſign. And to accompliſh this, they have 'endeavoured to ſeparate knowledge of nature from 'colours of rhetorick, the devices of fancy, or the 'delightful deceit of fables. They have laboured to 'enlarge it, from being confined to the cuſtody of a 'few, or from ſervitude to private intereſts. They 'have ſtriven to preſerve it from being overpreſſed by 'a confuſed heap of vain and uſeleſs particulars, or 'from being ſtreightened, and bound too much up, 'by general doctrines. They have tried to put it 'into a condition of perpetual increaſing, by ſettling 'an inviolable correſpondence between the hand and 'the brain. They have ſtudied to make it not only 'an enterprize of one ſeaſon, or of ſome lucky oppor'tunity, but a buſineſs of time; a ſteady, a laſting, a 'popular, an uninterrupted work. They have at'tempted to free it from the artifices, and humours, 'and paſſions, of ſects; to render it an inſtrument 'whereby mankind may obtain a dominion over 'things, and not only over one another's judgments; 'and, laſtly, they have begun to eſtabliſh theſe refor'mations in Philoſophy, not ſo much by any ſolem'nity of laws, or oſtentation of ceremonies, as by ſolid 'practice and examples, not by a glorious pomp of 'words, but by the ſilent, effectual, and unanſwerable 'arguments of real productions.'—— After a very large account of the qualifications of their Members, the manner of their enquiry, their weekly aſſemblies, their way of regiſtering, and the communication and aſſiſtance they have received from perſons of eminence both at home and abroad, he proceeds thus (18): 'But I make haſte to that which ought to be eſteemed 'the

(17) Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 58.

(18) Ibid p. 133.

month of June 1663, he publiſhed his *Conſiderations on the Uſefulneſs of Experimental Natural Philoſophy* (*f*), which conſiſted of ſeveral Eſſays on uſeful and curious ſubjects, in which they are handled with great freedom, from a juſt zeal for truth, and for the common benefit of mankind, the points which he had always in view when he took his pen in hand. Theſe pieces, thus publiſhed, were, as himſelf tells us, written on ſeveral occaſions, to ſeveral perſons, and at different times; but as, notwithſtanding this, they had a mutual relation to each other, which made them fall very aptly under one common title, he took this method of ſending them abroad, that the world in general might receive that ſatisfaction, which particular friends had reſtified on the peruſal of them in writing. Theſe were followed by *Experiments and Conſiderations upon Colours*, to which was added, a Letter, containing *Obſervations upon a Diamond that ſhines in the Dark* (*g*), a Treatiſe full of curious and uſeful remarks, on the hitherto unexplained doctrine of light and colours; in which he ſhews great judgment, accuracy, and penetration, and may be ſaid to have led the way to that mighty genius, who has ſince ſet that important point in the cleareſt and moſt convincing light poſſible. He likewiſe publiſhed this year, his *Conſiderations on the Style of the Holy Scriptures* (*h*), which was extracted from a much larger work, intitled, *An Eſſay on Scripture*, that was afterwards publiſhed by P. P. A. G. F. I. that is, Peter Pett, Attorney-General for Ireland, afterwards Sir Peter Pett, a man of great reading, a voluminous writer, but of an unſettled judgment, for whom, on account of his well meaning and upright intention, Mr Boyle had a great regard (*i*). In 1664, Mr Boyle was elected into the company of Royal Mines (*k*), and was all this year taken up in the proſecution of various good deſigns, and more eſpecially in promoting the affairs of the corporation for propagating the Goſpel in New England, which, in all probability, was the reaſon that he did not ſend abroad this year any treatiſes, either of Religion or Philoſophy. In 1665, came abroad his *Occaſional Reflections upon ſeveral Subjects* (*l*), to which is prefixed, *A Diſcourſe concerning the Nature and Uſe of ſuch Kind of Writings*. This piece, though now publiſhed, had been written many years before, when the author was a young man, at times, and under circumſtances, when few would have written any thing, and none could have written better. The attack made upon it, therefore, by a ludicrous writer, may be truly affirmed to be as cruel and unjuſt, as it is trivial and indecent [*L*]. A ſhort time after, he publiſhed (*m*) *Experiments and Obſervations relative to an Experimental Hiſtory of Cold, with ſeveral pieces thereunto annexed.* This work of his, as it was juſtly

(*f*) It was printed at Oxford, 1663, 4*to*; and again in the ſame ſize in 1664.

(*g*) Printed at London in 8*vo*, and re printed at the ſame place, in the ſame ſize, 1670. It was alſo tranſlated into Latin.

(*h*) Printed at London in 8*vo*; at Oxford, 1663, in Latin; and again at London in 1675.

(*i*) See his Dedication to Lord Altham, of his father, the Lord Angleſey's, Memoirs of his Life.

(*k*) See Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p 328.

(*l*) Printed at London in 8*vo*; re-printed in 1669, in the ſame ſize; tranſlated into Latin, but never publiſhed.

(*m*) Printed at London in 8*vo*; re-printed there in 1683, in 4*to*.

'the very life and ſoul of this undertaking, the protection and favour of the King and the Royal Family. When the Society firſt addreſſed itſelf to his Majeſty, he was pleaſed to expreſs much ſatisfaction that this enterprize was begun in his reign. He then repreſented to them the gravity and difficulty of their work, and aſſured them of all the kind influence of his power and prerogative. Since that, he has frequently committed many things to their ſearch; he has referred many foreign rarities to their inſpection; he has recommended many domeſtick improvements to their care; he has demanded the reſult of their trials in many appearances of nature; he has been preſent, and aſſiſted with his own hands, at the performing of many of their experiments, in his garden, his parks, and on the river. And beſides, I will not conceal, that he has ſometimes reproved them for the ſlowneſs of their proceedings, at which reproofs they have not ſo much cauſe to be afflicted that they are the reprehenſions of a King, as to be comforted that they are the reprehenſions of his love and affection for their progreſs. For a teſtimony of which royal benignity, and to free them from all hinderances and occaſions of delay, be has given them the eſtabliſhment of his letters patents (19).'——

(19) Ibid, p. 134.

By theſe letters patents, William Viſcount Brouncker, Chancellor to the Queen, was appointed the Firſt Preſident; and the following perſons of the Council, *viz.* Sir Robert Moray, Knight, one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council in Scotland; Robert Boyle, Eſq; William Brereton, Eſq; eldeſt ſon to the Lord Brereton; Sir Kenelme Digby, Knight, Chancellor to the Queen-mother; Sir Gilbert Talbot, Knight, Maſter of the Jewel-houſe; Sir Paul Neile, Knight, one of the Uſhers of the Privy-Chamber; Henry Slingſby, Eſq; one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber; Sir William Petty, Knight; Timothy Clark, Doctor of Phyſick, and one of his Majeſty's Phyſicians; John Wilkins, Doctor of Divinity; George Ent, Doctor of Phyſick; William Erſkyne, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Cup-Bearers; Jonathan Goddard, Doctor of Phyſick; William Ball, Eſq; Matthew Wren, Eſq; John Evelyn, Eſq; Thomas Henſhaw, Eſq; Dudley Palmer, of Gray's-Inn, Eſq; Abraham Hill, of London, Eſq; and Henry Oldenburgh, Eſquire.

[*L*] *To be cruel and unjuſt, as it is trivial and indecent.*] The piece mentioned in the text is addreſſed to *Sophronia*, under which name he concealed that of his beloved ſiſter the Viſcounteſs of Ranelagh (20). The thoughts themſelves are on a vaſt variety of ſubjects, written in the courſe of ten years or more; ſome, indeed, upon trivial occaſions, but all with great accuracy of language, much wit, more learning, and with a wonderful ſtrain of moral and pious reflection. It was this that expoſed him to the ſingle harſh cenſure that ever was paſſed upon him, and that too from the pen of a very ingenious wit, the late Dean Swift (21), who, to ridicule theſe diſcourſes, wrote *A pious Meditation upon a Broomſtick, in the Style of the Honourable* ROBERT BOYLE. This piece is ſo well known that I need ſay no more of it, but perhaps it may afford ſome amuſement to the reader, to be told, that from this very Treatiſe of our great author, Dr Swift borrowed the firſt hint of his Gulliver's Travels. The paſſage upon which this conjecture is founded is very ſhort, and therefore we will inſert it; but it is neceſſary to premiſe, that ſome of theſe occaſional thoughts are written by way of dialogue, and in that *upon eating of Oyſters* (22), one of the perſons introduced therein ſpeaks thus: 'You put 'me in mind of a fancy of your friend Mr Boyle, 'who was ſaying, that he had thoughts of making a 'ſhort romantick ſtory, where the ſcene ſhould be 'laid in ſome iſland of the ſouthern ocean, governed 'by ſome ſuch rational laws and cuſtoms, as thoſe of 'Utopia or the New Atalantis; and in this country 'he would introduce an obſerving native, that upon 'his return home from his travels made in Europe, 'ſhould give an account of our countries and manners 'under feigned names, and frequently intimate in his 'relations, (or in his anſwers to queſtions that ſhould 'be made him) the reaſons of his wondering, to find 'our cuſtoms ſo extravagant, and differing from thoſe 'of his own country. For your friend imagined, that 'by ſuch a way of expoſing many of our practices, we 'ſhould ourſelves be brought unawares to comdemn, 'or perhaps laugh at them, and ſhould at leaſt ceaſe to 'wonder, to find other nations think them as extravagant, as we think the manners of the Dutch and 'Spaniards, as they are repreſented in our travellers 'books.'

(20) See this Treatiſe amongſt Boyle's Works, in the new edition, 1744, in the ſecond Volume.

(21) Swift's Works, Vol. II. p. 35.

(22) See Boyle's Works, Vol. II. p. 220.

[*M*] *Cannot*

juſtly admired then, ſo it has been always in great eſteem ſince, and may be truly ſaid to have been the firſt work publiſhed, that gave inquiſitive men any real light into the ſubjects which are therein examined. His Majeſty, King Charles II. had now an opportunity of ſhewing his own great judgment in men, from his eſteem and affection towards Mr Boyle; for Dr John Meredith, Provoſt of Eaton, dying in Auguſt 1665, the King, unaſked and unſollicited, appointed Mr Boyle for his ſucceſſor (*n*). This was certainly, all circumſtances conſidered, the fitteſt employment for him in the kingdom; yet after mature deliberation, though contrary to the advice of his friends, he abſolutely declined it, becauſe he thought the duties of the employment might interfere with his ſtudies; he was unwilling to quit that courſe of life, which, by experience, he found ſo ſuitable to his temper and conſtitution; and, above all, he was unwilling to enter into Holy Orders, which he was perſuaded was neceſſary to qualify himſelf for it (*o*). In this year, and in the next, he was pretty much exerciſed in looking into an affair that made a very great noiſe in the world, and the deciſion of which, from the high reputation he had gained, was in a manner univerſally expected from Mr Boyle. The caſe was this, one (*p*) Mr Valentine Greatraks, an Iriſh gentleman, perſuaded himſelf that he had a peculiar gift of curing diſeaſes by ſtroking, in which, though he certainly ſucceeded often, yet he ſometimes failed, and this occaſioned a great controverſy, in which moſt of the parties concerned addreſſed themſelves to Mr Boyle, who conducted himſelf with ſuch wiſdom and prudence, as to get out of this affair without any loſs of credit, which, all things conſidered, cannot but be eſteemed a very high proof of his wiſdom [*M*]. In 1666, Dr John Wallis addreſſed

(*n*) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. P. 334.

(*o*) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(*p*) See the Hiſt. of the County of Waterford, by Mr C. Smith, P. 365.

[*M*] *Cannot but be eſteemed a very high proof of his wiſdom.*] As there is nothing more common, than for perſons who take upon them to perform extraordinary and ſupernatural things to loſe their own credit, and become ridiculous, inſtead of acquiring an extenſive and laſting reputation; ſo it has often fallen out, that upon the appearance of ſuch perſons, and the noiſe which ſuch kind of pretenſions will always make: Men of great parts and learning who have either too haſtily given their opinion, or have given it under the particular biaſs of ſome favourite notion, which ſuch phænomena ſeem to confirm, have deeply ſuffered in their credit likewiſe, and by a ſingle falſe ſtep loſt that conſideration and regard, which, with much labour, and by many ſervices rendered to the publick, they might, with great difficulty, have acquired (23). This Mr Valentine Greatraks was an Iriſh Gentleman of a good family and competent fortune, of a ſerious, or rather of a melancholy temper; and at the time of his coming into England, about thirty-ſeven years of age; about three years before he had an impulſe on his mind that he could cure the King's Evil, which his wife, who was a notable woman, and from a charitable principle, had applied herſelf to the ſtudy of Surgery and Phyſick, treated as a fancy; but Mr Greatraks perſiſted in it, and upon ſome trials performed ſuch extraordinary things, as in that kingdom made a very great noiſe; upon which he was cited into the Biſhop's Court at Liſmore; and not having a Licence for practiſing, he was forbid to lay hands on any for the future, which prohibition, however, he did not obey. In January 1665-6, the Earl of Orrery invited him into England, in hopes he might be able to cure the Viſcounteſs of Conway, who had been for many years afflicted with an inveterate head-ach (24). He repaired for this purpoſe to her Lord's ſeat at Ragly in Warwickſhire; and though he failed in his attempt, in reſpect to the Lady, yet his performances, in thoſe parts, were ſo extraordinary, that Mr Stubbe, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſay a great deal in the next note, thought fit to write a Treatiſe upon this ſubject intituled, *The miraculous Conformiſt: or, an Account of ſeveral marvellous Cures performed by the ſtroking of the Hands of Mr* Valentine Greatarick; *with a phyſical diſcourſe thereupon, in a Letter to the Honourable* Robert Boyle, Eſq; *with a Letter relating to ſome other of his miraculous Cures atteſted by* E. Foxcroft, M. A. *and Fellow of King's-College in* Cambridge. The letter to Mr Boyle is dated at Stratford upon Avon, Feb. 18, 1665-6. Wherein, after giving an account of the perſon about whom his Treatiſe was wrote, and the cures which he had ſeen him perform, he lays down this poſition, that God had beſtowed upon Mr Greatraks a peculiar temperament, or compoſed his body of ſome particular ferments, the effluvia whereof being introduced ſometimes by a light, ſometimes by a violent friction, ſhould reſtore the temperament of the debelitated parts, reinvigorate the blood, and diſſipate all heterogeneous ferments out of the bodies of the diſeaſed by the eyes, noſe, mouth, hands, and feet. The reſt of his piece is ſpent in explaining the nature and manner of this gentleman's working upon his patients for their cure: Mr Stubbe did not ſend, as in decency he ought, his manuſcript to Mr Boyle, but a printed book, which he received on the eighth of March following in the evening. The very next day Mr Boyle wrote him a very long, a very learned, and a very judicious letter upon the ſubject, which was never publiſhed, 'till it appeared in his life prefixed to his works; and it is certainly one of the cleareſt teſtimonies of his vaſt abilities and extenſive knowledge that is any where extant; for it appears from the letter itſelf, that he both read Mr Stubbe's Book in haſte, and wrote himſelf in much hurry, being obliged to take horſe to go out of town; yet, conſidered in any light, this letter will appear a very extraordinary performance, as being wonderfully correct in the diction and ſtile, remarkably clear in the method and form, highly judicious in the obſervations and remarks, and full of many pertinent and curious facts cited in ſupport of whatever he advanced; the whole ſhewing ſuch an admirable frame of mind, and ſuch a temper with reſpect both to the evidence of cures on the one hand, and the difficulties attending the inferences drawn from thoſe accounts on the other, as cannot but fill the reader's mind with a very high idea of the author's candour and prudence, as well as of his deep penetration, and his various and profound knowledge (25). A very little after, the reputation of Mr Greatraks was very warmly attacked, as it was ſuppoſed, by Mr David Lloyd Reader of the Charter-houſe, in a pamphlet entitled, *Wonders no Miracles: or Mr* Valentine Greatrake's *Gift of Healing examined, upon Occaſion of a ſaid Effect of his ſtroking, March the ſeventh*, 1665, *at one Mr* Creſſett's *Houſe in Charter-houſe-yard, in a Letter to a Reverend Divine living near that place.* This obliged Mr Greatraks to write a vindication of himſelf, againſt the imputations thrown upon him by this diſcourſe, which he accordingly did, under the title of *A Brief Account of Mr* Valentine Greatraks, *and divers of the ſtrange cures by him lately performed. Written by himſelf, in a Letter addreſſed to the Honourable* Robert Boyle, Eſq; *Whereunto are annexed, the Teſtimonials of ſeveral eminent and worthy Perſons, of the chief Matters of Fact therein related.* This letter is dated May the eighth 1666, and at the concluſion he intimates his deſign, when he had an opportunity, to anſwer all the queries which Mr Boyle had put to him, in a paper delivered into his hands, and which he was not then at leiſure to ſatisfy: To this letter are ſubjoined teſtimonials by Mr Boyle, Dr Denton, Dr Fairclough, Sir William Smyth, Sir Nathaniel Hobart, and many other perſons of diſtinction: He retured, not long afterwards, to Ireland, and though he lived there many years, yet I do not find, that he kept up the reputation of performing thoſe ſtrange cures which gained him the title of *the Stroker*, and has procured his name a place even in our general hiſtories (26). But in this his caſe is very ſingular and remarkable, that, even on the ſtricteſt inquiry, no ſort of blemiſh was ever thrown upon

3) Hiſt. of the unty of Waterford, p. 365.

4) See his own mphlet addreſſ- to Mr Boyle.

(25) See this Letter of Mr Boyle's at large, in his Life, p. 47.

(26) See Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 127.

addreſſed to Mr Boyle *An Hypotheſis about the Flux and Reflux of the Sea* (*q*). The famous Phyſician, Dr Thomas Sydenham, dedicated to him, in the ſame year, his *Method of curing Fevers, grounded upon his own Obſervations* (*r*), a little piece, written in Latin, and truly worthy of ſo great a man. Himſelf likewiſe publiſhed that year, his (*s*). *Hydroſtatical Paradoxes, made out by new Experiments for the moſt part phyſical and eaſy*, which he ſent abroad at the requeſt of the Royal Society, thoſe experiments having been made at their deſire about two years before. He alſo publiſhed that year another celebrated treatiſe of his, intituled, *The Origin of Forms and Qualities, according to the Corpuſcular Philoſophy, illuſtrated by Experiments*; a treatiſe which did equal honour to the quickneſs of his wit, the depth of his judgment, and his indefatigable pains in ſearching after truth. We muſt likewiſe obſerve, that both in this, and in the former year, he communicated to his friend, Mr Oldenburgh, ſeveral curious and excellent ſhort treatiſes of his, upon a great variety of ſubjects, and others tranſmitted to him by his learned friends both at home and abroad, which are printed and preſerved in the Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society (*t*). It is very obſervable, that in the warm controverſy raiſed in relation to that Society, Mr Boyle eſcaped all cenſure, which is more extraordinary, conſidering that Mr Stubbe, who was the great antagoniſt of the learned Hiſtorian of that Society, was one who ſet no bounds to his rage, and ſeemed to make it a point, to raiſe his reſentment in proportion as there wanted grounds for it. Yet even this cholerick and furious writer had ſo high an eſteem for Mr Boyle, that at the very time he fell upon the Society in a manner ſo inexcuſable, he failed not to write frequently to our author, in order to convince him, that how angry ſoever he might be with that body of men, yet he preſerved a juſt reſpect for his great learning and abilities, and a true ſenſe of the many favours he had conferred upon him (*u*) [*N*]. About this time, our

(*q*) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. XVI. p. 264.

(*r*) The Latin title of this Treatiſe was, *Methodus curandi Febres propriis Obſervationibus ſuperſtructa*, Lond. 1668, 8vo, Lat. 1668.

(*s*) At London, in 8vo; it was alſo publiſhed in Latin.

(*t*) See Boyle's Life, p. 54.

(*u*) See inſtances of this in note [*N*].

upon his character; nor did any of thoſe curious and learned perſons, who eſpouſed his cauſe, draw any imputation upon themſelves; though at the ſame time it muſt be allowed, that there were ſeveral very eminent and knowing Virtuoſi, who could not be brought to have any great opinion of his performances, but were rather inclined to attribute all he did to the bare efficacy of Friction (27). We ſhall, perhaps, have occaſion, in another place, to examine this affair more cloſely, as deſigning no more, at preſent, than to ſet this matter in a clear light, ſo far as our author was concerned therein.

(27) Hiſt. of the County of Waterford, p 369.

[*N*] *True ſenſe of the many favours he had conferred upon him.*] It would far exceed the bounds of a note, ſhould we attempt to give any account of this Henry Stubbe, who was a frequent and voluminous writer. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that he was a conſtant antagoniſt to the famous Mr Glanville, and a declared enemy to the Royal Society (28), which makes it wonderful, that he ſhould preſerve any meaſures towards Mr Boyle, which, however, he did, at a time when he loſt all decency, as well as patience, in regard to others; as appears very clearly from the following paſſage, taken from a letter of his to Mr Boyle, dated from Warwick December 17, 1669, in relation to Dr Sprat's Hiſtory of the Royal Society (29). 'At the ſeſſion of 'parliament you will ſee a cenſure upon certain paſſages 'in the hiſtory, with a defence of the cenſure, approved 'by as eminent Divines as this nation yields, which will 'convince you, how juſtly I ſay, that the hiſtory ſub-'verts the Proteſtant Religion, and Church of England. 'I never did any thing more unwillingly, than to 'enter upon Divinity; though, now, the XXXIX Ar-'ticles, and Homilies, and the Proteſtant Religion, be 'the ſubject I defend againſt Popery and Socinianiſm. 'I underſtood of the King's diſpleaſure at me, and 'that he ſaid ſome ſevere things, but I was not trou-'bled at it much, being content rather to ſerve him, 'than to flatter him. I did expect to have been im-'priſoned when I firſt undertook it, and therefore 'contrived how I might be freed again, never purpo-'ſing to decline the other trouble. But, when I bring 'the caſe before the Commons, I am ſure I ſhall here 'be powerfully abetted, and the Society will have the 'worſe, and whatever they do before will add to my 'plea then; you will ſee, before Twelfth-day, that no 'inconſiderable perſons will ſpeak favourably of my 'intention, and avow the bravery and neceſſity of the 'performance. But I determined not to engage them 'to diſcourſe their minds before the book came out.' ——To this letter he adds the following remarkable Poſtſcript: 'I had forgot to ſuggeſt one thing to the 'conſideration of your Society, that, perhaps, it may 'be manifeſted at the Parliament, that the hiſtorian, 'by this book, is chargeable with high-treaſon, and that 'there want not ſuch as think, if your Society own it, 'they incur a *Præmunire*; ſo that whatever they may 'imagine to draw upon me (though I may ſuffer a 'while) will fall worſe on them, when the world takes 'notice of the ground of their actings againſt me, 'and that they do all this, whom I had repreſented in 'my preface as unconcerned in the conteſt.' It is amazing that ſo angry, and ſo raſh a writer, ſhould be able to create any conſiderable oppoſition to ſo learned and great a body, embarked in ſo juſt, ſo generous, and ſo publick-ſpirited an undertaking as reaſon and good ſenſe, then, and as the happy ſucceſs of their labours, and a long, and uninterrupted experience now demonſtrate the ſcheme of the Royal Society to be: Yet the ſame writer, in another letter to Mr Boyle dated June the fourth, 1670, not without ſome foundation of truth, boaſts of having brought over numbers, and even ſome of thoſe very great and conſiderable perſons, to his ſentiments; and very plainly tells our author, that he was the only man to whom he intended to give any quarter. 'What I believe you could never have appre-'hended is come to paſs; the body of the nation, and 'all learned men abet me; the two Univerſities (eſpe-'cially that of Cambridge, which was moſt inclined to 'novelty) avow my quarrel; and they that favoured 'Experimental Philoſophy judge thoſe Virtuoſi unfit to 'proſecute it: The Biſhop of Chicheſter reads againſt 'them, and intends to hold his lecture a year or two, 'and that for this reaſon to overthrow the eſteem of 'them. The concourſe to hear him is ſuch as the 'Univerſity never ſaw before. The Elect of Bath is as 'much as any for me, and againſt Glanvile. In ſum, 'all men apprehend it is now their intereſt to oppoſe 'the Royal Society. I know not what any Phyſicians 'may, as the mode is, tell you to your face, but 'except it be ſuch as Dr Sydenham and young Cox, 'I believe not one lives, that doth not condemn your 'Experimental Philoſophy, and either the College, or 'Sir Alexander Fraſer, and the principal of them, in-'tend me a letter of thanks for what I have done, 'with the liberty to print it, and perhaps others will 'follow the precedent; and how conſiſtent theſe 'things are, with the repute of the Society you adhere 'unto, judge you?—The Biſhop of London hath licen-'ſed that againſt Sprat once more, and approved the 'preface and dedication to both Univerſities, wherein 'the paſſages are more ſevere than any yet publiſhed '—being reſolved to keep the controverſy hot 'till the 'Royal Society ſubmit to the terms I propoſe, and 'then they had as good diſſolve. I acquaint you with 'theſe things, that you may conſult your own eaſe, and 'let theſe comedians ſtand or fall alone; and then 'whatever reply, I ſhall, at the requeſt of the Phyſi-'cians at London, make to you, ſhall be as amicable 'as it is poſſible, and, if it pleaſe God to continue us a 'nation, perhaps, you ſhall ſee a nobler project for the 'advancement of uſeful knowledge, in reference to 'Phyſick,

(28) See a large Account of him in Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 560, 663, 666.

(29) See theſe Letters in Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 56—59.

our author reſolved to ſettle himſelf for life in London, and removed for that purpoſe to the houſe of his ſiſter, the Lady Ranelagh, in Pall-Mall, to the infinite benefit of the learned in general, and particularly to the advantage of the Royal Society, to whom he gave great and continual aſſiſtance (*w*). He had likewiſe his ſet hours for receiving ſuch as came, either to deſire his help, or to communicate to him any new diſcoveries in ſcience. Beſides which, he kept a very extenſive correſpondence with perſons of the greateſt figure, and moſt famous for learning in all parts of Europe (*x*). In 1669, he publiſhed his *Continuation of new Experiments, touching the Spring and Weight of the Air*, to which is added, *A Diſcourſe of the Atmoſpheres of Conſiſtent Bodies*; and the ſame year he reviſed, and made many additions to, ſeveral of his former tracts, ſome of which were now tranſlated into Latin, in order to gratify the curious abroad, with whom Mr Boyle ſtood in as high reputation, as with all the lovers of learning at home. In the ſucceeding year, he publiſhed a book that occaſioned much ſpeculation, as it ſeemed to contain a vaſt treaſure of new knowledge, that had never been communicated to the world before, and this grounded upon actual experiments and arguments juſtly drawn from them, inſtead of that notional and conjectural Philoſophy, which, in the beginning of this century, had been ſo much in faſhion. The title of this treatiſe was, *Of the Coſmical Qualities of Things* (*y*), and as it is neceſſary, in ſuch an article as this, to give at leaſt one inſtance of an author's manner of writing, we thought it might not be improper to inſiſt farther upon this in the notes [O]. About this time, Dr Peter de Moulin, the ſon of the famous French Divine of

(*w*) See the ſeveral pieces communicated by Mr Boyle, as printed in the Tranſactions, and now collected in Mr Boyle's Works, and digeſted in their proper order of time.

(*x*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 60.

(*y*) Printed at Oxford, in 8vo; and ſoon after tranſlated into Latin.

'Phyſick, than ever your Society was capable of, and 'which ſhall add glory to our Faculty. It was, indeed, 'the Popiſh intereſt to depreſs the Phyſicians, that ſo 'there might be nothing of learning in the nation to 'oppreſs them. Civil Law is gone; the number of 'learned Divines is ſmall; and your Royal Society hath 'deſtroyed the ſucceſſion. But there remains enough 'to retort the ſhame upon the authors, and cover you 'all with ignominy. I have no more to add, but that I 'ſhall never quit that reſpect which becomes

Your moſt humble Servant,

HENRY STUBBE.

[O] *To inſiſt farther upon this in the notes.*] The ends propoſed by Mr Boyle, in the publication of all his writings, were ſuch as equally demonſtrated the uprightneſs of his heart, the ſoundneſs of his head, and the diffuſive beneficence of his nature. The treatiſe, before us, was compoſed of ſeveral ſhort diſcourſes, moſt of which bore ſome relation to other tracts the author had under his hand, which were not, at that time, in a condition to ſee the light. But he very juſtly conſidered, that if he delayed publiſhing any 'till all the tracts he had written, or intended, were fit to come abroad, the world might be deprived of many excellent diſcoveries, at a time, when an unuſual ſpirit of improvement prevailed. He therefore choſe to ſend ſuch of them abroad, from time to time, as were in the beſt order; and gave thereby a noble proof of his preferring the ſervice of mankind to his own reputation. The firſt tract in this collection is, *an Introduction to the Hiſtory of particular qualities*; then follow his *Diſcourſes of the Syſtematical or Coſmical Qualities of things, Coſmical Suſpicions, the Temperature of the ſubterraneal Region, the Temperature of the ſubmarine Region, and of the Bottom of the Sea.* The introduction to the hiſtory of particular qualities, is prefaratory to the reſt; and hercin the author ſhows, that his doctrine is not like that of the ancient philoſophers, made up of ſounding and unmeaning words, or ſimple conjectures impoſed in a dogmatic ſtile, but a plain and practical expoſition of the diſcoveries, which, with much labour, and no leſs penetration, he had made by following nature and conſidering her operations. In the tract concerning the coſmical qualities of things, he ſhews, 1. That they depend partly upon the influence of external agents, as well as the primary affections of matter; ſo that there are many bodies, which, in ſeveral caſes, act not, unleſs acted upon; and ſome of them act either ſolely, or chiefly, as they are acted on by general and unregarded agents. 2. That there are certain ſubtile bodies in the world, which are ready to inſinuate themſelves into the pores of any body diſpoſed to admit their action, or by ſome other way to effect it, eſpecially if they have the concurrence of other unobſerved cauſes, and the eſtabliſhed laws of the univerſe. 3. That a body, by a mechanical change of the texture, may acquire or loſe a fitneſs to be wrought upon by unheeded agents, and alſo to diverſify their operation on it, by a variation of it's texture. He propoſes next the following coſmical ſuſpicions. 1. That beſides thoſe more numerous and uniform ſorts of minute corpuſcles, which are by ſome of the modern philoſophers thought to compoſe the æther, there may poſſibly be ſome other kind of corpuſcles fitted to produce conſiderable effects when they find bodies to be wrought on by them. 2. That ſeveral perſons have diſcovered peſtilential ſtreams in the air, before they acted as ſuch upon other bodies. 3. That conſiderable, though ſlow, changes in the internal parts of the earth, may occaſion a variation of the mariner's needle. 4. That the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, and ſuch like phænomena, are occaſioned by ſome coſmical law of nature; or that the planetary vortex may be not a little concerned in producing ſuch effects. 5. That all endemical and epidemical diſtempers, principally depend upon the influence of thoſe globes which move about us, and the terreſtrial effluvia of our own globe. 6. That thoſe which are thought the grand rules by which things corporeal are tranſacted, and which ſuppoſe the conſtancy of the preſent fabrick of the world, and a regular courſe of things, are not altogether ſo uniformly complied with, as we preſume at leaſt as to the lines according to which the great mundane bodies move, and the boundaries of their motions. 7. That on the other hand, we may, perhaps, take ſuch things for exorbitances, and deviation from the ſettled courſe of nature, as if long and attentively obſerved, will be a periodical phænomena of very long intervals, but becauſe men have not ſufficient ſkill and curioſity to obſerve them, nor a life long enough to be able to take notice of a competent number of them, they readily conclude them to be but accidental extravagances, which ſpring not from any ſettled and durable cauſes. In the diſcourſes concerning the temperature of the ſubterraneal and ſubmarine regions, he obſerves, that there are different regions below the earth; that the firſt region of the earth is very variable, both as to bounds and temperature; that the ſecond ſeems to be generally cold, in compariſon of the other two; that in ſeveral places, which by reaſon of their diſtance from the ſurface of the earth, might be referred to, the middle region of it, the temperature of the air, is very different at the ſame ſeaſons of different years; that the third region of the earth has been obſerved to be conſtantly and ſenſibly, but not uniformly, warm, being in ſome places conſiderably hot: that there are two different regions below the ſurface of the ſea, the one extended from the ſuperficies of the water as far downward, as the manifeſt operation of the ſun-beams, or other cauſes penetrates; and the other from thence to the bottom; ſo that the upper region muſt vary as to it's extent, according to the difference of the climate, and the heat of the ſun, or the nature of the ſoils about the ſhore, but that the lower region is generally cold; he farther tells us, that the bottom of the ſea is very rough and unequal; that the water gravitates conſiderably upon bodies immerſed in it; and that the bottom of the ſea is not diſturbed with ſtorms, but that the water ſtagnates. We may, from this inſtance, fully diſcern the

of the same name, who had travelled with Mr Boyle's nephews, dedicated to him his Collection of Latin Poems (*z*). But in the midst of his studies, and other useful employments, he was attacked by a severe paralytick distemper, of which, though not without great difficulty, he got the better, by adhering strictly to a proper regimen (*a*). In 1671, he published *Considerations on the Usefulness of Experimental and Natural Philosophy, the second Part* (*b*), as also *A Collection of Tracts* (*c*) *upon several useful and important Points of Practical Philosophy*, both which works were received as new and valuable gifts to the learned world. In 1672, came abroad his *Essay about the Origin and Virtue of Gems* (*d*), in which, according to his usual custom, he treated an old and beaten subject in a very new and useful manner; so that it may be truly said, that he not only threw an additional light upon a very dark and difficult subject, but also pointed out the only certain method of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the nature and virtues (if any such there be) of all kinds of precious stones. He published also, the same year, another *Collection of Tracts, touching the Relation between Flame and Air* (*e*), and several other useful and curious subjects, besides furnishing in this, and in the former year, a great number of short Dissertations upon a vast variety of topicks, addressed to the Royal Society, and inserted in their *Transactions*. In the year 1673, he sent abroad his *Essays on the strange Subtilty, great Efficacy, and determinate Nature of Effluvia, to which were added, Variety of Experiments on other Subjects* (*f*). The same year, Anthony Le Grand dedicated to him his *History of Nature* (*g*), which he published in Latin, and in this dedication the author gives a large account of the great reputation which Mr Boyle had acquired in foreign parts. In 1674, Mr Boyle published *A Collection of Tracts on the Saltness of the Sea, the Moisture of the Air, the natural and preternatural State of Bodies*, to which he prefixed, *A Dialogue concerning Cold* (*h*). In the same year, he sent abroad a piece that had been written near ten years before, intituled, *The Excellency of Theology compared with the Natural Philosophy, in an Epistolary Discourse to a friend* (*i*). This treatise, in which are contained a multitude of curious and useful, as well as just and natural, observations, was written in the time of the great plague, when the author was forced to go from place to place in the country, and had little or no opportunity of consulting his books. He also communicated to the world, the same year, another *Collection of Tracts, comprehending some Suspicions about hidden Qualities of the Air, Animadversions upon Mr Hobbes's Problem about a Vacuum, A Discourse of the Cause of Attraction by Suction* (*k*), in which several pieces, as there are many new discoveries made, so several old errors, and groundless notions, are refuted and exploded. In 1675, he printed *Some Considerations about the Reconcilableness of Reason and Religion, by T. E. a Layman, to which was annexed, a Discourse about the Possibility of the Resurrection, by Mr* Boyle (*l*). The reader will observe, that the former, as well as the latter, was of his writing, only he thought fit to mark that with the final letters of his name, and though the first of these Discourses promises a second part, that however, was not published. Amongst other pieces that he this year communicated to the Royal Society, there were two papers connected into one discourse, that deserve particular notice; the former was intituled, *An Experimental Discourse of Quicksilver growing hot with Gold* (*m*); the other related to the same subject, both of them containing discoveries worthy of so great a man, and facts that only on his credit could be believed [*P*]. In 1676, Mr Boyle published his

(*a*) The title of this book was *Petri Molinæi* P.F. ΠΑΡΕΡΓΑ *Poematum libelli tres*, Cant. 1670. 8vo.

(*a*) See his own Account of this matters in his letter to John Mallet, Esq; in Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 61.

(*b*) Printed at London, in 4to; re-printed, but with the old title, 1739.

(*c*) Printed at London, in 4to.

(*d*) Printed at London, in 8vo; and soon after translated into Latin, by which it became generally known and esteemed abroad.

(*e*) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(*f*) Printed at London, in 8vo; and translated into Latin.

(*g*) The title of this book ran thus, *Historia Naturæ variis experimentis & Ratiociniis elucidata, secundum Principia Stabilita, in Institutione Philosophiæ edita ab eodem Authore*, Lond. 1672, 8vo.

(*h*) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(*i*) Printed at London, in 8vo; and afterwards translated into Latin.

(*k*) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(*l*) Printed at London, in 8vo;

(*m*) Philosophical Transactions, No. CXXII. p. 515.

usefulness and precision, as well as the curiosity and novelty, of Mr Boyle's writings; whence we may easily discern, how much they contributed, not only to the improvement of learning, and advancement of knowledge, by their contents, but by their example also; since the just fame that he acquired by his sagacious discoveries, and the freedom and candour with which he divulged them, induced many others to follow his steps, to the inexpressible benefit of such as are studious of true Philosophy.

[*P*] *Facts that only on his credit could be believed.*] All who are, in the least, acquainted with the writings of those who stile themselves Hermetick Philosophers, or, as they are commonly called, Alchemists, cannot be ignorant of the distinction they make between Common and Philosophick Mercury: or that many of them, amongst other qualities which they assign to their nobler kind of mercury, insist that this is one, *viz.* It will not only mix with, but upon being intermixed, will grow hot with gold. This such writers, as have endeavoured to overthrow the principles of the Alchemists, have absolutely denied; and it has even been given up by some of the modern writers upon that science themselves (30). But our noble author, who had a zeal for nothing but truth, and no aversion to any notions or principles whatever, that were not inconsistent therewith, thought it became him to acquaint the Royal Society with some discoveries he had made upon this subject many years before; and therefore communicated to their secretary some papers he had drawn up on this head, in which, besides his own excellent observations, are contained certain experiments that clearly determine the point, and put it beyond dispute, that there are various kinds of mercury, which may be so prepared as to mix, and to become hot with gold; that is, by the action of the particles of these two metals themselves upon each other, without the assistance of any other ingredient or of fire. But let us hear what himself says on that subject (31): 'Some years 'after I was in possession of this mercury, I found, in 'some of their books, that Chymists call Philosophers, 'some dark passages, whence I then guessed their 'knowledge of it, or of some other very like it; and in 'one of them I found, though not all in the very same 'place, an allegorical description of it, the greatest 'part of which was not very difficult for me to under-'stand; but not finding there, any notice taken of the 'property of this mercury to grow hot with gold, I 'was induced to suspect, that either they had not the 'knowledge of it, or judged it unfit to be spoken of. 'But you will, I suppose, expect from me rather narra-'tives than conjectures. And, indeed, it is but reason-'able, that having but mentioned to you a phænome-'non, whose credibility is by many denied; I should 'take notice of some circumstances fit to bring credit to 'it; and I shall the less grudge the pains of setting 'down several particular phænomena, because, I pre-'sume you have not met with them; and because also it 'may gratify some of your chymical friends, who may 'have, or discover, some noble mercury, by helping them 'to examine it, and to try whether it resembles ours.

'That, I might not then be imposed on by others; 'I several times made trial of our mercury, when I 'was all alone. For when no body was by me, nor

'probably

(30) The mystical Doctrines of the Sons of Hermes explained, p. 15.

(31) Boyle's Works, Vol. II, p. 557.

his *Experiments and Notes about the Mechanical Origin of particular Qualities* (*n*), by several Diſcourſes on a great variety of ſubjects, and, amongſt the reſt, he treats very largely, and, according to his wonted method, very accurately, of Electricity. He had been for many years a Director of the Eaſt-India company, and very uſeful in this capacity to that great body, more eſpecially in procuring their charter, and the only return he expected for his labour in this reſpect, was, the engaging the Company to come to ſome reſolution in favour of the propagation of the Goſpel, by means of their flouriſhing factories in that part of the world; and, as a proof of his own inclination to contribute, as far as in him lay, for that purpoſe, he cauſed five hundred copies of the Goſpels and Acts of the Apoſtles, in the Malayan tongue, to be printed at Oxford, and ſent abroad at his own expence, as appears from the Dedication prefixed by his friend Dr Thomas Hyde to that tranſlation, which was publiſhed under his direction (*p*). There came abroad, the ſame year, a Miſcellaneous Collection of his Works in Latin, printed at Geneva, but without his knowledge, of which there is a large account given in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (*q*). In 1678, he communicated to Mr Hooke, afterwards Dr Hooke, the ſhort Memorial of ſome

(*n*) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(*p*) This Dedication is dated from the Publick Library at Oxford, Sept. 14, 1677.

(*q*) No. CXXX. this account is penned by Hen. Oldenburgh, Eſq; then their Secretary.

'probably dreamed of what I was doing; I took to one 'part of the mercury, ſometimes half the weight, and 'ſometimes an equal weight of refined gold, reduced 'to a calx or ſubtile powder. This I put into the palm 'of my left hand, and putting the mercury upon it, 'ſtirred it, and preſſed it a little with the finger of my 'right hand, by which the two ingredients were eaſily mingled, and grew not only ſenſibly, but conſiderably hot, and that ſo nimbly, that the incaleſcence did ſometimes come to it's height in about a 'minute of an hour, by a minute clock. I found the 'experiment ſucceed whether I took altogether or but 'half as much gold as mercury, but the effect ſeemed 'to be much greater when they were employed in 'equal weight; and to obviate a ſuſpicion, which, 'though improbable, might poſſibly ariſe, as if the 'immediate contact of the ingredients, and the ſkin 'produced a ſenſe of heat, which was not due to the 'action of the metals upon one another: I had the 'curioſity to keep the mixture in a paper, and found 'not it's interpoſition to hinder me from feeling the 'incaleſcence, though it much abated the degree of 'my ſenſe of it.

'I tried alſo the ſame mercury with refined ſilver 'reduced to a very fine powder, but I could not perceive any heat or warmth at all, though I am apt to 'think, that if I had had a ſufficient quantity of leaf-ſilver to have made the experiment with, I ſhould, 'after ſome time, have produced an incaleſcence, 'though much inferior to what the ſame quantity of 'mercury would produce with gold, but this is only 'upon the bye. I ſhall now add, that to the end I 'might not be thought to impoſe upon myſelf, I did 'not make trial in my own hand, when it was in different 'temper as to heat and cold, but I did it in the hands 'of others, who were not a little ſurprized and pleaſed 'at the event. And this I did more than once or twice, 'by which means I had, and ſtill have, divers witneſſes of the truth of the experiment, whereof ſome 'are noted perſons, and eſpecially him to whom I laſt 'ſhewed it, which you will eaſily believe, when I tell 'you it is the learned ſecretary of the Royal Society, 'to whom having given the ingredients, I deſired him 'to make the experiment in and with his own hands, 'in which it proved ſucceſsful, within ſomewhat leſs 'than a minute of an hour.' (The ſame experiment was afterwards tryed by the Lord Viſcount Brouncker, Preſident of the Royal Society.) 'And that which 'makes this incaleſcence the more conſiderable is, that 'being willing to huſband my mercury, a great part of 'which had been, as I gueſſed, ſtolen from me before 'I employed it; I made theſe trials but with a drachm 'at a time, which ſcarce amounts, in quantity, to the 'bigneſs of half a middle ſized bean; whereas, if I 'could have made the experiment with a ſpoonful or 'two of quickſilver, and a due proportion of gold, 'it is probable the heat would have been intenſe enough, 'not only to burn one's hand, but perchance to crack a 'glaſs-vial; ſince I have ſometimes had of this mercury ſo ſubtile, that when I employed but a drachm at 'a time, the heat made me willing to put it haſtily 'out of my hand.

'Theſe things being matters of fact, I ſcruple not 'to deliver them; but I would much ſcruple to determine thence, whether thoſe that are *mercurii 'corporum*, and were made, as Chemiſts preſume, by 'extraction only from metals and minerals, will each 'of them grow hot with gold, as, if I much miſtake 'not, I found antimonial mercury to do. And much 'leſs would I affirm, that every metalline mercury '(though never ſo diſpoſed to incaleſcence) or even 'that of ſiver or gold itſelf, is the ſame with that 'which the Chryſopæan writers mean by their Philoſophick mercury, or is near ſo noble as this. 'Nay, I would not ſo much as affirm, that every 'mercury obtained by extraction, even from the perfect metals themſelves, muſt needs be more noble and 'fit (as Alchemiſts ſpeak) for the Philoſophick work, 'than that which may with ſkill and pains be at length 'obtained from common mercury, ſkilfully freed from 'it's recrementitious and heterogeneous parts, and 'richly impregnated with the ſubtile and active ones 'of congruous metals or minerals. Theſe, and the 'like points, I ſhould, as I was ſaying, much ſcruple 'at offering to determine in this place, where what I 'deſigned to deliver was hiſtorical, though I have not 'thought it impertinent to glance at the points lately 'mentioned, becauſe thoſe glances may intimate 'things conducive to the better underſtanding of what 'I have ſaid, and have to ſay, in this paper.'

It is very evident, from what we have cited, that our author had no ſort of prejudices or prepoſſeſſions whatever; he very well knew, under what ſuſpicions all the Alchemiſtal writers lay, and no body was a better judge than himſelf how far they deſerved it: but this did not hinder him from reading, examining, and making uſe of their writings, or from publiſhing to the world the truths that he found in them, amongſt which there was ſcarce any of greater fame or importance, than this ſingular diſcovery. To be convinced of this, the reader need only to be told, that as ſoon as the Tranſactions of the Royal Society, in which theſe papers were contained, became publick, the judicious Sir Iſaac, then only Mr Newton, thought fit to write a letter to Mr Oldenburgh, Secretary to the Royal Society, thereupon, in which, after taking ſome pains to ſhew, that very poſſibly this particular kind of mercury might act otherwiſe upon gold than by the ſubtility of it's parts, he ſhows a great concern leſt the ſecret of making it ſhould be divulged, and the reaſons he gives for this are of ſuch a nature, that the curious reader will think himſelf obliged to me for tranſcribing them (32). 'But yet, ſays he, becauſe 'the way by which mercury may be ſo impregnated, 'has been thought fit to be concealed by others that 'have known it, and therefore may poſſibly be an 'inlet to ſomething more noble, not to be communicated without immenſe damage to the world, if 'there ſhould be any verity in the Hermetick writers; 'therefore I queſtion not, but that the great wiſdom 'of the noble author will ſway him to high ſilence, 'till 'he ſhall be reſolved of what conſequence the thing may 'be, either by his own experience, or the judgment 'of ſome other that thoroughly underſtands what he 'ſpeaks about, that is, of a true Hermetick Philoſopher, whoſe judgment (if there be any ſuch) would 'be more to be regarded in this point, than that of 'all the world beſide to the contrary, there being 'other things beſides the tranſmutations of metals, '(if thoſe great pretenders brag not) which none but 'they underſtand. Sir, becauſe the author deſires the 'ſenſe of others in this point, I have been ſo free as to 'ſhoot my bolt; but pray keep this letter private to 'yourſelf, &c.'

(32) See the Extract of this curious Letter in Boyle's Life by Birch, p. 65.

some *Observations* made upon *an artificial Substance that shines without any preceding Illustration* (*r*), which that gentlemen thought fit to make publick. He published, in the same year, his *Historical Account of a Degradation of Gold, made by an Anti-Elixir* (*s*). This made a very great noise both at home and abroad, and is looked upon as one of the most remarkable pieces that ever fell from his pen, the facts contained in which would have been esteemed incredible, if they had fallen from the pen of any other [Q]. In the year 1680,

(*r*) Lectiones Cutlerianæ, No. ii. p. 57.

(*s*) Printed at London in 4to. and being become exceeding scarce, was re-printed after the first edition, 1739.

[Q] *Would have been esteemed incredible, if they had fallen from the pen of any other.*] This discourse, like the *Sceptical Chymist*, and many other of our author's works, is penned in the way of dialogue; and the narrative is delivered by *Pyrophilus*, who, in discoursing with a learned Society informs them, that he had met with such an Anti-Elixir by accident, for that visiting a great Virtuoso, he there met with a stranger who had been a great traveller, and upon asking him, whether, in any of the Eastern countries he had visited, he met with Chymists, he answered that he had, and that, though less numerous in those countries, they were not at all less learned than in Europe; this produced a long conversation, and as is usual among Sages, a very close intimacy between them; insomuch that at his departure from England, which happened not long after, the stranger gave *Pyrophilus* a little piece of paper folded up, which, he said, contained all that he had left of a rarity he had received from an Eastern Virtuoso, which, he intimated, did give him occasion both to remember the donor, and to exercise his thoughts in uncommon speculations. Before he made any experiment, he resolved to take a witness or two, and made choice of an experienced Doctor of Physick, well skill'd in separating and coppelling of metals, for his assistant, to whom he did not reveal all that he expected from this trial, but told him, that he had received a powder from a foreign Virtuoso, which, he was told, had a power of rendering brittle, the most flexible and malleable of metals, gold itself. But as we are now come to the experiment, we must (for the sake of certainty) make use of our author's own expressions, who, in the person of *Pyrophilus*, proceeds in these words (33). 'Having 'thus prepared him not to look for all that I myself 'expected; I cautiously opened the paper, I lately 'mentioned, but was both surprized, and troubled (as 'he also was) to find in it so very little powder; that 'instead of two different trials, that I designed to 'make with it, there seemed very small hope left that 'it would serve for one (and that but an imperfect one 'neither). For there was so very little powder, that 'we could scarce see the colour of it (save, that as far 'as I could judge, it was of a darkish red); and we 'thought it, not only dangerous, but useless to attempt 'to weigh it, in regard we might easily lose it, by 'putting it into and out of the ballance; and the 'weights we had, were not small enough for so despicable a quantity of matter, which, in words, I estimated at an eighth part of a grain; but my assistant (whose conjecture, I confess, my thoughts inclined to 'prefer) would allow it to be, at the most, but a 'tenth part of a grain: wherefore, seeing the utmost 'we could reasonably hope to do, with so very little 'powder, was to make one trial with it; we weighed 'out, in different ballances, two drams of gold, that 'had been formerly English coin; and that I caused, 'by one that I usually employ, to be cuppelled with a 'sufficient quantity of lead, and quarted, as they 'speak, with refined silver, and purged *aqua fortis*, 'to be sure of the goodness of the gold. These two 'drams I put into a new crucible, first carefully neal'ed, and having brought them to fusion, by the meer 'action of the fire, without the help of borax, or 'any other additament (which course, though some'what more laborious than the most usual, we took to 'obviate scruples) I put into the well melted metal, with 'my own hand, the little parcel of powder lately men'tioned, and continuing the vessel in the fire for above 'a quarter of an hour, that the powder might have 'time to diffuse itself every way into the metal; we 'poured out the well melted gold into another cruci'ble, that I had brought with me, and that had been 'gradually heated before to prevent cracking. But, 'though, from the first fusion of the metal, to the 'pouring out, it had turned in the crucible like ordi'nary gold, save that once my assistant told me, he 'saw, that for two or three moments it looked almost 'like an opal; yet I was somewhat surprized to find, 'when the matter was grown cold, that though it 'appeared upon the ballance, that we had not lost any 'thing of the weight we put in, yet instead of fine 'gold, we had a lump of metal of a dirty colour, and 'as it were overcast with a thin coat, almost like half 'vitrified litharge, and somewhat to increase the wonder, we perceived that there stuck to one side of the 'crucible, a little globule of metal, that looked not 'at all yellowish, but like coarse silver, and the bottom of the crucible was overlaid with a vitrified 'substance; whereof one part was of a transparent 'yellow, and the other of a deep brown inclining to 'red, and in this vitrified substance I could plainly perceive sticking, at least, five or six little globules that 'looked more like impure silver, than pure gold. In 'short, this stuff looked so little like refined, or so 'much as ordinary gold, that though my friend did 'much more than I marvel at this change, yet, I confess, I was surprized at it myself. For though, in 'some particulars, it answered what I looked for, yet 'in others it was very different from that which the 'donor of the powder had, as I thought, given me 'ground to expect. Whether the cause of my disappointment, were, that (as I formerly intimated) this 'Virtuoso's haste, or design, made him leave me in the 'dark; or whether it were that finding myself in want 'of sufficient directions. I happily pitched upon such 'a proportion of materials, and way of operating, as 'were proper to make a new discovery, which the excellent giver of the powder had not designed, or 'perhaps thought of.——Having rubbed it upon a 'good touchstone, whereon we had, likewise, rubbed 'a piece of coined silver, and a piece of coined gold, 'we manifestly found, that the mark left upon the 'stone, by our mass, between marks of the two 'other metals, was notoriously more like the touch of 'the silver, than that of the gold; next having knocked 'our little lump with a hammer, it was according to 'my prediction found brittle, and flew into several 'pieces. Thirdly, (which is more) even the insides of 'those pieces looked of a base, dirty colour, like that 'of brass, or worse, for the fragments had a far greater 'resemblance to bell metal, than either to gold or silver. To which we added this fourth, and more considerable examen, that having carefully weighed 'out one dram of our stuff (reserving the rest for trials 'to be suggested by second thoughts) and put it upon 'an excellent new, and well nealed coppel, with about 'half a dozen times it's weight of lead; we found 'somewhat to our wonder, that though it turned very 'well like good gold, yet it continued in the fire above 'an hour and a half (which was twice as long as we 'expected); and yet, almost to the very last, the fumes 'copiously ascended, which sufficiently argued the 'operation to have been well carried on; and when 'at last it was quite ended, we found the coppel very 'smooth and entire, but tinged with a fine purplish 'red (which did somewhat surprize us); and besides 'the refined gold, there lay upon the cavity of the 'coppel some dark coloured recrements, which we 'concluded to have proceeded from the deteriorated 'metal, not from the lead. But when we came to 'put out our gold again into the ballance, we found it 'to weigh only about fifty-three grains, and consequently to have lost seven, which, yet, we found to 'be fully made up by that little quantity of recrements 'that I have lately mentioned, whose weight, and fixity, compared with their unpromising colour, did not 'a little puzzle us, especially because we had not 'enough either of them, or of leisure, to examine their 'nature. To all which circumstances I shall subjoin 'this, that to prevent any scruples that might arise 'touching the gold we employed, I caused a dram 'and a half, that had been purposely reserved out of 'the same portion, with that which had been debased; 'I caused this (I say) to be, in my assistant's presence, 'melted by itself, and found it, as I doubted not but 'I should do, fine and well coloured gold.——I 'shall

(33) Boyle's Works, Vol. IV. p. 16.

1680, he sent into the world the following tracts, viz. *The Aerial Noctiluca, and a Process of a factitious self-shining Substance* (*t*); besides which, he published also some small Discourses upon different subjects. It was upon the thirtieth of November, in this year, that the Royal Society, as a proof of their just sense of his great worth, and, of the constant and particular services, which, through the course of many years, he had rendered to their Society, made choice of him for their President; but he being extreamly, and, as himself says, peculiarly tender in point of oaths, declined the honour done him, by a letter addressed to Mr Professor Hooke of Gresham-college (*u*). He was also, within the compass of this year, a considerable benefactor towards the publishing Dr Burnet's *History of the Reformation* (*w*), as he very readily was, on the like occasion, to every performance calculated for the general use and benefit of mankind. In 1681, he published his *Discourse of Things above Reason* (*x*), and the same year he was engaged in endeavouring to promote the preaching and promulgation of the Gospel amongst the Indians, bordering upon New England. In 1682, came out his *New Experiments and Observations upon the Icy* Noctiluca, *to which is added, A* Chymical Paradox, *making it probable that their Principles are transmutable, so that out of one of them others may be produced* (*y*). The same year, he communicated to the publick the *second Part* of his *Continuation of New Experiments touching the Spring and Weight of the Air, and a large Appendix* (*z*), containing several other Discourses. He published, in 1683, nothing that I find, except a short letter to the Rev. Dr John Beale (*a*), in relation to the making *fresh water* out of *salt*, published at the request of the patentees, who were embarked in Mr Fitzgerald's project for that purpose, the proposals for which were addressed to Mr Boyle, and the author acknowledges therein, the obligations he was under to him for his assistance. In the succeeding year, 1684, he printed two very considerable works, the first (*b*) was, his *Memoirs for the Natural History of Human Blood*; and his second, *Experiments and Considerations about the Porosity of Bodies* (*c*), divided into two parts; the first relating to animals, the second to solid bodies; and his Works being now grown to a very considerable bulk, the celebrated Dr Ralph Cudworth, whose praise alone was sufficient to establish any man's title to fame, wrote to him in very pressing terms, to make an entire Collection of his several Treatises, and to publish them in a body, and in the Latin tongue, in his own life-time; as well out of regard to his reputation, as to the general interest of mankind, and the peculiar satisfaction to the learned world (*d*) In 1685, he obliged the world with his *Short Memoirs for the Natural Experimental History of* Mineral Waters (*e*), *with Directions as to the several Methods of trying them, including abundance of new and useful Remarks, as well as several curious Experiments.* He gave the world also, in the same year, another excellent

(*t*) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(*u*) See this Letter, dated Pall-Mall, Dec. 16, 1680. Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 74.

(*w*) See the Preface to the second Volume of that Work.

(*x*) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(*y*) At the same place, and in the same size.

(*z*) At the same place, and in the same size.

(*a*) This Letter is involved in a Treatise intituled *Salt water sweetened*, London, 1683, 8vo.

(*b*) Printed at London, in 8vo; and afterwards translated into Latin.

(*c*) Printed at the same place, and in the same size; as also in Latin, under the title of *Tentamen. Porologicum.*

(*d*) This Letter is dated Oct. 16, 1684.

(*e*) Printed at London, in 8vo.

'shall also inform you, that having provided myself of 'all the requisites to make Hydrostatical trials (to 'which, perhaps, I am not altogether a stranger); I 'carefully weighed, in water, the ill looked mass (be- 'fore it was divided for the coppelling of the above- 'mentioned dram), and found, to the great confirma- 'tion of my former wonder and conjectures, that in- 'stead of weighing about nineteen times as much, as 'a bulk of water equal to it, it's proportion to that 'liquor was but that of fifteen, and about two thirds to 'one, so that it's specifick gravity was less by about one 'third, than it would if it had been pure gold.—With- 'out launching into different speculations, or making 'use of disputable hypotheses, it seems evident enough, 'from the matter of fact, faithfully laid before you, 'that an operation very near, if not altogether as 'strange, as that which is called projection, and in the 'difficultest points much of the same nature with it, 'may safely be admitted. For our experiment plain- 'ly shews, that gold, though confessedly the most ho- 'mogeneous, and the least mutable of metals, may be, 'in a very short time (perhaps not amounting to many 'minutes) exceedingly changed both as to malleable- 'ness, colour, homogeneity, and, which is more, spe- 'cifick gravity; and all this by so very inconsiderable 'a portion of injected powder, that since the gold that 'was wrought on, weighed two of our English drams, 'and consequently an hundred and twenty grains, an 'easy computation will assure us, that the medicine did 'thus powerfully act, according to my estimate (which 'was the modestest) upon near a thousand times (for 'it was above nine hundred and fifty) it's weight of 'gold, and according to my assistant's estimate did (as 'they speak) go near upon twelve hundred; so that if 'it were fit to apply to this anti-elixir (as I formerly 'ventured to call it) what is said of the true elixir by 'divers of the chemical philosophers, who will have 'the virtue of their stone increased in such a propor- 'tion, as that, at first, it will transmute but ten times 'it's weight, after the next rotation an hundred times, 'and after the next to that, a thousand; our powder 'may, in their language, be stiled a medicine of the 'third order.'—He concludes thus: 'I presume, that 'it will not be the less liked, if I add, that I will al- 'low the company to believe, that as extraordinary 'as I perceive most of you think the phænomena of 'the lately recited experiment; yet, I have not (be- 'cause I must not do it) as yet acquainted you with the 'strangest effect of our admirable powder.'

We have been the more careful in stating the whole detail of matters of fact, in Mr Boyle's own words, because, notwithstanding this is stiled an anti-elixir, and the operation itself a degradation of gold; yet some of the students in Hermetick Philosophy have conjectured, from a variety of passages in this narration, all of which have been retained in this note, that this was, in reality, the true elixir, and that the powder employed in the experiment might possibly be recovered with some addition, as well as part of the gold. This, they imagine, is hinted at in the very last words relating to the concealed wonders of this extraordinary powder, which they interpret in their own favour; and if, after this hint, the reader will peruse the whole over again, or take the trouble of recurring to the discourse, at large, as it stands in the collection of our honourable author's works, he will be the better able to judge, how far this conjecture is, or is not founded. It may not be improper to add, that as Mr Boyle in many places intimates, that he did not absolutely disbelieve the possibility of transmutation, he must have had some very strong reasons to incline his opinion that way; and it is not easy to assign a stronger than this, if the conjecture, before mentioned, has any foundation in truth. But whether it has or has not, this discourse will lose nothing of it's merit, since taking it in what light one will, the experiment is one of the most extraordinary that has ever been mentioned; and cannot fail of leading a judicious person into such reflections, as will give him a greater insight into the true nature of metals, than almost any thing upon the subject, that has been published in our own or any other language.

excellent work, intituled, *An Eſſay of the great Effects of languid and unheeded Motion; with an Appendix, containing an Experimental Diſcourſe of ſome hitherto little-regarded Cauſes of the Inſalubrity and Salubrity of the Air, and it's Effects* (*f*), than which, none of his treatiſes were ever received with greater or more general applauſe. He publiſhed, in the ſame year, *A Diſſertation on the Reconciliableneſs of Specifick Medicines to the Corpuſcular Philoſophy*, to which he added, a Diſcourſe of the *Advantages* attending the uſe of *ſimple Medicines* (*g*). To theſe Philoſophical, he added a moſt excellent Theological Diſcourſe, *Of the high Veneration Man's Intellect owes to God, particularly for his Wiſdom and Power* (*h*), being a part of a much larger work, which he ſignified to the world, to prevent any exception from being taken at the abrupt manner of it's beginning. At the entrance of the ſucceeding year, 1686, came abroad his *Free Enquiry into the vulgarly received Notion of NATURE* (*i*), one of the moſt important and uſeful pieces that ever fell from his pen, and which will be always admired and eſteemed, by ſuch as have a true zeal for Religion and intelligible Philoſophy. In the month of June, the ſame year, his friend Dr Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Lord Biſhop of Sarum, tranſmitted to him from Holland, his account of his travels through France, Switzerland, and Italy, which were afterwards publiſhed. In 1687, a work which he had drawn up in his youth, intituled, *The Martyrdom of* Theodora *and* Dydimia (*k*), came from the preſs to the hands of the publick. In 1688, he obliged the world with a moſt curious and uſeful treatiſe, intituled, *A Diſquiſition into the final Cauſes of Natural Things* (*l*), *and whether, if at all, with what Caution a Naturaliſt ſhould admit them.* To which is added, *An Apendix about vitiated Sight.* In this piece he treats with great judgment and perſpicuity, many of the deepeſt and moſt abſtracted notions in Philoſophy and Religion, ſo as to give ſatisfaction to the candid, without running into any offenſive notions, in the opinion even of the moſt critical reader; which is a felicity, that, in caſes of this nature, has very rarely attended the writings of any other author than Mr Boyle; whoſe care was equal to his quickneſs, and whoſe caution hindered him from hazarding any thing, that might ſhock weak minds or tender conſciences. In the month of May, this year, our author, however unwillingly, was conſtrained to make his complaint to the publick, of ſome inconveniences under which he had long laboured, which he did by an *Advertiſement addreſſed to J. W.* (*m*), to be communicated to ſuch of his friends as are Virtuoſi, to inform them of the loſs of many of his writings, and that it might ſerve as an explanatory preface to ſome of his mutilated and unfiniſhed pieces. One cannot well conceive any thing, that gives a higher or more expreſſive notion of the worth and excellency of this great man, than this paper, which, had it come from any other perſon, would have been either regarded as a common and trivial advertiſement, or as a very glaring mark of ſelf-conceit and vanity; but, in reference to Mr Boyle, it appears ſo neceſſary to himſelf, that it could not be omitted; of ſuch importance to the publick, that it can never be forgot; and ſo cautiouſly digeſted, as to raiſe our admiration and eſteem for it's author [*R*]. He began now to find, that his health,

(*f*) At the ſame place, in the ſame ſize; reprinted in 1690.

(*g*) Printed at London, in 8vo; and publiſhed in Latin the next year.

(*h*) At the ſame place, in the ſame ſize; afterwards tranſlated into Latin.

(*i*) Printed at London, in 8vo; again 1687, in Latin, 12mo.

(*k*) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(*l*) At the ſame place, and in the ſame ſize.

(*m*) See Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 78, 79.

[*R*] *As to raiſe our eſteem for it's author.*] In this advertiſement, Mr Boyle, in the firſt place, gives the immediate reaſon of his being obliged to publiſh it, which was to ſatisfy the lovers of learning in general, as well as the circle of his own friends and acquaintance in particular, why he did not perform the ſeveral promiſes he had made of publiſhing many diſcourſes upon curious and uſeful ſubjects; and ſome that were abſolutely neceſſary to the elucidation of pieces which he had already given to the publick (34). The fact was, that numbers of theſe were loſt, or rather ſtolen from him. When he firſt began to write, he digeſted his materials in paper books, but he ſoon found the inconvenience of this, by their vaniſhing in ſuch a manner, that he often loſt a whole diſcourſe at a time: He had then recourſe to looſe ſheets, which he thought more ſecure, becauſe it would be difficult to carry away any conſecutive part of a diſcourſe; but in this too he was miſtaken, for after taking this method he loſt four or five centuries of experiments, which were to have been inſerted in his works; and beſides this, ſeven or eight centuries of notions, remarks, explications, &c. yet even theſe loſſes were light in compariſon of another that befel him by a very odd accident. He had a flat cheſt of drawers made on purpoſe for the ſecurity of his finiſhed writings, and ſuch as he judged to be already in or near a condition of being ſent to the preſs; and his ſervant breaking a bottle of oyl of vitriol, the liquor run over the top of the cheſt, ſo that notwithſtanding the drawers were immediately taken out, and the writings out of them, many whole treatiſes were entirely diſcharged, and the reſt ſo ſpoiled in many places, that it was very difficult for him to ſet them right again. Theſe misfortunes put him upon publiſhing ſuch treatiſes, as he had moſt at heart, as quickly as it lay in his power, and in the beſt manner the expedition with which he was obliged to write, would admit. In order to this, having firſt ſettled the heads of theſe diſcourſes, he wrote them by way of titles, upon different ſheets of paper, and transferred his materials under thoſe heads, as his conveniency would allow, chuſing rather to run the hazard of ſome miſtakes and imperfections, than that the world ſhould be deprived of what, with infinite labour, he had collected for the ſervice of learning and of mankind. At the ſame time that he did this, he thought it incumbent upon him to acquaint the world with theſe facts and reaſons, not only that they might, in ſome meaſure, account for the ſeeming improprieties in the conduct of writings; but alſo that he might render them more intelligible, and that this advertiſement might, as he declared he intended it ſhould, ſerve as a kind of preface to his mutilated works: neither were theſe all hardſhips that he met with as an author (35), for many perſons, both at home and abroad, copied his works without naming him; inſerted his experiments with a few trivial alterations as their own, and arrogated to themſelves ſeveral of his inventions: yet all theſe difficulties could not either diſguſt, or diſcourage him from continuing to ſerve the publick, as far as lay in his power. He knew the importance of his own diſcoveries; he was ſenſible of their conſequence to poſterity; and he had a true notion of the obligations, that a man is under, not to ſuffer the lights he has acquired, either by ſtudy, or communication, to periſh with him; and it was theſe conſiderations that induced him to quicken his endeavours to fulfil his duty, as he found his ſtrength decay, and, like a faithful ſervant, employ even his very laſt moments for the benefit of the Republick of Letters, which he conſidered as a ſociety that did the greateſt honour to human nature. Such were the real ſentiments of Mr Boyle! which can never be inſiſted upon too long, and which it is impoſſible to commend enough.

(34) See the Advertiſement at large in the Appendix to Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 142.

(35) See theſe facts collected from his own Papers, in the Life of Mr Boyle, p. 79.

[*S*] *Such*

health, notwithſtanding all his care and caution, began ſenſibly to decline, and his ſtrength to decay, which put him upon deviſing every method that was poſſible, for huſbanding his time for the future for the benefit of the learned world. In doing this, he preferred generals to particulars; and the aſſiſtance of the whole Republick of Letters, to that of any branch, by what ties ſoever he might be connected therewith. It was from this view, that he no longer communicated particular diſcourſes, or new diſcoveries to the Royal Society, becauſe this could not be done, without withdrawing his thoughts from taſks which he thought of ſtill greater importance (*n*). It was the more ſteadily to attend to theſe, that he reſigned his poſt of Governor of the Corporation for propagating the Goſpel in New England; nay, he went ſo far as to ſignify to the world, that he could no longer receive viſits as uſual, and all this that he might have leiſure to put his papers in order, to ſupply the blanks he had left in many of his treatiſes, and to repair the deficiencies in others (occaſioned by the falling upon them of corroſive liquors); that, as he had been uſeful to the publick during the whole courſe of his life, ſo the vaſt collections he left behind him (of the importance of which he was the beſt judge) might not prove uſeleſs after his deceaſe (*o*). This was certainly an inſtance of learned patriotism, worthy of admiration at leaſt; and, if ſuch a genius ſhould ever riſe again, of imitation. Among the other great works, which, by this means, he gained time to finiſh, there is great reaſon to believe, that one was a Collection of Elaborate Proceſſes in Chemiſtry, concerning which he wrote a letter to a friend, which is ſtill extant, but the piece itſelf was never publiſhed, nor ſome other curious tracts relating to the ſame ſubject, found amongſt his papers, which has been conſidered as an irreparable loſs, to ſuch as have a fondneſs for theſe kind of ſtudies (*p*) [*S*]. In 1690, he publiſhed his *MEDICINA HYDROSTATICA*: or, *Hydroſtatics applied to the Materia Medica, ſhewing how, by the Weight that divers bodies uſed in Phyſick have in Water, one may diſcover whether they be genuine or adulterate.* To which is ſubjoined, *A previous Hydroſtatical Way of eſtimating Ores* (*q*). He informs us, in the poſtſcript of this treatiſe, that he had prepared materials ſufficient for a ſecond volume, which he promiſed, but it never appeared. He publiſhed, however, this year, another moſt excellent work, which bore the following title: *The* Chriſtian Virtuoſo (*r*); *ſhewing, that by being addicted to Experimental Philoſophy, a man is rather aſſiſted than indiſpoſed to be a good Chriſtian. The firſt Part. To which are are ſubjoined,* I. *A Diſcourſe about the Diſtinction that repreſents ſome Things as above Reaſon, but not contrary to Reaſon.* II. *The firſt Chapters of a* Diſcourſe, *intituled,* Greatneſs of Mind *promoted by* Chriſtianity.

(*n*) He publiſhed an advertiſement to this purpoſe by advice of his Phyſician, Sir Edmund King.

(*o*) See the Preface to the Works of the Hon. Robert Boyle, in five Volumes, fol. Printed for A. Millar, London, 1744.

(*p*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 81.

(*q*) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(*r*) Printed in the Savoy, 8vo.

[*S*] *Such as have a fondneſs for theſe kind of ſtudies.*] The perſon to whom Mr Boyle addreſſed the letter mentioned in the text, is to us unknown, but the reaſon and deſign of his letter is expreſſed in the text. What the nature was of that valuable work, which he committed to the charge of this friend, and which has been moſt unkindly withheld from the publick, will beſt appear in his own words (36), which, at the ſame time that they expreſs his generous concern for, and love to, mankind, ſufficiently explain how great a treaſure we have loſt. 'As to thoſe, *ſays he*, who think 'it ſtrange, that among my other experiments, about 'metals and minerals; I have not produced thoſe 'gainful ones, that Alchemiſts call *particulars*; it may, 'I hope, ſuffice to repreſent, that being a bachelor, 'and, through God's bounty, furniſhed with a compe-'tent eſtate for a younger brother, and freed from any 'ambition to leave my heirs rich; I had no need to 'purſue lucriferous experiments, to which I ſo much 'preferred luciferous ones, that I had a kind of ambi-'tion (which I now perceive to have been a vanity) of 'being able to ſay, that I cultivated Chemiſtry with 'a diſintereſted mind, neither ſeeking, nor ſcarce 'caring for, any other advantages by it, than thoſe of 'the improvement of my own knowledge of nature, 'the gratifying the curious and induſtrious, and the 'acquiſts of ſome uſeful helps, to make good and un-'common medicines.

'If I may be allowed to judge of courſes by the 'ſucceſs, the entertainment that the publick has been 'pleaſed to give my endeavours to ſerve it, will not 'make me repent of the way I have made choice of 'to do it in. But, however, ſince I find myſelf now 'grown old, I think it is time to comply with my 'former intention, to leave a kind of Hermetick 'legacy to the ſtudious diſciples of that art, and to 'deliver candidly, in the annexed paper, ſome pro-'ceſſes, Chemical and Medicinal, that are leſs ſimple 'and plain, than thoſe barely luciferous ones I have 'been wont to affect, and of a more difficult and ela-'borate kind, than thoſe I have hitherto publiſhed, 'and more of kin to the nobleſt Hermetick ſecrets, 'or, as Helmont ſtiles them, *Arcana Majora*. 'Some of theſe I have made and tried, others I have, 'though not without much difficulty, obtained by 'exchange, or otherwiſe, from thoſe that affirm they 'knew them to be real, and were themſelves com-'petent judges, as being ſome of them diſciples of true 'adepts, or otherwiſe admitted to their acquaintance 'and converſation. Moſt of theſe proceſſes are clearly 'enough delivered, and of the reſt there is plainly ſet 'down, without deceitful terms, as much as may ſerve 'to make what is literally taught to be of great 'utility, though the full and compleat uſes are not 'mentioned, partly becauſe, in ſpite of my Philan-'thropy, I was engaged to ſecrecy as to ſome of theſe 'uſes, and partly becauſe I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs it, 'I am not yet, or perhaps ever ſhall be, acquainted 'with them myſelf. The knowledge I have of your 'great affection for the publick good, and your par-'ticular kindneſs for me, invites me, among the 'many Virtuoſi in whoſe friendſhip I am happy, to 'intruſt the following papers in your hands, earneſtly 'deſiring you to impart them to the publick faith-'fully, and, without envy, *verbatim*, in my own ex-'preſſions, as a monument of my good affections to 'mankind, as well in my Chemical capacity, as in 'the others, wherein I have been ſollici.ous to do it 'ſervice.'

But beſides theſe papers, committed to the care of one whom he eſteemed his friend, he left alſo very many behind him at the time of his death, relating to Chemiſtry, which, by a letter directed to one of his executors, it appears he deſired might be inſpected by three Phyſicians whom he named, that ſuch of them as were moſt valuable might be preſerved (37). The ſtrongeſt mark, however, that he gave of his peculiar regard for Chemiſtry, was procuring, in the year 1689, the repeal of a dormant ſtatute, paſſed in the fifth year of Henry IV, againſt the multiplying of gold and ſilver, which hindered all the diſciples of the ſchool of Hermes from practiſing in England, the penalty in that law being no leſs than felony (38). In that by which it was repealed, directions are given, that whatever gold or ſilver ſhall be obtained by this art, or extracted from other metals, ſhall be brought to the royal mint in the Tower of London (39), and be paid for, according to the current price of bullion.

(36) See this Letter in Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 81.

(37) Letter from Mr John Warr, ſen. to his ſon Mr John Warr, jun. dated July 16, 1692.

(38) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 83.

(39) See the Statute.

Christianity. In the advertisement prefixed to this work, he mentions a *second part* of the *Christian Virtuoso*, which he had begun, and which is actually published in the last edition of his Works, that is to say, imperfect, as he left it, with an Appendix to the first part (*s*). He communicated about this time, to Mr De la Crose, a very ingenious gentleman, who published a periodical Work, intituled, *The History of Learning: An Account of some Observations made in the great Congregation of Waters, by lowering Bottles down into the Sea, six hundred feet deep from the Surface* (*t*). This experiment was made on the second of January 1677-8, by a Captain of a man of war, a man of very good sense, in the presence of a great many other persons, and was, in the judgment of Mr Boyle, a thing of too great value to be lost, and therefore he took this method of preserving it. We are now come to the very last of his works published in his life-time, which was in the spring of the year 1691, and bore this title: *EXPERIMENTA & OBSERVATIONES PHYSICÆ* (*u*), *wherein are briefly treated of several Subjects relating to Natural Philosophy, in an experimental Way.* To which is added, *A small Collection of Strange Reports.* This is called in the title page *the first part*, and amongst his papers there were found the *second* and *third* parts, but whether compleat or not, I cannot say (*w*). As for his posthumous Works, they shall be mentioned in a note [*T*]. About the entrance of the summer of the year last mentioned, he began to feel such an alteration in his health, as induced him to think of settling all his affairs; and accordingly, on the eighteenth of July he signed and sealed his last Will, to which he afterwards added several codicils (*x*). In the month of October following his distempers increased, which might, perhaps, be owing to his tender concern for the tedious illness of his dear sister the Lady Ranelagh, with whom he had lived many years in the greatest harmony and friendship, and whose indisposition brought her to the grave on the twenty-third of December following. She was, in all respects, a most accomplished, and most extraordinary, woman; so that her brother might very justly esteem it the peculiar felicity of his life that he had such a sister, and, in her, so useful a friend, and so agreeable a companion (*y*). He did not survive her above a week, for on the last day of the year 1691, or, as most authors account it, on Wednesday December the 30th, at three quarters past twelve at night, he departed this life, in the sixty-fifth year of his age (*z*), and was buried on the seventh of January following, at the upper end of the south side of the chancel of St Martin's in the Fields in Westminster, near the body of his beloved sister, Katharine Viscountess Ranelagh (*a*). His funeral was decent, and as much without pomp as it was possible, considering the number of persons of distinction that attended it, besides his own numerous relations. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, and there are many, who think his performance on that occasion the best he ever published [*U*].

As

(*s*) In the 5th Volume of Boyle's Works.

(*t*) Hist. of Learning for the month of July, 1691, p. 57, 58.

(*u*) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(*w*) See an Account of Mr Boyle's MSS. not printed, in the first Volume of his Works.

(*x*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 84.

(*y*) See her Character by Bishop Burnet.

(*z*) Mr Watt's MSS.

(*a*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 85.

[*T*] *His posthumous Works, they shall be mentioned in a note.*] These treatises were either such as were found amongst Mr Boyle's papers after his decease, or were deposited elsewhere, on a confidence of their not being sent abroad during his life-time. The titles of them follow: I. *The General History of the Air, designed and begun* (40). Concerning the nature and value of this work, we have the testimonies of two of the most ingenious persons of that age, the famous Mr Locke, and the judicious Mr Molyneux, the former, in a letter to the latter, says: 'Though this 'treatise was left imperfect, yet I think the very de- 'sign of it will please you, and it is cast into a method, 'that any one who pleases may add to it, under any 'of the several titles, as his reading or observation 'shall furnish him with matters of fact. If such men 'as you, who are curious and knowing, would join, 'to what Mr Boyle has collected and prepared, what 'comes in their way; we might hope, in some time, 'to have a considerable History of the Air, than 'which, I scarce know any part of Natural Philosophy 'would yield more variety and use. But it is a sub- 'ject too large for the attempts of any one man, and 'will require the assistance of many hands, to make 'it a History very short of complete.' Mr Molyneux, in his answer, writes thus: 'I am extreamly obliged 'to you for Mr Boyle's book of Air, which lately 'came to my hands. It is a vast design, and not to 'be finished but by the united labours of many heads, 'and indefatigably prosecuted for many years, so that 'I despair of seeing any thing complete. However, 'if many will lend the same helping hands that you 'have done, I should be in hopes; and certainly 'there is not a chapter in all Natural Philosophy, of 'greater use to mankind than what is here pro- 'posed (41).' II. *Medicinal Experiments: or, a Collection of choice Remedies, for the most part simple, and easily prepared* (42). We shall have occasion to speak of this hereafter. III. *General Heads for the Natural History of a Country, great or small, drawn out for the use of Travellers and Navigators* (43): To which are added, *Other Directions for Navigators, &c. with particular Observations of the most noted Countries in the World. By another hand.* These *General Heads*, were first printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, being drawn up by Mr Boyle at the request of the Royal Society. The other Directions, added in this edition, were drawn up by various persons, at divers times, by order of the Royal Society, and printed in different numbers of the *Philosophical Transactions* (44), but being in pursuance of the plan sketched out by Mr Boyle, were very properly annexed to the preceding ones. IV. *A Paper of the Honourable Robert Boyle's, deposited with the Secretaries of the Royal Society, and opened since his death; being an Account of his making the Phosphorus, &c.* printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* (45). V. *An Account of a Way of examining Waters as to Freshness and Saltness, to be subjoined as an Appendix to a lately printed Letter, about sweetened Water*, published in the *Philosophical Transactions* (46). VI. *A Free Discourse against Customary Swearing, and a Dissuasive from Cursing* (47). VII. *Medicinal Experiments: or, a Collection of choice Remedies, chiefly simple, and easily prepared, useful in Families, and fit for the Service of Country People. The third and last Volume published from the Author's Original MSS. Whereunto is added, Several other useful Notes explicatory of the same* (48). The first edition of this book was printed in 1688, under the title of *Receipts sent to a Friend in America*; in 1692 it was reprinted, as we have said before, with the addition of a second part, and a new preface. So that this was, as the title page expresses, the third and last volume, and they have been all three several times reprinted since, in a single volume, and were justly accounted a very excellent collection, and by much the best in their kind. Our author had also drawn up some other pieces of a like nature, as appears from the list of his manuscripts, but these are now missing.

[*U*] *His performance on that occasion the best he ever published.*] His Lordship made choice, upon this

(40) Printed at London, 1692, 4to.

(41) Locke's Posthumous Works.

(42) London, 1692, 12mo.

(43) Printed at London, 1692. 12mo.

(44) No. II. p. 186. No. XVIII. p. 315. No. XIX. p. 330.

(45) No. CXCVI. p. 583.

(46) No CXCVII p. 627.

(47) Printed at London, 1695, 12mo.

(48) Printed at London, 1698, 12mo.

As to the perſon of this great man, we are told that Mr Boyle was tall but ſlender, and his countenance pale and emaciated (*b*). His conſtitution was ſo tender and delicate, that he had divers ſorts of cloaks to put on when he went abroad, according to the temperature of the air, and in this he governed himſelf by his thermometer (*c*). He eſcaped, indeed, the ſmall-pox, during his life, but for almoſt forty years, he laboured under ſuch a feebleneſs of body, and ſuch lowneſs of ſtrength and ſpirits, that it was aſtoniſhing how he could read, meditate, try experiments, and write, as he did. He had likewiſe a weakneſs in his eyes, which made him very tender of them, and extremely apprehenſive of ſuch diſtempers as might affect them. He imagined alſo, that if ſickneſs ſhould confine him to his bed, it might raiſe the pains of the ſtone to a degree which might be above his ſtrength to ſupport, ſo that he feared leſt his laſt minutes ſhould prove too hard for him. This was the ground of all the caution and apprehenſion he was obſerved to live in. But, as to life itſelf, he had that juſt indifference to it, which became ſo true a Chriſtian. However, his ſight began not to grow dim above four hours before he died, and when death came upon him, he had not been above three hours in bed before it made an end of him,

(*b*) Mr Evelyn's Letter to Dr Wotton, March 29, 1696.

(*c*) From the information of Sir Hans Sloane, Bt.

this occaſion, of a text extremely appoſite to his ſubject, viz. *For God giveth to a man that is good in his ſight, wiſdom, knowledge, and joy* (49). In the firſt part of this diſcourſe, he explains very clearly and ſolidly, the meaning of the words which we have juſt cited, by ſhewing, what was meant by *a man good in the ſight of God*, and deſcribing the nature of the *wiſdom, knowledge, and joy*, beſtowed upon him as his reward. He then enters on the ſecond part of it, the application of this doctrine to the honourable perſon deceaſed, of whom, he tells us, he was the better able to give a character, from the many happy hours he had ſpent in converſation with him, in the courſe of nine and twenty years. He gives a large account of Mr Boyle's ſincere and unaffected piety, and more eſpecially of his zeal for the Chriſtian religion, without having any narrow notions concerning it, or miſtaking, as ſo many do, a bigotted heat in favour of a particular ſect, for that zeal which is the ornament of a true Chriſtian. He mentions, as a proof of this, his noble foundation for Lectures, in defence of the Goſpel againſt infidels of all ſorts, the effects of which have been ſo conſpicuous, in the many volumes of excellent Diſcourſes, which have been publiſhed in conſequence of that noble, and truly pious, foundation. He had, ſays our Prelate, deſigned it in his life-time, though ſome accidents did, upon great conſiderations, divert him from ſettling it, but not from ordering it by his Will, that a liberal proviſion ſhould be made for one, who ſhould, in a very few well-digeſted Sermons, every year ſet forth the truth of the Chriſtian religion in general, without deſcending to the ſubdiviſions among Chriſtians, and who ſhould be changed every third year, that ſo this noble ſtudy and employment might paſs through many hands, by which means many might become maſters of the argument. He was at the charge of the tranſlation and impreſſion of the New Teſtament into the Malyan tongue, which he ſent over all the Eaſt-Indies. He gave a noble reward to him that tranſlated Grotius's incomparable book, of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, into Arabick, and was at the charge of a whole impreſſion, which he took care ſhould be diſperſed in all the countries where that language is underſtood. He was reſolved to have carried on the impreſſion of the New Teſtament in the Turkiſh language, but the Company thought it became them to be the doers of it, and ſo ſuffered him only to give a large ſhare towards it. He was at 700*l.* charge in the edition of the Iriſh Bible, which he ordered to be diſtributed in Ireland; and he contributed liberally, both to the impreſſion of the Welſh Bible, and of the Iriſh Bible for Scotland. He gave, during his life, 300 *l.* to advance the deſign of propagating the Chriſtian Religion in America; and as ſoon as he heard, that the Eaſt-India Company were entertaining propoſitions for the like deſign in the Eaſt, he preſently ſent 100 *l.* for a beginning, as an example, but intended to carry it much further, when it ſhould be ſet on foot to purpoſe. When he underſtood how large a ſhare he had in impropriations, he ordered very large ſums to be given to the incumbents in thoſe pariſhes, and even to the widows of thoſe who were dead, before this diſtribution of his bounty. He did this, twice in his life-time, to the amount of above 600 *l.* and ordered another diſtribution, as far as his eſtate would bear, by his will. In other reſpects, his charities were ſo bountiful, and ſo extenſive, that they amounted, as this Prelate tells us, from his own knowledge, to upwards of one thouſand pounds a year.——But that part of his diſcourſe, which concerns us moſt, is the copious and eloquent account he has given us of this great man's abilities.——(50).

(49) Eccleſ. ii. 26.

(50) Burnet's Funeral Sermon, p. 36, 37.

'His knowledge, *ſays he*, was of ſo vaſt an extent, that 'if it were not for the variety of vouchers in their ſe'veral forts, I ſhould be afraid to ſay all I know. He 'carried the ſtudy of the Hebrew very far into the 'Rabbinical writings, and the other Oriental lan'guages. He had read ſo much of the Fathers, that 'he had formed out of it a clear judgment of all the 'eminent ones. He had read a vaſt deal on the Scrip'tures, and had gone very nicely through the whole 'controverſies of Religion, and was a true maſter of 'the whole Body of Divinity. He read the whole 'compaſs of the Mathematical Sciences; and, though 'he did not ſet himſelf to ſpring any new game, yet 'he knew even the abſtruſeſt parts of Geometry. 'Geography in the ſeveral parts of it, that related to 'Navigation or travelling; Hiſtory and books of tra'vels were his diverſions. He went very nicely 'through all the parts of Phyſick, only the tenderneſs 'of his nature made him leſs able to endure the ex'actneſs of anatomical diſſections, eſpecially of living 'animals, though he knew theſe to be moſt inſtruct'ing. But for the hiſtory of nature, ancient and mo'dern, of the productions of all countries, of the vir'tues and improvements of plants, of ores and mine'rals, and all the varieties that are in them, in diffe'rent climates; he was by much, by very much, the 'readieſt and the perfecteſt I ever knew in the greateſt 'compaſs, and with the trueſt exactneſs. This put 'him in the way of making all that vaſt variety of ex'periments beyond any man, as far as we know, that 'ever lived. And in theſe, as he made a great pro'greſs in new diſcoveries, ſo he uſed ſo nice a ſtrict'neſs, and delivered them with ſo ſcrupulous a truth, 'that all who have examined them, have found, how 'ſafely the world may depend upon them. But his 'peculiar and favourite ſtudy was Chemiſtry, in which 'he engaged with none of thoſe ravenous and ambi'tious deſigns, that draw many into them. His de'ſign was only to find out Nature, to ſee into what 'principles things might be reſolved, and of what 'they were compounded, and to prepare good medi'caments for the bodies of men. He ſpent neither 'his time, nor fortune, upon the vain purſuits of high 'promiſes and pretenſions. He always kept himſelf 'within the compaſs that his eſtate might well bear. 'And as he made Chemiſtry much the better for his 'dealing in it, ſo he never made himſelf either the 'worſe or the poorer for it. It was a charity to 'others, as well as an entertainment to himſelf, for 'the produce of it was diſtributed by his Siſter and 'others, into whoſe hands he put it. I will not here 'amuſe you with a liſt of his aſtoniſhing knowledge, 'or of his great performances this way, they are 'highly valued all the world over, and his name is 'every-where mentioned with moſt particular charac'ters of reſpect. I will conclude this article with 'this, in which I appeal to all competent judges, that 'few men (if any) have been known to have made ſo 'great a compaſs, and to have been ſo exact in all the 'parts of it as he was.'

him, with ſo little pain, that it was plain the light went out merely for want of oil to maintain the flame (*d*). The ſimplicity of his diet, was, in all appearance, that, which preſerved him ſo long beyond all men's expectation. This he practiſed ſo ſtrictly, that, in a courſe of above thirty years, he neither eat or drank to gratify the varieties of appetite, but merely to ſupport nature, and was ſo regular in it, that he never once tranſgreſſed the rule, meaſure, and kind, which were preſcribed him. In his firſt addreſſes, when he was to ſpeak or anſwer, he ſometimes heſitated a little rather than ſtammered, or repeated the ſame word, and this, as it rendered him ſlow and deliberate, ſo, after the firſt effort, he proceeded without the leaſt interruption in his diſcourſe (*e*). He was never married, but Mr Evelyn was aſſured, that he courted the beautiful and ingenious daughter of Cary Earl of Monmouth, and that to this paſſion was owing his *Seraphick Love*. But it does not appear, from any of his writings, that he had ever entertained thoughts of this kind (*f*). To ſay the truth, he ſeems to have been perſuaded that he was born for nobler purpoſes than the ordinary lot of men, or at leaſt, if he was not ſo perſuaded, his actions were ſuch as may ſo perſuade us. We have, by the help of thoſe induſtrious and worthy perſons who had already provided the materials, followed him from his infancy to the grave, with that degree of wonder, reverence, and reſpect, which his knowledge, virtue, and piety, demand (*g*). The learned Prelate who preached his funeral ſermon, and one who ſeldom wanted words when he meant to deſcribe any character, owns himſelf at a loſs in the performance of this laſt duty to Mr Boyle. We may, therefore, with greater reaſon excuſe ourſelves, as well on account of the great length of this article, as the difficulties that lie in the way of framing a character for one, whoſe memory, like the paintings of a great maſter, has been meliorated by time, and is now, not the object barely of admiration, but of veneration alſo. He was a man, who, in the beginning of his life, raiſed ſuch hopes as hurt themſelves, for thoſe who conſidered him moſt attentively, ſcarce thought it poſſible that they ſhould be anſwered, and yet, without fear of flattery, we may affirm, that theſe, even theſe, hopes, were exceeded. He attained the vigour of his age in thoſe deplorable times, when the Church and State lay buried in confuſion, which gave him ſo true a notion of the vanity of titles, and the danger of power, that he not only never courted either, but was induſtrious in ſhunning both. He made Philoſophy the buſineſs of his life, from the two nobleſt motives that man could poſſibly conceive, the deſire of doing good to others, and of manifeſting the goodneſs of that Divine Being who is the parent of all. Yet, full of theſe ſerious and ſublime intentions, he not only condeſcended to behave, in all the common offices of life, like other men, but even with a peculiar civility, which he ſhewed eſpecially towards foreigners, by whom he was often viſited, and who never went away from him but with full ſatisfaction. His temper was naturally haſty, but he corrected this ſo early in his youth, that except now and then in his countenance, it was never diſcerned afterwards. The ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, and that meekneſs of mind which diſcovered itſelf in all he did, never led him into any of thoſe faults, which uſually attend the exceſs even of theſe amiable qualities. He could be warm when there was a proper occaſion for warmth, that is, in the cauſe of truth, which he always vigorouſly defended; and we have an inſtance of his zeal for the eſſentials of religion, of which it would be an injury done his fame not to take notice [*X*]. The extenſiveneſs of his knowledge ſurpaſſed every thing but his modeſty,

(*d*) See Burnet's Funeral Sermon, p. 31.

(*e*) Mr Evelyn's Letter above-mentioned.

(*f*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 86.

(*g*) See the note [2] at the cloſe.

[*X*] *Of which it would be an injury done to his fame not to take notice.*] As great as Mr Boyle's moderation and charity was, in reſpect to all the different ſects in which Chriſtianity was divided, yet he was a conſtant member of the Church of England, and went to no ſeparate aſſemblies; but, ſome time before the Reſtoration (51), either out of curioſity, or, perhaps, from ſome more weighty motive, he went to Sir Henry Vane's houſe in order to hear him, who, at that time, was at the head of a new ſect, who called themſelves Seekers; neither was this viſit of his attended with any diſappointment, for he there heard him preach, in a large thronged room, a long ſermon on the text of Dan. xii. 2. *And many of them that ſleep in the duſt of the earth ſhall awake, ſome to everlaſting life, and ſome to ſhame and everlaſting contempt.* The whole ſcope of Sir Henry's ſermon was to ſhew, that many doctrines of religion that had long been dead and buried in the world, ſhould, before the end of it, be awakened into life, and that many falſe doctrines, being then likewiſe revived, ſhould, by the power of truth, be then doomed to ſhame and everlaſting contempt. When Sir Henry had concluded his diſcourſe, Mr Boyle ſpoke to this effect to him before the people; That being informed, that in ſuch private meetings, it was not uncuſtomary, for any one of the hearers who was unſatisfied about any matters there uttered, to give in his objections againſt them, and to prevent any miſtakes in the ſpeakers or hearers, he thought himſelf obliged, for the honour of God's truth, to ſay, that this place in Daniel, being the cleareſt one in all the Old Teſtament for the proof of the reſurrection, we ought not to ſuffer the meaning of it to evaporate into allegory; and the rather, ſince that inference is made by our Saviour in the New Teſtament, by way of aſſerting the reſurrection from that place of Daniel in the Old. And that, if it ſhould be denied that the plain and genuine meaning of thoſe words in the Prophet, is to aſſert the reſurrection of dead bodies, he was ready to prove it to be ſo, both out of the words of the text and context in the original language, and from the beſt expoſitors both Chriſtian and Jewiſh. But that, if this be not denied, and Sir Henry's diſcourſe of the reſurrection of doctrines true and falſe, was deſigned by him only in the way of occaſional meditations from thoſe words in Daniel, and not to enervate the literal ſenſe as the genuine one, then he had nothing further to ſay. Mr Boyle then ſitting down, Sir Henry roſe up and ſaid, that his diſcourſe was only in the way of ſuch occaſional meditations, which he thought edifying to the people; and declared, that he agreed that the literal ſenſe of the words was the reſurrection of dead bodies: and ſo that meeting broke up. Mr Boyle afterwards ſpeaking of this conference to Sir Peter Pett, obſerved, that Sir Henry Vane, at that time, being in the height of his authority in the State, and his auditors at that meeting, conſiſting chiefly of dependants on him, and expectants from him, the fear of loſing his favour, would, probably, have reſtrained them from contradicting any of his interpretations of Scripture, how ridiculous ſoever. 'But I (ſaid Mr Boyle) having

(51) Sir P. Pett's Papers relating to Mr Boyle.

"no

modeſty, and his deſire of communicating it, which appears equally in all his compoſitions; for in them we may diſcern his fear of offending, and his fear of concealing, and this, not from any timid apprehenſions of oppoſition, but from a benevolent inclination to inſtruct without ſeverity, and to part with wiſdom as freely as he had received it. He had the juſteſt conception of truth that the human mind can frame; ſo cautious in examining and reporting, as to avoid, in the opinion of all true judges, the leaſt imputation of credulity; and, on the other hand, ſo well acquainted with the power of nature, that he never preſumed to ſet any limits thereto, or hindered any acceſſion of knowledge, by that ſort of incredulity which ſometimes attends ſuperior learning. In a word, conſidered in every light, as a man, as a Philoſopher, as a Chriſtian, he came as near perfection as the defects of human nature would allow, and though he never ſought it, yet the moſt univerſal praiſe, both at home and abroad, waited on his labours living, and have conſtantly attended his memory; for it may be truly ſaid, that never any fame was more unqueſtioned, than that of Mr Boyle's both was, and is; and we may with great ſafety add, that as he is the peculiar honour of his family, and the great glory of this nation, ſo foreigners, who cannot contend with us in theſe points, endeavour to outvie us in their commendations [*Y*]. In treating this ſubject, we have, perhaps, gone too far,

' no little awes of that kind upon me, thought myſelf ' bound to enter the liſts with him, as I did, that ' the ſenſe of the ſcriptures might not be depraved.'

[*Y*] *Endeavour to outvie us in their commendations.*] We have already obſerved, that even, in his life-time, the fame of Mr Boyle was ſo great, that it reached very diſtant countries, whither his books reached alſo; and this drew upon him a multitude of viſits at home, which, however inconvenient, he bore as long as his health would permit, from the remembrance, as he ſaid, of the ſatisfaction he had received when admitted to the ſight of ſuch as he had an inclination to converſe with, when abroad (52). In this he ſucceeded to the honours that were paid to the great Chancellor Bacon, who foreigners viſited as the glory of this country; (and he ſucceeded, likewiſe, to that civility and condeſcenſion for which that excellent perſon beforementioned was diſtinguiſhed) ſo that Mr John Hughs had reaſon to ſay, after obſerving that Mr Boyle was born the ſame year that Lord Bacon died, *he was the perſon deſigned by nature, to ſucceed to the labours and enquiries of that extraordinary Genius* (53). But to proceed to the proper buſineſs of this note: The Virtuoſi in Italy were among the firſt who did juſtice to his merit, and they are ſtill as ſenſible of the obligations the learned world are under to him for his labours, as it is poſſible for men to be. Thus the famous Redi, who was himſelf a great cultivator of Experimental Philoſophy, makes no ſcruple of affirming, that there never was any man ſo great in this way as our author; and that, perhaps, there never will be his equal in diſcovering natural cauſes (54). It would be eaſy to cite many other authors of the ſame country to the like purpoſe; but to avoid prolixity we forbear, and ſhall content ourſelves with obſerving, that in the Popiſh *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, publiſhed at Rome, by order of the Sacred College, dated the twenty-ſecond of December 1700, he is ſtiled a moſt worthy member of the Royal Society, though, at the ſame time, three of his books are forbid to be read, viz. *His Conſiderations on the ſtile of the Scriptures*; *His Seraphick Love*, and *his Great Veneration that Man's Intellect owes to God* (55). The moſt conſiderable of the German writers have ſhewn the utmoſt deference for this great man and his writings; as for inſtance, the moſt learned Daniel Morhoff mentions him frequently in his Polyhiſtor (56), and always with the higheſt applauſe. Stollius alſo commends him, but ſeems not to have been well acquainted with his works, or with his hiſtory, ſince he tells us, he was an Engliſh Knight, and expreſſes a great concern, that Biſhop Burnet's funeral ſermon on this great man had not been tranſlated into Latin, or into High Dutch, that the excellence of his private character might be the better known (57). Mangetus applauds him highly, and aſſures us, that he was informed by an Engliſh clergyman, who was afterwards a Biſhop, that a perſon, in a mean dreſs, came into our author's laboratory and made projection, adding, that himſelf had ſeen ſome of that gold; which ſtory I have the rather mentioned, becauſe I take it to be the beſt authority that can be mentioned for it, though it is very current amongſt the lovers of Alchemy, who pretend that Mr Boyle was converted by this experiment (58). It would require a conſiderable volume to ſet down the commendations that have been beſtowed upon him by the French writers only; and, therefore, we ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning only a few of the lateſt. I will begin with Count Marſilli, who, though an Italian by birth, addreſſed the moſt famous of his works to the French Academy of Sciences, of which he was a Member; he opens that work with obſerving (59), that the famous Robert Boyle was the firſt who thought of examining the ſea, and making us acquainted with ſo conſiderable a part of the terraqueous globe. He mentions his treatiſe *de Fundo Maris*, and adds, that probably his death, or ſome other accident, hindered the Republick of Letters from receiving the advantage of his farther obſervations upon that ſubject; for, ſays he, it is apparent from many of his other writings, that he knew perfectly well how to finiſh whatever he once took in hand. The judicious Mr Bayle, as he had frequent occaſion to mention the works of Mr Boyle in his Literary Journal, ſo he never loſes the opportunity of paying both to him and them the reſpect that they deſerve (60). The judicious Rapin ſpeaks of him, as the worthy ſucceſſor of the great Lord Bacon, and one to whom the learned world was extremely indebted for his care and induſtry in the improvement of Experimental Philoſophy. Father Regnault, after copying from him a multitude of experiments, is pleaſed to ſay (61), ' Mr Boyle has con- ' tributed ſo much the more by experiments like theſe, ' to the diſcovery of the truth, in as much as he has ' taken pains, not only to relate his diſcoveries, and ' the manner in which he made them, but has informed ' us, likewiſe, in what he failed, as well as in what ' he ſucceeded. What he tried to no purpoſe, pre- ' vents our making ſuch trials again; what he tryed ' with effect ſerves us as well as him, verifies his diſ- ' coveries, and puts us in the road of making new ' ones.' The famous Abbé Lenglet du Freſnoy ſpeaks of our author with the utmoſt veneration, he ſtiles him a great and judicious Chemiſt, one who was acquainted with all the ſecrets of that art; and ſays, that it was purely out of reſpect for his high character, that he forbore placing him amongſt the alchemiſtical writers (62); yet in his chronological table, he gives him his juſt place, and the praiſes which he deſerves (63). We will conclude his eulogies by foreign writers, with the character beſtowed upon him by the judicious Boerhaave. Among the writers, ſays he, who have treated of Chymiſtry, with a view to Natural Philoſophy and Medicine, we may reckon among the chief, the Honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq; through all his writings (64). Such is the extent of this admirable writer's fame, and ſuch the honour he has done his age and nation in foreign countries, where his reputation will extend itſelf in the ſame proportion with true Science, and his glory laſt as long as there ſhall ſubſiſt a true ſpirit of learning.

But after all, the greateſt juſtice that has been done his memory, we may ſafely aſcribe to the care and induſtry of ſome very learned and worthy perſons at home. Dr Shaw's (65) Abridgment, and his admirable character of our author and his philoſophy, is a monument worthy even of him, and which nothing could ſurpaſs, but the late noble collection of the author's own works (66), with the accurate life prefixed to them by

(52) Burnet's Sermon at Boyle's Funeral.

(53) Spectator, No. 554.

(54) Franciſci Redi Experimenta Naturalia, p. 38, 39.

(55) Index Librorum Prohibit. Rom. 1704, 12mo, p. 383.

(56) Polyhiſtor. Literar. Philoſoph. & Practic. I. i, ii. 2. I. 6, 4, 20. II. 1, 5, 7. II. 1, 15, 17. II. 2, 1, 7, &c.

(57) Gottlib. Stol. Introduct. in Hiſtor. Literar. p. 676, 677.

(58) Biblioth. Chemic. Vol. II. in Præfat.

(59) Hiſtoire Phyſique de la Mer. p. 1.

(60) Oeuvres de Bayle, Tom I. p. 79, 665, 726.

(61) L'Origine ancienne de la Phyſique nouvelle, Tom. III. p. 162.

(62) Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetiq. Tom. I. p. 416.

(63) Ibid. p. 482.

(64) Boerhaave's Chemiſtry, Vol. I. p. 55.

(65) In three Volumes in 4to, digeſted under proper heads, illuſtrated with notes, and other improvements. The ſecond edition was publiſhed in 1738.

(66) In five Volumes, fol. 1744, cited through this article.

far, but whoever conſiders it attentively, will eaſily excuſe a fault that it was almoſt impoſſible not to commit, and for which we can only atone, by confeſſing, that all we have, or could ſay, is ſo much below his merit, that it ſerves only to expreſs our ſenſe of it, and our deſire of rendering him that juſtice, which, without abilities equal to his own, can never be performed.

by the Reverend Dr Birch, from the materials provided for Biſhop Burnet and Dr Wotton; and thoſe invaluable additions which were communicated by the Reverend and Learned Mr Henry Miles of Tooting in Surrey, Fellow of the Royal Society, who has, on all occaſions, expreſſed a zeal for our author's memory, worthy of the truſt repoſed in him by Mr Thomas Smyth, late an Apothecary in the Strand, who lived with Mr Boyle ſeventeen years, and in whoſe hands his manuſcripts were depoſited (67). To all theſe I am greatly indebted for the materials from which this article is compoſed; and it is from a due ſenſe of gratitude, and thankfulneſs, that I pay theſe publick acknowledgments, as having never enjoyed a higher ſatisfaction, than while uſing my utmoſt endeavours to place the life and character of this illuſtrious perſon, in ſuch a light as may render it worthy the acceptance, and in ſome meaſure, of the approbation of poſterity. E

(67) See Dr Birch's Preface to his Life of Mr Boyle.

BOYLE (CHARLES) Earl of Orrery in the kingdom of Ireland, and Baron of Marſton in the county of Somerſet in Great Britain, was the ſecond ſon of Roger, the ſecond Earl of Orrery, by the Lady Mary Sackville, daughter to Richard Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex (*a*). He was born in 1676, in the month of Auguſt, but upon what day of the month does not appear, at his father's houſe in Chelſea (*b*). So much care was taken of his education in his junior years, that when he was but fifteen he was fit for the univerſity, and was accordingly entered as a Nobleman of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, in 1690 (*c*). He had for his tutors there, the celebrated Dr Francis Atterbury, afterwards Biſhop of Rocheſter, and the reverend Dr Freind. His application to ſtudy was ſo vigorous, and withal ſo conſtant, that his friends were not a little apprehenſive it might prove dangerous to his conſtitution, which was none of the ſtrongeſt (*d*). But, however, Mr Boyle was not much affected with ſuch repreſentations; he knew that ſcience was an higher bleſſing than life, and was perſuaded that death was not a greater evil than ignorance. In ſhort, his paſſion for letters was ſo ſtrong and ſo ſincere, that it gained him high reputation in the univerſity, and recommended him ſo much to the famous Dr Aldrich, then at the head of that learned ſociety, that it was originally for his uſe he drew up his learned Compendium of Logick, now read at Chriſt-Church, and in which he ſtiles him *the great ornament of our college* (*e*). The firſt work that fell from the pen of our illuſtrious ſtudent, was *The Life of LYSANDER*, tranſlated from the Greek of Plutarch, in which performance he ſhewed his ſkill in that language, and the happy talent he poſſeſſed of writing well in his own (*f*) [*A*]. It was this that induced Dean Aldrich, who made a cuſtom of publiſhing annually ſome good author or other, to recommend to Mr Boyle the care of a new edition of the Epiſtles of Phalaris, to which Mr Boyle applied himſelf with diligence, and ſent it abroad in the beginning of 1695 (*g*). This book became accidentally the cauſe of a very long and furious diſpute, in which, whoever loſt, it is certain Mr Boyle gained a great deal of reputation, and wrote ſo extremely well in defence of his performance, that his adverſary, from ſuſpecting the Epiſtles of Phalaris to be none of his, becauſe they were written with ſo great ſkill, began, from the learning ſhown in Mr Boyle's pieces, to doubt whether they were of his compoſing [*B*]. His father being dead, and

(*a*) See the article of BOYLE (ROGER) Earl of Orrery, towards the cloſe.

(*b*) Memoirs of the Family of Boyle.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1066.

(*d*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 156.

(*e*) *Magnum ædis noſtræ Ornamentum*, are the Dean's words.

(*f*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 157.

(*g*) Phalaridis Agrigentinorum Tyranni, Epiſtolæ, Oxon. 1695, 8vo.

[*A*] *The happy talent he poſſeſſed of writing well in his own.*] We have Mr Budgell's authority upon this head, in terms much ſtronger than have been made uſe of in the text, and this makes it neceſſary to explain the matter here. Mr Budgell's words are (1); 'The 'firſt thing he publiſhed while he was a ſtudent at 'Chriſt-Church, was a tranſlation of the life of Lyſander, as it now ſtands in our Engliſh Plutarch's lives.' It is indeed very true, that we have a Tranſlation of Plutarch's lives by ſeveral hands, which was undertaken by the advice, carried on by the aſſiſtance, and the firſt volume of it publiſhed and dedicated by the immortal Dryden, to the Great Duke of Ormond, grandfather to the late Duke (2); but it is certain, that this work was undertaken in 1683, conſequently when Mr Boyle was but in the eighth year of his age, and ſeven years before he came to the univerſity; it is true indeed, that there have been various editions of the book ſince, and it is not impoſſible that alterations might be made in ſome of theſe editions; but in that which I have before me, printed in 1711, the life of Lyſander (3), which is in the third volume; is tranſlated by William Leman, Maſter of Arts, of Cambridge. I apprehend therefore there is ſome miſtake, and that this life of Lyſander, by the Honourable Charles Boyle, Eſq; was written only, and not printed; becauſe I cannot conceive how it ſhould be left out of ſubſequent editions, if it had been inſerted in any ſo early as 1694; at leaſt of this opinion I ſhall remain 'till I am convinced of the contrary, by being ſo happy to meet with an edition, in which this Life, by Mr Boyle, is inſerted. But I think it very probable, that ſuch a tranſlation as this, might be his firſt work; becauſe I have heard from other hands, that he tranſlated one of the orations of Demoſthenes, which is certainly publiſhed, though I cannot take upon me to ſay with certainty, which of thoſe orations it is; though I was once poſſeſſed of a copy, in which that oration was marked by the hand of the gentleman, from whom I received that information (4); and I very well remember that it was obſerved, this tranſlation was not only very exact, but the harmony and turn of the periods were ſo happily preſerved, that it had all the ſpirit and beauty of an original. I therefore preſume that his perfect knowledge of the Greek tongue, being firſt manifeſted by the tranſlation of the life of Lyſander, or ſome ſuch exerciſe, induced Dean Aldrich to put him upon that work, of which mention has been made in the text, and a farther account will be given in the enſuing note.

(1) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 157.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1104.

(3) Plutarch's Lives, Vol. III. p. 156.

(4) The Rev. Mr Knipe, Canon of Chriſt-Church.

[*B*] *To doubt whether they were of his compoſing.*] As the hiſtory of this controverſy has been already given in a former part of this work, I ſhall not detain the reader long upon it here (5). While Mr Boyle was preparing his edition, he had directed that the copy he made uſe of, ſhould be collated with the manuſcript in the King's Library, of which Doctor Bentley was the keeper; and it was accordingly collated as far as the fortieth epiſtle; but the Doctor being then about to go out of town, demanded the manuſcript from Mr Bennet, Mr Boyle's bookſeller; which hindered it's being

(5) See note [*D*] in the article of BENTLEY (RICHARD).

and having himſelf quitted the univerſity, he began to think of entering on the ſtage of publick life, and accordingly, in 1700, was choſen member for the town of Huntington, which, however, was attended with a petition, and as he ſpoke in ſupport of his own election with great vivacity, this brought on a diſpute of another nature with Mr Wortley (*h*). In ſhort, they fought in Hyde-Park, in a gravel-pit near the gate which now leads to Groſvenor-ſquare, where, though he had the advantage, his loſs of blood was ſo great by the wounds he received, that he fell into a languiſhing condition, from whence it was with difficulty that he recovered (*i*). He was choſen twice afterwards for the ſame place, but his elder brother Lionel, Earl of Orrery, dying on the twenty-third of Auguſt 1703, without iſſue (*k*), he ſucceeded to that title, and entering into the Queen's ſervice, had a regiment given him, at the head of which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo remarkably, that on the thirteenth of October, 1705, he was elected on of the Knights Companions of the moſt ancient order of the Thiſtle (*l*). In the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, he married the Lady Elizabeth Cecil, daughter to the Earl of Exeter, by whom he had his only ſon John, who ſucceeded him in his honours and eſtates; but his Lady did not ſurvive many years (*m*). He was raiſed to the rank of a Major-General in the year 1709, and was ſworn one of her Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council. At the famous battle of the wood, he gave the ſtrongeſt proofs of his intrepid courage, remaining at the head of his regiment in the warmeſt part of the action, 'till the victory was compleat, which, as it was one of the moſt glorious, ſo it was the deareſt bought of any in that war (*n*). His Lordſhip had alſo the honour of being appointed the Queen's Envoy to the States of Brabant and Flanders, in which quality he reſided at Bruſſels, with an appointment of ten pounds *per diem*, and having diſcharged that truſt with equal ſpirit and diligence, her Majeſty was pleaſed, by letters patents dated the tenth of September, in the tenth year her reign, to raiſe him to the dignity of a Britiſh Peer, by the title of Lord Boyle, Baron of Marſton in Somerſetſhire (*o*). On the acceſſion of the late King to the throne, his Lordſhip was not only continued in his military command as Colonel of the Britiſh Fuzileers, but was alſo made one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber, and on the third of December 1714, was conſtituted Lord-Lieutenant, and Cuſtos-Rotulorum of the county of Somerſet, having at that time, an equal ſhare in his Majeſty's confidence and favour (*p*). However, in the year 1716, while the King was a Hanover, his regiment was taken from him, upon which his Lordſhip thought proper to reſign his poſt of Lord of the Bed-chamber.

(*h*) Parliamentary Regiſter.

(*i*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 202.

(*k*) See the former article of BOYLE (Roger) Earl of Orrery, towards the cloſe.

(*l*) Peerage of England, Tom. IV. p. 259.

(*m*) Memoirs of the Family of Boyle.

(*n*) See the article CHURCHILL (John) Duke of Marlborough.

(*o*) See the Preamble to his Patent in Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 259.

(*p*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 211.

being perfectly collated; of which Mr Boyle having complained in his preface, Dr Bentley took it ſo ill, that he was reſolved to demoliſh the reputation which Mr Boyle had gained by publiſhing this work (6). It is certain, that Suidas, Stobæus, and Photius, looked upon theſe epiſtles as genuine, and that ſome very great modern critics were of the ſame opinion; which certainly might juſtify the publiſhing a new edition of them. There were certain other circumſtances, that gave edge to the Doctor's reſentment; and amongſt theſe, we may reckon the following paſſage (7) in Sir William Temple's *Eſſay upon ancient and modern Learning*, dedicated to the Univerſity of Cambridge. 'It may perhaps be further affirmed in favour of the 'Ancients, that the oldeſt books we have, are ſtill in 'their kind the beſt. The two moſt antient that I 'know of in proſe, among thoſe we call profane authors, are Æſop's fables, and Phalaris's epiſtles, both 'living near the ſame time, which was that of Cyrus 'and Pythagoras. As the firſt has been agreed, by all 'ages ſince, for the greateſt maſter in his kind; and all 'others of that ſort, have been but imitations of his 'original; ſo I think the epiſtles of Phalaris, to have 'more race, more ſpirit, more force of wit and genius 'than any others I have ever ſeen, either ancient or 'modern. I know ſeveral learned men, or that uſually paſs for ſuch, under the name of criticks, 'have not eſteemed them genuine, and Politian, with 'ſome others, have aſcribed them to Lucian: but 'I think he muſt have little ſkill in painting, that cannot find out this to be an original; ſuch diverſity of 'paſſions upon ſuch variety of actions, and paſſages of 'life and government; ſuch freedom of thought, ſuch 'boldneſs of expreſſion, ſuch bounty to his friends, 'ſuch ſcorn of his enemies, ſuch honour of learned 'men, ſuch eſteem of good, ſuch knowledge of life, 'ſuch contempt of death, with ſuch fierceneſs of nature, and cruelty of revenge, could never be repreſented but by him that poſſeſſed them; and I eſteem '*Lucian* to have been no more capable of writing, than 'of acting, what Phalaris did. In all one writ, you find 'the ſcholar or the Sophiſt; and in all the other, the 'tyrant and the commander.' Mr William Wotton, a very knowing as well as a very learned man, having written againſt this celebrated piece of Sir William Temple; Dr Bentley ſubjoined to his friend's book, his diſſertation upon the epiſtles of Phalaris, in which he gives a character of them, diametrically oppoſite to that before quoted (8). 'It would be endleſs, ſays he, 'to ſhew all the fillineſs and impertinency, in the 'matter of theſe epiſtles; for take them in the whole 'bulk, they are a fardle of common-places, without 'either life or ſpirit, from action and circumſtance. 'You feel by the emptineſs and deadneſs of them, 'that you converſe with ſome dreaming pedant, with 'his elbow on his deſk; not with an active ambitious 'tyrant, with his hand on his ſword, commanding a 'million of ſubjects; all that takes or affects you, is a 'ſtiffneſs, ſtatelineſs, and operoſeneſs of ſtile; but as 'that is improper and unbecoming in all epiſtles, ſo 'eſpecially it is quite aliene from the character of 'Phalaris, a man of buſineſs and diſpatch.' To this Diſſertation Mr Boyle replied with great ſpirit and learning, and the controverſy ſoon grew ſo warm, that many, and thoſe too no inconſiderable authors, engaged therein with great heat and violence; the truth of the matter was, that it became rather a party quarrel, between the friends and enemies of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, than a ſerious diſpute, as to the genuineneſs of Phalaris's epiſtles; ſo, that the criticks being on one ſide, and the wits on the other; it became very difficult, if not impoſſible, to know whether truth was with either; after all, perhaps, neither ſide was abſolutely wrong or right; for as on the one hand, it could ſcarce be affirmed that Mr Boyle and his friends had cleared their author of all objections; ſo the moſt that could be ſaid on the other ſide was, that Dr Bentley had ſhown theſe epiſtles were originally writ in another Dialect, and were in ſome places interpolated, which does by no means prove them ſpurious. A very learned and very judicious writer, I mean Dr Henry Felton, ſaid a very juſt, and at the ſaid time, a very handſome thing upon our author's diſpute, with which we ſhall conclude this account of it (9). *Perhaps* (ſays he) Mr Boyle's *book in defence of* Phalaris, *will be charged upon ſome* ſophiſt *too, yet taking it for genuine at preſent; if we own Doctor* Bentley *is the better* critick, *we muſt acknowledge his antagoniſt is much the* genteeleſt writer.

(6) The title of which at large ran thus: *Phalaridis Agrigentinorum Tyranni Epiſtolæ. Ex MS. recenſuit, verſione, annotationibus, & vita inſuper Auctoris donavit* Car. Boyle, *ex Ædæ Chriſti.*

(7) Temple's Works, Vol. I. p. 166.

(8) Diſſertation on Phalaris's Epiſtles.

(9) Diſſertation on reading the Claſſicks, and forming a juſt Stile, p. 59.

[C] *Of*

Bed-chamber. After this time his Lordſhip did not meddle much with publick affairs (*q*). He did indeed attend the Houſe of Peers very conſtantly when in town, and voted agreeably to his ſentiments, in regard to all matters of importance; but notwithſtanding his extraordinary talents and great experience, he was no ſpeaker (*r*). Things continued in this ſituation for ſome years, but upon the breaking out of what was called Layer's plot, his Lordſhip was ſo unfortunate as to fall under the ſuſpicion of the Government, and on the twenty-ſeventh of September 1722, his Lordſhip was ſeized at his houſe at Britwel, at the ſame time that his Secretary, who was then in town, was taken into cuſtody likewiſe, and his papers, in both places, were ſecured (*s*). He was brought up to town immediately, and examined before the Privy-Council, after which he was committed to the Tower. Upon the ſitting of the Parliament about a month afterwards, the conſent of the Houſe of Lords was aſked and obtained, for continuing his confinement. This laſted the longer, by reaſon of the ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* Act for a twelvemonth, and was ſo much the harder upon his Lordſhip, as his conſtitution was weak, and the ſmall ſhare of health he had, was chiefly preſerved to him by the uſe of conſtant exerciſe. (*t*). After ſix months impriſonment, upon the application of the learned Dr Mead, ſetting forth, how low he was reduced by a confinement in the higheſt degree dangerous to one of his tender conſtitution, he was admitted to bail, the preſent Earl of Burlington, and the late Lord Carleton, becoming ſureties, each in twenty thouſand pounds, and his Lordſhip entering into a recognizance of thirty thouſand more, for his appearance (*u*). But after the ſtricteſt enquiries, there was nothing found that could be eſteemed a ſufficient ground for a proſecution of any kind; ſo that, after paſſing through the uſual forms, he was abſolutely diſcharged. This accident is thought to have had conſiderable effects upon his declining conſtitution, though he ſurvived it ſeveral years, and maintained the ſame freedom, livelineſs, and ſweetneſs of temper to the laſt, dying unexpectedly, after a very ſhort indiſpoſition, on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, 1731, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, extremely beloved and regretted (*w*). He reſembled in his temper and character, and not a little alſo in his fortunes, his illuſtrious anceſtor the firſt Earl of Orrery. Like him, he was an Author, a Soldier, and a Stateſman. His parts were very quick, and yet, with much vivacity, he was capable of cloſe thinking, and profound meditation. His learning was ſolid, not pedantick, and though he did not affect the orator in publick, yet, in private converſation, no man ſpoke with greater eaſe to himſelf, or pleaſure to thoſe who heard him (*x*). His ſtudies were of a mixed nature, and his application to them much greater than the world imagined, of which, however, convincing proofs remain [*C*]. As an officer, he was generally eſteemed and beloved, for with a courage fearleſs of danger, he had as much prudence and circumſpection as thoſe who had much greater experience. His ſoldiers loved him entirely, his ſuperior officers admired and confided in him, his Sovereign knew him fit for, and truſted him in, the moſt important negotiations (*y*). As a Stateſman, his notions were perfectly clear, as his intentions were entirely upright. He had a juſt concern for the intereſt, honour, and glory of his country, which he manifeſted upon all occaſions, without courting popularity, or fearing power. He was a lover of learning, and a friend to learned men; an excellent maſter, a tender father, and beneficent to all with whom he had any thing to do. His frailties were few, and thoſe of a nature the moſt excuſable, as proceeding chiefly from his conſtitution, and tending rather to his own detriment than to that of others (*z*). He was happy in the general eſteem of his country, and in the particular affection borne him by his frends, which was the leſs to be wondered at, ſince he was himſelf remarkably ſteady in his affections, and never thought any difference of fortune could juſtify the ſlighteſt declenſion in friendſhip, but with all his warmth of this kind, he had a coldneſs in another which was no leſs extraordinary; he not only forgave, but forgot, injuries, and never revenged them otherwiſe, than by rendering unexpected ſervices to thoſe from whom he had received them.

(*q*) Memoirs of the Family of Boyle.

(*r*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 637.

(*s*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p 317.

(*t*) Memoirs of the Family of Boyle.

(*u*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 738.

(*w*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p 261.

(*x*) From the information of thoſe who were his intimate acquaintance.

(*y*) See the Preamble to his patent, before cited.

(*z*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Boyles, p. 248.

[*C*] *Of which however convincing proofs remain.*] We have already ſeen, what he could perform when a very young man; and it is not eaſy to ſuppoſe, that if his genius for learning had not been ſomewhat extraordinary, a man of Dean Aldrich's figure and character in the world, would have paid him ſuch compliments, as he did in his preface to his *Compendium of Logic* mentioned in the text; nor can one readily imagine, that the wits would have ſo warmly, and ſo unanimouſly, have eſpouſed his cauſe, if they had not been fully ſatisfied of his having a good title to be one of the number. He wrote a comedy, entitled, *As you find it*, which was acted with great applauſe, and is now printed (10); though, I think, he would never allow it in his life-time; the only fault that was ever found with this performance, is, (as Mr Budgell truly ſays) that it has *too much wit*; and if this cenſure has occaſioned that dearth, that has ſince happened, we ought not to be too forward in commending his lordſhip's play to poſterity. He wrote alſo ſongs and occaſional poems, particularly a copy of verſes prefixed to Dr Garth's *Diſpenſary*; and a prologue to Mr Southern's play, called *the Fate of* Capua; but theſe were only amuſements for his vacant hours; and his favourite ſtudies were of another nature, as ſufficiently appears in that noble inſtrument which bears his name, and will make it known to diſtant nations and lateſt ages. A machine contrived to repreſent, mechanically, the Solar Syſtem, according to the ſentiments of the new Aſtronomers, and the bare execution of which is ſaid to have gone very near turning the head of the ingenious artificer who made it (11). His lordſhip had alſo a ſtrong inclination towards Phyſick, which induced him not only to buy, and read, whatever was publiſhed upon that ſubject, but put him alſo upon obtaining from his friends Botanical and Phyſical accounts of herbs and drugs when they reſided in foreign countries. Theſe circumſtances abundantly juſtify all that is ſaid of him in the text, and clearly demonſtrate, that he was an honour to his family, and to his country. E

(10) In the ſecond Volume of the Works of Roger Earl of Orrery.

(11) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 236.

BOYSE, BOYS or BOIS (JOHN) an eminent Divine, and one of the Tranſlators of the Bible, in the reign of King James I (*a*). He was the ſon of Mr William Bois, Rector of Weſt Stowe near St Edmunds-Bury in Suffolk; and his mother was deſcended of an ancient and honourable family in that county, and was alſo in herſelf a valuable woman, as we learn from our author in a ſhort character he drew of her [*A*]. This John Bois who was their only ſurviving ſon, was born at Nettleſtead in Suffolk, January 3, 1560 (*b*). He ſpent his infancy in the houſe of his father, who taught him with great induſtry the firſt rudiments of learning, inſomuch that when John had attained the age of five years, he read the Bible in Hebrew, and not only wrote that language intelligibly, but in a fair and elegant character by that time he was ſix (*c*). He went afterwards to Hadley ſchool, where he contracted an intimate acquaintance with John Overall, afterwards Dean of St Paul's, Biſhop of Norwich, and his colleague in the Tranſlation of the Bible (*d*), as the reader will hereafter find. At the age of fourteen he was ſent to the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he was admitted of St John's College, March 1, 1575, under the tuition of Mr Henry Coppinger. There he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great ſkill in the Greek language, of which he gave a ſtrong inſtance by writing letters therein to the maſter and ſenior fellows, when he had been but half a year at college, and thereby obtained a ſcholarſhip (*e*). He afterwards applied himſelf to his ſtudies ſo cloſely, that it was common for him in the ſummer time, to go to the Univerſity library at four in the morning, and continue there 'till eight in the evening without any intermiſſion (*f*). He was elected Fellow when he had the ſmall-pox, and was (to preſerve his ſeniority) carried wrapped up in blankets to be admitted (*g*). He firſt intended to have applied himſelf to Phyſick, but fancying himſelf affected with every diſeaſe of which he read, he quitted that ſcience for Divinity, and on June 21, 1583, he was ordained Deacon, by Dr Freake Biſhop of Norwich, and the next day, by virtue of a diſpenſation, Prieſt (*h*). He was chief Greek Lecturer in his college ten years together, all which time he read diligently every day, and for ſeveral years he voluntarily read a Greek Lecture at four in the morning in his own chamber, which was frequented by moſt of the fellows. On the death of his father, he ſucceeded him in the rectory of Weſt Stowe; but his mother going to live with her brother, he reſigned that preferment, though he might have kept it with his fellowſhip (*i*). At the age of thirty-ſix, he married the daughter of Mr Holt, Rector of Boxworth, and ſucceeded him in that living October 13, 1596; and on his quitting the Univerſity, the college gave him 100 *l.* His wife being very young, and himſelf wholly addicted to his ſtudies, their affairs took an unhappy turn, ſo that finding himſelf deeply in debt, he was forced to ſell his choice collection of books, which afflicted him ſo much, that he had thoughts of quitting his native country. He was however ſoon brought to a reconciliation with his wife, and they lived together many years after, in perfect harmony [*B*]. When he began to be acquainted with the neighbouring clergy, he agreed with twelve of them to meet every Friday at one of their houſes by turns, to give an account of their ſtudies, and to make a joint improvement of their ſeveral labours (*k*). He uſually kept ſome young ſcholar in his houſe, for the inſtruction of his own children, and the poorer ſort of the town, as well as for the benefit of ſeveral gentlemens children who were ſent to board with him. When King James I. directed a new tranſlation to be made of the Bible, by perſons of the greateſt learning, as well at London as the two Univerſities; Mr Bois was elected one of the Cambridge Tranſlators, and not only performed his own, but alſo the part that was aſſigned to another with great reputation, though with no profit, for, except his commons, he had no allowance made him for his cloſe attendance from Monday morning to Saturday evening, in the diſcharge of this employment (*l*). As this was an undertaking worthy of it's royal author, ſo it was admirably conducted, and at length brought to a happy concluſion [*C*]. Four years were ſpent in this firſt ſervice, and then three

(*a*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 153. Fuller's Worthies in Suffolk, p. 71. Cambridge Worthies, MS. p. 191.

(*b*) Life of our author by Dr Anthony Walker, in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. p. 38, —42.

(*c*) Some pieces of his writing at that age, were formerly in the hands of the Rev. Mr Dowſing, late Rector of Cottenham in the Iſle of Ely.

(*d*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Book x. p. 45.

(*e*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, ubi ſupra, p. 42.

(*f*) Dr Walker was informed of this fact, by his contemporaries at Cambridge.

(*g*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) We have theſe particulars from Dr Walker's own knowledge.

(*k*) Moſt of theſe circumſtances were collected from the author's notes, in his Almanacks and other books.

(*l*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, ubi ſupra, p. 47.

[*A*] *Short character he drew of her.*] Her brother was patron of Weſt Stowe, to which he preſented our author's father. The account which Mr Bois himſelf gives of his Mother, was written in her Common-Prayer book, in the words following (1). 'This 'was my mother's book, my good mother's book. 'Her name was firſt Mirabel Poolye; and then after-'wards Mirabel Bois; being ſo called by the name 'of her huſband, my father, William Bois; who 'lived in the Miniſtry diverſe years, and was buried 'at a village, not above four miles from St Edmund's 'Bury, called Weſt Stowe, where he had been paſtor, 'and remained ſo 'till the time of his death. My mo-'ther over lived my father about ten years. For being 'much alike in years when they married; my father 'died anno ætatis ſuæ lxviii, and my mother lxxviii, 'plus minus. She had read the Bible over twelve 'times, and the Book of Martyrs twice; beſides 'other books not a few.' It was his cuſtom to write ſuch kind of notes (agreeable to their nature) in all his books, many inſtances of which are ſtill in the hands of the curious (2).

(1) Walker's Life of our author, in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. lib. viii. p. 38, 39.

(2) The author of this note has ſeen ſeveral of theſe *Memoranda* in the hands of clergymen at Cambridge, Ely, and other places.

[*B*] *In perfect harmony.*] The village of Boxworth lies in the hundred of Papworth, in the county of Cambridge, and at the diſtance of about five miles from that univerſity. It was an advowſon which he enjoyed in right of his wife; who, together with the living, was bequeathed to him by her dying father. He lived with the former 45, and enjoyed the latter 47 years. We are told by the writer of his life, that notwithſtanding this accident at the beginning of their wedlock, yet Mr Bois continued to leave all domeſtick affairs to her management; which ſhews how ſincerely he was reconciled, notwithſtanding the loſs of his library touched him to the quick; for beſides his having in it almoſt every Greek author then extant, he ſold it to a loſs as great as the ſum to which the debt paid by what it produced, amounted (3). Such are frequently the deplorable diſtreſſes of men of great merit and too much modeſty!

(3) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. p. 46.

[*C*] *Brought to a happy concluſion.*] The hiſtory of this tranſlation of the Bible, which is that ſtill in uſe, deſerves particular notice. There had been ſeveral before, and great objections had been made againſt them all. The firſt was that of William Tyndall, which brought himſelf, as well as his book, to the flames

three copies being ſent from Cambridge, Oxford, and Weſtminſter, to Court, a new choice was

(4) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 183.

flames (4). However, the people of England were ſo well pleaſed with his performance, that, to get it out of their hands, the Biſhops made a new tranſlation, to which a learned and pious preface, written by Archbiſhop Cranmer, was prefixed, together with King Henry VIII's inſtructions; and to give it ſtill greater credit, it was recommended to the people by a royal proclamation, dated May 6, 1541 (5). In the reign of Edward VI. there was another tranſlation, printed in 1549; but this, as well as the former, was not divided into verſes. Queen Elizabeth directed a commiſſion to ſeveral Biſhops, commanding them to review both tranſlations, and by their care came out a third, called from thence the Biſhops Bible (6), which had hitherto been uſed; but after the Hampton-Court conference, King James determined to remedy the defects then complained of, carried immediately into execution a deſign (7) he had before meditated, of procuring a fourth tranſlation; which he committed to the care of forty-ſeven reverend and learned perſons, divided into ſix companies, in the following manner (8). I. The Pentateuch, Joſhua, Judges, Ruth, firſt and ſecond books of Samuel, firſt and ſecond books of Kings, to be tranſlated by ten perſons at Weſtminſter, *viz.* 1. Lancelot Andrews, D. D. Dean of Weſtminſter, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter. 2. John Overall, D. D. Dean of St Paul's, afterwards Biſhop of Norwich. 3. Hadrianus a Saravia, D. D. 4 Dr Clarke, Fellow of Chriſt's College in Cambridge, Preacher in Canterbury. 5. Dr John Laifield, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Rector of St Clement Danes; he being well ſkilled in architecture, his judgment was much relied on, with regard to the fabrick of the Tabernacle and Temple. 6. Dr Leigh, Archdeacon of Middleſex, and Rector of Allhallows, Barking. 7. Mr Francis Burgley. 8. Mr King. 9. Mr Thompſon. 10. Mr William Bedwell, of Cambridge, Vicar of Tottenham High Croſs. II. The firſt and ſecond books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Eſther, Job, Pſalms, Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes, and Canticles, to be tranſlated by eight perſons at Cambridge, *viz.* 1. Mr Lively. 2. Mr John Richardſon, Fellow of Emanuel College, afterwards D. D. Maſter firſt of Peter Houſe, and then of Trinity College. 3. Mr Laurence Chaderton, afterwards D. D. Fellow of Chriſt's, and Maſter of Emanuel College. 4. Mr Dillingham, Fellow of Chriſt's College. 5. Mr Roger Andrews, afterwards D. D. Brother to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Maſter of Jeſus College. 6. Mr Harriſon, Vice-Meſter of Trinity College. 7. Mr Robert Spalding, Fellow of St John's College, and Profeſſor of Hebrew. 8. Mr Andrew Byng, Fellow of Peter Houſe, and Hebrew Profeſſor before Mr Spalding. III. The four greater, twelve leſſer Prophets, and the Lamentations to be tranſlated by ſeven perſons at Oxford, *viz.* 1. Dr John Harding, Preſident of Magdalen College. 2. Dr John Reynolds, Preſident of Corpus Chriſti College. 3. Dr Thomas Holland, Rector of Exeter College, and Regius Profeſſor. 4. Dr Richard Kilby, Rector of Lincoln College. 5. Mr Miles Smith, afterwards D. D. and Biſhop of Glouceſter; he wrote the preface to the tranſlation. 6. Mr Richard Brett, beneficed at Quainton in Buckinghamſhire. 7. Mr Fairclough. IV. The Apocrypha to be tranſlated by ſeven perſons at Cambridge, *viz.* 1. Dr John Duport, Prebendary of Ely, and Maſter of Jeſus College. 2. Dr William Brainthwait, firſt Fellow of Emanuel College, and afterwards Maſter of Gonvil and Caius College. 3. Dr Radclyffe, one of the ſenior Fellows of Trinity College. 4. Mr Samuel Ward, Fellow of Emanuel College, afterwards D. D. and Maſter of Sidney College, and Margaret Profeſſor of Divinity. 5. Mr Andrew Downes, Fellow of St John's College, and Greek Profeſſor. 6. Mr John Bois, Rector of Boxſworth in Cambridgeſhire. 7. Mr Ward, Fellow of Queen's College, and afterwards Prebendary of Chicheſter, and Rector of Biſhop Waltham in Hampſhire. V. The four Goſpels, Acts of the Apoſtles, and Apocalypſe, to be tranſlated by eight Perſons at Oxford, *viz.* 1. Dr Thomas Ravis, Dean of Chriſt Church, afterwards Biſhop of London. 2. Dr George Abbot, Maſter of Univerſity College, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury. 3. Mr Eedes. 4. Mr Thomſon. 5. Mr Henry Savile. 6. Dr Peryn. 7. Mr Ravens. 8. Mr Harmer. VI. The Epiſtles to be tranſlated by ſeven at Weſtminſter, *viz.* 1. Dr William Barlow, of Trinity Hall in Cambridge, Dean of Cheſter, and afterwards ſucceſſively Biſhop of Rocheſter and Lincoln. 2. Dr Hutchenſon. 3. Dr Spencer. 4. Mr Fenton. 5. Mr Rabbet. 6. Mr Sanderſon. 7. Mr Dakins. To theſe learned perſons his Majeſty was pleaſed to give the following inſtructions. 1. The ordinary Bible, read in the church, commonly called the Biſhops Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit. 2. The names of the prophets, and the holy writers, with the other names in the text, to be retained as near as may be, according as they are vulgarly uſed. 3. The old eccleſiaſtical words to be kept, *viz.* As the word Church, not to be tranſlated Congregation, *&c.* 4. When any word hath diverſe ſignifications, that to be kept which hath been moſt commonly uſed by the moſt eminent fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place, and the analogy of faith. 5. The diviſion of the chapters to be altered, either not at all, or as little as may be, if neceſſity ſo require. 6. No marginal notes to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew, or Greek words, which cannot, without ſome circumlocution, ſo briefly and fully be expreſſed in the text. 7. Such quotations of places to be marginally ſet down, as ſhall ſerve for the fit reference of one ſcripture to another. 8. Every particular man of each company, to take the ſame chapter or chapters, and having tranſlated or amended them ſeverally by himſelf, where he thinks good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree, for their part, what ſhall ſtand. 9. As any one company hath diſpatched any one book, in this manner they ſhall ſend it to the reſt, to be conſidered of ſeriouſly and judiciouſly; for his Majeſty is very careful in this point. 10. If any company, upon the review of the book ſo ſent, ſhall doubt or differ upon any places, to ſend them word thereof, note the places, and therewithal ſend their reaſons; to which, if they conſent not, the difference ſhall be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief perſons of each company, at the end of the work. 11. When any place of ſpecial obſcurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority, to ſend to any learned man in the land, for his judgment in ſuch a place. 12. Letters to be ſent from every Biſhop to the reſt of his clergy, admoniſhing them of this tranſlation in hand, and to move and charge as many as being ſkilful in the tongues, have taken pains in that hand, to ſend his particular obſervations to the company, either at Weſtminſter, Oxford, or Cambridge. 13. The directors in each company to be the Dean of Weſtminſter and Cheſter for that place, and the King's Profeſſors in the Hebrew and Greek, in each Univerſity. 14. Theſe tranſlations to be uſed, when they agree better with the text than the Biſhops Bible, *viz.* Tindall's, Matthews's, Coverdale's, Whitchurche's Geneva. Beſides theſe directions, three or four of the moſt ancient and grave Divines, in either of the Univerſities, not employed in tranſlating, to be aſſigned by the Vice Chancellor, upon conference with the reſt of the Heads, to be overſeers of the tranſlations, as well Hebrew as Greek, for the better obſervation of the fourth rule, above ſpecified. It was very far from being King James's intention, that theſe learned perſons ſhould remain unrewarded, as appears by his letter to the Biſhop of London, after the death of Dr Whitgift, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, wherein he obſerves, that many of the intended tranſlators had either no eccleſiaſtical preferment, or elſe ſo very ſmall, as little ſuited their deſerts; wherefore he requires him to write to the Archbiſhop of York, and to all the Biſhops of his own Province, not to preſent to any Prebend or Parſonage, above the value of twenty pounds per annum, either in their own patronage, or that of any perſon whatſoever, 'till they certified his Majeſty thereof, that he might commend ſome of theſe learned men thereto; and his Majeſty further takes notice, that he had given the like directions as to any that were in his own gift (9). In reſpect to our author particularly, the King ſhewed his good will to him, by nominating him one of the Fellows of his new college at Chelſea, tho' he never had any

(5) Heylyn's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 9.

(6) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. ii. p. 406.

(7) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, p. 590, 591.

(8) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Book x. p. 45.

(9) Regiſtr. Whitgift, fol. 155. C.

was made of six to revise the whole, that is two from each assembly. Mr Downes and Mr Bois were sent from Cambridge, and meeting their fellow-labourers at Stationer's-hall; they went through this second part of their task in nine months, having each from the company of Stationers during that time, thirty shillings a week (*m*). He afterwards assisted Sir Henry Savile, in the laborious undertaking of publishing the works of St Chrysostom, in which he was very indefatigable, though in this too he was not very fortunate, for a present of a single copy, was the whole reward of many years labour (*n*) [*D*]. His reputation was now at a greater height than his fortune, which being taken notice of by Dr Lancelot Andrews then Bishop of Ely, he was pleased to bestow on him, unasked, a Prebend in his Church, into possession of which he entered August 25, 1615 (*o*). This was his last preferment, and he behaved himself therein with exemplary prudence and piety, preaching in his own course duly, and readily assisting others at their request (*p*). He was remarkably careful after his removal to Ely, that his parish should not suffer, and as to his scrupulous regard for the rites of the Church, an extraordinary instance will be found in the notes [*E*]. He spent the last twenty-eight years of his life in this easy retirement, abating a part, and continuing as his strength would give him leave the rest, of his labours; in his youth he was a great walker, and liked this exercise to the last; even in his old age he studied eight hours in a day, and though the greatest part of his writings were at the request, and for the service of his friends, yet he left a great many manuscripts behind him in his own study [*F*], particularly a Commentary on almost all the books of the New Testament. He constantly went to church twice if not thrice a day; his charity was very extensive, and rather beyond than according to his abilities. He was a kind master, and a good though in some respects a severe parent, a plain practical preacher, and though he composed his sermons with great diligence, yet in the pulpit he did not use notes. He shewed his loyalty in the worst of times, those in which it was esteemed patriotism to forget all duty to the father of his people, and affection to the Church when she was in the deepest distress (*q*). His wife died two years before him, and though he supported the loss with temper and moderation, yet he thence forward declined, and finding himself near his end, ordered that he should be carried into the room where his wife died, and there five hours after he departed this life, on January 14, 1643, in the 84th year of his age (*r*). His funeral was celebrated with much decency on the sixth of February following, Mr Thurston of St John's preaching upon that occasion; his second son, and his younger daughter, survived him; the rest being three sons and two daughters, died before him. As to his

(*m*) Fuller's Ch. History, lib. x. p. 45.

(*n*) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, ubi supra, p. 49.

(*o*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 277. Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, ubi supra, p. 50.

(*p*) Cambridge Worthies, p. 191.

(*q*) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, ubi supra, p. 49—58.

(*r*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 277.

any benefit thereby, that foundation taking no effect (10); on the contrary it may be presumed, that the very naming him to this might exclude him from other preferment.

(10) Fuller's Ch. Hist. Book x. p. 52.

[*D*] *Of many years labour.*] This disappointment was owing to the death of Sir Henry Savile, who, as our author gathered from an expression of his, that *he knew no reason why they two should not live together*, intended to have made him Fellow of Eaton This is certain, that at the end of the work, Sir Henry was pleased to manifest a greater approbation of our author's notes, than of those of Mr Downes, which so disgusted that otherwise great man, that he took a pique to our author, and was never reconciled to him, even to the day of his death; tho' Mr Bois had always a great respect for him, and spoke of him upon all occasions, as a person to whom he had great obligations (11).

(11) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. II. lib. viii. p. 49.

[*E*] *In the notes.*] There was a child dropt in his parish by some straggling people, of an age beyond that in which infants are commonly baptized, and yet too young to give testimony of it's own Christianity. There being therefore probability on both sides, and certainty on neither, he applied to Dr Nicholas Felton, then Bishop of Ely, for his direction, but received no satisfactory answer. He dealt to the same purpose with his successor, Dr Henry Buckeridge, but with as little success, and as ineffectual were his applications to Dr Francis White; yet this did not discourage him from informing Dr Matthew Wren, when he became Bishop of Ely, of all that had passed, and receiving his orders to baptize her, he went with great satisfaction from Ely to Boxworth, to perform it, when the woman was 29 years of age, before which time he would never admit her to the holy communion, but had taken care she should be instructed in the principles of religion (12), that she might be fit to receive it when this obstacle was removed, which thus, by his care, was at length effected.

(12) Ibid. p. 51.

[*F*] *In his own study.*] Besides the five years he spent in translating the Bible, and his tedious labours about the edition of St Chrysostom, his notes on the New Testament, and critical remarks on Greek authors, sent him by his friends, he left behind him as many leaves in manuscript, as might tell against the many days of his long life. The author of his life having, shewn how indefatigable he was in his studies, enters into a very curious account of his manner of living, which, for the sake of sedentary persons, deserves to be taken notice of. He made but two meals, dinner and supper, between which, if well, he never so much as drank. After meat he was very careful in picking and rubbing his teeth, by which means he carried them almost all to his grave. After dinner he either sate or walked an hour before he went into his study. Fasting he used occasionally, sometimes twice in a week, sometime once in three weeks. Towards the latter end of his life he would not study after supper, but diverted himself with chearful conversation for two hours, at which time he would divert his friends with harmless and entertaining stories, of which he had a great fund (13). He had a saying in his mouth frequently, which he learned from Tully, *viz. A miss-spent youth, leaves a spent body to old age* (14). According to which rule his person, even at the time of his decease, gave evidence of his having lived virtuously and soberly in the days of his youth; for his brow was without wrinkles, his sight was quick, his hearing sharp, his countenance fresh, his head not bald, and his body perfectly sound, a rupture only excepted, which accident, when it first befel him, a person skilled in the cure of that distemper, told him, he could not survive half a year, in hopes of getting a considerable sum out of him, for renewing, which he pretended was in his power, of a lease so near expiring. But the Doctor, either having no opinion of this man's skill, or not thinking his own case so desperate, declined his assistance, and defeated his prediction, by living twenty years, without any great inconvenience. When he was a young student at Cambridge, he received from the learned Dr Whitaker, these three rules for avoiding those distempers which usually attend a sedentary life, to which he adhered with equal constancy and success. The *first* was to study always standing, the *second* never to study in a window, the *third* never to go to bed with his feet cold (15). At that time of day, when hard studying was the only road to reputation, at our Universities, the finding out such rules, and transmitting them to their disciples, was common amongst great men.

(13) Ibid. p. 54.

(14) *Intemperans & libidinosa adolescentia, efflatum corpus tradidit senectuti.* Tull. de Senect.

(15) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, ubi supra, p. 55.

his character, his life and labours ſufficiently ſhew what it was. Sir Henry Savile ſtiles him, the moſt ingenious and moſt learned Mr Bois (*s*). Anthony Wood honours him with the title of Profound, and ſtiles him elſewhere an excellent Grecian and Divine (*t*), neither was his worth unknown to foreigners, only Mr le Clerc has thought fit to cenſure him for being a warm churchman (*u*). But as learned and accurate a critick as he, has given our author a much better character (*w*). That work of his which occaſioned theſe remarks by foreign authors, is ſo little known here, that without producing their authorities I believe I ſhould ſcarce be credited in affirming it has been publiſhed, and therefore I ſhall mention all I have met with on this ſubject in the notes (*x*) [G]. It is not impoſſible that other pieces of his may be alſo publiſhed, for it is certain that he left behind him many treatiſes in the hands of his friends, beſides thoſe that were found after his death in his ſtudy. He wrote a moſt admirable Latin ſtile, as appears particularly from a letter of his that is yet extant to Sir Henry Savile, in which he gives a character of the writings of St John Chryſoſtom, and freely offers his ſervice towards the preparing an accurate edition of the writings of that father for the preſs (*y*). It is our duty to diſcover as much as is poſſible of the latent works of ſuch learned and laborious perſons, that we may not ſeem leſs attentive to their merits than ſtrangers, who with great reverence preſerve, and are ready with due praiſes to publiſh whatever ſmall pieces come to their hands, of eminent Engliſh authors, by means of their correſpondence abroad; whence it frequently falls out, that ſuch of our writers as have compoſed in Latin, are better known in foreign countries than in their own, and are, generally ſpeaking, treated with great eſteem and reſpect, unleſs it may be by ſome haſty critick, or warm controverſial writer, who cenſures them for maintaining opinions oppoſite to his, which however is the common fate of the great men in all countries, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the republick of letters (*z*), and more eſpecially of ſuch as, like our author, apply themſelves to the reviewing as well as reviving antient writers, and vindicating them from thoſe haſty judgments, which later authors may have paſſed upon them. The greateſt foe to all ſcholars is a falſe critick, but he is moſt ſo to a true one.

(*s*) In Præfat. Oper. S. J. Chryſoſt.

(*t*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 467. Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 153.

(*u*) Bibliotheque Univerſelle, Tom. XVI. p. 68.

(*w*) See this farther explained in note [G].

(*x*) Vid. Joh. Chriſtoph. Wolf. in Curis Philolog. Tom. I. Præfat. p. 11.

(*y*) Pauli Colomeſii Opuſcula, p. 161, 162.

(*z*) See note [B] in the article of BLOUNT (Sir Thomas Pope).

[G] *I have met with on this ſubject in the notes.*] The account we have of this work in Dr Walker's life of our author runs thus (16). 'He had written 'notes upon the four Evangeliſts, and the Acts of the 'Apoſtles, which bear this title, *Collatio veteris Interpretis cum quibuſdam aliis recentioribus.* In theſe 'his ſcope and drift was, *ut haberet Mater Eccleſia propriam loquendi formulam.* He intended to have 'gone all through the New Teſtament; but when the 'Biſhop of Wincheſter died, (who was his encourager 'therein) like King Henry the Sixth's builders (of whoſe 'work ſuddenly ended with his life, the *half ſawn* 'ſtone in King's College chapel-yard, according to 'tradition, remains a monument, he deſiſted, having 'entered but a little way into the epiſtle to the Romans. Nor is it a marvel that that clock ſhould 'leave ſtriking, whoſe weights were taken off.' This may help to diſcover about what time Dr Walker penned our author's life, for evident it is, he wrote it before this work was publiſhed, as it afterwards was under the following Title. *JOHANNIS BOISII Veteris Interpretis cum Beza aliiſque recentioribus Collatio in IV Evangeliis, et Actis Apoſtolorum. Londini*, 1655, 8vo. But there was a very few printed, ſo that it has been for a long time exceſſively ſcarce. The very learned Iſaac Caſaubon mentions the great performance on St Chryſoſtom with reſpect, and in terms which ſhew how much he approved the author's deſign, and how well pleaſed he was with it's execution (17). Mr Le Clerc went out of his way on purpoſe to cenſure our author, as not profeſſing to give us any extract of his work, but contenting himſelf with pronouncing his judgment on him and his book, by ſaying, *He was a great enemy to the* Nonconformiſts, *and condemns all that they approve, rather out of a ſpirit of party, than for any ſolid reaſons* (18). But he might as well have ſaid, he was an enemy to any other ſet of men from whom he differed in opinion; ſince this is the ſole evidence he can give of this enmity, for Mr Bois never engaged in any controverſy againſt them. But the judicious and candid Mr Colomies, who was much better acquainted with our literary hiſtory than any foreigner, except the ingenious and learned Mr Des Maizeaux, gives us quite another account of the book, and of the man. He ſays, that he had very learnedly defended the *Helena* of the Papiſts, by which he means the *Vulgat Tranſlation* of the New Teſtament, which, as he very juſtly obſerves, *Albericus Gentilis* had done before, in a book written expreſsly for that purpoſe (19). It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that this very learned Frenchman is ſomewhat miſtaken, in calling our author Prebendary of Canterbury. It is indeed true, that there was one Dr John Boyſe Dean of Canterbury, and contemporary with our author (20), who was alſo a man of learning, and an author; but he did not write the piece he referred to on this occaſion, and conſequently we muſt admit, that there is an error in the name, which may be the more eaſily pardoned, becauſe in the title-page of the book in queſtion, our author is not ſtiled Prebendary of Ely, probably becauſe the book was printed in the time of the uſurpation, when ſuch diſtinctions were ſtudiouſly omitted. E

(16) Ibid. p. 53.

(17) Is. Caſaubon. Epiſt. p. 85.

(18) Bibliotheque Univerſelle, Tom. XVI. p. 68.

(19) Pauli Colomeſii Opuſcula, p. 162.

(20) Fuller's Worthies, Kent, p. 84.

BRACTON (Henry de), a moſt celebrated Engliſh Lawyer and Judge in the XIIIth century. According to the ſentiments of a certain Antiquary, this worthy writer was a native of Devonſhire (*a*) [A]. He ſtudied in his younger years at Oxford, and became a Doctor of both Laws. He afterwards applied himſelf to the ſtudy of our own laws, and became ſo conſiderable by his knowledge in them (*b*), that King Henry III, made him one of his Judges itinerant in the 29th year of his reign, that is about the year 1244 (*c*), and

(*a*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 52.

(*b*) Bale Script. Illuſtr. M. Brit. Cent. III. cap. xcviii. p. 282. edit. Baſil. 1557. Pits, Relat. Angl. p. 310.

(*c*) Dugdale in Chron. Scr. p. 13.

[A] *This worthy writer was a native of Devonſhire.*] This was firſt aſſerted by Sir William Pole, in his Deſcription of Devonſhire, which is ſtill in MS (1). From him Mr Prince took it, who tells us farther, that in all probability he was born in the pariſh of Bracton or Bratton, near Oakhampton. That there was an antient Devonſhire family of his name is out of doubt (2), neither it is at all improbable, that the Judge might be of it. Yet none of theſe writers pretend to ſay what became of his deſcendants, except that Mr Prince conjectures, his line might end in an heireſs, who married one of the Cary family, becauſe he finds the arms of Bracton quartered amongſt many others by the Lord Hunſdon (3).

(1) Ap. Prince's Worthies of Devon.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Keep's Monument. Weſtmon. p. 327.

[B] *As*

and being ſtill highly in his favour, about ten years afterwards he gave him the Earl of Derby's houſe in London, to ſerve him for his habitation in town, 'till the heir of that Earl became of age *(d)*. Many of our modern writers have obſerved from Bale and Pits, that he was made Chief Juſtice of England, which poſt he is ſaid to have held twenty years *(e)*. Some doubts have been raiſed about this fact, becauſe the accurate Sir William Dugdale takes no notice of this promotion, which however is reported on better authority than theſe late writers are aware of, as will be ſhewn in the notes [*B*]. He exerciſed his great office with much honour and integrity, at a time when other Judges acted in a very different manner *(f)*. That which hath chiefly contributed to render him famous to poſterity, is his excellent work of the Laws of England, to which it is ſaid he himſelf gave the title of *Brito (g)*, and hence perhaps ſo many miſtakes happened in writing his name [*C*]. This work as it is one of the antienteſt, ſo it has been always eſteemed, one of the moſt accurate and methodical treatiſes on our laws [*D*]. Some authors however who have quoted it very freely, have ſtrangely miſtaken the writer's meaning; and ſome who have pretended to criticiſe them, inſtead of mending matters have made them much worſe [*E*]. We have no kind of certainty as to the time of our author's death; yet Bale and

(*d*) Id. Origin. Jurid. p. 56.

(*e*) See this article in the General Dictionary.

(*f*) Sir R. Cotton, in his Short View of the Long Reign of Henry III.

(*g*) Leland, de Script. Brit. cap. cclxxvi.

[*B*] *As will be ſhewn in the notes.*] We owe to Sir William Dugdale all the few dates which we have been able to inſert in this life. In his Chronica Series, he tells us, that in the 29th of Henry III, Henry de Bracton and others were conſtituted Juſtices Itinerant, for the counties of Nottingham and Derby (4), and in the 30th of the ſame reign, for the counties of Northumberland, Weſtmorland, Cumberland, and Lancaſter (5). In another place he recites the writ, whereby the King grants him the cuſtody of the houſe of William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, which bears date at Winchester, 25th of May, in the 38th of the ſaid King (6). As to his being Chief Juſtice, it was firſt mentioned by the celebrated John Leland (7), and he tells us plainly, that he found it in one of the MSS. of our Judge's book, then preſerved in a certain library. Hence alſo Bale took it, for he does not mention him in the firſt edition of his book, printed in 1549, becauſe probably he had not the opportunity of conſulting Leland's book, but in the edition of Baſil, in 1557 (8), he tranſcribes Leland very exactly. Pits wrote after him only according to his uſual cuſtom, he runs out into a long panegyrick on the Judge's virtues (9), for which however he had no other warrant than what he met with in Bale. One thing is obſervable, that theſe writers call our author *Bractonus* in Latin, whereas Leland calls him *Bracheduns*, which is one reaſon, perhaps, why his authority has been by many people overlooked. If we ſhould ſuppoſe that he was made Chief Juſtice, when he had the houſe given him at London, we muſt then place his death in anno domini 1273, that is in the firſt year of Edward I. which agrees perfectly well with the other authorities, and with the dates in his own writings.

(4) Page 13.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Origin. Jurid. p. 56.

(7) De Script. Brit. cap. cclxxvii.

(8) Page 282.

(9) Page 310.

[*C*] *So many miſtakes happened in writing his name.*] Biſhop Nicholſon tells us, that his name was variouſly written in the records neareſt his own time, wherein, ſays he, we find him called Bratton, Breton, Bretton, Briton, Britton, and Bryćton (10), he might have added a great many more, ſince at this time he took his name to be John, confounding him with John Breton, Biſhop of Hereford, who was a Doctor of both laws, and who wrote a very large work, concerning the laws of England (11). It is to Leland we owe the knowledge of our author's giving the title of Brito to his work (12), which he found in the before-mentioned MS. though it is generally entitled, de Legibus et Conſuetudinibus Angliæ. In his firſt chapter, our anthor tells us fairly, that, 'whereas England was 'governed by unwritten cuſtoms, which differed in 'ſeveral places, theſe laws were liable to frequent 'miſconſtructions, not only from the ignorance of 'thoſe who took upon them to decide before they 'were well verſed in the laws, but alſo from the arro-'gance of others, who taking advantage of theſe 'differences, ſought rather to follow their own opi-'nions, than the laws, therefore, for the ſake of the 'leſs knowing, he, the ſaid *Henry de Bracton*, had 'reſolved to reduce theſe things into a regular method, 'under proper heads, of which he deſires the reader's 'favourable acceptance (13).' There are indeed ſome variations in the MSS. even in this paſſage, however we may be ſure that Brachdon, Bracton, or Bratton, was certainly his name, and that all the other appellations muſt either be referred to his book, or to the before-mentioned Biſhop. As to his chriſtian name, there never was any diſpute about it, Biſhop Nicholſon's calling him John (14), being a plain miſtake, and not the only one neither into which he has fallen about our author, either for want of reading his work, or for want attending to what he read, as will ſufficiently appear in ſome of the following notes.

(13) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, Part iii. p. 139. Lond. 1699.

(11) Vide Bale de Script. in Vit. Joan. Briton.

(12) De Script. Brit. cap. cclxxvi.

(13) De Legib. fol. 1.

[*D*] *Methodical treatiſes on our laws.*] We have already given the title of this book, wherein our author profeſſes to treat of the laws and cuſtoms of England, and therefore we need not repeat it. It is divided into five books, and thoſe again, except the two firſt Books, into ſeveral tracts, of which the third contains two, the fourth ſeven, and the fifth five. The method is plainly the ſame with that of the Emperor Juſtinian (15), as Biſhop Nicholſon obſerves from the preface to one of the printed editions (16), but it is a great miſtake to ſay he begins with the ſeveral legal methods of procuring properties, for this is the ſubject of his ſecond book. In the firſt he ſpeaks of the diviſion of things, of law in general, of the ſeveral kinds of laws, of perſonal diſtinctions, and of ſeveral kinds of eſtates. Then he ſhews how property may be lawfully acquired, how it is to be maintained and defended, and how recovered. Throughout the whole there runs a proper regiſter of writs, and whatever he delivers as law, is juſtified by the report of caſes adjudged, ſo that it is not eaſy to conceive how a more regular, or uſeful book could be compoſed at the time in which he lived. The author's great deference for the Papal power is the only thing that can be objected to him, and for this the author of the preface endeavours to account, by ſaying that Bracton wrote but a little after King John had reſigned his crown to the Pope, in which Biſhop Nicholſon follows him preciſely, tho' without quoting (17). But unluckily Bracton ſets this excuſe aſide, ſince by the records he cites, it is plain that he did not ſet pen to paper 'till between fifty and ſixty years after that event (18), and conſequently he could not be much influenced thereby. The true reaſon of his writing in this ſtile, was his being himſelf a Canoniſt, and becauſe in thoſe days the laws of the land favoured the Papal power, the error therefore was in them, and not in him, ſo that any excuſe is needleſs. The firſt printed edition of Bracton is at London, in 1569 in folio. In 1640 it was printed in 4to, and great pains was taken, by collating various MSS. to make the text as perfect as might be, of which we have a large account in the preface. There is alſo a table of various readings, and an excellent one of contents. Mr Selden mentions our author frequently in ſeveral of his works, particularly in his Titles of Honour (19). It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that his remarks relate to the firſt edition, which was indeed very faulty.

(14) Page 139.

(15) Vide Præfat. per T. N. ad edit. Lond. 1640, 4to.

(16) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, Part iii. p. 140.

(17) Page 141.

(18) Lib. iii. Tract. ii. c. xxxvii. §. 12. fol. 159.

(19) Edit. Lond. 1614, 4to, p. 263, 276, 281, 334.

[*E*] *Inſtead of mending matters have made them much worſe.*] The trial and murder of King Charles I. were things of ſuch an extraordinary nature, that we need not wonder thoſe who had any hand in acting or defending them, ſhould have recourſe to any ſuch paſſages in our law books as might ſeem to warrant things of this nature. Serjeant Bradſhaw therefore, who was Preſident of the High Court of Juſtice, cited Bracton in his ſpeech at giving ſentence (20) on the King. But Milton, in his defence of the people of England againſt Salmaſius (21), quotes him more preciſely, his words are theſe. 'Our antient and fa-'mous

(20) See his Speech in the State Tryals, Vol. 1. p. 993.

(21) Defenſ. Popul. Anglican. &c. edit. Lond. 1652, 4to, cap. viii. p. 155.

and Pits ſeem to place him too high, when they ſay he flouriſhed in 1240, ſince we are ſure he did not write his book 'till after the year 1262 (*h*), perhaps not 'till ten years after, ſo that propably he ſurvived his maſter, and died in the reign of Edward I. It is very true, that in Hollinſhead (*i*), he is mentioned in the liſt of learned men, who flouriſhed under the reign of Henry, and nothing is ſaid of him under that of Edward; but this does not prove that he did not out-live King Henry, but that he did not long out-live him, or make a great figure under his ſon, which is allowed ſo to be; and at this diſtance of time, we muſt, in reference to ſuch things, with probable conjectures, learn to be content.

(*h*) Bracton de Legib. edit. Lond. 1640, 4to, fol. 159.

(*i*) The Chronicles of England, Vol. III. p. 276.

' mous Lawyer Bracton, in his firſt book, chap. 8. ' *There is no King in the caſe*, ſays he, *where will rules* ' *the roaſt*; *and law does not take place.*' And in his ' third book, chap. 9. *A King is a King ſo long as* ' *he rules well*; *he becomes a tyrant when he oppreſſes* ' *the people committed to his charge.* And in the ſame ' chapter, *the King ought to uſe the power of law and* ' *right, as God's Miniſter and Vice-gerent*; *the power* ' *of wrong is the devil's, and not God's*; *when the* ' *King turns aſide to do injuſtice, he is the Miniſter of* ' *the devil* (22).'——A little after he ſays. ' Since ' our Kings therefore are liable to be judged, whether ' by the name of Tyrants or of Kings, it muſt not be ' difficult to aſſign their legal Judges. Nor will it be ' amiſs to conſult the ſame authors upon that point. ' Bracton, book 1. chap 16. Fleta, book 1. chap. ' 17. *The King has his ſuperiors in the Government: The law, by which he is made King, and his Court, to wit, the Earls, and the Barons: Comites (Earls) are as much as to ſay, Companions; and he that has a Companion, has a Maſter; and therefore if the King will be without a bridle, that is, not govern by law, they ought to bridle him* (23). It is no wonder that ſuch as were no Lawyers, knew not how to anſwer theſe authorities. To avoid loſing time therefore, we ſhall paſs by their anſwers, and give the reader the paſſages from which Milton makes his citations at large in Bracton's own words, and then the reader will eaſily judge, what weight his authority ought to have. The firſt quotation is from a ſection which has this title. *De Dignitate Regis et quod Rex non habit parem*, that is, *Of the Royal dignity, and that the King hath no equal* (24). The whole ſection runs thus, *Sunt et ſub Rege Milites, &c.* ' There are under the King Knights ' or military perſons, who are choſen to exerciſe arms, ' that with the King and the Nobility they may fight ' and defend their country, and the people of God. ' There are alſo under the King freemen, and ſuch as ' are ſubject to them, but all are under him, and he is ' under none ſave God alone, for he hath no equal in ' his kingdom, otherwiſe the maxim would fail, an ' equal over his equal hath no authority; much leſs ' can he have any greater, or his ſuperior, for then he ' muſt be beneath his ſubjects, and inferiors cannot be ' equal to ſuperiors. The King therefore ought not to ' be under man, but under God and the law, and un- ' der the law becauſe the law makes him King. The ' King ought to reſpect the law, becauſe the law re- ' ſpects him, by giving him dominion and authority, ' *for he is not a King where will, but where the law* ' *prevails.* And that he ought to be under the law, ' as he is God's Vice-gerent evidently appears from ' his likeneſs to, in this reſpect, Jeſus Chriſt, who ' came here upon earth, becauſe the all merciful God, ' when he reſolved to reſtore loſt mankind, made ' choice rather of this method of deſtroying the works ' of the devil, not by the force of power, but of ' juſtice, and ſo would have him under the law, that ' he might redeem thoſe who were under the law, de- ' clining to uſe force, but rather reaſon and judgment; ' and ſo the bleſſed Virgin Mary, the mother of our ' Lord, though by a ſingular privilege, ſhe was above ' law, yet to give an example of humility, refuſed not ' ſubmiſſion to the legal inſtitutions. In like manner ' the King, that his power may not be without re- ' ſtraint, though there is none greater in his kingdom ' to do juſtice, ought, in ſubmitting thereto, to ſhew ' the ſame readineſs as the meaneſt of his ſubjects. But ' if any claim be made againſt him, as his writ cannot ' run againſt himſelf, the method muſt be by petition ' that he would correct and amend his own act, which ' if he doth not do, it is ſufficient puniſhment for him ' that he muſt be accountable unto God. For no man ' muſt preſume to diſpute his actions, much leſs to ' controul them' Milton's next citation is from a ſection of our author's, wherein he propoſes to ſpeak of the King's ordinary juriſdiction. He tells us it conſiſts in his acting as God's Vice-gerent, this he ſays is the duty and office of a King, whereas he who governs tyrannically, is the miniſter of the devil (25). Thence he takes occaſion to ſhew of how great importance it is to Kings themſelves, that they conſider the dignity of their office and act ſuitably thereto. Immediately after he adds, ' But if a King be deſtitute of this know- ' ledge he deſtroys himſelf, becauſe from a corrupt ' head there muſt deſcend corruption to the members, ' and if there be not ſenſe and ſpirit in the governing ' member, it follows, that the reſt cannot long per- ' form their functions.' As to the laſt citation it is drawn from that part of Bracton's book, wherein he is ſpeaking of Royal Charters, and the beſt way to un- derſtand his true ſenſe is to conſider his own words (26). ' None, ſays he, can judge either of the King's ' Act or of his Charter, ſo as to make the deed of our ' Lord the King void. But a perſon may ſay that the ' King ought to do juſtice, and in ſo doing that he ' acts right, and if he acts otherwiſe wrong, and then ' it is incumbent upon him to redreſs the injury, that ' he and his Juſtices may avoid puniſhment, at the ' judgment of the living God. *For the King hath for* ' *his ſuperior God, as alſo the law by which he is made* ' *King. Likewiſe his Court, conſiſting of Earls and* ' *Barons, the former being ſtiled Comites, becauſe they* ' *are as it were companions of the King, and he who* ' *hath a companion hath a Maſter, wherefore if the* ' *King be without a bridle, that is without law, then* ' *ought they to bridle him, leſt they as well as the King,* ' *be without bridle, and in this caſe the ſubjects cry out* ' *and ſay, O Lord Jeſus Chriſt, put a bit, and bridle* ' *in their jaws, and reſtrain them; to which our Lord* ' *ſhall anſwer, I will call a ſtrong nation from afar,* ' *a nation whom they have not known, and whoſe lan-* ' *guage they are ignorant of, and they ſhall deſtroy* ' *them, and root them out from the earth, even ſuch* ' *ſhall their Judges be, becauſe they refuſe to judge* ' *their ſubjects juſtly, and in the end, they ſhall be* ' *bound hand and foot, and be thrown into a lake of* ' *fire, and utter darkneſs, where there ſhall be weep-* ' *ing and gnaſhing of teeth.*' It muſt be allowed that nothing in this paſſage of Bracton juſtifies a coercive power over the perſon of the King, becauſe we muſt underſtand it in ſuch a ſenſe as is agreeable to the paſ- ſage firſt cited from him; and ſo it appears, that if Bracton be conſiſtent with himſelf, the ſcope of his book muſt be inconſiſtent with that doctrine, which Mr Milton cites him to ſupport. A late editor of another very antient law writer, who entitled his book Fleta (27), I mean the very ingenious Mr Clarke of the Middle-Temple, obſerves, that both his author and Bracton have been cited by ſome magnifiers of royal power, as favourable to the boundleſs authority of Kings. But as he rightly obſerves, ſuch authors are always to be underſtood, in a legal ſenſe (28), and in- deed it were to be wiſhed, that Kings and ſubjects would regulate their conducts, according to the max- ims of our old law books, wherein the former are ſaid to be abſolute in doing good, and incapable of doing evil, becauſe none can be legally warranted by them ſo to do; as on the other hand, the latter are exhorted to a conſtant and perpetual obedience becauſe it is for their own good. Before we take leave of Bracton, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that one of the moſt au- thentick MSS of this work of his was burnt in the fire which happened in the Cotton Library at Aſh- burnham-houſe, October the twenty-third, 1731 (29).

(22) A Defence of the People of England, by John Milton, 1695, 8vo, p. 194.

(23) Ibid. p. 195.

(24) Bracton de Legibus, lib. i. cap. viii. §. 5. fol. 5, 6.

(25) Lib. iii. Tract. i. cap. 9. §. 3. fol. 107. b.

(26) Id. lib. i. cap. xvi.

(27) Lond. 1735, folio.

(28) Page 28. note *b*.

(29) Report from the Committee appointed to view the Cotton Library, p. 52, xii.

BRADFORD

BRADFORD (JOHN) a faithful Profeſſor of, and valiant ſufferer for, the Reformed Religion, under the cruel perſecutions of Popery, in the reign of Queen Mary. He was born in the former part of King Henry the VIII's reign, of genteel parents, in the town of Manchester in Lancaſhire, where he received good education, not only in the Latin tongue, but arrived to great perfection in writing and accompts, ſo that he had few equals in thoſe parts (*a*), for his qualifications of that kind. Theſe excellencies of the pen he had attained to, recommended him to the ſervice of Sir John Harrington, a noble Knight, in great eſteem with that King, and his ſon Edward VI. under whom he was divers times Treaſurer, and Pay-Maſter of the Engliſh forces, and builder of the military works or fortifications at Boloign in France (*b*); where Mr Bradford's dexterity in writing, his exactneſs in auditing accompts, and readineſs of diſpatch, rendered him a very uſeful and much approved clerk, ſo that it was ſcarce to be told, whether either lived to the other more beloved, or more profitable (*c*). He paſſed ſeveral years in this employment, lived in great credit, made a ſplendid appearance, and was in a fair way both to wealth and worſhip. Nor was he only entruſted with the care of tranſacting his maſter's buſineſs with the pen, but with his purſe alſo; ſo that he appears rather his Deputy than his Clerk, from his own words; where ſpeaking of one Maſter Thomas Huſſey of Lincolnſhire, who was ſome time an officer in the Duke of Norfolk's family, his coming to viſit and confer with him, by private directions from the Prelates, when Bradford was, ſeveral years after, under their examination at St Mary Overies for his opinions in religion; and ſaying, he would ſpeak with me, ſays Bradford, for old acquaintance ſake, he adds. 'For I was at Muttrel journey a Pay-maſter; in which he was, and had 'often received money at my hands (*d*).' And this ſeems to have been in the year 1544, when King Henry provoked beyond patience, at the aſſiſtance which the King of France afforded the Scots againſt him, went thither with an army in perſon, conquered Boloign, and articled afterwards that it ſhould not be reſtored 'till he was paid eight hundred thouſand crowns (*e*). We have met with but one author who has diſcovered, and that with a commendable ſincerity, the real occaſion of Mr Bradford's changing this ſecular, for a religious courſe of life. 'Tis certainly one of the moſt remarkable circumſtances in it; for to know how men came by the viciſſitudes of their fortune or condition, is one of the moſt inſtructive and deſirable particulars in their memoirs; and that incident being communicated to the world by an intimate acquaintance of his, it therefore highly deſerved to have been revived by all who have related his ſtory. Yet Fox, Holland, Fuller, and others, by whom he has been moſt largely commemorated, have been ſilent in this important occurrence; whether thro' their being unacquainted with it, or any needleſs tenderneſs towards his memory; as if a flaw in his private character, could diminiſh the merit of his ſuffering ſo heroically in a publick one, we leave for others to diſtinguiſh. In ſhort, his pen which raiſed him to that ſtation in civil life, removed him to an eccleſiaſtick one, in which he became more laſtingly eminent, and exemplary; I ſay, the volubility of that pen, appears to have been ſuch, that either by under or over-charging an article in his accounts, whereby the King was ſome conſiderabe loſer, he never reſted at eaſe, eſpecially after he had heard a ſermon of Mr Latimer's upon *Reſtitution*, 'till he had made full ſatisfaction, and finally ſettled himſelf in a more ſevere calling, above the temptation of all worldly enſnarements. But firſt of all, after his retiring from that employment in the army, we find him reſiding for a while in the Inner-Temple; where, as it is ſaid, he ſtudied the common laws of this realm (*f*), and for ſome time ſollicited ſuits there, for Sir John Harrington, as Dr Fuller informs us (*g*). In another part of this author's works, it is ſaid, that Bradford beſtowed ſome few hours every day there, in hearing the Reader of the Common Law (*h*). But whatever he ſtudied or heard in the Temple, it appears by his letters from thence, to his pious friend Mr Traves, that he heard more Sermons than Law-Lectures there; and that he was already grown a Divine, before he had taken the orders of one; but not a word, either of the practice or ſtudy of the Law does he mention: and indeed how little that profeſſion interfered with the humiliation, contrition, and deep repentance which had now poſſeſſed his heart for the miſconduct aforeſaid, may be read in his own words, and thoſe of other credible authors [*A*]. It

(*a*) See J. Fox his Acts and Monuments, &c. Vol. III. 1684, fol. 232. Alſo Dr Fuller's Abel Redivivus, 4to, 1651, p. 180. In the Life of Mr Bradford.

(*b*) Idem.

(*c*) See Mr John Bradford's Lyfe, prefixed to his Examinations, &c. before the Lord Chancellor Biſhop of Wincheſter; the Biſhop of London, and other Commiſſioners, &c. printed at London, by W. Griffith, 8vo, 1561, p. 2.

(*d*) The Examinations of the Conſtant Martyr of God Mr John Bradford, &c. as before, in the chapter of the private talk had with him, by ſuch as the Prelates ſent to him, p. 2.

(*e*) Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, fol. 1623, p. 1050, &c. Alſo John Stow's Annals, fol. 1615, p. 591. Alſo in Biblioth. Cotton. Tiberius, C. VIII. 53.

(*f*) Mr John Bradford's Lyfe, before his Examination. Alſo Fox, and Fuller, as above.

(*g*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Lancaſhire.

(*h*) Abel Redivivus, in the Life of Mr Bradford, p. 181.

[*A*] *May be read in his own words, and thoſe of other credible authors.*] Concerning that buſineſs of his repentance, and the reſtitution to be made, as above ſpoken of, we ſhall firſt recite what he mentions himſelf, in ſome of his Letters to his ſaid pious friend, Mr John Traves, Miniſter of Blackley, both after he was removed to the Temple, and to Cambridge. In one of thoſe letters, written from the Temple, the Sunday after the aforeſaid famous ſermon, as he calls it, which wrought ſo much upon him, was preached by Latimer, he has theſe words: 'Since my coming 'to London, I was with Mr Latimer; whoſe counſel 'is, as you ſhall hear, which I purpoſe by God's 'grace to obey. He willed me, as I have done, to 'write to my maſter, who is in the country, and to ſhew 'him, that, if within a certain time, which I appointed, 'fourteen days, he do not go about to make *Reſtitution*, 'that I will ſubmit myſelf to my Lord Protector, and 'the King's Majeſtie's Council to confeſs the fault, 'and aſk pardon. This life is uncertain, and frail; 'and when time is, it muſt not be deferred; and what 'ſhould it profit me, to win the whole world, and to 'loſe my own ſoul? If, as I juſtly have deſerved, I 'be put to death for it, God's will be done. At the 'leaſt, ſlander, reproach, rebuke, loſs of worldly 'friends, loſs of living, &c. ſhall enſue: What then? 'Lord, thy will be done, thine I am; if death come, 'welcome be it, if ſlander, &c. Even as thou wilt, Lord, 'ſo be it Only grant me a penitent, loving, obe-'dient heart; and of meer love to go forwards herein, 'and not to ſhrink; to ſtand, and not to fall; that 'thy name only be praiſed herein. *Amen* (1).' In another letter written by Mr Bradford to the ſaid Mr Traves, he appears ſtill very ſollicitous with Sir John Harrington,

(1) Fox's Acts and Monuments, as before, Vol. III. p. 296.

It appears by the earliest dates in those letters, that he was at the Temple in the year 1547, and

Harrington, to accommodate this matter. He says therein, That his said master had been in London a few days after he wrote his last, and that he had entreated him to discharge the account, or he would submit himself. Sir John answered him, That if the books would declare it, he would give satisfaction. Bradford shewed the books; whereupon Sir John promised, says he, as much as I could ask. But Sir John being more moved than he had cause, Bradford desired to know how, and in what time, he would dischage *them both*? Hereupon Sir John thinking him over-curious, anxious, or scrupulous, said, he should not know; nor would he, by answering those words, have his head under his girdle. Yet did Bradford still desire, many times, to know, in what manner, and by what time the said discharge was to be effected; and 'doubting, says he, worldly wisdom, which useth 'delays, to reign in him, with this mammon, I was 'something more sharp, and told him, *Non ego tamen sed gratia tua, Domine*; I would obey God more 'than man: The which he lightly regarding, as it 'seemed, I departed, and went to Mr Latimer, to 'have had him brought me to my Lord Protector, 'who then purposed shortly to take his Journey to visit the Ports.' Wherefore Latimer advised him to stay 'till his return; which was to be before Easter. In the mean time, his master having made one of his sons an instrument to move Bradford with some worldly views, he thereat prevailed upon him to shew Sir John, more plainly, his further purpose; which when Sir John knew, it so moved and terrified him, that he began somewhat to relent, and then made fair promises, That whatever Bradford should propose, he would comply with: but Bradford's propositions pleased not. And his master, departing out of London, unknown to him, sent him word by another of his sons, who was not of so good principles as the former, and therefore more suspected, that he would do all things Bradford desired; only his fame and ability preserved. And by that son, his master also sent a bill, wherein he declared himself contented, within twelve months, to deliver into Bradford's hands the whole money: But he not thinking it so expressive as it might have been, drew another, and sent it to him, desiring he would sign and seal it; which Mr Latimer thought would be sufficient: 'But 'as yet, says Bradford, I hear not of it, doubting '*worldly wisdom*; which was the whore that over-'came *Sampson*; that moved *David* to slay *Urias*; 'that brought wife *Solomon* to idolatry; that crucified '*Christ*; the which moved me to perpetrate *hoc facinus*; the which worketh in my master's heart; having higher place there, than *Timor Domini*.' In the conclusion of this letter, after mentioning the present he had made of a fair English and Latin Testament, in one print and volume, to Sir Thomas Hall, he desires Mr Traves to peruse a letter he had herewith sent, then seal and deliver it to Sir Nicholas Wolfoneros, having not called it to remembrance this winter, of his being in the country; and wished, 'some 'occasion, if any could be had, before the delivery 'of the said letter, by some story or communication, 'that he did know that abomination to be sin; for I 'fear me, adds he, he thinketh it to be none: The 'Lord open our Eyes and forgive us, *Amen*, &c. 'From the Temple this 22d of March 1547: Yours, 'in Christ most bounden, John Bradford (2). In the next letter following, to the said father Traves, as our author calls him, the further progress of this business is thus mentioned. 'Concerning the great matter 'you know of, it hath pleased God to bring it to the 'end, that I have a bill of my master's hand, wherein he is bound to pay the sum afore Candlemas next 'coming. This, thinks Mr Latimer to be sufficient. 'Therefore I pray you to give the gracious Lord 'thanks, and thanks, and thanks upon it, for me, a 'a most wicked ingrate sinner, who have also, in other 'things, no less cause to praise God's name, as for 'that I have and sustain my master's sore displeasure, 'the which hath brought me, God, I should say, 'through it, unto more contempt of worldly things, 'through the sequestration of such his business as to-'fore I had ado withal — There is yet another thing 'whereof I will advertise you, even to this end, that 'you might pray, if it be God's will, that as I trust 'shortly to begin, so he may vouchsafe to confirm 'that he hath begun, as, if I be not deceived, I believe it is in working: If the thing seem by God's 'spirit in you, that I presume, then for the Lord's 'sake advertise me; for I am much given to that dis-'ease, the Lord deliver me, I have moved my master therein already by letters, to see if I shall have 'any living of him, as hitherto I have had; but I 'have thereof no answer, nor, as our natural speech 'is, any likelihood of any grant. Yet, that I have 'already, I trust will suffice me for three years.—I 'am minded, afore Midsummer, to leave London, to 'go to my book at Cambridge, and if God shall give 'me grace, to be a Minister of his word.—Perchance 'I do foolishly to forsake so good a living as I have. 'I will say no more hereof, but pray for me. I trust, 'as I said, for three years study, I have sufficient, if 'my master take all from me. and when this is spent, 'God will send more. I do not writ this, that you 'should think me to be in need of worldly help; and 'therefore as Friers were wont, secretly to beg. No, 'in the Lord's name, I require you not to take it so; for 'I had rather never send letter, afore I should be herein a 'cross to you; for *sufficit sua diei afflictio*: We are more 'set by, than many sparrows. But if my mother, or 'Sir Thomas Hall murmur at it or be offended with 'me, as you can, remedy it, with your counsel. Howbeit, as yet, I will not write to them of it, until 'such time as I be going. I am something fickle-'minded, and inconstant, therefore pray for me, that 'my hand being put to the plough, presumptuously 'spoken! I look not back. You may gather by my 'words in this letter, the heroical heart which lieth in 'me! I have sent you a book of *Bucer* against *Winchester*, in English, lately translated, which I never 'read, therefore I cannot praise it. And, as I call to 'remembrance, I did send you with the other books, 'more than you received; at least one of them I re-'member, which is called *The Common Places*, or *The* 'Declaration of the Faith, by *Urbanus Rhegius*. Ask 'for it, or send me word in whom the default is you 'have it not. Hereafter, and that shortly, by God's 'grace I wil send you *Primitiæ Laborum Meorum*, a 'work or two, which I have translated into *English*, 'as soon as they be printed; which will be afore 'Whitsontide, &c (3).' In the conclusion of this letter which is dated from the Temple, the 12th of May, 1548, he expresses his desire to speak with Sir Tho. Hall, and thinks he may chance to see him the winter following, if he discharges not himself of his office. But whether thereby is meant his office under his master aforesaid, or any other, he might have in that inn of court, we pretend not to explain. Thus have we seen from his own words what advancement this reparation was in, for the misdemeanour aforesaid; also what progress he had made in his studies, and what resolution he had taken to finish them at the University, in the profession of Divinity. Now we may compendiously see, how that Restitution was provided for, out of his own fortune, from the words of his intimate acquaintance, above in the text spoken of. named Thomas Sampson, some time Dean of Christ Church, Oxon. That author informs us, that during this time of his obstructions to enter into that holy life which he now coveted, and soon compassed, 'He was 'much helped forward by a continual meditation, and 'practice of repentance and fayth in Christ; in which 'he was kept, by God's grace, notably exercised all 'the dayes of his lyfe; and that, even in this mean 'time (of those obstructions) he heard a sermon, which 'that notable preacher Maister *Latimer* made before 'King *Edward* the sixt, in which he did earnestly speake 'of *Restitution* to be made of things falsely gotten; 'whych dyd so strike *Bradford* to the heart, for one 'dash of a pen which he had made, without the 'knowledge of his maister, as full often I have heard 'him confesse, with plentie of teares; beyng Clarke to 'the Treasurer of the Kyng's Campe beyond the seas, 'and was to the deceiving of the King, that he could 'never be quiet, 'tyll, by the aduice of the same maister 'Latimer, a Restitution was made: Whych thyng to 'bring to passe, he did wyllingly forbeare and forego 'all that priuate and certain patrimonye which he had

in

(2) Fox, as before, to p. 298.

(3) Acts and Monuments, ibid.

and part of the year following, and that he is often cenſuring and upbraiding himſelf in them with great and undeſerved ſeverity; as if his mind was not fully weaned from worldly allurements, or his renunciation of them was not ſincere, but that nature unwillingly yielded to thoſe degrees of mortification, whereunto he was habituating himſelf; yet at laſt, his reſolution ſo abſolutely ſubdued that reluctance, which aroſe from a diſtruſt of his abilities, that he removed to Cambridge about the month of Auguſt 1548, and there changed his ſtudy as well as his profeſſion, as it may again appear from the words of thoſe who knew him, as well as his own [*B*]. He ſoon took his degree of Maſter of Arts at Kathar ne-Hall;

' in earth. Let all bribers, and polyng officers, ' which get to themſelves great revenues in earth, by ' ſuch ſlippery ſhiftes, ſolow his example, leſt in ' taking a contrarye courſe, they take a contrarye way, ' and never come where Bradford now is (4).' How, and in what degrees this reſtitution was finally made, will appear in the concluſion of the next note.

[*B*] *From the words of thoſe who knew him, as well as his own*] His acquaintance aforeſaid, Thomas Sampſon, ſays alſo of thoſe two changes in Bradford's life, thus; ' Touching the firſt, after that God ' touched his heart with that holy and effectual calling, ' he ſold his chaynes, rynges, brooches, and juels of ' gold, which before he uſed to weare, and did beſtow ' the price of this his former vanitie, in the neceſſary ' relief of Chriſt's poor members, which he could ' hear of, or finde lying ſicke, or pining in povertie. ' Touching the ſecond, he ſo declared his great zeale ' and love to promote the Lord Jeſus, whoſe good-' neſs and ſaving health he had taſted, that to do the ' ſame more pithely, he changed his ſtudye, and be-' ing in the Inner Temple, London, at the ſtudy of ' the common lawes, he went to Cambridge, to ſtudy ' divinitie (5).' And to the ſame ſenſe, ſays another author, *Ex rixoſo cauſidico mitiſſimus Chriſti Apoſtolus* (6). What he ſays himſelf of his removal to, and ſtudies at, Cambridge, we ſhall gather briefly, from his letters to Mr Traves aforeſaid: One wherof, he wrote to him, the day he went thither; tho' it is not dated Therein he ſtill arraigns his own preſumption, in adventuring upon ſo high a charge, or vocation, as he was entering upon; and deſires his friend, to pray for him, That God's will be done in him, whether he lives, or dies; ſo that His name be honoured. ' My maſter which was, adds he, hath denied me ' all his benefice: But I have, for this life, more ' than enough, thanks be to God, as this winter I ' intend by God's favour to declare more unto you. ' This book which I have ſent (7), take in good part. ' It is the firſt, I truſt it ſhall not be the laſt, God ' hath appointed me to tranſlate. The print is very ' falſe, I am ſorry for it. I pray you be not of-' fended at my babbling in the prologues.' So concludes with this poſtſcript, ' I will lye, God willing, ' this ſummer at *Catharine Hall* in *Cambridge* (8).' Accordingly, in his next letter to the ſame perſon, we find him there in the middle of Auguſt, which we take to be in the year laſt ſpoken of, 1548: For he dates it from Catharine Hall upon the Aſſumption day (9). And in his next following, dated the 22d of October, he ſays, he has taken his degree of maſter of Arts; to qualify him for the fellowſhip he was promiſed (10). In his next, which ſeems to be written in 1549, he has theſe expreſſions; ' You know that God hath exo-' nerated my loaden conſcience, of the great weighty ' burthen; for ſo I did write to you. Yea, the Lord ' hath in a manner unburthened me of the leſſer bur-' then alſo: For I have an aſſurance of the payment ' of the ſame by Candlemas. Lo, thus you ſee, ' what a good God the Lord is unto me! O Father ' Traves, give thanks for me and pray God to forgive ' me my unthankfulneſs! But what ſhould I rehearſe ' the benefits of God towards me? Alas, I cannot, ' I am too little for his mercies; yea, I am not only ' unthankful, but I am too far contumelious againſt ' God: For where you know the ſun, the moon, and ' the ſeven ſtars, did forſake me, and would not ſhine ' upon me; you know what I mean, *Per horum et ' heriles amicos*; yet, the Lord hath given me here, ' in the Univerſity, as good a living as I would have ' wiſhed for. I am now a Fellow of Pembroke Hall; ' for the which, neither I, nor any other for me did, ' ever make any ſuit. Yea, there was a contention ' between the maſter of Catharine Hall (11), and the ' Biſhop of Rocheſter, who is maſter of Pembroke ' Hall (12), whether ſhould have me: *Fit hoc tibi dic-' tum*. Thus you may ſee, the Lord's earefulneſs for me, ' my Fellowſhip is worth ſeven pounds a year; for I ' have allowed me eighteen pence a week, and as good ' as thirty-three ſhillings and four pence a year; ' beſides my chamber, launder, barber, *&c.* and I ' am bound to nothing, but once or twice a year to ' keep a problem (13).' He concludes this letter, after many expreſſions of his own unworthineſs, with a requeſt to his correſpondent, That he would exhort his mother, now and then, with his ſiſter Margaret, to fear the Lord; and, if his mother had not parted with the fox-fur which was in his father's gown, he deſires, ſhe would ſend it him, *&c.* which is here mentioned, that the reader may better gueſs at the profeſſion of Mr Bradford's ſaid father (14). In the laſt letter that has been preſerved of his, written to the ſame perſon, while Bradford continued at Cambridge, after having made the like rigorous reflections upon himſelf, for his backwardneſs in ſpiritual improvements, as he had made in his foregoing letters, he tells Mr Traves concerning Father Latimer, ' I ' am as familiar with him, as with you: Yea, God ſo ' moveth him towards me, that his deſire is to have ' me come and dwell with him, whenſoever I will, ' and welcome. This do I write once more to occa-' ſion you to be thankfull for me to the Lord, *&c.* ' (15).' Thus we ſee it is not without reaſon that he has been deſcribed to have been a man in his diſpoſition, behaviour, and converſation, ſingularly agreeable and engaging; ſince we ſaw before, how attractive they rendered him to Dr Sandys, and Biſhop Ridley; and now, to Biſhop Latimer; of which there is a further teſtimony in Dr Fuller; who ſays, ' It is a demonſtration to me, that he was of a ſweet ' temper, becauſe, *Perſons* (the Jeſuit) who will ' hardly afford a good word to a Proteſtant, ſaith, ' *That he ſeemed to be of a more ſoft and mild nature, ' than many of his fellows* (16). Indeed continues ' Fuller, he was a moſt holy and mortified man; ' who, ſecretly in his cloſet, would ſo weep for his ' ſins, one would have thought he would never have ' ſmiled again; and then, appearing in publick, he ' would be ſo harmleſsly pleaſant, one would think ' he had never wept before (17).' Now for the concluſion of that great buſineſs which had ſo oppreſſed his mind; that burthen, before in this note ſpoken of, which he was ſo thankful to God, he ſhould be eaſed of by Candlemas following; as Biſhop Latimer was made privy to, and chiefly conſulted in it, we conceived hopes he might poſſibly have preſerved ſome other particulars of it. Therefore having, with ſome difficulty procured an old edition of that Biſhop's ſermons, we have diligently fought therein, for that above-mentioned, which wrought this notable converſion; and have found, as we ſhall read preſently in his own words, that he preached the ſaid ſermon at court, in the time of Lent, and as we compute, in the year 1548. There are two ſermons in this collection, or one divided into two parts, compoſed directly upon the ſubject, *of rendering unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's*; but they are ſaid to have been preached by him at Stamford, and in the month of October, and two years later; all which may be true, and it may be the ſame ſermon he preached at court in Lent, and in the year before mentioned, while Bradford reſided in the Temple. But there is another ſermon next following theſe, preached by Latimer before the ſaid King Edward and his Council, in his court at Weſtminſter, in the year 1550, which will give us light to ſome purpoſe in that important matter of the reſtitution above-mentioned: And yet has it been taken notice of by no writer of Bradford's life before. It is grounded upon a text, which nearly borders on the other, *Videte, et cavete ab avaritia: Take heed and beware of covetouſneſs.* In that part of this ſermon, where Latimer reads ſuch a lecture, in his frank

(4) Tho. Sampſon's Preface to the Reader, before Two notable ſermons, made by that worthy Martyr of Chriſt Maiſter John Bradford; the one of Repentance, the other of the Lord's Supper, *Anno* 1574. fol. 6.

(5) Idem. p. 3.

(6) J. Bale, Deſcript. Cent. VIII. Num. 87.

(7) Mentioned in the foregoing note.

(8) Acts and Monuments as before, p. 299.

(9) Idem.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Dr Edwyn Sandys, afterwards Archbiſhop of York. MSS. Rev. Tho. Baker.

(12) Dr Nic. Ridley, as above-mentioned, in the text.

(13) Fox, as before, p. 300.

(14) Idem.

(15) Ibidem.

(16) See Rob. Perſons his Three Converſions of England, Part ii. 8*vo*, 1603, in his Examination of Fox's Kalendar, for the Martyr's in July.

(17) Worthies of England, in Lancaſhire.

Hall; and Dr Nicholas Ridley, who was not then Biſhop of London, as Bradford's friend miſtakes (*i*), being Biſhop of Rocheſter from near a twelvemonth before Bradford went to the Univerſity, to the beginning of the year 1550 (*k*), and alſo maſter of Pembroke-Hall, invited him before that year, together with his godly companion Maſter Thomas Horton, to become Fellows of that Hall, as it is obſerved by the firſt writer of his life, who ſays, 'he laboured ſo vehemently in the Univerſity at his ſtudies, that the firſt year 'of his coming thither, he was made Maſter of Arts, and was ſoon after choſen Fellow of 'Pembroke-Hall, where he ſo profited by the heavenly dexterity of his wit, that he was 'had in eſtimation of all good men (*l*),' which is pretty tolerably agreed to in the Computation of a later author, who was not over aſſiduous in guiding his readers by the light of Chronology, one of the beſt illuminators of Hiſtory, where he ſays, 'That after a year 'and ſome few months ſpent in the Univerſity, he attained his degree of Maſter of Arts, 'whereunto others are hardly admitted after long examination, and ſeven years ſtudy. 'But ſuch was his carriage, diligence, and proficiency, that this favour, tho' extraordinary 'and inſolent, was thought well beſtowed upon him by the whole Univerſity; and leſt any 'man may think it was rather differenced to his years, than his abilities, he was immediately hereafter without any interpoſal of time, choſen Fellow of Pembroke-Hall (*m*).' The Jeſuit who ſuggeſted, that Bradford could not be a man of great learning, becauſe he was of ſo ſhort ſtanding in the Univerſity, did not, or would not pretend to know, that he was ſo good a ſcholar before he went thither, as to have tranſlated books out of the Latin tongue, which were printed at his firſt going to Cambridge; as is already in the notes obſerved: for as Fuller, where he is laſt quoted, truly ſays of Bradford, 'he had 'always been a hard ſtudent from his youth; and his writings and diſputings give a 'ſufficient teſtimony of his learning.' Yet was his modeſty and diffidence ſo great, that when Dr Martin Bucer, with whom he was in great eſteem there, exhorted him to reſerve his talents no longer in private, but to exerciſe them publickly through the Miniſtry of the Goſpel in the great work of reformation; and he ſtill pleaded his inability, Bucer would reply, 'Though thou couldſt not feed them with fine cakes, and white bread, yet ſhould 'you ſatisfy them with barley bread (*n*).' Such like frequent exhortations emboldened him to proceed, though he was ſufficiently inclined of his own accord, and only had too ſcrupulous and humble opinion of himſelf. The manner of his laying his paſt ſins before his eyes, by the catalogues he made of them, and his inward and retired exerciſe of Prayer; his praying with himſelf, as well as with his pupils; and, above all, the diary he kept of whatever was remarkable and ſerviceable to his ſteady advancement in the practice of piety, are particularly deſcribed among his exerciſes, whilſt he was at the Univerſity, by the friend beforementioned, who could beſt do it; more eſpecially of this laſt taſk, he ſpeaks in theſe words, 'He uſed to make unto hym ſelfe an *Ephemeris*, or a Journal, in which hee 'uſed to write all ſuch notable things as either hee dyd ſee, or heare, eche day that paſſed. 'But whatſoever hee dyd heare or ſee, hee dyd ſo penne it, that a man might ſee in that, 'the ſignes of his ſmitten heart. For if he dyd ſee or heare any good in any man, by 'that ſight, he found and noted the want thereof in hymſelfe; and added a ſhort prayer, 'craving mercy and grace to amende. If he dyd hear or ſee any miſery he noted it, as 'a thing procured by his own ſyns; and ſtill added, *Domine miſere mei: Lord have 'mercy upon me.* He uſed in the ſame booke, to note ſuch evyll thoughts as dyd ryſe in 'him; as of envying the good of other men; thoughts of unthankfullneſs; of not conſidering God in his workes; of hardneſs and unſenſibleneſs of heart when he dyd ſee 'others moved and afflicted: And thus he made *to hymſelfe*, and *of hymſelfe*, a book of 'dayly practiſes of repentance (*o*).' In ſhort, as a full proof of theſe practices, he had now made a reſtitution to the King, ſo voluntarily and uncompelled, of above five hundred pounds, in three yearly payments; that the laſt, which was made the year abovementioned, was before the King, or his Council knew (and perhaps they never knew) who had wronged him, as we have more particularly obſerved before (†). And now his conſcience being totally clear and diſburdened, he vigorouſly proceeded in the heavenly progreſſion; and, by the effectual courſes he took to arrive at that ſpiritual perfection he aſpired to, he became ſo eminent, that Biſhop Ridley, who in the beginning of the year 1550, was tranſlated to the See of London (*p*), ſent for him from the Univerſity, to take upon

(*i*) T. Sampſon, in the Preface to Bradford's Sermons, as quoted in the notes.

(*k*) Godwin, the Præſul. Angl. Rymeri Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 164, 222.

(*l*) Mr John Bradford's Lyfe, before his Examination, as above.

(*m*) The Life of Mr Bradford in AbelRediv. aforeſaid, p. 181, &c. As none of theſe authors mention his ſettling in any other college, we may look upon it as an error in H. Holland's Heroologia Anglica, fol. 151. And in Donald Lupon's Hiſt. of the Modern Proteſtant Divines, p. 222, where it is ſaid, that Bradford was of Queen's-college, took all degrees there, and was Maſter thereof.

(*n*) The Lyfe of Mr Bradford before his Examinations. See alſo Fox, and in Abel Redivivus.

(*o*) Tho. Sampſon's Preface, as above, p. 11.

(†) At the end of note [*B*].

(*p*) J. Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, fol. 1716, p. 180.

and familiar manner, upon the abuſes of the King's officers, as no doubt made the ears of ſome among them tingle upon hearing it, we have the following remarkable and pertinent paſſage.—'I have now preached three Lentes: The firſt time I preached *Reſtitution*. Reſtitution, quoth ſome! what ſhould he preach of Reſtitution? Let him preach of Contrition, quoth they, and let Reſtitution alone: We can never make Reſtitution. Then, ſay I, if thou wilt not make Reſtitution, thou ſhalt goe to the devill for it. Now chuſe thee either, Reſtitution, or els endleſſe damnation. But now there be two manners of Reſtitution; ſecret Reſtitution, and open Reſtitution; whether of both it be, ſo that Reſtitution be made, it is all good enough—At my firſt preaching of Reſtitution, *One man tooke remorſe of conſcience*, and acknowledged himſelf to me, that he had deceived the King; and willing he was to make Reſtitution; and ſo the firſt Lent, came to my hands *twenty pounds*, to be reſtored to the King's uſe. I was promiſed twenty pounds more, the ſame Lent, but it could not be made; ſo that it came not: Well, the next Lent came *three hundred* and *twenty pounds* more; I received it myſelf, and paid it to the Kinges Council; ſo I was aſked, what he was that made this Reſtitution; But ſhould I have named him? Nay, they ſhoulde as ſoon have this weaſand of mine: Well, now, this Lent, came *one hundred, fourſcore pounds, ten ſhillings*; which I have payd and delivered this preſent day to the Kinges Council; and ſo this man hath made a godly Reſtitution (18).'

(18) Biſhop Latimer's Sermons, Printed by John Day, Lond. 4to, 1584, p. 142.

upon him Deacon's orders; which having received, together with a Licence (*q*), he ſoon became ſuch a famous Preacher of Piety, and ſuch an exemplary pattern of what he preached, that the ſaid Biſhop obtained of the Privy-Council, a grant, that he might be admitted one of his chaplains; a circumſtance unmentioned hitherto by any writer of his hiſtory [C]: Tho' one of them partly intimates as much, where having informed us, that the Biſhop now gave him a Prebend at St Paul's church; he adds, that he alſo lodged him in his own houſe, and ſet him to work in preaching (*r*). And now, from this time to the end of King Edward's reign, he did ſo conſtantly, ſo ardently, and prevailingly, engraft the true principles of religion, not in the ears only, but in the hearts and minds of the people; ſo reformed the vicious, reclaimed the perverted, and fixed the wavering, that no Preacher of his time was more followed, or more famed than Maſter Bradford. 'Sharply he opened and reproved ſin, ſweetly he preached Chriſt crucified, pithely he 'impugned hereſies and errors, earneſtly he perſwaded to a godly life (*s*).' He became ſo eminent for the ſermons he preached in London, chiefly at Paul's Croſs; and ſeveral places in Lancaſhire (*t*); where it ſeems from his own words (*u*), that he had been diligently inſtructing his countrymen in their duty to God, and each other, all the ſummer of the year 1552; that he was ſworn to ſerve the King, as one of his Chaplains, about the beginning of the next year, as appears in one of his *examinations*; wherein we ſhall find, that he was ſworn no leſs than ſix times in that reign, never to conſent, in any wiſe, to the Pope's authority in this Kingdom. In one of the ſermons he preached at Court, before the ſaid King Edward in Lent, that laſt year of His Majeſty's reign 1553, he ſhewed the tokens of God's judgments at hand, for the contempt of his Goſpel, in ſeveral recent examples; as that of thoſe gentlemen, who croſſing the Thames in a wherry, to ſee the bear-baiting at Paris-Garden on a Sunday, were all drowned; and of a dog that was met at Ludgate, carrying

(*q*) The Lyfe of Mr Bradford before his Examination, as above.

(*r*) T. Sampſon's Preface, &c.

(*s*) Fox, Vol. III. p. 233.

(*t*) Sampſon's Preface, as before.

(*u*) Mr Bradford's Epiſt. before his Sermon of Repentance, then preached, and printed the year following, at the requeſt of ſeveral of his auditors, with Enlargements; and reprinted by T. Sampſon, as above.

[C] *A circumſtance unmentioned hitherto by any writer of his hiſtory.*] Our authority for it, is derived from the Biſhop's own words; who in a letter he wrote to Mr Cheke, afterwards, the well-known Sir John Cheke, now one of the ſaid Council, has theſe words: 'Syr, in God's cauſe, for God's ſake, and in 'his name I beſeech you, of your helpe and furtherance towards God's word: I did talk with you of 'late, what eaſe I was in, concerning my Chaplens. 'I have got the good will and grant, to be with me, 'of three preachers, men of good learning; and, as I 'am perſuaded, of excellent virtue; which are able, 'both with life and learning; to ſet forth God's word 'in London, and in the whole dioceſe of the ſame; 'where it moſt neede, of all parts in Englande: For 'from thence, goeth example, as you know, into all 'the reſt of the King's Majeſties whole realme. The 'mens names be theſe, M. *Grindall*, whom you know 'to be a man of virtue and learning; M. *Bradforde*, 'a man by whom, as I am aſſuredly informed, God 'hath, and doth work wonders, in ſetting forth of his 'worde: The thirde, is a preacher, the which for detecting, and confuting, the Anabaptiſts and Papiſts 'in Eſſex, both by his preaching, and his writing, is 'enſore'd now to beare Chriſt's croſs, &c. (19).' The Biſhop proceeds to tell Mr Cheke, that there was now fallen a Prebend in Paul's ealled *Cantrélles*, by the death of one Layton; and ealls it an honeſt man's living, of thirty-four pounds and better, in the King's books. This he wanted to give Mr Grindall; but William Thomas, one of the Clerks of the Council, having formerly ſet ſome of that board upon the Biſhop, to grant, That Layton might alienate the ſame to him, and his heirs, and the Biſhop, not conſenting to it, without he might acquaint the King therewith, before the collation of it, Mr Thomas deſpaired of procuring it for himſelf, therefore prevailed on his ſaid friends to inform the Biſhop, That the King had appropriated it to the furniture of his Majeſty's ſtable. Whereupon the Biſhop beſeeches Mr Cheke, for God's ſake, to ſpeak to whomſoever he thought he could do any good withall, in the redreſs of this grievance; and if he could not ſpeak himſelf, that he would let this letter ſpeak to Mr Gates, Mr Wrothe, and Mr Cecill; all whom he takes for men that fear God. And he is the more ſollicitous to know the King's pleaſure herein, and whether he may beſtow this living upon Mr Grindall, as he is very deſirous of doing, beeauſe he was a man ſo noted for his virtue, honeſty, diſcretion, wiſdom, and learning; and ſuch were now more eſpecially wanted; ſince the Biſhops were ſo lately charged by the King, and his eouncil themſelves, both in their own perſons, and by their preachers, to cry out againſt the unſatiable ſerpent of covetouſneſs: ſo he concludes with aſking, 'What preachers ſhall 'I gett to open and ſet forth ſuche matters, and ſo, as 'the King's Majeſtie and the Council do command 'them to be ſet forth, if either ungodlye men, or unreaſonable beaſtes bee ſuffered to pull awaye, and devour the good and godlye learned preachers livings?' Dated from *Fulham*, the 23d of July, 1551, and ſigned *Nicholas London*. Tho' this Prebend was now deſigned for the ſaid Mr Grindall, who was afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, it rather appears that the Biſhop gave it, or another, if his enemy above got that, as below it ſhould ſeem he did, to Mr Bradford: For all the old writers of his ſtory agree (20), That upon his entering into orders, the Biſhop gave him a Prebend in his cathedral of St Paul's. And for Mr Grindall, thoſe who have written moſt accurately of him, inform us, That he was collated, in Auguſt the ſame year laſt mentioned, *Præcentor* of St Paul's, void by the death of John Sherry (21), and the next year was inſtalled, a Prebendary indeed, but it was of the then cathedral church of St Peter at Weſtminſter (22). As for that William Thomas, againſt whom, Biſhop Ridley, above, ſo heartily exclaims; he was a Welſhman born, a learned and ingenious man, but of a violent and deſperate temper. He fled the kingdom in 1544, and, after King Henry's death, returned out of Italy, well aequainted with that country, and it's language, of both which, we have his books in print; and of his manuſcripts, there are, his *Dialogue*, entitled *Le Peregryne*, in defence of King *Henry* VIII. dedicated to the famous Tuſcan Poet, *Pietro Aretine*; and about half a dozen political Diſcourſes more, preſerved in the Cotton Library (23). There was a French Dialogue ealled *Le Peregrin* printed in the Gothic letter at Paris, 8vo. 1540. quære if the ſame. In April 1550, he was made Clerk of the Council (24); ſoon after, a Prebend of *Cantleurs*, in St Paul's, lately eonvey'd to the Crown, as we are told, and parſon of Preſthend in South Wales (25); but being ſaid to have imbibed the principles of Chriſtopher Goodman againſt the regimen of women, and too freely vented them, with perhaps ſomething againſt the Spaniſh match, he was deprived of all by Queen Mary. Whereupon perpetrating revenge, he attempted her Life, as ſome writers agree (26), only Bale ſays, his deſign was upon Biſhop Gardiner (27); for which he was impriſoned in the Tower of London, in the latter end of the year 1553, with Sir Nicholas Throkmorton and ot'ers; where, hopeleſs of reprieve, he ſtabbed himſelf with a kniſe in the breaſt; but the wound not proving mortal, he was, after trial and condemnation at Guild-Hall, for eonſpiring the death of the Queen, hanged, drawn and quartered, at Tyburn, on the 18th of May 1554. And in his laſt ſpeech declared, *He died for his country* (28).

(19) Certain moſt Godly, Fruitful, and Comfortable Letters, of ſuch true Saints, and holy Martyrs of God, as in the late bloody Perſecution here, within this Realme, gave their Lives for the Defence of Chriſtes Holy Goſpell: Written in the Time of their Affliction, and cruel Impriſonment. Publiſhed by Miles Coverdale (ſome time Biſhop of Exeter) Printed by John Day, 4to, 1564, p. 683, &c.

(20) As the Lyfe of Mr Bradford beſore his Examination. T. Sampſon's Preface. Fox, &c.

(21) J. Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Grindall, fol. 1710, p. 6. J. Le Neve's Lives of the Archbiſhops ſince the Reformation, 8vo, 1720, p. 30. And his Faſti, or Church Dignitaries, fol. 1716, p. 201. *Ex Regiſt. Bonner*, fol. 312.

(22) Le Neve, ut ſupra, ex Regiſt. Weſtm.

(23) Sub. Effig. Veſpaſian. D. XVIII.

(24) The Journal of King Edward VI. Alſo The Council Book for the four laſt years of his Reign.

(25) Anthony Harmer's Specimen of Errors in Dr Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, 8vo, 1693, p. 159.

(26) See Richard Grafton's Chron. N.ch. Sanders. John Stow, &c.

(27) De Script. Britan. Part II. p. 110.

(28) Ath. Oxon. Vol I. col. 90.

[D] *As*

carrying a piece of a dead child in his mouth; upon which he broke out in a prophetical ſpirit to the congregation, and ſummoned them all to the *Judgment of God: for*, ſaid he, *it is at hand*; as ſhortly after, in the beginning of July following it came to paſs, in the death of that excellent young King (*w*). Soon after which, Mr Bradford preaching another ſermon, he did, in his entrance upon the high character of the ſaid Prince's great virtues, and pathetick lamentations for the kingdom's loſs of him, in a manner foreſhew the further miſeries which befel it; of which himſelf indured ſo great a ſhare as we ſhall ſoon relate. But in no part of that character, and account of the King's death, is it any ways ſo much as intimated, that the King fell a ſacrifice to the endeavours that were uſed by him (*x*), to fruſtrate a Popiſh ſucceſſion in his ſiſter Mary, as by ſo undaunted a Preacher it would probably have been, had he thought it true [*D*]. Though by the death of this Prince, the religion was now changed to Popery under Queen Mary, yet Bradford changed not; but kept diligently preaching on the Reformed Doctrine, 'till he was unjuſtly, there being as yet no law againſt it, deprived both of his office, his liberty, and at laſt his life, by her cruel Council, more eſpecially the eccleſiaſticks therein; to the performing whereof, becauſe they had no legal cauſe, they took occaſion to inflict theſe ſufferings, for an action ſo charitable, as even among Turks and Infidels would have been moſt thankfully rewarded [*E*], and with great favour accepted; as indeed it did no leſs deſerve (*y*). Tho' his great humanity in this action, is ſufficiently apparent in the note laſt referred to, and his generoſity in ſaving the life of a Popiſh Prieſt, with ſo great danger to his own; yet was the prejudice of the Papiſts ſo violent againſt him, that by the moſt perverſe and barbarous interpretation, they made his very merits criminal. For three days after, on the 16th of Auguſt in the year aforeſaid, he was ſummoned by the Council and Biſhops to the Tower of London, where the Queen then was, and charged in the action aforeſaid with

(w) T. Sampſon's Preface.

(x) See Archbiſhop Cranmer's Apologetical Letter to Queen Mary, in which he declares he was not moved by the Duke of Northumberland, but by the King himſelf, to ſign his Will, whereby his ſiſter was excluded; in Biſhop Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, 4*to*, 1564, p. 2.

(y) Acts and Monum. as above.

[*D*] *As by ſo undaunted a Preacher it would probably have been, had he thought it true.*] For all that Bradford ſays of King Edward is this, 'You all know, 'he was but a child in yeares; defiled he was not, with 'notorious offences; defiled, quoth he! Nay rather 'adorned, with ſo many goodly giftes, and wonderful 'qualities, as never Prince was, from the beginning of 'the worlde, ſhould I ſpeake of hys wyſedom, of hys 'rypeneſs in judgment, of hys learning, of hys godly 'zeale, heroicall heart, fatherly care for his commons, 'nurcely ſolicitude for religion &c.! nay, ſo many 'things are to be ſpoken in the commendation of God's 'exceeding graces in this childe, that as Saluſt writeth 'of Carthage, I had rather ſpeak nothing than too 'little, in that too much, is too little. This gift God 'gave unto us Engliſhmen, before all nations, under the 'funne; and that of his exceeding love towardes us: But 'alas and welaway, for our unthankfulneſs ſake, for 'our ſins ſake, for our carnality and prophane living, 'God's anger hath touched, not only the body, but 'alſo the myndé of our King, by a long ſickneſs, and 'at length hath taken him away by death, death, 'cruel death! fearfull death! (29).' And yet we find it, in a Popiſh author,' ſo little heeded to make his party liable to be ſuſpected with the moſt horrid wickedneſs herein, that it is ſaid, 'The Apothecary who 'poiſoned him, for the horror of the offence, and 'the diſquietneſs of his conſcience, drowned himſelf: 'and that the landreſs who waſhed his ſhirt, loſt the 'ſkin off her fingers (30).' However it may be meant to reflect on the Duke of Northumberland, who is indeed ſtrongly inſinuated by others to have haſtened the King's death, but by the hands of a certain gentlewoman (31), thro' his impatience for the coronation of his daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane; which, manifeſtly enough, brought them both to a violent end; as, among others, *Michaelangelo Floria* has related at large (32). And how greedy, at his execution, the people were of the Duke's blood, catching it in their handkerchiefs, under the ſcaffold, thro' the crevices thereof, in abhorrence of his ambition, or affection to his cauſe, may be ſeen in a ſcare tract, written not long after, by a foreigner, who having been about that time in London, might he an eye witneſs thereof, and among ſome other remarkable obſervations in our country, has recorded the ſame (33). But on that Popiſh author's aforeſaid account of the King's death, a Proteſtant author has made this reflection; 'If his *Hiſtory* be no better than his *Divinity*, we who juſtly 'condemn the one, can do no leſs than *ſuſpect* the 'other (34).' And Speed, who expreſsly mentions the King's diſeaſe to have been a conſumption of the lungs, does not, in the leaſt, fuggeſt any other cauſe of his death (35).

(29) Bradford's Sermon of Repentance, 8*vo*, 1574: The Epiſtle to which is dated July 12, 1553, ſix days after that King's death.

(30) Mat. Pateſon's Image of both Churches, Hieruſalem and Babel, Unity and Confuſion, Obedience and Sedition, &c. 8*vo*, Tournay 1623, & Lond. 1652. p. 423.

(31) Sir J. Hayward's Life of King Edward, 4*to* 1630, p. 177.

(32) Hiſtoria de la Vita è de la Morte de Giovanna Graia, gia Regina eletta é publicata d'Inghilterre, 8*vo*, 1607.

(33) Deſcrip. Des Royaulmes d'Angleterre, & d'Eſcoſſe, par Eſtienne Perlin. 8*vo*, Paris, 1558, p. 13, 14.

(34) T. Fuller's Church Hiſtory, lib. vii. p. 425.

(35) Hiſt. of Great Britain, fol. 1122.

[*E*] *Such a charitable action, as even among Turks and Infidels, would have been moſt thankfully reward-ed.*] The fact was this: On the 13th of Auguſt, in the firſt year of Queen *Mary*'s reign aforeſaid, Gilbert Bourne then preacher at Paul's Croſs, but not then Biſhop of *Bath* as *Fox* miſtakes (36), he not being elected to the ſaid See before the beginning of the next year, (37) made a ſedicious ſermon at the ſaid croſs; wherein, he ſo much traduced the late king, and harangued ſo intolerably in favour of Popery, that it moved the auditory with ſuch indignation, as made them ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place, nor the preſence of the Biſhop of London, nor the authority of the Lord-Mayor, reſtrain their rage. Bourne, ſeeing himſelf in this peril, and his life particularly aimed at, by a drawn dagger that was hurled at him in the pulpit, which narrowly miſſed him, turned about, and perceiving Bradford behind him, he earneſtly begged him to come forwards and pacify the people; good Bradford was no ſooner in his room, where he recommended peace and concord to them, but with a joyful ſhout at the ſight of him, they cry'd out, *Bradford, Bradford, God ſave thy life, Bradford!* and then, with profound attention to his diſcourſe, heard him enlarge upon the topick of peaceful and chriſtian obedience; which when he had finiſhed, the tumultuous people, for the moſt part, diſperſed; but, among the reſt who perſiſted, there was a certain gentleman, with his two ſervants, who coming up the pulpit ſtairs, ruſhed againſt the door, demanding entrance upon Bourne; Bradford reſiſted him 'till he had ſecretly given Bourne warning, by his ſervant, to eſcape; who thereupon, flying to the Mayor, once again eſcaped death. Yet conceiving the danger not fully over, Bourne beſeeched Bradford not to leave him 'till he was got to ſome place of ſecurity; in which Bradford again obliged him, and went at his back, ſhadowing him from the people with his gown, while the Mayor and ſheriffs, on each ſide, led him into the neareſt houſe, which was Paul's School; and ſo was he a third time delivered from the fury of the populace. Let the reader now conſider Bourne's peril (38), thro' the reſentment of the multitude; and Bradford's charity, which reſcued that railing preacher againſt King Edward from death, not without the hazard of his own life, which thoſe who would have been revenged on that preacher, did not diſſemble; among whom, one gentleman cry'd out, *Ah Bradford, Bradford, doſt thou ſave his life, who will not ſpare thine? Go, I give thee his life, but were it not for thy ſake, I would thruſt him through with my ſword.* The ſame Sunday, in the afternoon, Bradford preached at Bow-Church in Cheapſide, and ſharply rebuked the people for their outragious behaviour aforeſaid (39). Thus has our reader had the whole account of Mr Bradford's generous and chriſtian deportment in this tumult, whereby it may be judged what reward he deſerved; you ſhall next above hear, what reward he received.

(36) Acts and Mon. Vol. III. p. 233.

(37) Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation. P. ii. p. 276; alſo Rymer, Vol. XV. p. 384.

(38) The Lyfe of Mr Bradford, before his Examinations, &c.

(39) Ibid. Alſo in Fox, Abel Redivivus, &c.

[*F*] *With*

with ſedition; and in his preaching with hereſy. All his purgations availed him not; but they committed him cloſe priſoner where he was. Of his examination here, there is nothing now extant, except one paſſage repeated in his next (z). But there he was kept in reſtraint near a year and half, then they removed him into other priſons, and from thence into the flames. While he thus lay in the Tower, and thoſe other places of confinement, he wrote ſeveral pious diſcourſes and exhortations, which were ſuſpected to have reclaimed ſome who had revolted to Popery, and known to have confirmed many who were unſettled in the Proteſtant Faith; but all by ſtealth, for he was denied the uſe of pen and ink. But nothing more irritated his adverſaries, than the many epiſtles he ſecretly wrote, and conveyed from thence to the citizens of London, the Univerſity and town of Cambridge, the towns of Walden and Mancheſter; alſo to many noble and learned friends, as well as his pious relations; which letters and diſcourſes are moſt of them extant [*F*]. In theſe letters ſhine

(z) Bradford's Life, in Abel Redivivus, p. 18.

[*F*] *Which letters and diſcourſes are, moſt of them, extant.*] The number of Mr Bradford's letters, in Biſhop Coverdale's collection, is ſeventy-two, beſides an admonition, written before a New Teſtament; and they take up near thirty ſheets, or a third part of the volume: The time they were written in, as appears from thoſe that are dated, was between the ſixth of October 1553, and the twenty-fourth of June 1555. The places they are written from, are the Tower, the King's-Bench priſon, and the Poultry-Counter: The perſons to whom, more particularly, they were written, are, To the Faithful Profeſſors of God's Word in the City of London. To the true Profeſſors in the Univerſity and Town of Cambridge. To thoſe in Lancaſhire and Cheſhire. To thoſe at Walden. To Queen Mary, the Council, and Parliament; as a preface to a ſupplication (againſt the Popiſh Biſhops) To the Lady Vane. To his mother, ſiſters, and other relations. To the Lord Ruſſel (afterwards Earl of Bedford). To Sir James Hales, priſoner in the Counter. To Sir William Fitzwilliams, Marſhal of the King's-Bench. To Dr Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. To Dr Hill the Phyſician. To Mr Lawrence Saunders, John Philpot, and John Careleſs. To Richard Hopkins, Sheriff of Coventry, and priſoner in the Fleet. To Robert Cole, N. Shatterden, Mr Warcop, George Eaton, Mr Shacroſſe, Mr Coker at Malden, and Auguſtine Bernhere (*); alſo to John Trew, and Thomas Abington, and other maintainers of Free-Will, with the Pelagians and Papiſts, &c (†). His Letters to theſe perſons are not here enumerated as they are printed in the book, nor printed there in the due order of time; to which many indeed would not give direction, being without dates. In this collection of Coverdale's, there are none of thoſe letters before quoted out of Fox, which Bradford ſent to Mr Traves, before he took upon him the Miniſtry of the Goſpel. In Fox's account of Bradford, beſides thoſe letters of his to the ſaid Mr Traves, which are ten in number, and no where elſe printed, that we know of, there are many printed out of Coverdale's collection, to the number of about forty-five; taking up nine ſheets and a half; not in the ſame order as in Coverdale, not yet in the regular order of time.—There are other letters and treatiſes written by, to, and concerning, Mr Bradford, which have not been gathered into either of thoſe collections; whereof ſome are in print, others in manuſcript. The firſt of them in print, were, as before mentioned, what he called his *Primitiæ*, or Firſt-Fruits, being ſome tranſlations which he publiſhed upon his going to the Univerſity, as we obſerved, in 1548, and which he complains were faultily printed (40). There was *A Godly Treatiſe of Prayer*, tranſlated into Engliſh by John Bradford, printed in St Paul's Church-yard by John Wight, 8vo. without date: It was written by Philip Melancthon, and the tranſlator has a preface before it of ſix leaves, in which it appears it was publiſhed ſoon after his ſermon on *Repentance*, a copy of which was in the Harleian Library (41), and is the ſame work that has been aſcribed to him by others (42). There was alſo a remarkable piece publiſhed in his name, while he was in the Tower, as we compute, and not long before King Philip was married to Queen Mary, entitled, *The Copy of a Letter ſent by* John Bradford *to the Earls of* Arundel, Darby, Shrewſbury, *and* Pembroke, *declaring the nature of* Spaniards, *and diſcovering the moſt deteſtable Treaſons which they have pretended moſt falſeleye againſt our moſt noble Kingdome of* Englande, &c. This little book is printed in 8vo. without any name of the printer, editor, place where, or time when, it was printed; and the preface inſinuates, that though many men have one name, the author has ſo plainly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his ſaid letter, that if he ſhould be found where the Spaniards had any power, he could not eſcape their vengeance. And in the letter itſelf we are led to imagine, it was not this John Bradford we are here ſpeaking of, but another of the name, who wrote this ſharp invective againſt the Spaniards, exhorting thoſe miniſters of State above, and the reſt, moſt honeſtly and heartily, by many ſubſtantial arguments, like a true patriot and lover of his country, to prevent the coronation of Philip and Mary, as what would, many ways ſubject the ſame to ſlavery and ruin; one John Bradford, who in King Edward's time, ſerved Sir William Skipwith of Lincolnſhire, but was afterwards, as it is pretended, Chamberlain to one of King Philip's Council, and now in Flanders. Some ſingularities might be taken notice of in the printing of this book, which yet do not, to me, ſufficiently give it the air of a foreign publication; and the ſubject of it may be compared to that, which in the next reign, was written againſt the match propoſed between Francis Duke of Anjou, brother to Henry III. King of France, and Queen Elizabeth (43); for which the author, John Stubbs of Lincoln's-Inn, Gent. and his publiſher, William Page, had their right hands cut off in the market-place at Weſtminſter, according to an Act of Philip and Mary, *againſt the Authors and Publiſhers of ſeditious Writings* (44), occaſioned in all probability, by the publication of that letter above, by John Bradford, among other things. Leſs doubtfully however, may be aſcribed to our author, another tract, entitled *His Complaint of Verity*; it was printed in 8vo, 1559, but whether any tranſlation or imitation of John Conſtable's QUERELA VERITATIS, my author knows not (45). *His Three Examinations* by the Commiſſioners, and his *private Talk* with their prieſts, were publiſhed, as we have before obſerved, in 8vo, 1561; with *The Original of his Life prefixed*, by the anonymous editor. This is the work of which H. Holland ſpeaks in theſe words, *Reliquit nobis accuratiſſimas adverſus Papiſticos Prælatos Diſputationes ſuas* (46): He left us his moſt accurate Diſputations againſt the Popiſh Biſhops, &c. theſe are reprinted in Fox; we have alſo, before-mentioned, his *Two notable Sermons*: One *Of Repentance*, dated at the end of the author's preface, July 12, 1553: Republiſhed with the other, on *The Lord's Supper* (*), never before printed, by T. Sampſon, 8vo, 1574, whoſe preface has been above uſeful to us. They were reprinted, or the latter of them, in 1631. *His Anſwer to certain Letters, deſiring to know, whether one might go to Maſs*, is undated in the authors who mention it (47), but it may be prefixed to his tract called *The Hurt of hearing the Maſs*; one edition whereof was printed in 8vo, 1580. And thoſe letters might be written by the Lady Vane, as it may appear by his anſwers to her (48). We find moreover aſcribed to him, *Godly Meditations made in Priſon*, called his *Short Prayers*; and, *Two Godly Letters for the Conſolation of ſuch as are afflicted in Conſcience*, 8vo, 1613. Alſo *Meditations on the Lord's Prayer, Belief, and Ten Commandments*; with a *Defence of Predeſtination*; *and ſome other Meditations and Prayers*, 8vo, 1622 (49), perhaps reprinted, in part, from ſome of the pieces above. Another of his tracts is entitled, *The good old Way*; or *A Treatiſe of Repentance*, 8vo, 1652 (50); and laſtly, *A Letter written by Mr* John Bradford *the Martyr, never before printed; and publiſhed by Dr* Gilbert Ironſide; with Biſhop *Ridley*'s tracts *on the Sacrament*, &c. 4to, *Oxon.* 1688 (51). Of his Manuſcripts, there

(43) Entitled, A Diſcoverie of a Gaping Gulph whereinto England is likely to be ſwallowed, by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the Banes, &c. 8vo. 1579.

(44) Camden's Eliz. anno 1581.

(45) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 14.

(46) Her. Anglic. fol. 151.

(*) Whether that is a Treatiſe of the Communion which he communicated to Biſhop Ridley, as mentioned in the Letters of the Martyrs, p. 60, or, Whether this was only his Tranſlation of that Biſhop's Diſputation at Oxford on the ſame ſubject into Engliſh, as mentioned in the ſaid Letters, p. 397. we cannot be ſure.

(47) H. Holland, as before; and Bradford's Life, in Abel Rediv.

(48) Biſhop Coverdale's Collection, &c. p. 334, 335, &c.

(49) Catal. Impreſſ. Libr. Bibl. Bodl. fol. Oxon. 1738, p. 183.

(50) Idem.

(51) Ath Oxon. Vol. I. col. 9.

*) Of Switzerland; was Latimer's ſervant, a faithful Miniſter in King Edward's reign, and diligent attendant upon the Priſoners in Q. Mary's. He communicated his Maſter's Sermons to the Preſs.

†) There was alſo one Henry Harte, deſcribed to have been a chief Maintainer of Man's Free Will, and enemy to God's Free Grace: Therefore was one of thoſe oppoſed by Bradford. See Letters of the Martyrs, p. 358.

(40) Fox, Vol. II. p. 299.

(41) Catalogus Bibliothecæ Harleianæ, 8vo. Vol. I. 1745, p. 327.

(42) Hollandi Ser. Anglic. p. 52. And the Life of Mr Bradford, in Abel Rediv. p. 190.

shine forth such a sprit of inflexible constancy in his principles, such a primitive and apostolick zeal for the propagation of truth, such a sincere abhorrence of the gross, mercenary, and presumptuous delusions of the Church of Rome, that it is as little wonder they have been so carefully transmitted to us, by the friends and favourers of the Reformation, as that the enemies to it should cut off, as soon as they could, the increase of them. They having therefore ordered Bradford to be removed to the King's-Bench in Southwark; he was soon afterwards, on the 22d of January 1554 (*), led to his examination before Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, then Lord Chancellor; Edmund, Bishop of London, and others of them in commission for that purpose. The substance of this Examination we shall relate below [G]. After it was over, he was sent back to the said prison, under stricter restraint than

(*) 'Tis erroneoully dated April 1555, in the first printed Examination, but rightly corrected as to the month by Fox, whom we herein follow; and the year is corrected, both from the preceding and subsequent matters of fact.

there are some copies remaining in the Universities both of Oxford and Cambridge, as his *Tract of Predestination*, a more enlarged work it seems, than his letter before-mentioned upon the same subject (52). He also writ a treatise *Not to fear Death*. These two, among other discourses, written by *Trew*, *Abington*, *Bernehere*, &c. against the doctrine of Predestination, are preserved among the MSS. in the former of those Universities (53); and in the latter, there are, among the volumes of Letters, Disputations, Prayers, &c. of the Holy Martyrs, and Confessors, in Queen Mary's days, several written by and to Mr Bradford (54). The titles whereof we shall here recite, as they were drawn out from the manuscripts themselves, by a late learned Prelate, in one of the books wherein he was wont to minute down what he thought observable in his historical researches, and might propose to make use of in his own compositions: Only we shall alter the interspersed manner in which they are transcribed; and mention those pieces which were of Mr Bradford's writing, first, by themselves, then those written by other persons to him; and so, they may appear thus—*The Explication of the Words Flesh and Spirit*, by J. Bradford. *A Preface of* J. Bradford's *out of Prison, to a Book recommended to the Nobility and Gentry*, (mentioning a brave Jury of Londoners) 1555. prin. after this book came to my hands, &c. *A Meditation of* John Bradford, *Pr.* This heavenly banquet wherein thou dost witness thyself, &c. *A Prayer by* John Bradford, *to be said at the Stake, by all them that God shall count worthy to suffer for his Truth*; *Pr.* O merciful God, and Father, &c. *A Godly Letter from* Erkinwold Rawlins *at* Antwerp, *to Mr* John Bradford, *being Prisoner in the King's-Bench, Southwark*, 22 Jul. 1554. *Pr.* Altho' my dearly beloved, &c (55). *A Letter from* Fliz. Longsho, *to* J. Bradford, *Pr.* Grete Cause have, &c. John Carelcs's *his last Letter to* John Bradford; *Pr.* Before that I had red, &c (56). He also seems to have been the author of a treatise, not mentioned among his pieces above, either in print or manuscript, upon *The Baptism of Children*, which he sent a little before his death to Augustine Bernehere for him to transcribe, and when that was done, he told him he should have other things (57).

(52) See Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, p. 471.

(53) Codices Manuscripti Tho. Bodlei.

(54) Cod. Manuf. Collegii Emanuel.

(55) See a Letter of Bradford's to the said Erk. Rawlins, in Fox, Vol. III. p. 263.

(56) Thus far, of these MSS. from a Note-Book of the late Bishop Tanner's, in 8vo. MS. communicated by Mr Joseph Ames.

(57) Coverdale's Collection, &c. p. 469.

[G] *The substance of this Examination we shall relate below.*] After the said Lord Chancellor (*), and the residue of the Queen's Council in Commission with him, had ended their talk with Master Farrar, late Bishop of St David's (†), the Under-Marshal of the King's-Bench was commanded to bring in Master Bradford; whom the Chancellor looked earnestly upon, as if he would out-face him; and he, as stedfastly fixt his eyes on the Chancellor; only once cast them up to Heaven, and so out-faced him. Then the Chancellor told him, he had been long imprisoned justly, for his behaviour at Paul's-Cross, the thirteenth of August 1553, for his false preaching, and arrogauce, in taking upon him to preach without authority. But now said he, the *Time of Mercy is come*; therefore the Queen by us hath sent for you to give you the same, if you will with us return: If you will do as we have done, you shall find as we have found. To which Bradford obediently answered, my Lords, I confess, that I have been long imprisoned and unjustly, for that I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or arrogantly, in word or fact, by preaching or otherwise, but fought peace as an obedient and faithful subject, both in attempting to save the present Bishop of Bath, then Master Bourne, the preacher at the Cross, and in preaching for quietness accordingly. Here the Chancellor cut him short, and told him, he lyed. The fact was seditious, said he, as you, my lord of London (||) can bear witness. You say true, answered he, I saw him with mine own eyes, when he took upon him to rule, and lead the people malapertly; thereby declaring that he was the author of the sedition. Bradford answer'd, with wonderful patience, That notwithstanding the Bishop's seeing and saying what he had told, was truth, which one day God Almighty would reveal; yet, in the mean time, because he could not be believed, he was ready to suffer, as now, by what he had *said*, so whatsoever God should license him to *do*. I know, said the Chancellor, thou hast a glorious tongue, and godly shews thou makest; but all are lyes that thou doest. I have not forgotten how stubborn thou wert before us in the Tower, to which thou was committed concerning Religion. I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk; where, worthily thou hast been kept in prison, as one that would have done more hurt than I will speak of. My Lord, said Bradford, I stand as before you, so before God, as one day we shall all stand before him: Truth will then be the truth; though you will not now so take it: Yet I dare say, my Lord of Bath will witness with me, that I sought his safeguard, with the peril of my own life. That's not true, quoth Bonner, for I saw thee take upon thee too much. No, said Bradford, I took nothing upon me undesired, and that of Master Bourne himself, as if he were here, I dare say he would affirm; for he desired me both to help him to pacify the people, and not to leave him 'till he was in safety: And as for my behaviour in the Tower, if I did, or said any thing that did not become me, and your Lordships would inform me, I would speedily make you answer. Well, said the Chancellor, to leave this matter; How sayest thou now, wilt thou return again, and do as we have done, and thou shalt receive the Queen's mercy and pardon? My Lord, said Bradford, I desire mercy with God's mercy, but mercy with God's wrath, God keep me from; tho' I thank God my conscience does not accuse me of doing or speaking any thing there, that should need mercy or pardon: For all that I did, or spake, was agreeable to God's laws, and *those of the Realm, at that present*; and did make much quietness. Well, said the Chancellor, if thou wilt make this babbling, rolling in thy eloquence, being altogether ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercy offered to thee; know, for truth, that the Queen is minded to make a purgation of all such as thou art. The Lord knows, replied Bradford, before whom I stand, as well as before you, what vain-glory I have sought! his mercy I desire, and also would be glad of the Queen's favour, to live, as a subject, without clog of conscience; but otherwise the Lord's mercy is to me, better than life. And I know to whom I have committed my life, even to his hands which will keep it, so that no man may take it away before it be his pleasure. *There are twelve Hours in the day*, and as long as they last, so long shall no man have power thereon (58): Therefore his good will be done; life, in his displeasure, is worse than death; and death, in his favour, is true life. I know, said the Chancellor, that we should have glorious talk enough from thee, be sure therefore, that as thou hast deceived the people with false and devilish doctrine, so shalt thou receive. I have not deceived, said Bradford, the people, nor taught any other doctrine, than by God's grace I am ready, and hope shall be ready, to confirm with my life: and as for devilishness and falseness in the doctrine, I would be sorry you could so prove it. Why, said the Bishop of Durham (*), what do you say to the administration of the Communion, as you now know it is? Here Bradford replied to them, *I have been six times sworn*, in no case to consent to the practising of any jurisdiction, or any authority on the Bishop of Rome's behalf within this realm of England: therefore, I humbly pray your Honours

(†) Dr Robert Farrar was sentenced to death by his usurping successor Henry Morgan, and burnt at Caermarthen, Mar. 30, 1555. Rymer, Vol. XV. Morgan was deprived in 1559, and died before the year was out. Ib. et Ath. Oxon. See also Fox, and Fuller's Ch. Hist. of the horrid disease he endured from the time of that condemnation to his death, lib. viii. p. 24.

(||) The bloody Edmund Bonner, whose true, or paternal name, most suitable to his nature, was *Savage*; since neither sex, age, nor quality, escaped his brutish inhumanity; having most cruelly murdered two hundred persons in the compass of three years: yet was he suffered afterwards, under the Protestants in Queen Elizabeth's reign, to die quietly in his bed! See Fox, and Fuller's Ch. Hist. lib. viii. p. 18.

(58) See Bradford's Letter, touching his Faith in God's Election and Predestination; which he confirms by his Translation of St Paul's Epist. to the Ephesians, cap. i. from the Greek: In Bishop Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs before quoted, p. 391; he likewise wrote a distinct Tract on that topick, as we shall hereafter see. Coverdale also inclines to the same Opinion in several of his notes on those Letters. Bishop Latimer, in one of his Sermons, uses the same argument with this of Bradford's in the text; and Bishop Ridley wrote a learned and godly Treatise on God's Election and Predestination, as Coverdale informs us, in the Collection above, p. 359, which he promises should come to light, p. 65.

(*) Cuthbert Tonstal.

than before, especially as to the exercise of his pen; but the sweetness of his comportment toward his keepers, so mollified and won upon them, that it defeated the severity of his enemies commands in that particular; and his arguments, thus discharged out of prison, were like gunpowder that makes a louder report, and has but a stronger effect the closer it is confined; thereby doing their cause more hurt, than all the terror of their tyrannical treatment did it good. A week after, that is, on the 29th of the same month, he was brought before them in the church of St Mary Overies to his second examination, in which, as there was some fresh matter of debate, as well as a repetition of several circumstances that past in the first, we shall but touch upon the heads of those passages which have been already spoken of; and a little more expressly, in the same note, relate such as have not [*H*]; but so comprehensively we hope, as neither to overburden the reader, nor leave him

Honours to tell me, whether you ask me this question by his authority or not? If you do, I dare not, may not answer you any thing in his authority, you shall demand of me, except I would be forsworn, which God forbid. Hast thou been sworn six times, said Secretary Bourne? What offices hast thou borne? Here's another lye, said the Chancellor. Bradford returned it upon him in these words: I was thrice sworn in Cambridge; when I was admitted Master of Arts; when I was admitted Fellow in Pembroke-Hall; and when I was there, the Visitors also came thither and swore the University: again, I was sworn, when I entered into the Ministry; when I had a Prebend given me; and when I was sworn to serve the King, a little before his death. Tush, said the Chancellor, Herod's oaths, a man should make no conscience at. Bradford replied, my Lord, these othes were no Herod's othes, no unlawful othes, but othes according to God's word, as you yourself have well affirmed in your book *De Vera Obedientia*. Here another of the Council, presum'd to be M. Rochester (*), said, I never knew wherefore this man was in prison before now, but I see well, it would not have been good that he had been abroad: whatsoever was the cause he was laid in prison I know not, but I now see well, that not without cause he was, and is to be kept in prison; yes, said Secretary Bourne, it was reported, this present parliament time, by the Earl of Darby, that he has done more hurt by letters, and exhorting those that have come to him, in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curseth all that teach false doctrine, for so he calls that which is not according to what he taught; and most earnestly exhorteth them, to whom he writes, to continue still in that they have received by him, and such like as he is. All which words divers others of the Council affirmed; whereunto the said Master Bourne added, saying, How say you, firrah, speaking to Bradford, have you not thus seditiously written, and exhorted the people? I have, said Bradford, neither written, nor spoken any thing seditiously; and I thank God I have not admitted any seditious cogitation, nor I trust ever shall. Yea but thou hast written letters, quoth Bourne. Why speakest thou not, said the Chancellor, hast thou not written as he saith? That, replied Bradford, which I have written, I have written. Lord God, quoth M. Southwell (†), what an arrogant and stubborn boy is this, that thus stoutly and dallyingly behaves himself before the Queen's Council; and they all looked upon one another disdainfully. My Lords, and Masters, said Bradford, the Lord God, which is, and will judge us all, knoweth that as I am certain I stand now before his Majesty, so, with reverence in his fight, I stand before you, unto yours; and accordingly, in words and gesture, I desire to behave myself. If you otherwise take it, I doubt not but God in his time will reveal it. In the mean season, I shall suffer with all due obedience, your sayings and decds too, I hope. These be gay, glorious words, quoth the Chancellor, of reverence, revcrence! but as in all other things, so herein thou dost nothing but lye. Well, said Bradford, I would God, the author of truth, and abhorrer of lyes, would pull my tongue out of my head before you all, and shew a terrible judgment on me here presently, if I have purposed, or do purpose, to lye before you, whatsoever you shall ask me. Why then, said the Chancellor, dost thou not answer? Hast thou written such letters, as here is objected against thee. As I said, my Lord, quoth Bradford, That which I have written I have written. I stand now before you, who either can lay my letters to my charge, or not: If you lay any thing to my charge that I have written; if I deny it I am then a lyar. We shall never have done with thee, I perceive now, replied the Chancellor, Be short, be short, wilt thou have mercy? I pray God, said Bradford, to give me his merey, and if therewith you will extend yours, I will not refuse it; otherwise, I will not. —— Here was now much ado among them, one speaking this, another that, of his arrogancy, in refusing the Queen's pardon, which she so lovingly offered him. To which Bradford answered: My Lords, if I may live as a quiet subject, without clog of conscience, I shall heartily thank you for your pardon; if otherwise I behave myself, then I am in danger of the fault. In the mean season, I ask no more than the benefit of a subject, 'till I be convinced of transgression. If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, God's good will be done. Upon these words, the Chancellor began a long process of the false doctrine wherewith people were deceived in the days of King Edward; so asked Bradford, what he thought of it? who answered, He believed the doctrine, then taught, was God's pure religion; which he believed in more now, than ever he did. And therein, said he, I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it, by God's grace, even as he will to the world, than I was, when I first came into the prison. What religion mean you, said the Bishop of Durham, in King Edward's days? What year of his reign? even that same year of his reign, replied he, that the King died, and I was preacher. Here Secretary Bourne wrote something down. And after some pause, the Chancellor declared, that the doctrine taught in King Edward's days, was heresy; using for demonstration thereof, no scripture, nor reason, but this, that it ended with treason and rebellion; so concluded, that the very end of his reign was enough to prove the doctrine in it nought. Ah, my Lord, said Bradford, that you would enter into God's sanctuary, and mark the end of this present doctrine you now so magnify! What meanest thou by that, said he, I suppose we shall have a snateh of rebellion enough now. No, replied Bradford, my Lord, I mean no such end as you gather: I mean an end which none seeth but they who enter into God's sanctuary. If a man look but on present things, he will soon deceive himself. Here his Lordship did again offer Bradford mercy, and he answered as before; merey, with God's mercy, should be welcome; but otherwise, he would have none: whereupon the Chancellor rung a little bell, to call in some of the attendants, for there were none present, but those before named, and the Bishop of Worcester (*). When a person was entred the room, Secretary Bourne said, it is best that you give the keeper a charge of this fellow; so was the Under-Marshal called in. You shall take this man to you, said the Chancellor, and keep him close, without conference with any man, but by your knowledge; and suffer him not to write any letters, &c. for he is of another manner of charge with you now, than he was before, and so they departed; and Bradford preserved the same chearfulness of countenance, as any indifferent man could do, manifesting thereby, a desire to lay down even his life, as a confirmation of what he had taught and written; and he was animated with thinking, that if he were forced to do so, he should destroy more of the Philistines, as Sampson did, by his death, than ever he did in his life (59).

[*H*] *And a little more expressly, in the same note, relate such as have not.*] In this *second Examination*, before those Bishops, &c. Bradford, after the excommunication of John Rogers, was called in, and told by the Chancellor, That they had offered him on the twenty-second of January, the Queen's pardon, which he had both contemned, and professed he would defend his erroneous doctrine in publick. Yet this and all

(*) Maurice Griffith was Bishop of Rochester from April 1534, to his death in Nov. 1558. Rymer, Vol. XV. Stryper's Annals, p. 30. He was the first who, in Queen Mary's reign, condemned a Woman, Margery Polley, to be burnt for religion. Dr Fuller's Church Hist. lib. viii. p. 18.

(†) Sir Richard Southwell, one of the Privy-Council; who, with Gardener and others, signed the Order of Thanksgiving for Queen Mary's great Belly. See A. Harmer's Spec. of Errors in Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. p 177. Also John Speed's Hist. of Great Britain, edit. fol. 1623, p. 1147; and Fox, Vol III. f. 93.

(*) Richard Pate. Vid. Godwin. de Præsul. & Rymeri Fœd. Tom. XV.

(59) The Effect of Mr Bradford's first Examination, &c. 8vo, 1561. And Fox, Vol. III. fol. 235.

him in obscurity. In this examination, we see he was still intractable to all their seducements

all his behaviour, declared but hypocrisy and vain glory. He also laboured much about clearing himself from thirsting after guiltless blood; but insisted upon Bradford's fact at Paul's Cross, as presumptuous, arrogant, and assuming to lead the people, which could not but turn to much disquietness; and therefore being so refractory and stout in religion, he was then committed to prison, and now continued there; whence he had written letters, to the great detriment of the people; as, by the Earl of Derby, in Parliament, was reported. And as he had so stubbornly behaved himself the last time before them, therefore, he now more directly demanded of him his doctrine and religion? Bradford answered, That as to hypocrisy and vain glory, he trusted in God, to open one day, both their true and hearty dealings therein; in the mean time, would content himself with the testimony of his own conscience; which, if it yielded to hypocrisy, would make God and man against him: As for his fact at Paul's Cross, and his behaviour at the Tower, he doubted not, but God would reveal it to his comfort: And for his letters and religion, he answered as he did before. Here the Chancellor taxed him with saying, he would maintain the doctrine in King Edward's days. Bradford repeated his having been six times sworn against the Pope's authority, therefore said, he durst not answer to any thing that should be demanded on that head, least he should by any unwary consent thereto be forsworn; that he was now more confirmed in the doctrine preached in that King's days, than he was before he was in prison; and thought, he should be found more ready to resign his life for the confirmation thereof. Here the Chancellor would have perswaded him, that the oaths he had taken against the Pope, were of no validity; but he still refused to enlarge upon that topick, lest he should be decoyed, or drawn, to make any compliance therein. Much disputation there was upon this head; 'till the Chancellor told him, he followed the course of crafty covetous merchants; who, because they would lend no money to their needy neighbours, pretend they had often sworn they would lend no more, because their creditors had so often deceived them: So do you now, said he, to cast a mist in the people's eyes, and blear them with heresy, greater and more hurtful to the Commonwealth, pretend your oath; whereby the people might make a conscience, where they should not. To which, Bradford said, If he dared to answer him, for fear of being lead into perjury, he would shew him the difference between oaths, which obliged him to keep this inviolable. Then the Chancellor urged, that this against the Bishop of Rome, was against charity. Bradford answered, That could not be against charity, which was not against God's word. Is it not against God's word, said the Chancellor, That a man should take a King to be supreme head of the Church in his realm? No, replied he, It is with God's word. Where find you that, quoth the Chancellor? Bradford answered, where St Paul writes, That every soul should be obedient to the superior power: And what power? *Quæ gladium gestat: Which bears the sword*, and that is not the spiritual, but the temporal power, as Chrysostom well notes upon the same place. Here the Chancellor was much stirred, and said, that Bradford went about to deny all obedience to the Queen, and so would make God's word a warrant of disobedience: For he would answer, when she says, Now swear to the Bishop of Rome, or obey his authority; No, for I am then forsworn; and so make the Queen, no Queen. No, said Bradford, I go not about to deny all obedience, by denying it in this part; I was sworn to King Edward, not simply, that is, not concerning his own person, but also concerning his successors. Therefore in denying the Queen's request herein, I deny not her authority, nor become disobedient: Yes that dost thou, returned the Chancellor. And so he began a long tale, how if a man should make an oath, to pay an hundred pound by such a day, and the creditor should forgive the debt; the debtor would say, no, you cannot do it, for I am forsworn, *&c.* But Bradford seeing into the sophistry of this, and how improperly applicable to the purpose, told the Chancellor, he wondered how he could make such trifles of solemn oaths made to God, and so great a matter of vows, as they call them, made to the Bishops for the marriage of Priests. Here the Chancellor was highly disgusted, and objected again to his refusing obedience. No, my Lord, said Bradford. I do not deny obedience to the Queen, if you will discern between Genus and Species; because I may not obey in this, to reason, *ergo* I may not obey in the other, is not firm; as if a man let, or sell a piece of his inheritance, yet all his inheritance is not let, or sold: so all obedience I deny not, because I deny it in this branch. I will have none of these similitudes, said the Chancellor; I would not use them; replied Bradford, if you went not about with them to persuade the people, I mean that which I never meant; for I myself, not only mean obedience, but will give example of all most humble obedience to the Queen's Highness; so long as she requireth not obedience against God. No, no, said the Chancellor, all men may perceive your meaning; there is no man, tho' he be sworn to the King, doth therefore break his oath, if afterwards he be sworn to the French King, and to the Emperor. Here Bradford shewed him how different the case was; Thou shalt not swear, said he, to the Bishop of Rome at any time; if, in like manner, we were sworn, Thou shalt not serve the Emperor, *&c.* You see there were some alteration, and more doubt. But I beseech your honour to remember, *what you yourself have written*, answering the objections here against, in your book *De vera Obedientia, Vinat modo Domini verbi veritas; Let God's Word and the reasons thereof prevail.* Here the Chancellor was thoroughly incensed, and turned the discourse upon Bradford's writing seditious letters, perverting the people, and defending the doctrine in King Edward's time; all which, Bradford denied; but said, what he had written and spoken, he would never deny: and now resolved to answer, whatever he should ask, though he saw his life depended thereon. Then the Chancellor asked him, what he said to the Sacrament, and whether he believed Christ to be present, in his natural body? To which, when he answered, That he thought Christ might be corporally present unto faith; the Chancellor wanted more words of him, to explain himself. But Bradford answered, I have been now a year, and almost three quarters (*) in prison, and in all this time, you never questioned me herein; *when I might have spoken my conscience without peril; but now, you have a law, to hang up, and put to death*, if a man answer freely, and not to your appetite (†); and so you now come to demand this question: ah my Lord, continued he, Christ used not this way to bring men to faith; no more did the Prophets, or the Apostles. Remember what Bernard writeth to Eugenius the Pope, *Apostolos lego stetisse judicandos, sedisse judicantes non legi: Hoc erit, illud fuit. I read that the Apostles stood to be judged: but I have not read that they sat to judge: This shall be, that was*, &c. Here the Chancellor was appeased (‖), as it seemed, and spake most gently, that he used not this means; but that it had been objected to him, he had been too gentle ostentimes; which others of his colleagues agreed in. To which Bradford said, my Lord, I pray you, stretch out your gentleness, that I may feel a little of it; for hitherto I never felt it. At this the Chancellor, thinking he would comply, again prosered him mercy, if with them he would return. Return! said Bradford, God save me from going back: I mean, said he, that I was three quarters of a year in the Tower, without paper, pen, or ink, and never, in all that time, nor since, did I feel any gentleness from you; but have rather looked for, as I have hitherto found, extremity; and, I thank God, I perceive now, you have kept me in prison thus long, not for any matter you *had*, but for matter you *would have*: God's good will be done. Here several persons came in, telling his Lordship it was dinner time; whereupon, leaving Bradford speaking, he rose up and said, that in the afternoon they would talk more with him; so he was led into the vestry, and waited there 'till it was dark night (†). In the mean while, about four o'clock the same afternoon, Mr T. Hussey, before mentioned in the text, came into the vestry, under a pretence of inquiring for a person who was not there, and seeing Mr Bradford, he made himself soon known to him, and told him, he would come and have some conversation with him the next morning; which Bradford did

(*) This is over-reckoned about a quarter of a year.

(†) The author of Bradford's Life in Abel Rediviv. says, p. 189, that all men observed, how they had first committed him without Law; and then, after a year's imprisonment, made one, to take away his life.

(‖) Appalled, Fox.

(†) Here ends the second Examination of Bradford, in the old 8vo edition before used, these conferences which follow in this note, are not to be read in that edition 'till after Bradford's third Examination, being made introductory to the Private Talk he afterwards had with those who were sent to him by the Bishops: but Mr Fox, in due respect to the order of time, having judiciously rejoined these Conferences to this second Examination, we follow him herein.

ments and menaces, to all efforts of drawing him into that apoſtacy they had ſet him the pattern of; but ſtill, not in utter deſpair of gracing their example, and juſtifying their own compliance by his, they ordered him up to their inquiſition at the ſame place again the next day, and this being his laſt examination before that ſatanical ſynagogue (*a*), we muſt in another note, remit our reader to a brief rehearſal or ſummary of what is moſt material therein [*I*]. Thus we ſee, for not allowing the groſſeſt impoſitions upon human underſtanding

(*a*) See Biſhop Ridley's Letter to Auguſtine Bernecher, in Coverdale, p. 71; and to Mr Bradford, p. 62.

not refuſe; the ſaid Huſſey being his old acquaintance, and had often received money of him, when he was Pay-maſter abroad, as we before obſerved. Bradford having waited in vain for further examination that day, was at night conveyed again to priſon. The next morning, which was the thirtieth of January, the ſaid Mr Huſſey came thither into his chamber, to tamper with him, and, in a plauſible ſpeech, declared, how wonderfully well he had behaved himſelf before the Biſhops yeſterday, inſomuch that his greateſt enemies could perceive, they had no matter of objection againſt him; therefore adviſed him, as of his own good will, and without the privity or direction of any one, to intreat for time, and ſome learned men to confer with; which Bradford abſolutely refuſed, as what would give occaſion of thinking he was doubtful, or unſettled in the doctrine he had profeſſed. As they were thus talking, the door was unlocked, and in came Dr Seyton, who, when he ſaw Mr Huſſey, ſaid, What, Sir, are you come before me? which ſpeech Bradford marking, as made to one, who had told him, no man knew of his coming, he inwardly admoniſhed himſelf to *beware of theſe men*; for he ſaw they came to hunt the matter; that one might bear witneſs with the other. Then Dr Seyton, after ſome by-talk of Bradford's age, country, and the like, began a long ſermon, pretending that Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, had required conference, in order to induce Bradford to requeſt the like; but he anſwered as he did before. Then Dr Seyton began to wheedle, as the other had done; telling him, that Maſter Runcorne had reported at the Chancellor's table, *That Bradford was able to perſuade as much as any one he knew*; and I myſelf, added he, though I never ſaw you before yeſterday, yet thought your modeſty was ſuch, your behaviour and talk ſo without malice and impatience, that I ſhould be ſorry you ſhould do worſe than myſelf; and further told him, he perceived the Lord Chancellor had a favour towards him; ſo he alſo counſelled him to deſire reſpite, and to confer with the learned: *but ſtill*, ſays Bradford, *I kept to my Cuckow*. This conſtant and unwavering temper in Bradford, made a change in the Doctor's, who hereupon grew angry; called him arrogant, proud, and vain glorious. But this ſerving not his purpoſe, he then changed his note again, and urged how mercifully, and how charitably, he had been treated! But Bradford ſhewed him, he had not met with juſtice, much leſs charity; and that he was thus impriſoned, and handled, for nothing they had, but only ſomething they wanted againſt him, out of his own confeſſions. Here the Doctor flew from point to point, in hopes of pitching upon that ſomething, which might juſtify thoſe ſufferings; but all the Doctor ſaid, having no effect, Maſter Huſſey began to aſk him, whether he would not admit of conference, if the Lord Chancellor ſhould offer it him publickly? whereunto he anſwered, If that conference had been offered *before the law had been made*; or were offered ſo, that he might be at liberty to confer, and as free as him with whom he ſhould confer, then, ſaid Bradford, it were ſomething; otherwiſe he ſaw not to what purpoſe it ſhould be offered, but to defer that which muſt come at length, and the lingering might give more offence, than do good: Yet, ſaid he, if his Lordſhip ſhould make ſuch an offer voluntarily, I will not refuſe to confer with whomſoever ſhall come. Here the Doctor was in a fume again, about this conference, called him arrogant ſtill, proud, and whatever came uppermoſt; 'till Bradford, very ſedately beſought them both, perceiving he ſhould ſhortly be called for, to give him leave to *confer with God*, and beg grace of him; which, after their unwilling departure, he fought in prayer, and obtained; to his great comfort and fupport. Shortly after they were gone, he was carried out of priſon, to St Mary Overies church, and there tarried uncalled for, 'till eleven o'clock the ſame morning; that is, 'till Mr Saunders was excommunicated, and inhumanly given over to the ſevereſt of deaths (60).

(60) The Effect of the ſecond Examination of J. Bradford in the temple of St Marie Overies, &c. 8vo, as before, and in Fox, Vol. III. fol. 226.

[*I*] *A brief rehearſal, or ſummary, of what is moſt material therein.*] After the excommunication of Lawrence Saunders, Bradford was brought into the church, before the Biſhops; where, the Chancellor, as before, declared, what mercy he ſhould find, if with them, he would conform to the Popiſh religion, and recant his doctrine. Bradford ſtill inſiſted upon his oaths againſt the Pope, which he would not violate, he ſaid, that when death came, as he expected from their hands, he ſhould not be troubled with the guilt of perjury. The Chancellor, angry hereat, ſaid, they had given him reſpite to deliberate, 'till this day, whether he would recant his hereſy about the Sacrament. Bradford alledged, that they gave him no time for any ſuch deliberation, nor that he ſaid any thing of the Sacrament which they diſallowed; for when, ſaid he, I had declared the preſence of Chriſt therein, to the faithful; you went from the matter, to purge yourſelf of cruelty, and ſo went to dinner. I perceive, ſaid the Chancellor, we muſt begin all over again with you: Did I not yeſterday tell thee plainly, that thou madeſt a conſcience where none ſhould be? Did I not make it plain, that the oath againſt the Biſhop of Rome, was an unlawful oath? No, replied Bradford; indeed, my Lord, you ſaid ſo, but proved it not; nor ever can do. Here the Chancellor had much diſpute again, about oaths; which were good, and which evil; captiouſly aſking often of Bradford, a direct anſwer; which Bradford would not give ſimply, but with ſome diſtinction. This much offended the Chancellor; but Bradford ſtill kept him at a bay, that the oath againſt the Biſhop of Rome, was a lawful oath; ſtill confirming himſelf, and confuting the Chancellor, out of his own book (*); withal, ſo cloſely proving the Word of God to be their judge, and by that Word the oath to be lawful, that the Chancellor quitted his hold, and flew again to Bradford's pretended denial of the Queen's authority. But here again, Bradford proved, that one ſpecial cauſe of obedience denied by conſcience, makes no general denial of obedience in cauſes lawful. The Chancellor brought examples for his argument, as little to the purpoſe as before; and Bradford again reproached him, in like manner as before, with being ſo ſtrict in vows for the marriage of Prieſts, made to themſelves, and ſo careleſs in ſolemn oaths made to God and the Prince. When the Chancellor told him the Queen did diſpenſe with them; Bradford anſwered, the Queen might remit her right, in things relating to herſelf or government, but not diſpenſe with oaths made to God. Here the Chancellor was wonderfully diſcompoſed, and plainly declared, that he ſlandered the whole realm of perjury, and took upon him to have more conſcience than all the wiſe men in England; and yet, had none at all. At this, Bradford deſired the audience to obſerve, who had moſt; adding, he had been a year and half in priſon, and deſired to know, why he was impriſoned, and for what puniſhed? and becauſe the Chancellor had ſaid, that Bradford took upon him to ſpeak to the congregation undeſired, he appealed to Biſhop Bourn, there preſent; affirming, that he deſired in Chriſt's name, that he would ſpeak to the people, by whom he had like to have been ſlain, with the dagger that was thrown, and touched his ſleeve; and at his further requeſt, did not leave, 'till he had ſafely hous'd him; and tho' it was dangerous to upbraid the people with their reſentment towards the ſaid Bourn, he yet, in his ſermon the ſame afternoon, reproved the fact, and called it ſedition, at leaſt twenty times; for which, he had been ſo long rewarded with a priſon, and was now about to be with death: he alſo taxed the Chancellor, with having owned, at his firſt being before him in the Tower, that the ſaid fact was good, tho' he pretended the mind was evil: and to this he anſwered, I cannot otherwiſe declare my mind to man, than by ſaying, and doing; but God, I truſt, will one day open, to my comfort, what my mind was, and your's is. Here the Chancellor was driven to eat his own words, and de-

(*) De Vera Obedientia, 8vo, 1535, &c.

ſtanding to be reaſonable, and not believing ſuch abſurdities in the popiſh Doctrine, as thoſe temporizing Prelates, thoſe enemies to juſtice, truth, and humanity itſelf, could only for their intereſt pretend to believe, how he was given up to death. After his condemnation, we find him on the 3d of February, a priſoner in the Poultry-Counter, in the City of London (*b*), and that he lay there almoſt five months, bated and worried great part of the time, by ſome or other of the Biſhops and their Chaplains or Prieſts, and others whom they ſet upon him, in hopes, all under the vizor of friendſhip and compaſſion, to worm out ſome confeſſions or other, of ſuch erroneous tenets as might give ſome colour to the world for their barbarity towards him. But he was invincible to them all; ſteady as a rock, repelling the ſtormy waves that invade it, and expoſing their inſolidity, by turning them into froth. His ſagacity in diſcerning their ſnares, and his readineſs in refelling their arguments from the Scriptures, the Fathers, and Themſelves, were ſuch, upon thoſe politic and rational topicks, of the *Pope's authority* here, and the *real* or *carnal preſence* in the ſacrament, for the denial of which he was condemned (*c*); that his moſt clamorous antagoniſts

(*b*) Bradford's Private Talk with ſuch as the Prelates ſent to him; at the end of his Examinations beforementioned, 8*vo*, *ſignat.* B. v.

(*c*) Bradford's Letter to the Univerſity and town of Cambridge, in Coverdale, p. 257; in Fox, p. 258.

nied that he ever ſaid ſo. But when this would not do, he ſaid, that Bradford was put firſt into priſon, for not conforming to the Queen's religion. Bradford anſwered, my Lord, you know, that you would not then reaſon with me on religion; but ſaid, that a time ſhould afterwards be found; and if, as you ſay, I were put in priſon for religion, in that *my religion was then authorized by the publick laws of the realm*; could conſcience therefore puniſh me, or caſt me into priſon? wherefore let all men judge in whom conſcience is wanting. Here Mr Chamberlain, of Woodſtock, came forth, and objected, that Bradford had been a ſervingman with Mr Harrington, and had deceived his maſter of twenty-ſeven pounds (*); wherefore he went to be a Goſpeller, and a Preacher, ſaid he; adding, and yet you ſee, how he pretendeth conſcience! My Lord, replieth Bradford to the Chancellor, I ſet my foot to his, whoſoever he be, that can come forth, and juſtly vouch to my face, that ever I deceived my maſter; and as you are Chief Juſticer, by office, in England, I deſire juſtice upon thoſe that ſo ſlander me, becauſe they cannot prove it. Here both the Chancellor and the other accuſer were ſtruck blank. Wherefore, Bonner try'd how ſucceſsful another untruth would prove, from him; ſo charged Bradford with writing letters to Dr Pendleton; one, who was as great a time-ſerver, and turncoat in religion, as Bonner, or the Chancellor himſelf (61); which Bradford denying, and he being not able to prove, this was given up. Then came in one Allen, a Clerk of the Council, and remembred the Chancellor of Bradford's letters, written into Lancaſhire; for which the Chancellor ſaid, they had his hand to ſhew. Bradford denied that they could ſhew his hand to any letters he had ſent thither, which his heart would not ſtand to, and prove to be lawful. Here they were all anſwered; and the Chancellor was driven back, in hopes of putting a new gloſs upon an old objection, to alledge, that in his houſe, the other day, Bradford had contemned the Queen's mercy, and profeſſed he would maintain the erroneous doctrine in King Edward's days. Upon which, Bradford acutely ſhewed them, how the Chancellor had plainly foiled himſelf; ſaying, Well, I am glad that all men ſee now, that you have had no matter to imprifon me before that day: Now, ſay I, I did not contemn the Queen's mercy, but would have had it, with God's mercy; that is, without ſaying, and doing, any thing againſt God, and his truth; and, as for maintenance of doctrine, he repeated what he had ſaid before; that he was better confirmed than ever in it, and was ready to give up his life in teſtification thereof. Then the Chancellor ſhifted again, to another branch of yeſterday's controverſy, his opinion of the Sacrament; and told him again, they gave him reſpite 'till this day, to deliberate. Bradford anſwered, he ſpoke nothing of the Sacrament that they reproved, and was appointed no time to deliberate. But when he was again aſked whether he believed that Chriſt's body naturally, and really, was under the form of bread and wine? He anſwered again, he believed Chriſt there preſent, to the faith of the due receiver; but for *Tranſubſtantiation*, he plainly, and flatly, told them he believed it not. Here was much diſpute upon this head. And another Biſhop aſked him, whether the wicked man received Chriſt's body, or not? Bradford anſwered directly, No. And this raiſed many cavils, 'till Bradford put them to ſilence alſo in this, as he had done in the other arguments, and drove the Chancellor, to deny Chriſt had commanded any thing in the Sacrament, or the uſe of it; then confuted him from the expreſs words of the text, in the imperative mood, *Take and eate*; adding withal, My Lord, if it be not a commandment of Chriſt, to take and eat the Sacrament, why do any take upon them to command, and make of neceſſity that which God leaveth free? As you do, in making it a neceſſary commandment, that once a year, all who are arrived at lawful diſcretion, ſhould receive the Sacrament? Here the Chancellor called him *Diabolus*, or ſlanderer; and this brought on a tedious contention about commandments, 'till Bradford quoted a very affronting commandment upon them; How ſay you, my Lord, quoth he? Chriſt ſays, to you Biſhops eſpecially, *Ite, prædicate evangelium: Go and preach the Goſpel; feed Chriſt's flock*; Is this a commandment, or not? Here the Chancellor flew out beyond all bounds, and his reaſoning evaporated into rage. Another queſtion, of as great importance, was aſked him by the Biſhop of Durham,—When Chriſt began to be preſent in the Sacrament; before it was received, or not? Which Bradford ſhewed to be more nice than neceſſary to anſwer. Here was a great clutter again, and they all called him heretick. Thus perceiving all he could anſwer, did but the more inflame their rancour, and boil up their venom againſt him, he defired them to proceed, in God's name; as he looked for that which God ſuffered them to do. And when the Chancellor objected, his holding herein, another hereſy, of fatal deſtiny; he replied, he ſpoke but as the Apoſtles did; 'Lord, ſee how Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the 'Prelates, are gathered together againſt Thee, Chriſt; 'to do that, which thy hand and counſel hath before 'ordained them to do.' At which words, the Chancellor began to read his excommunication, and therein, when he came to the name of Bradford, ſtiled *laicus*, or layman, Why, ſaid he, art thou no Prieſt? No, returned Bradford, nor ever was, either Prieſt, or beneficed, or married, or any Preacher, before publick authority had eſtabliſhed religion (*); but preached after publick authority had eſtabliſhed religion; and yet, ſaid he, I am thus handled at your hands; but God, I doubt not, will give his bleſſing, where you curſe. And ſo he fell down on his knees, heartily thanked God, that he counted him worthy to ſuffer for his ſake; and prayed, that he would give them repentance. After the excommunication was read, he was delivered up to the Sheriffs of London; who firſt conveyed him to the Clink (†); where he remained a day or two, and was then removed to the Poultry-counter; from whence he hourly expected to be carried, and converted to aſhes (62). Thus we have gone through the three examinations of Mr Bradford; for a copy whereof, which he ſent to Biſhop Ridley, in priſon at Oxford, that Biſhop returned him his thanks, and opinion of his conduct throughout the ſame, in theſe words: 'Bleſſed 'be the Holy-Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the 'Holy-Ghoſt, for your threefold confeſſion! I have 'read all three, with comfort, and joy, and thankf-'giving unto God, for his manifold gifts of grace 'wherewith it is manifeſt to the godly reader, that 'God dyd aſſiſt you mightily; and bleſſed be God 'again, and again, which gave you ſo good a mind 'and remembrance, of your oath once made againſt the 'Biſhop of Rome; leaſt you ſhould be partaker of the 'common perjury, which all men almoſt are now fal-'len into, in bringing in again that wicked uſurped 'power of his (63).'

(*) Seven ſcore pounds, as it is printed in Fox, p. 240; but neither being true, 'tis no matter which Bradford was here charged with.

(61) See Bradford's character of this Dr Henry Pendleton, in his Letter To thoſe who profeſs the true religion in Lancaſhire, *&c.* among his others, in Coverdale's Collect. p. 264; and for Bonner's opinion publickly profeſſed againſt the Pope's Supremacy, read his Preface to Biſhop Gardener's book *de Vera Obedientia*; and for Gardener's opinion againſt the ſame, read alſo his ſaid book. In Dr W. Bulleyn's Dialogue Pleaſant and Pitiful, *&c.* 8*vo* edit. 1569, p. 16, *&c.* 'tis ſaid of Bonner, that *Avarus* was his couſin-german, *Perjurus* his compupil, and that *Ambodexter* penned his Prologue or Preface to Gardener's book aforeſaid.

(*) Or, Preacher, after publick authority had altered religion; as we read it in Fox, p. 241; which reading is alſo true.

(†) A Common Jayl in Long Southwark, at the weſt end, on the bank ſide of the Thames, near where the ſtews formerly ſtood.

(62) The Effect and Summe of his laſt Examination, 8*vo*, as before, and in Fox, Vol. III. fol. 239.

(63) Biſhop Ridley's Letter to Mr Bradford, in Coverdale's Collection, p. 65.

antagoniſts were ſtruck with ſilence, and departed with admiration. To recite the conferences of theſe ſubordinate diſturbers of him, *verbatim*, might prove as great a penance to our readers, as the hearing of them was to him; being longer, though ſuccinctly related, than all his three examinations; therefore we ſhall only ſkim over the ſurface of them, to ſatisfy the curious how, upon what, and with whom, the ſhort remainder of his time was employed; eſpecially ſeeing it accounted for in the ſatisfactory form of a Journal [*K*]. But

[*K*] *Seeing it accounted for in the ſatisfactory form of a a Journal.*] The firſt day that Bradford was in the Poultry-Counter, which was the third of February, as was before ſaid, Biſhop Bonner came thither, to degrade Dr Taylor. When he ſaw Bradford, off went his cap, and out ſtretched his hand, to greet him, upon hearing he was deſirous of conference; wherefore he had brought Archdeacon Harpsfield: but it proved a miſtake; for Bradford kept to his old note, That he did not deſire, yet was not afraid to confer with any man. And upon upbraiding the Biſhop with condemning him for his faith, ſo ſoon as he uttered it at their requeſt, before he had committed any thing againſt their laws, they parted. Upon the fourth of February came a gentleman of the Chancellor's to him, and told him how mighty well his Lord loved him, therefore he alſo offered him time to conſer. This having the ſame anſwer, they parted. On the ſeventh of February came one Wollerton, a Chaplain of Bonner's, to prove Tranſubſtantiation, and how wicked men received Chriſt's body. Bradford diſproving his authorities, they agreed to exchange their reaſons in writing, ſo they parted. The next day that Chaplain ſent a paper, which no way inducing to conſent, he came himſelf, and accuſed Bradford with ſwerving from the Church. Bradford ſhewed it was not from Chriſt's Church, but his; which robbed the people of the Lord's cup, and of Divine Service in their own tongue: and when the other inſiſted, that every thing muſt be learned of the Prieſt: Bradford anſwered, Then I ſee you would bring the people to hang up Chriſt, and let Barabbas go; as the Prieſts then perſuaded the people. Upon which, the Chaplain had no ſtomach to talk any more: but Bradford winding up the diſcourſe, with ſome reaſons againſt Tranſubſtantiation, he promiſed, upon parting, to ſend him an anſwer to them, which he never did. On the twelfth of February, one of the Earl of Derby's men, Mr Stephen Beich, came with his Lordſhip's wiſhes, that he would have a regard to himſelf; to whom he ſaid, he could not regard himſelf, more than God's honour. Then the other ſet before him his mother, ſiſters, kinſfolks, friends, *&c.* But he ſaid, he had learned to forſake father, mother, brothers, ſiſters, and even himſelf; or he could not be Chriſt's Diſciple. And when the other, upon urging that his death might do hurt, propoſed, that if his Lord ſhould obtain for him to depart the realm, whether he would be content with the Queen's appointment, where he ſhould go? he anſwered, thinking it but juſt, that thoſe who had reſolved upon the ſacrifice of his life, ſhould have the ſhame of his death, that he had rather be burnt in England than beyond ſea; and ſo they ended. On the fourteenth of February came another old acquaintance, named Percival Creſwell, and with him a kinſman of Maſter Feckenham, to pray that they might make ſuit for him; he left them to their will, but ſtill deſired it not. In the afternoon they came again, and left with him a book of Sir Thomas More's, and defired he would name who he would confer with. But they were diſmiſſed like the reſt. Then came Dr Harding, the Biſhop of Lincoln's Chaplain, whom Bradford ſeeing given up to Popery, and hearing himſelf accounted in a damnable ſtate by him, tho' he had formerly maintained the doctrine which Bradford did, he bid this Doctor farewel. On the fifteenth of February came Creſwell, and another again, with Nicholas Harpſfield, Archdeacon of London; and he made a long oration upon the way to heaven, thro' Chriſt, and the true Church; and they had much debate hereupon; but not agreeing at this meeting, Harpsfield, the next day came again, and made a ſermon almoſt three quarters of an hour long, to prove the antiquity of his Church, with the ſucceſſion of Biſhops here in England, for eight hundred years; and deſired him to ſhew ſuch ſucceſſion in his Church; Bradford did ſhew ſuch ſucceſſion, of greater antiquity; not by ſucceſſion of High-Prieſts, but the faithful profeſſors of God's word: for his pretended pillars of the Church were the greateſt perſecutors of it; yet, not as contending for the law, but their interpretation of it. Harpsfield, tho' ſorry to ſee him ſo ſettled, argued further with him about Tranſubſtantiation, the real preſence, and the receiving of Chriſt's body by the wicked, for which Bradford had been condemned; and finding, after all, that he would not intreat his intereſt for reſpite or conference, he left him the ſame man as he found him. After dinner, his keeper, Maſter Clayden, came to him from the Earl of Derby, who had promiſed to move the Queen in his behalf, if he thought well of it; he anſwered, If his Lordſhip would do it of his own good will, the favour would be more acceptable from him than any other. Then came an officer of the Queen's, and on his knees beſought him to make ſome ſuit; but Bradford not liking his counſel, departed from him. On the ſeventeenth day he heard from Percival Creſwell, that the Chancellor ſaid, nothing would be done for him, if he did not make ſuit: but he refuſed to ſpeed on that condition, and looked for the arrival of the Sheriff every moment; for he had heard that one of the Queen's guards, who were appointed to convey him into Lancaſhire, had ſaid, they had a warrant the next day for him (†). When Biſhop Ridley heard at Oxford, of this intended removal of Bradford, he wrote in a letter to him thus — 'Where the 'Martyrs for Chriſt's ſake ſhed their blood, and loſt 'their lives: O what wondrous things hath Chriſt afterwards wrought to his glory, and confirmation of 'their doctrine! If it be not the place that ſanctifieth 'the man, but the holy man by Chriſt ſanctifieth the 'place, brother Bradford, then happy and holy ſhall 'be that place, wherein thou ſhalt ſuffer, and be 'with thy aſhes, in Chriſt's cauſe, ſprinkled over. All 'thy country may rejoice of thee, that ever it brought 'forth ſuch a one which would render his life again, 'in his cauſe, of whom he had received it (64).' On the next day, which was the eighteenth, he heard that the writ for his execution was called in again, and the Sheriff of Lancaſhire diſcharged of him for the preſent. Here we may obſerve again, by the by, that after Biſhop Ridley had heard of this delay of his death, he ſent Bradford another letter, in which he has theſe words: 'Now, ſince, they have changed 'their purpoſe, and prolonged your death, I under-'ſtand it is no other thing, than that once happened 'to Peter and Paul; the which, altho' they were of 'the firſt which were caſt in priſon, and as little ſhunned peril as any other did, yet God would not have 'them put to death with the firſt, becauſe he had 'more ſervice to be done by their miniſtry, which his 'gracious pleaſure was they ſhould do; ſo without doubt, 'dear brother, I am perſuaded, that the ſame is the 'cauſe of the delay of your martyrdom (65).' In the afternoon of the day aforeſaid, Bradford heard from the Earl of Derby, that his Lordſhip had kneeled before the Queen for him, and that he ſhould be granted books and time enough to peruſe them; which he held needleſs, and what would but prolong his ſufferings; however, he expreſſed his ſatisfaction thereat, that his Lordſhip, and others, might know he was not obſtinate, or held any opinion, that he could not defend by authority of the Learned, and dared not abide the ſifting of. On the nineteenth day Mr Clayden was ſent from the Earl, to aſk if Bradford would be willing to ſpeak with the King's Confeſſor, and Alphonſus the Friar? Bradford anſwered, as he had all along done, that he neither deſired nor feared to ſpeak with any man. On the twenty firſt day, the Archbiſhop of York (‖), his old acquaintance, and the Biſhop of Chicheſter (*) came to viſit him; and after ſome ceremony, the Archbiſhop, commending his godly life, fell into argument with him upon the Scriptures. From thence they proceeded to the Catholick and Viſible Church; and in the diſtinctions made here, Bradford was led to repeat the injuſtice of his condemnation; *The Laws of the Realm being then on his ſide.* After four hours controverſy upon theſe and other topicks, in

(†) Bradford had been at leaſt ten days in expectation of being burnt in Lancaſhire: For in his Letter to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, at Oxford, dat. 8 Feb. 1554-5, wherein he expreſſes God's mercy, that the death which is due to ſin, ſhould be made a teſtimonial of God's truth, he glories, that ſuch a wretch as he calls himſelf was to be ſent for, like Elias, in a fiery chariot; that he was going to leave his fleſh where he had received it, and that he was to be conveyed thither, as Ignatius was to Rome, *Leopardis, &c.* Coverdale, p. 466.

(64) Idem. p. 63.

(65) Ibid. p. 65.

(‖) Nicholas Heath.

(*) George Day.

But as we have obſerved here in the note, it deſcends no lower than the fifth of April, in the year 1555, and if he had any other private conferences, they were probably but to the ſame purpoſe. We are informed that, both while he lay in the King's-Bench, and now in the Counter, he preached twice a day, unleſs ſickneſs hindered him; where alſo the Sacrament was often miniſtered; and through his keeper's indulgence, there was ſuch reſort of pious people to him, that his chamber was uſually almoſt filled with them. He made but one ſhort meal a day, and allowed himſelf but four hours reſt at night (*d*). His gentle nature was ever relenting at the thoughts of his infirmities, and fears of being betrayed into inconſtancy; his behaviour was ſo humane, ſo affecting to all about him, that it won even many Papiſts to wiſh for the preſervation of his life. His very mein and aſpect begot veneration; being tall and ſpare, or ſomewhat macerated in his body; of a faint ſanguine complexion, with an auburn beard; and his eyes, thro' the intenſeneſs of his celeſtial contemplations, were often ſo ſolemnly ſettled, that the tears would ſilently gather in them, 'till he could not reſtrain them from overflowing their banks, and creating a ſympathy in the eyes of his beholders. The portions of his time he did not ſpend in prayer or preaching, he allotted to the viſitation of his fellow-priſoners; exhorting the ſick to patience, and diſtributing his money to the poor; ſome of them, thoſe who had been the moſt violent oppoſers of his doctrines; nor did he leave the felons themſelves without the beſt relief they were capable of receiving, under the diſtreſſes they had brought upon themſelves; ſuch as excited them to the moſt hearty and ſincere repentance. But by what means he obtained ſuch liberty after his condemnation, both of his pen and perſon, who was ſo much forbidden the ſame in both reſpects before it; the author next quoted, who gives us inſtances thereof, has not expreſsly revealed; but left room to conjecture, ſuch lenity was now uſed by his perſecutors, to work him into that conformity, which had been inſucceſsfully attempted by their rigour: yet how little covetous he was of that liberty; how entirely abſtracted from all other enjoyments of life; and how chearfully prepared to reſign it; may moſt evidently appear, not only in the particulars given by Mr Fox, but in the extracts here ſubjoined to them, from one or two only of the many letters written by, and to, Mr Bradford [*L*]. The laſt night he lay in the Counter, which was *June* the 29th; he was

(*d*) Fox, Vol. III. p. 233.

in which he had before ſilenced others, and after having reproved their relapſe into Popery, and obtruſion of the ſame, to the great diſturbance of the nation, they were called away; ſo they packed up their common-place-books, wiſhed him good in their words, and departed. On the twenty-ſecond of February came early to him, the two Spaniſh Friars, Alphonſus (†), and King Philip's Confeſſor. Here they had a long contention on the Sacrament all in Latin; and they grew ſo hot with him, that they made it a loud one at laſt, when they found they could not turn him out of his guard, nor his temper, but that he calmly and clearly repelled all their deceitful and beaten poſitions upon Tranſubſtantiation, and the receipt of the carnal body, which he would no otherwiſe allow of, than to the faith of the worthy. To faith, ſaid Alphonſus, what's that? Bradford anſwered, as I have no tongue to expreſs it, ſo you have no ears to hear and underſtand it: for faith ſays more than man can utter. Yes, replied the other; but I can tell all I believe. You believe not much then returned Bradford; for if you believe the joys of heaven, and believe no more than you can tell, you will not much deſire to come thither: For as the mind is more receptive than the mouth, ſo it will conceive more than the tongue can expreſs. In ſhort, he ſo confounded them both, that they ſometimes could only look upon one another, and at others, only vent themſelves in anger, declaring they came not thither to be taught: ſo left him, without bidding him farewel. We meet with no further moleſtation of him 'till the twenty-firſt of March, then Dr Weſton, Dean of Weſtminſter, came to him, and offered him a leſſon, which himſelf had never learnt, of forbearing to hold any opinions for the ſake of vain glory, or ſingularity of private judgment; which he renounced: And laſtly, the Doctor deſired him to write him down the heads of his faith in Tranſubſtantiation, and ſend them to him, which he did, in the Latin tongue; and the Engliſh tranſlation is preſerved by Mr Fox (66). After many invcigling arguments uſed by the doctor to convert him, and among others, ſome upon the *Fears of Death*, which Bradford ſaid were to no purpoſe; the Doctor having drank with him, took his leave, and promiſed to return. On the twenty-eighth of March Dr Pendleton came to him, with others, and after Bradford had haggered him with a deſire to know how he came to change his faith, he began to turn fleſh and blood into bread and wine too, but as ineffectually as any of the reſt had done; ſo he went his way, and promiſed to come back, but it appears not that he did. In the afternoon returned Dr Weſton to deſcant upon the paper of heads beforementioned, which Bradford had ſent him. Before they began to read it, the Doctor told him, he had enquired of his converſation at Cambridge, and frankly acknowledged to his face, becauſe, as he now ſaid, he ſaw Bradford was not given to the glory of this world, (tho' he had juſt before cautioned him againſt vain-glory) that he had learned *his life was ſuch, always there, that all men, even his greateſt enemies, could not but praiſe him*; and therefore he loved him better than ever he did: ſo they fell to ſifting and canvaſſing thoſe heads which Bradford had ſent him, but the Doctor's objections, arguments, and authorities, proving quite unſatisfactory; Bradford, after an hour's diſcuſſion upon the ſame things he had ſo often ſhewed himſelf ſettled in, quite weary, roſe up; and the Doctor, after ſome promiſes, how greatly he would befriend him, parted very civilly as before. He returned on the fifth of April; ſaid he had ſpoken to the Queen for him, and that death was not near him: But after ſome difference about the viſibility of Chriſt's Church, he wiſhed him well and departed. After this, his keeper, and the Lord Derby's man, Stephen Beich, treated him no otherwiſe than as his utter enemies. Henceforth we meet with no more of thoſe Doctors viſits and conferences, or altercations, upon any of the topicks aforeſaid; only a ſhort colloquy that is recorded in Fox, between Mr Bradford, and the ſervant of a gentlewoman who had been ſeverely afflicted by her own father and mother, for forſaking, as it ſeems, the Maſs; in which colloquy there appears an inſtance of Bradford's fortitude againſt the fears of death, tho' he apprehended it ſo near him as the next day. Yet, indeed, from that laſt conference with Dr Weſton, it was near three months before he was brought to his end.

(†) Mr Jer. Collier in his Eccleſ. Hiſt. P. ii. p. 382, calls this Alphonſus the ſaid King's Confeſſor; ſays, he was a Franciſcan, and that in preaching before the King, he would declare againſt all ſanguinary methods in religion, and inveigh againſt the ſeverities in particular of our Biſhops, for haling people to execution, becauſe they could believe no better. He is called *Alphonſus a Caſtro* by others. See Fra. S. Clara, whoſe true name was Chriſt. Davenport, in Hiſt. Min. Provinciæ Angliæ Fratr. Minorum, p. 54. And the Antiq. of the Engl. Franciſcans, 4to. Lond. 1726, p. 230, &c. The other Spaniſh Friar's name, whom Bradford calls the King's Confeſſor, might alſo, in theſe authors, perhaps be found, if it were worth while to hunt after it.

(66) Vol. II. p. 231.

[*L*] *Not only in the particulars given by Mr Fox, but in the extracts from one or two letters only, written by and to Mr Bradford.*] Mr Fox informs us, that while Bradford was priſoner in the King's Bench, he obtained licence, upon his bare promiſe to return again the ſame night, to go into London, without any keeper, to viſit a ſick perſon living near the Still-yard; and that he returned to priſon again before his hour, rather than he would give the leaſt apprehenſion of breaking his word. The ſame author alſo acquaints us, that while Bradford was in the ſaid priſon, and Mr

was much troubled in his sleep, with dreams of the iron chain being brought to the prison gate,

Mr Saunders in the Marshalsea, they met on the back-side of those two prisons, and conferred together, when they would; where the place was so unconfined, and there was such liberty, that he might have escaped at pleasure: but the Lord, says Mr Fox, had another work to do for him. Moreover, while Bradford lay there, his Keeper also gave him privilege to ride into Oxfordshire, to visit a merchant of his acquaintance; but he was prevented of taking that journey by sickness (67). Among others whom he ratified there, in the Protestant Faith, Bishop Farrar was one; who having so far yielded to the delusive persuasions of the Priests, as to promise that he would receive the Sacrament among them; Bradford used such means with him, that he ever after resisted their temptations, and by resigning his body to sacrifice convinced them of his incorruptible mind (68). Whether it was in the same prison or in the Counter, that author expresses not; but in one of them, an old friend came to Bradford, and asked, if he should get his liberty, what he would do, or whither he would go? Bradford answered as if he was indifferent, whether he went out or no; but if he did, he would marry, and still continue in England, and still teach the people as he had done, and as the times would suffer him (69). Of the last letters which passed between him and his friends here in the Counter, we shall first transcribe a few lines out of that in which he takes his final farewel of his mother, a week before he suffered, as follows. 'My moste deare mother; in the bowels of 'Christ, I heartely pray and besech you to be thank-'ful for me unto God, which thus now taketh me 'unto himselfe. I die not, my good mother, as a 'theife, a murtherer, an adulterer, &c. but I die as 'a witnes of Christ hys gospel and veritye; which 'hereto I have confessed, I thanke God, as well by 'preaching, as by prisonment; and now, even pre-'sently, I shall moste willingly confyrme the same 'by fyre. I knowledge, that God moste justlye 'myght take me hence, symply for my sinnes, whiche 'are manye, greate and grevous, but the Lord, for 'his mercy in Christe, hath pardoned them all, I 'hope; but now, deare mother, he taketh me bence 'by this deathe, as a confessour and witnes that the 'religion taught by Christe Jesu, the Prophetes, and 'the Apostles, is Gods truth The Prelates doe per-'secute in me, Christe, whom they hate; and his 'truth, which they may not abyde, becawse their 'workes are evil, and may not abyde the truth and 'lyght, lest men should see their darkness. Therefore, 'my good, and most deare mother, geve thankes for 'me to God, that hath made the fruit of your wombe 'to be a witnes of hys glory, and attend to the 'truth, whiche, I thank God for it, I have truly 'taught out of the pulpit at Mancbester: use often 'and continual prayer to God the Father, through 'Christe; harken, as you may, to the Scriptures; 'serve God after hys word, and not after custome: 'beware of the Romysh Religion in England, defyle 'not yourself wyth it; carry Cbristes cross as he shall 'lay it upon your backe; forgeve them that kill me, 'pray for them, for they know not what they do, &c.' so charging her to be mindful of her daughters, and do as she pleased with the writings he sent ber by his brotber Roger, &c. he takes his last farewel in this life; 'beseecheng the Almighty and Eternal Father to 'grant, they may meet in the life to come, where 'they shall give him continual thanks and praise for 'ever.' Dated the twenty-fourth of June, 1555 (70). We shall only here add, two or three quotations out of another letter, written by Mr John Careles of Coventry, now prisoner in the King's-Bench; being an answer to one Bradford had sent him, full of the most prophetick promises and consolations; and that for his penitent and believing heart all his offences were clearly pardoned, and that he should not die (71), or be put to death for his faith, which indeed he was not, tho' he had long looked, and longed for that dignity, which the highest angels in heaven were not preferred to (72), but died in the prison aforesaid, about a twelve-month after Bradford. In return to this, Careles has, in his said last letter to Bradford, among others, these words, 'Ever since the good Mr Philpot shewed 'me your last letter, (my deare hart in the Lord) I 'have continued in great heavyness and perplexity; 'not for any hurt or discommodity, that I can per-'ceive coming towards you, unto whom, doubtless 'death is made life, and great felicitie; but for the 'great loss that God's Church, here in England, shall 'sustain, by the taking away of so godly, worthy, and 'necessary an instrument, as the Lord hath made 'you to be. *Ah! that my life, and a thousand such 'wretched lives more might go for your's* (*). Ah! 'why doth God suffer me, and such other cater-'pillars to live, that can do nothing but consume the 'almes of the Church, and take you away, so worthy 'a workman and labourer in the Lord's vineyard? 'But woe be to our sins and great unthankfulness, 'which is the greatest cause of the taking away of 'such worthy Instruments of God, as should set forth 'his glory, and instruct his people. If we had been 'thankful unto God for the good ministers of his 'word, we had not been so deprived both of it and 'them.' And a little further. 'But what go I about, 'to mingle your mirth with my mourning, and your 'just joy, with my deserved sorrow? If I loved you, 'indeed, as I have pretended, I should surely rejoice 'with you most heartily, and praise God on your be-'half, from the very bottom of my heart: I should 'praise God day and night, for your excellent elec-'tion, in and through his great mercy; and should 'give him most humble thanks for your vocation, by 'his Gospel, and your true knowledge in the same: I 'should earnestly praise him for your sweet justifica-'tion, whereof you are most certain by God's grace 'and spirit; and should instantly pray unto him, for 'your glorification, which shall shortly ensue: I should 'rejoice, and be glad to see yon so dignified with your 'crown of Martyrdom, and to be appointed to that 'honour, to testify his truth, and to seal it with your 'blood: I should highly extol the Lord, who hath 'given you a glorious victory over all your enemies, 'visible and invisible; and hathe given you grace and 'strength to finish the tower that you have begun to 'build: Finally, if I loved you, I should most hearti-'ly rejoice, and be glad to see you delivered from this 'body of sin, and vile prison of tbe flesh, and brought 'into that heavenly tabernacle, where you shall be 'safely kept, and never offend bim more. This, and 'much more should I do, if I had a good heart to-'wards God, or you his dear child: But, alas, I am 'an hypocrite, and do seek nothing but my own com-'modity——Ah! my dear heart, now I must take my 'leave of you, and as I think, my *ultimum vale*, in 'this life; but in the life to come, I am right well 'assured, we shall merrily meet togetber, and that 'shortly I trust. And in taking my leave of you, my 'dear heart in the Lord, I shall desire you faithfully 'to remember, all the sweet messages tbat tbe Lord 'our good God, and most dear loving Father, hath 'sent you, by me, his most unworthy servant; which, 'as they are most true, so shall they be most truely ac-'complished upon you, eternally; and for the more 'assurance and certificate thereof, to your godly con-'science, he hath commanded me, to repeat the 'same unto you, again, in his own name, and word: 'Therefore (as he goes on, in a more extraordinary 'strain) now give ear, and faithful credance. Hearken, 'O ye heavens, and thou earth give ear, and bear me 'witnes at the great day, that I do, here faithfully, 'and truly, the Lord's message unto his dear fervant, 'his singularly beloved and elect child, John Braford. 'John Bradford, thou man so specially beloved of 'God! I pronounce and testify unto thee, in the word 'and name of the Lord Jehovah, that all thy sins, 'whatsoever they be, be they never so many, so grie-'vous, or so great, be fully and freely pardoned, re-'leased, and forgiven thee, by the mercy of God, in 'Jesus Christ, thine only Lord and sweet Saviour, in 'whom thou dost undoubtedly believe. Christ hath 'cleansed thee with his blood, and cloathed thee with 'his righteousness, and hath made thee, in the sight 'of God, his Father, without spot, or wrinkle: so that, 'when the fire doth his appointed office, thou shalt be 'received, as a sweet burnt-sacrifice, into heaven; 'where thou shalt joyfully remain in God's presence, 'for ever, as the true inheritor of his everlasting king-'dom; unto which thou wast undoubtedly predesti-'nate

(67) Acts and Mon. Vol. III. p. 233.

(68) Ibid. p. 234.

(69) Ibid.

(70) Coverdale's Collection, &c. p. 454.

(71) Fox. Vol. III. p. 602.

(72) Idem. p. 603.

(*) It has been lately observed very justly, That this expression from an uncondemned man, as J. Careless was, to his friend Bradford, was *truly generous*, and that the late Lord Balmerino's wish, *That he could pay the reckoning, both for himself, and his noble fellow-sufferer*, the Earl of Kilmarnock, was but *seemingly so*: for these being both condemned, it spoiled the compliment; as he could then be at no greater expence in paying for both, than he was in paying only his own reckoning. Vid. Seasonable Reflections on the Dying Words and Deportment of Arthur Lord Balmerino, in answer to Mr T. Ford's Account of the Behaviour of those Lords, &c. 8vo, 1746, p. 11. said to be written by Mr Joseph Elderton, an Attorney.

gate, which was to bind him to the ſtake; alſo, of being removed the next day to Newgate, and burnt in Smithfield the morning after; all which exactly came to paſs. He quitted his unquiet bed about three o'clock in the morning, and, by his old exerciſe of reading and prayer, ſoon recovered that compoſure of mind, which continued to the laſt. When the keeper's wife, almoſt beſide herſelf, brought him intelligence the next day, that the *chain* was buying, and that he muſt die on the morrow; he pulled off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, ſaid, *I thank God for it, I have looked for it a long time; therefore it comes not ſuddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy of it.* When he ſhifted himſelf into the ſhirt he was to die in, he made ſuch applications of it to the *Wedding-Garment*, as raiſed the admiration of all who were about him. When he went out of the priſon, he diſtributed his money to every ſervant and officer of the houſe, and all the priſoners took their leave of him with weeping eyes; ſo, about midnight he was carried to Newgate, attended by a vaſt multitude of people, who, becauſe they had heard he was to ſuffer by break of day, that the fewer ſpectators might be witneſſes of his death; they either ſtayed in Smithfield all night, or returned in greater numbers thither by four o'clock the next morning, which was the firſt of *July*, 1555; but Bradford was not brought thither 'till nine o'Clock, and then he came under a ſtronger guard of halberdeers than was ever known on the like occaſion. As he came out of Newgate, he gave his velvet cap and his handkerchief to an old friend, with whom he had a little private talk. But his brother-in-law Roger Beſwick, for only taking leave of him, had his head broke, 'till the blood ran down his ſhoulders, by the Sheriff Woodroſe (*). When he came to Smithfield, and in his company a Yorkſhire youth, who was an apprentice in London, named John Lyeſe, and to be burnt at the ſame ſtake with him, for maintaining the like faith in the Sacrament, and denying that Prieſts had any authority to exact auricular confeſſion; Bradford went boldly up to the ſtake, laid him down flat on his face, on one ſide of it; and the ſaid young man, John Lyeſe (†), in like manner, went and laid himſelf on the other; where they had not prayed to themſelves above the ſpace of a minute, before the ſaid Sheriff bid Bradford ariſe, and make an end; for the preſs of the people was very great [*M*]. When they were on their feet, Bradford took up a faggot and kiſſed it, and did the like to the ſtake. When he pulled off his cloaths, he deſired they might be given to his ſervant; which was granted. Then, at the ſtake, holding up his hands and his face to Heaven, he ſaid aloud, *O England, England, repent thee of thy ſins! Beware of idolatry, beware of antichriſts, leaſt they deceive you.* Here the Sheriff ordered his hands to be tied; and one of the fire-rakers told him, if he had no better learning than that, he had beſt hold his peace. Then Bradford forgiving, and aſking forgiveneſs, of all the world, turned his head about, comforted the ſtripling at the ſame ſtake behind him, and embracing the flaming reeds that were near him, was heard, among his laſt words, to ſay, *Strait is the way, and narrow is the gate*, &c. So left the droſs of his body among the aſhes upon the earth, while his ſoul, by that ſearching ſeparation, the purer aſcended to Heaven; and

(*) The Conſtruction which was made of the dreadful diſeaſes which buried this cruel Sheriff in his bed eight years before he died, may be read in Fox and Fuller, in the Life of Mr Bradford, p. 188, &c.

(†) Fox, or his Printers, call him *Leaf*; but we perceive not any authority they had to vary from the ſpelling of his name as it is here reſtored, from the firſt Life of Mr Bradford, before his Examinations, &c. as before quoted.

'nate and ordained, by the Lord's infallible purpoſe 'and decree, before the foundation of the world was 'laid. And that this is moſt true, that I have ſaid, 'I eall the whole Trinity, the Almighty and eternal 'Majeſty of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy 'Ghoſt, to my record at this preſent; whom I humbly 'beſeech, to eonfirm and eſtabliſh in thee, the true 'and lively feeling of the ſame; Amen. *Selah* (73).'

(73) Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, p. 628. And Fox, Vol. III. as before.

[*M*] *For the preſs of the people was very great.*] Among the numerous throng of people, who were ſpectators at his exeeution, there was that memorable gentlewoman, Mrs Mary Waters, the daughter of Robert Waters, of Lenham in Kent, Eſq; and wife of Robert Honeywood, Eſq; of Charing, in the ſame eounty. This lady, in the days of Queen Mary, was wont to viſit the priſons, and relieve the confeſſors there. Now, when Mr Bradford was at the ſtake, ſhe being deſirous of getting near it, that ſhe might diſtinctly hear him, and ſee the end of his ſufferings, was ſo erowded and preſſed by the multitude, that her ſhoes were trodden off, and ſhe forced to go barefoot from Smithfield to St Martins, before ſhe eould furniſh herſelf with a new pair, for her money (74). This is the lady, whoſe mind being perplexed with ſome religious doubts of ſalvation, many miniſters repaired to her; and, among the reſt, Mr John Fox, the Martyrologiſt; and though ſhe eould not have choſen an abler inſtrument to reconeile her afflicted mind; all his arguments proved ineffectual; inſomuch, that in the agony of her ſoul, ſhe threw a Venice-glaſs, which ſhe had in her hand, with great vehemence to the ground, and burſt forth, at the ſame time, into this expreſſion; 'I am as ſurely damned, as this glaſs is broken;' but it rebounded from the ground, and was taken up whole (75). This alſo is that Dame Honeywood, who by her only huſband aforeſaid, left alive at her deceaſe, lawfully deſcended from her, three hundred ſixty and ſeven ehildren; that is, fixteen of her own body, one hundred and fourteen grand-children, two hundred and twenty-eight of the third generation, and nine of the fourth. She lived a moſt pious life, and in a chriſtian manner died at Markeſhall in Eſſex, the eleventh of May 1620, in the ninety-third year of her age, and the forty-fourth year of her widowhood (76). It ſhould ſeem, that before Mr Bradford died, ſhe had eonſulted him for ſatisfaction, in thoſe doubts and deſpondency beforementioned, in like manner as after his death, ſhe adviſed with Mr Fox; there being ſome letters of Bradford's writing, to a gentlewoman under the like perturbation of mind, extant among his others; but beeauſe her name is not mentioned, we ſhall forbear to make any tranſcripts from them; and alſo, becauſe ſome readers may think this article of Bradford already copious enough; eſpecially thoſe who may not know, that what Mr Fox has thought worthy of preſerving eoneerning him, is not comprehended in leſs than ſeventeen ſheets of paper. Throughout the ſame, in what he has eopied from preeeding authors, we muſt do him the juſtice to ſay, he has, as far as we have had occaſion to trace and eollate them, approved himſelf a faithful hiſtorian. And tho' the ſufferers under Popiſh governments, were not all to be admitted ſtrictly as martyrs, nor were meant by him as ſuch, who may appear in his ealendar; tho' he might be miſtaken in ſome recent examples, by the haſte of delineating truth in her unſettled flight, upon the wings of report, and before her perfect form, features, and proportions, were fixed and confirmed in the writings of other men; tho' he might be miſinformed in ſeveral parts of his intelligence (and purpoſely, 'tis preſumed, in ſome, by his adverſaries, to pave the way for a deteetion of thoſe parts, and diſcredit the whole) which miſinformations he yet afterwards corrected, in as much as came to his knowledge; inconveniences that muſt attend the compiler

(74) Fuller's Worthies, in Kent.

(75) Idem.

(76) So the inſcription on her monument in Markeſhall church.

and thus by his death, confirmed moſt effectually the truth of that doctrine, which he had ſo powerfully preached in his life.

piler of ſo large a body of modern hiſtory, as his chiefly is; no man being likely to receive, from various hands, ſuch a multitude of matters of fact, as are all perfect truth, and digeſt and diſplay them as perfectly without error; yet of what weight are theſe objections, or more of the like, which Stapleton, or Parſons, or any other Jeſuit can offer, in contempt of the *Foxian* martyrs, to overthrow ſuch a ſolid and immoveable fabrick? It is compiled of ſo many undeniable evidences of Popiſh barbarity, whereof, this Maſter Bradford is one, not the leaſt conſpicuous, that allowing all Mr Fox his own real, but involuntary, miſtakes, they can never diſcountenance his work, 'till the ſlaves and ſcavengers of Rome, have purged their own legendary and lying martyrologies, of their wilful, their ſtudied, yet ſtupid and moſt deteſtable, impoſtures: But as his *Acts and Monuments*, have long been, they will ſtill remain ſubſtantial *Pillars* of the *Proteſtant Church*; of more force than many more volumes of bare arguments, to withſtand the tide of *Popery*; and like a *Pharos*, ſhould be lighted up in every age, to warn our unwary countrymen, from the deceitful and deſtructive *Rocks* therein. G

BRADY (Robert), a noted Hiſtorian and Phyſician in the laſt century; was born in the county of Norfolk, and admitted in Caius-College in Cambridge, February the 20th, 1643 (*a*). He took his degree of Bachelor of Phyſick in 1653 (*b*), and was created Doctor in that Faculty, Sept. 5, 1660, by virtue of the King's mandatory letters (*c*). On the firſt of December the ſame year, he was, in purſuance of King Charles's mandate, elected Maſter of his College, upon the reſignation of Dr Bachcroft (*d*). About the year 1670, he was appointed Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London (*e*); in which office, how well he employed himſelf in peruſing thoſe moſt valuable monuments in his poſſeſſion, is abundantly plain from his hiſtorical works, of which an account will be given below. Some time after, he was choſen Regius Profeſſor of Phyſick in the Univerſity of Cambridge (*f*). In 1679 he writ a letter to Dr Sydenham, which is publiſhed among that learned perſon's works [*A*]. But his largeſt and moſt conſiderable performance was, 'An Introduction to 'the old Engliſh Hiſtory [*B*],' and, 'A Compleat Hiſtory of England, from the firſt 'entrance of the Romans, unto the end of the reign of King Richard II. in three Vols. 'fol. [*C*],' about which he was employed ſeveral years. In the year 1681, he was choſen one of the Repreſentatives for the Univerſity of Cambridge, in that Parliament which met at Oxford (*g*); and again in 1685, in the Parliament of King James II (*h*). He was likewiſe Phyſician in ordinary to this King: and, on the twenty-ſecond of October 1688, was one of thoſe perſons who gave in their depoſitions concerning the birth of the pretended Prince of Wales (*i*). This learned Doctor died on the nineteenth of Auguſt 1700 (*k*). He was an accurate writer, and a curious and diligent ſearcher into our antient Records. But he hath alſo been charged with ſeveral faults. The chief is, that throughout his Compleat Hiſtory, as he calls it, he is ſo wholly taken up in endeavouring to prove the novelty of Parliaments, that his book does by no means anſwer the title (*l*). For, in order to pleaſe an arbitrary Court, to whom the Houſe of Commons hath always been an invincible check, and to repreſent the origin of that auguſt body, as grounded upon the rebellion of Simon de Montfort, in King Henry the IIId's reign (*m*); he hath taken great pains to prove, 'That the Commons of England, repreſented by Knights, Citizens, and 'Burgeſſes

(*a*) College Regiſter.

(*b*) Univerſity Regiſter.

(*c*) Ibid. & Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, p. 251.

(*d*) College-books, and Kennet, ubi ſupra, p. 870. and J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 428.

(*e*) From Memoirs communicated to us. But Mr Holmes, Deputy-Keeper of the Records in the Tower, has ſince aſſured us, that he was not made Keeper of the Records 'till 1685.

(*f*) From the ſame Memoirs.

(*g*) Notitia Parliamentaria, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Lond. 1730. Vol. I. p. 180.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*i*) See the ſeveral Declarations, together with the ſeveral Depoſitions, &c. concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales, p. 37.

(*k*) J. Le Neve's Faſti, &c. p. 428.

(*l*) Hearne's Duct. Hiſtoric. Vol. I. third edit. Lond. 1714, p. 174.

(*m*) See the Antient Right of the Commons of England aſſerted, by Will. Petyt, Eſq; Lond. 1680: and Jus Anglorum ab antiquo: and Hiſt. of England, by Ja. Tyrrell, Eſq;

[*A*] *He writ a letter to Dr Sydenham*, &c.] It is dated from Cambridge December 30, 1679, and is placed at the head of Dr Sydenham's *Epiſtolæ reſponſoriæ duæ*. In this letter, Dr Brady obſerves, That no Phyſician had yet duly conſidered the influence of the air on human bodies; nor ſhowed the force of it, in fermenting, altering, and circulating the blood, and in all animal motions whatſoever: and therefore he commends Dr Sydenham, for his account of acute diſtempers, and their cure; and deſires him, to publiſh what obſervations he had made of late years on that ſubject. Next, he intreats him, if he knew any thing particular on the uſe of the Indian (or Peruvian) bark, to communicate it to him. And laſtly, Dr Sydenham having recommended frequent bleeding in the rheumatiſm, Brady enquires of him, whether, a leſs ſevere and cruel method could not be found out to cure that diſtemper? In anſwer to theſe ſeveral queries, Dr Sydenham wrote his *Epiſtola reſponſoria prima*, which is printed among his works. It was firſt printed at London, in 1680, 8*vo*.

[*B*] *An Introduction to the old Engliſh Hiſtory.*] What the contents of this book are, will beſt appear by the title; which is as follows. 'An Introduction 'to the old Engliſh Hiſtory, comprehended in three 'ſeveral tracts. The firſt, An Anſwer to Mr *Petyt's* '*Rights of the Commons aſſerted*; and to a book intituled, *Jani Anglorum facies nova*; The ſecond 'edition very much inlarged. The ſecond, An An'ſwer to a book intituled, *Argumentum Antinormanni'cum*, much upon the ſame ſubject; never before 'publiſhed. The third, An exact Hiſtory of the 'Succeſſion of the Crown of England; The ſecond 'edition alſo very much inlarged. Together with an 'Appendix containing ſeveral Records, and a ſeries of 'great Councils and Parliaments before and after the 'Conqueſt, unto the end of the reign of Henry the 'Third. And a Gloſſary expounding many words uſed 'frequently in our ancient Records, Laws, and Hiſto'rians.' One Vol. fol. London, 1684. The ſubſtance of the whole book may be comprized in theſe three Propoſitions. 1. That the Repreſentatives of the Commons in Parliament [viz. Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes] were not introduced 'till the forty-ninth of Henry III. 2. That William, Duke of Normandy made an abſolute conqueſt of the nation. 3. That the ſucceſſion to the Crown of England is hereditary, (deſcending to the neareſt of blood) and not elective.

[*C*] *Introduction to the old Engliſh Hiſtory, And a Compleat Hiſtory of England*, &c.] The Introduction, as mentioned in the laſt Note, contains one Volume fol. and the Hiſtory is generally bound in two more. The firſt was printed at London, 1685, and the ſecond in 1700. At the end of each, is a large Appendix of Original Papers. This Hiſtory is full of records, and other valuable materials for a Hiſtory of England; but it is far from being a *Compleat Hiſtory*. For the author hath neglected, or paſſed over, numberleſs facts, and omitted ſuch as ſerved not for his purpoſe: ſo that it can be juſtly and properly called nothing elſe but a heap of valuable undigeſted materials. It was in oppoſition to this Hiſtory, and in order to ſet things in a different light, that James Tyrrell, Eſq; writ his General Hiſtory of England; in which he freely cenſures the Doctor's miſtakes. Beſides theſe three Volumes, Dr Brady writ 'a Treatiſe on Burghs,' in a thin folio.

[*D*] *Unleſs*

'Burgeſſes in Parliament, were not introduced; nor were one of the three eſtates in Parliament, before the forty-ninth of Henry III (*n*); and, that, before that time, the body of the commons of England, or freemen collectively taken, had not any ſhare or votes, in making of laws for the government of the kingdom (*o*), nor had any communication in affairs of State, unleſs they were repreſented by the Tenents *in capite* [*D*].' Another point which he ſtrenuouſly maintains, and endeavours to ſupport with monſtrous heaps of quotations out of antient Hiſtorians and Records, is, 'That William, Duke of Normandy, did by degrees, tho' not at firſt, make an abſolute conqueſt of the Engliſh nation (*p*). That he altered the whole conſtitution; brought a new law, and impoſed it upon the people; and from him, and his Normans, we received our tenures, the manner of holding our eſtates in every reſpect, and the cuſtoms incident to thoſe eſtates. And further, he took away from the Engliſh their eſtates, and gave them to his Normans [*E*]; and this he did from his firſt coming in (*q*). So that all the Biſhops, Earls, and Barons of England, did hold their lands, earldoms, and baronies of the Crown, or of the King, as of his perſon, and that was *in capite* (*r*).' All which Brady aſſerted and maintained, with a view (as was thought) to enlarge the prerogative, to overthrow all pretences to an original compact, and all claims of rights and privileges enjoyed by our Saxon anceſtors (*s*); and to repreſent the Engliſh nation as a parcel of ſlaves, who depend for their eſtates and fortunes upon the King (*t*); and whoſe liberties and laws, were the grants and conceſſions of our Kings (*u*); particularly, that the Commons right to ſend repreſentatives to Parliament, was extorted by force from the crown, and in rebellious times; and conſequently, that the whole might be repealed, or reſumed.

(*n*) Anſwer to W. Petyt's Rights of the Commons, &c. in the Introduction.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Anſwer to Argumentum Antinormannicum, in Introduct. to old Engl. Hiſt. p. 235.

(*q*) Anſwer to Mr Petyt's book, in the ſame Vol. p. 14.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 115.

(*s*) See Preface to the reader in Vol. I. of Brady's Hiſt.

(*t*) General Preface at the beginning of Vol. I. of Brady's Hiſt. p. vi—xvii.

(*u*) Ibid. p. xxxiv. See Tyrrell's Preface to Biblioth. Politic. p. iii. and Preface to Appendix in Vol. III. of his Hiſt.

[*D*] *Unleſs they were repreſented by the Tenents in capite.*] This is the ſubſtance of his Anſwer to Mr Petyt's book, intituled, 'The antient Right of the Commons aſſerted; or, a Diſcourſe, proving by Records and the beſt Hiſtorians, that the Commons of England were ever an eſſential part of Parliament.' Lond. 1680. 8*vo.* and to Mr Atwood's book, called, '*Jani Anglorum facies nova*; or ſeveral Monuments of Antiquity touching the great Council of the Kingdom.' Lond. 1680. 8*vo.* Mr Atwood replied, in his, '*Jus Anglorum ab antiquo*: or, a Confutation of an impotent Libel againſt the Government by King, Lords, and Commons. Under pretence of anſwering Mr Petyt, and the author of *Jani Anglorum facies nova*.' Lond. 1681. 8*vo.* But the Doctor's moſt conſiderable and powerful opponent, was, James Tyrrell, Eſq; who, in the general Introduction to his Hiſtory (1), and in the Appendix to his third Volume (2), hath endeavoured to prove, 'That the great Councils, or Parliaments, conſiſted, in the Saxon times, of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Ealdormen, and the whole body of Thanes, or Free-holders, who were then all Gentlemen, either by birth or eſtates (3);' and, after the Norman conqueſt, were compoſed of Archbiſhops, &c. as above, the Commons having there alſo their Repreſentatives (4). The whole controverſy turns upon this; Parliaments, in the ancienteſt times, conſiſted unqueſtionably of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, and Barons; and alſo of *other perſons*, which, in Records and Hiſtories, are ſtyled *Wiſe, Great, Chief, Noble*, &c. What perſons theſe were, is the queſtion. Brady ſays, It was only the Tenents in capite (5). And Tyrrell maintains, That they were the leſſer Barons, or conſiderable Freeholders, whoſe poſſeſſions were then very large; there being, in thoſe times, no ſuch little Freeholders as there is at preſent (6).

(1) Vol. I. p. lxxxviii, &c.

(2) Page 1, &c.

(3) General Introduct. ubi ſupra p. xciii. Bibliotheca Politica, Dialog. 6, 7, 8.

(4) Ibid. and Appendix to Vol. III.

(5) Anſwer to Mr Petyt, throughout.

(6) Biblioth. Politic. ubi ſupra. And Hiſt. in Gen. Pref. and Append.

[*E*] *He took away from the Engliſh their eſtates, and gave them to his Normans*, &c.] This the Doctor aſſerted, and ſtrenuouſly maintained, in oppoſition to a book written by Mr Cook, and entitled, '*Argumentum Anti-Normannicum*: or an Argument proving, from ancient Hiſtories and Records, that William, Duke of Normandy, made no abſolute Conqueſt of England by the ſword; in the ſenſe of our modern Writers.' Lond. 1682. 8*vo.* Mr Cook's opinion is warmly eſpouſed, and ſtrongly ſupported, by Mr Tyrrell, in the Introduction to his ſecond Volume of the Hiſtory of England, and in the reign of William I. —— After all their diſputes, the caſe may be thus fairly and impartially repreſented. William I. came to conquer and dethrone Harold, and ſubdue his adherents. After Harold's death, he took into protection all ſuch as would ſubmit to him; and, at his Coronation, ſwore, that he would govern both his Engliſh and French ſubjects by the ſame equal law (7). Many of them rebelling afterwards againſt him, he deprived them of their eſtates, which he diſtributed amongſt his favourites. Now, that is no more than what is done every day in caſe of Treaſon. Though perhaps he might carry his revenge, and extend his prerogative, further than he ought to have done. C

(7) —Æquo jure Anglos, quo Francos, tractaret.—W. Malmſb. de Geſtis Pontif. p. 271, ed. Francof. 1601.

BRADY (NICOLAS), D. D. was the ſon of Major Nicolas Brady, an officer of the King's army in the rebellion of 1641; being lineally deſcended from Hugh Brady, the firſt Proteſtant Biſhop of Meath [*A*]. He was born at Bandon in the county of Cork, on the twenty-eighth of October 1659, and educated in that county 'till he was twelve years of age, when he was removed to Weſtminſter-ſchool, where he was choſen King's ſcholar, and from thence elected Student of Chriſt-Church, Oxford; after continuing there about four years, he went to Dublin, where his father reſided; at which Univerſity he immediately commenced B. A. and the following year M. A (*a*). When he was of due ſtanding, his Diploma for the degree of Doctor of Divinity, was upon account of his uncommon merit, preſented to him from that Univerſity while he was in England, and brought over by Dr Pratt, then ſenior Travelling-Fellow, afterwards Provoſt of that College. His firſt preferment in the Church, was to a Prebend, in the Cathedral of St Barry's, in the city of Cork, and to the pariſh of Kinaglarchy, in the county of Cork; to which he was collated by Biſhop Wettenhall, to whom he was domeſtick Chaplain. He was a zealous promoter of the late happy Revolution, and an eminent ſufferer for it. In 1690, when the troubles broke out in Ireland, by his intereſt with King James's General, Mac-Carty, he thrice

(*a*) Regiſt. Coll. Dub.

[*A*] *Firſt Proteſtant Biſhop of Meath.*] William Walſh, Biſhop of Meath, who was a Papiſt, was deprived in the year 1560, for preaching againſt the book of Common Prayer, then lately eſtabliſhed, and the Queen's ſupremacy. Hugh Brady was advanced (1) in his room, though not 'till the year 1563, the See being kept vacant, on account of the unſettled ſtate of Religion at that time.

(1) Pat. Canc. Hib. 21. Oct. 5 Eliz.

[*B*] *Gave*

thrice prevented the burning of Bandon town, after three ſeveral orders given by that Prince to deſtroy it. The ſame year, having been deputed by the people of Bandon, he went over to England, to petition the Parliament for a redreſs of ſome grievances they had ſuffered, while King James was in Ireland. During his ſtay there, and to the time of his death, he was in the higheſt eſteem among all ranks of perſons in that kingdom, for his eminent attachment to the true intereſt of his country. Having quitted his preferments in Ireland, he ſettled in London, where he became noted for his abilities in the pulpit, and, upon that account, was elected Miniſter of St Catharine-Cree Church, and Lecturer of St Michael's Wood-ſtreet. He afterwards became Miniſter of Richmond in Surrey, and Stratford upon Avon in Warwickſhire, and at length Rector of Clapham, in the county abovementioned; which laſt, together with Richmond, he held to the time of his death. He was alſo Chaplain to the Duke of Ormond's troop of horſe-guards, as he was to their Majeſtie's King William and Queen Mary, and afterwards to Queen Anne. He died on the twentieth of May 1726, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age; leaving behind him, the character of being a perſon of a moſt obliging, ſweet, affable temper, a polite Gentleman, an excellent Preacher, and a good Poet; of which he gave proofs in ſome pieces [*B*].

[*B*] *Gave proofs of his Poetry in ſome pieces.*] Such of his poetical pieces as are publiſhed are (for what we know) only theſe. 1. *A new Verſion of the Pſalms of David*, which are in part his work, and in part Mr Tate's, with whom he joined in this tranſlation ſoon after he had ſettled in London, and it is now ſung in moſt churches of England and Ireland, inſtead of that obſolete verſion made by Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins in the reign of King Edward VI. — 2. *The Æneids of Virgil*, which were publiſhed by ſubſcription in four Volumes in 8*vo.* the laſt of which came out in 1726, a little time before the author's death. — He alſo publiſhed in his life-time, *Three Volumes of Sermons in* 8*vo.* each conſiſting of fourteen, all printed in London, the firſt in 1704, the ſecond in 1706, and the third in 1713. After the Doctor's death, his eldeſt ſon, who is now a Clergyman, publiſhed *three other volumes of his father's Sermons*, each alſo conſiſting of fourteen, printed in London, 1730, 8*vo.* The firſt Sermon he publiſhed ſeparately, was preached at his church of St Catharine-Cree, on the 26th of November, 1691, and printed, London, 1692, 4*to.* and a ſecond, which he preached at St Bride's church, on Monday, November the 22d, 1697, being St Cæcilia's day, intituled, *Church Muſick Vindicated.*—Printed, London, 1697, 4*to.* D

BRAMHALL (John) Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, in the ſeventeenth century; was born at Pontefract in Yorkſhire, about the year 1593, being deſcended from an antient and genteel family (*a*) [*A*]. He received his firſt education in the place of his birth; and, when he was fit for the Univerſity, was ſent to Sidney-College in Cambridge, where he was admitted February the twenty-firſt, 1608 (*b*), and put under the care of Mr Hulet (*c*) [*B*]. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the year 1612, and that of Maſter in 1616 (*d*); after taking the latter, he quitted the Univerſity, and entering into Holy-Orders, had a living given him in the city of York (*e*); he was likewiſe preſented to the Rectory of Elvington, or Eterington, in Yorkſhire, by Mr Wandesford, afterwards Maſter of the Rolls, and ſome time Lord-Deputy of Ireland. About the ſame time he married a clergyman's widow, of the Hally's family, an agreeable woman, and a good fortune; with whom he had a valuable library, left by her former huſband; by which he was ſo wedded to his ſtudies, that all the temptations of a new-married life, could not divorce him from them, nor give any intermiſſion to his duty of conſtant preaching. This he performed with ſo much aſſiduity, prudence, and gravity, that he became as eminent in the Church, as before in the Univerſity, and greatly beloved by all degrees of men (*f*). In the year 1623, he had two publick diſputations at North-Allerton, with a ſecular Prieſt and a Jeſuit [*C*]; which gained him great reputation, and ſo recommended him in particular to the Archbiſhop of York's (*g*) eſteem, that he made him his Chaplain, and took him into his confidence. During the life of the Archbiſhop, he was made Prebendary of York [*D*], and after

(*a*) The Life of John Lord Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, prefixed to his Works, edit. 1677, fol. by John, Biſhop of Lymerick, p. 2. it is not paged.

(*b*) From Dr Sherman's *Tabulæ Sidneianæ.*

(*c*) Sir James Ware's Works, edit. 1739, under the Life of our Primate.

(*d*) From the Grace-book of Sidney-college.

(*e*) Life, &c. as above.

(*f*) Life, p. 2, 3.

(*g*) Toby Matthews.

[*A*] *Being deſcended from an ancient and genteel family.*] Namely from the Bramhalls of Bramhall-Hall in Cheſhire, related by intermarriage to the Keresfords of Keresford in Yorkſhire, a houſe that has flouriſhed in a direct line from the time of King Henry II (1).

[*B*] *And put under the care of Mr Hulet.*] The Right Rev. author of his life, Biſhop Veſey, informs us, That 'he became there maſter of the arts and ſciences 'before he had the degree; all his acts and exerciſes 'being ſtill performed with that eaſineſs and ſmooth-'neſs, which argues clean ſtrength and ſufficiency (2).'

[*C*] *He had two publick diſputations at North-Allerton, with a Secular Prieſt and a Jeſuit.*] Theſe two Papiſts (3) had ſent a publick defiance to all the Proteſtant Clergy in that country, (at a time when the match between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain was in agitation, and they expected from thence great advantages and countenance to their own religion) and when none durſt accept the challenge, our author undertook the combat. Though he was then but about thirty years of age, and a ſtripling in the School of controverſy, yet he managed the diſpute ſo well, that his antagoniſts, and their whole party, had reaſon to repent of the inſolence of their adventure. One of the ſubjects of the diſputation was the article of Tranſubſtantiation, from whence they eaſily ſliding into that other of the Half-Communion, he ſhamefully baffled their doctrine of Concomitancy, and drove the diſputant up to ſo narrow a corner, that he affirmed that eating was drinking, and drinking was eating in a material or bodily ſenſe. Mr Bramhall looked on this as ſo elegant a ſoleciſm, that he needed no greater trophy, if he could get under his hand, what he had declared with his tongue, which being deſired, was by the other, in his heat, and ſhame to ſeem to retreat, as readily granted. But upon cooler thoughts, finding perhaps after the heat of the conteſt was over, that he could not quench his thirſt with a piece of bread, he reflected ſo ſadly on the diſhonour he had ſuffered, that not being able to digeſt it, in ten days he died. Archbiſhop Matthews hearing of this diſputation, ſent for Mr Bramhall, and at firſt rebuked him for his hardineſs in undertaking a diſputation ſo publickly without allowance; but ſoon forgave him (4).

[*D*] *During the life of the Archbiſhop he was made Prebendary of York*]. So we are aſſured by the Right Rev. author of his life (5). But, according to Browne Willis, Eſq; (6) he was not made Prebendary of York, 'till the thirteenth of June, 1633, five years after the death of Archbiſhop Matthews: So that one of theſe two

) Life, &c. as ove, p. 2.

) Ibid.

) Hungate, a ſuit; and ughton, a Sclar Prieſt, e Archbiſhop amhall's orks, p. 624.

(4) Life, &c. as above, p. 3.

(5) As above, p. 4.

(6) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. edit. 1727, 4*to*, Vol. I. p. 145.

after of Rippon; at which laſt place, he went and reſided after the Archbiſhop's death, (which happened in 1628) and conducted moſt of the concernments of that church, in the quality of Sub-Dean. Here he preached conſtantly for ſeveral years, and became ſo eminent, not only for his abilities in the pulpit, but alſo for his knowledge in the laws, that he was frequently choſen arbitrator between contending parties; and by that, and his good behaviour in all other reſpects, he obtained ſo much honour and intereſt, that there was ſcarce any publick tranſaction, over which he had not a conſiderable influence; even in the elections for Members of Parliament, ſuch as he named at Rippon, and other corporations, carrying the vote and favour of the people. He was alſo appointed one of his Majeſty's High-Commiſſioners; in which office he was very curious in the diſquiſition of all cauſes, and by ſome was accounted ſevere: but, however rough his ſpeech might ſometimes be, his dealings were generally ſmooth and gentle (*b*). In the year 1633, he took the degree of Bachelor, and in 1630, that of Doctor in Divinity (*i*) [*E*]. Soon after, he was invited to Ireland by the Lord Viſcount Wentworth Deputy of that kingdom, and Sir Chriſtopher Wandesford Maſter of the Rolls; and he accepted of their invitation, though he had a proſpect of being promoted in his native country, and was offered to be made one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary. Having therefore reſigned all his Church-preferments in England, he went over into Ireland in the year 1623; and, a little while after, obtained the archdeaconry of Meath, the beſt in that kingdom. The firſt publick ſervice he was employed in, was a regal viſitation, in which he was either one of the King's Commiſſioners with Baron Hilton Judge of the Prerogative, or ſuch a coadjutor that all was governed by his directions. In this viſitation, he found the revenues of the Church miſerably waſted, the diſcipline ſcandalouſly deſpiſed, and the Miniſters but meanly provided. The biſhopricks, in particular, were wretchedly dilapidated by fee-farms, and long leaſes and ſmall rents [*F*]. But he applied, in proceſs of time, proper remedies to theſe ſeveral evils. And likewiſe endeavoured to deſtroy ſome opinions of general credit, that he judged very prejudicial to a good life [*G*], which yet were reverenced almoſt like articles of faith (*k*). In the year 1634, he was promoted to the biſhoprick of Londonderry, and conſecrated the ſixteenth of May, in the chapel of the caſtle of Dublin (*l*). While he enjoyed this See he very much improved it; not only in advancing the rents, but alſo in recovering lands (*m*) detained from his predeceſſors: by which means he doubled the yearly profits of that biſhoprick (*n*). But the greateſt ſervice he did the Church of Ireland, was, by getting, with the Lord-Deputy's aſſiſtance, ſeveral Acts paſſed, in the Parliament which met in that kingdom, July 14, 1634 [*H*].

(*b*) Life, &c. p. 4, 5.

(*i*) From the Grace-book of Sidney-college, as above.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 7, 8, 9.

(*l*) Sir James Ware, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) As Termin, Colahy, &c.

(*n*) Life, &c. as above, p. 10, 11.

In

two authors muſt be miſtaken. The Prebend he had, was that of Huſtwaith, in the Church of York.

[*E*] *He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity.*] The theſis he diſputed upon, on that occaſion, was this: *Pontifex Romanus eſt cauſa vel procreans vel conſervans, omnium vel ſaltem præcipuarum controverſiarum in orbe Chriſtiano. i. e.* 'The Pope is the author, or 'maintainer, of all, or at leaſt of the chief, controverſies in the Chriſtian world.' And in all his exerciſes, then, he made it appear, that he had not loſt his time in the country, nor evaporated all in pulpit-diſcourſes, but that he had furniſhed himſelf with very ſubſtantial learning (7).

(7) Life, &c. as above, p. 5.

[*F*] *The biſhopricks were dilapidated by fee-farms, and long leaſes and ſmall rents.*] Theſe had been granted, partly by the Popiſh Biſhops, who reſolved to carry as much with them as they could; and partly by their Proteſtant ſucceſſors, who might fear another turn, and were, having their example, diſpoſed enough to make uſe of the ſame arts. By ſuch means on the one ſide and the other, many biſhopricks were made extremely ſmall; ſome reduced to one hundred pounds *per annum*; ſome to fifty, as Waterford, Kilſenoragh; &c. Some to five marks, as Kilmacduagh; and particularly Cloyne, the Biſhop whereof was called *Epiſcopus quinque marcarum*, the five marks Biſhop. Aghadoe was only one pound one ſhilling and eight pence; and Ardfert but ſixty pounds. Lymerick had above five parts in ſix made away by fee-farms, or encroached on by undertakers. The like was done in Caſhel, Emly, Waterford, Liſmore, and Killaloe.—In ſome dioceſes, as in Ferns and Leighlin, there was ſcarce a living left, that was not farmed out to the patron, or to ſome for his uſe, at two, three, four, or five pounds *per annum*, for a long time, three lives, or a hundred years (8).

(8) Ibid. p. 7, 8, 25.

[*G*] *And likewiſe endeavoured to deſtroy ſome opinions of general credit, that he judged very prejudicial to a good life.*] And he was very deſirous to abate of their value, and to reduce them to what they ought only to paſs for, ſchool-opinions: That ſo men might have the liberty of their private reaſons. He could not endure to ſee ſome perſons enſlave their judgment to a perſon or a party, that cry up nothing more than Chriſtian liberty. He thought that liberty was much confined, by being chained to any man's chair, as if all he uttered, were oracles, and to be made the ſtandard and teſt of orthodoxy. That the Chriſtian faith and liberty are then moſt in danger, when ſo many things are crouded into confeſſions, that what ſhould be practical, becomes purely a ſcience, of a rule of life a uſeleſs ſpeculation, of a thing eaſy to be underſtood, a thing hard to be remembred. That it was the intereſt of the Proteſtant Church, to widen her bottom, and make her articles as charitable and comprehenſive as ſhe could, that thoſe nicer accuracies that divide the greateſt wits in the world, might not be made the characteriſticks of reformation, and give occaſion to one party to excommunicate and cenſure another. Thus he ſaw the Church of England conſtituted, both Calviniſts and Arminians ſubſcribe the ſame propoſitions, and walk to the houſe of God as friends (9).

(9) Ibid. p. 9.

[*H*] *Several acts paſſed in the Parliament which met in that kingdom, July the fourteenth,* 1634.] The firſt was, 'A ſtatute for the maintenance and execution 'of pious uſes, obliging all Archbiſhops and Biſhops 'to perform every ſuch truſt, according to the true 'intent of the deeds, in that behalf made, or to be 'made (10).' The next was, 'A ſtatute for confirma-'tion of leaſes made by the Lord Primate, and other 'Biſhops of Ulſter, of ſuch endowments as had been 'made by King James to the Archbiſhoprick of Ar-'magh, the Biſhopricks of Derry, Clogher, Raphoe, 'and Killmore, giving them power any time within 'five years, to make leaſes for ſixty years of ſuch 'lands (11).' By this ſtatute, the Church was enabled, on the ſurrender of titles to free-farms, and ſome improvement of rent, to make leaſes, as above, for ſixty years; by which means ſhe was in many places bettered at preſent, and had a hopeful proſpect of recovering her full right at laſt. But the beſt defence of the Iriſh Church, was the ſtatute entituled, 'An Act 'for the preſervation of the inheritance, rights, and 'profits of lands belonging to the Church, and per-'ſons eccleſiaſtical (12).' This limited them to time and rent, preſcribed what they might ſet, and for what,

(10) Sir Richar Bolton's Statute of Ireland, Seſſ. c. 1. fol. 50.

(11) Ibid. c. fol. 56.

(12) Seſſ. 4. c. fol. 78.

and

in purſuance of which, he aboliſhed the fee-farms that were charged on church-lands; and obtained compoſitions for the rent, inſtead of the ſmall reſerved rents. He likewiſe was very inſtrumental, in getting ſuch impropriations as remained in the Crown, veſted by King Charles I, on the ſeveral incumbents, after the expiration of the leaſes. Some he recovered by law: and perſuaded many perſons poſſeſſed with tithes, to reſtore them, or ſufficiently to endow the vicarages, or to grant a fit ſalary at leaſt to the Curates. Moreover, he purchaſed himſelf abundance of impropriations; either with his own money; or by large remittances from England; by money given by his Majeſty to pious uſes; by borrowing large ſums, and ſecuring them out of the iſſues of the impropriations he bought; by voluntary contributions; and by a ſhare of the goods of perſons dying inteſtate. By theſe, and other means, he regained to the Church, in the ſpace of four years, thirty or forty thouſand pounds a year (*o*). In the Convocation that met at the ſame time, he prevailed upon the Church of Ireland to be united in the ſame faith with the Church of England [*I*], by embracing the XXXIX Articles of Religion agreed upon in the Convocation holden at London in the year 1562. He would fain alſo have got the Engliſh Canons eſtabliſhed in Ireland; but, notwithſtanding his utmoſt endeavours, he could obtain no more, than, that ſuch of our Canons as were fit to be tranſplanted among the Iriſh, ſhould be removed thither, and others new framed, and added to them. Accordingly, a book of Canons was compiled, chiefly by our Biſhop, and having paſſed in Convocation, received the royal confirmation. For all theſe ſervices, he met, from ſeveral quarters, with a great deal of detraction and envy; and, according to the faſhion of thoſe times, was charged with Arminianiſm and Popery: but he was not of a ſpirit to be ſcared from what he thought his duty with noiſe and ill-words (*p*). Having thus, for a conſiderable time, laboured for the good of others, he thought it time to make ſome proviſion for his own family. In order to it, he took a journey to England in 1637, and was received with much reſpect by perſons of the higheſt quality, particularly in his native country. But when he came to London, he was ſurprized with the news of an information exhibited againſt him in the Star-Chamber [*K*], of which, however, he ſoon cleared himſelf. After having received much honour from King Charles I. and many civilities from Archbiſhop Laud, and other great perſons, he returned to Ireland; and with ſix thouſand pounds for which he ſold his eſtate in England, (but brought over at ſeveral times) he purchaſed another of good value, and began a plantation at Omagh in the county of Tyrone. But the diſtractions in that kingdom hindered him from bringing it to perfection (*q*). For he was not without his ſhare, in the troubles that brought Ireland to the brink of deſtruction. On the fourth of March 1640-41, articles of high-treaſon againſt him, and ſeveral of the Prime Miniſters of State (*r*), were exhibited by the Houſe of Commons to the Houſe of Lords in Ireland; wherein they were charged with having conſpired together, to ſubvert the fundamental laws and government of that kingdom, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government; to have pronounced many falſe, unjuſt, and erroneous judgments, againſt law, which had occaſioned divers ſeditions and rebellions; and to have laboured to ſubvert the rights of Parliament, and the ancient courſe of parliamentary proceedings (*s*). The Biſhop was then at Londonderry, when he received intelligence of this accuſation, on the ſixth of March. All his friends

(*o*) Ibid. p. 14, 15, 16.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 17, 18, 19, 20. *Never fear when the Cauſe is juſt*, was one of his uſual ſayings. Ibid. p. 20.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 21, 22.

(*r*) *Viz.* Sir Rich. Bolton, Knt. Lord Chancellor of Ireland; Sir Gerard Lowther, Knt. Chief-Juſtice of the Common Pleas; and Sir George Radcliffe, Knt.

(*s*) See the Articles at length, printed in 1641, 4to.

and how long, and is the ſecurity of ſucceſſion.—Care alſo was taken of the inferior clergy, in another act, which enableth reſtitution 'of impropriations and 'tithes, and other rights eccleſiaſtical, to the clergy, 'with a reſtraint of aliening the ſame, and directions 'for the preſentations to churches (13).'

(13) Seſſ. 4. c. 2. fol. 75. In purſuance of, and by the benefit of theſe Acts, the Rents of the See of Ardmagh in particular, were improved 735*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* yearly, more than uſual. Life, &c. as above, p. 13.

[*I*] *In the Convocation that met at the ſame time, he prevailed upon the Church of Ireland to be united in the ſame faith with the Church of England.*] The faith of both was the ſame in the main, only with this difference, that the Iriſh articles were more rigid and Calviniſtical. Of which no better reaſon can be given, than that the firſt reformers in Ireland, on account of the great number of Papiſts in that kingdom, endeavoured to guard againſt them as much as poſſible. Therefore, like burnt children, which ſo much dread the fire, that they think they can never be far enough from their fear, they became very dogmatical in ſome propoſitions (moſt oppoſite as they conceived to the Church of Rome), left undetermiued by the Church of England. Now Biſhop Bramhall laboured, in the Convocation, to have the correſpondence more accurate and entire: and diſcourſed with great moderation and ſobriety, of the convenience of having the articles of peace and communion in every national Church worded in that latitude, that diſſenting perſons, in thoſe things that concerned not the Chriſtian faith, might ſubſcribe, and the Church not loſe the benefit of their labours, for an opinion which perhaps they could not help; that it were to be wiſhed, ſuch articles might be contrived for the whole Chriſtian world, but eſpecially that the Proteſtant Churches under the King's dominion might all ſpeak the ſame language; and particularly, that thoſe of England and Ireland being reformed by the ſame principle and rule of ſcripture, might confeſs their faith in the ſame form. Perſuaded by theſe arguments, the Convocation drew up a canon, which is as follows. 'For the manifeſtation of our 'agreement with the Church of England in the con-'feſſion of the ſame Chriſtian faith, and the doctrine 'of the ſacraments, we do receive and approve the 'book of articles of religion, agreed upon by the 'Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and the whole clergy in 'the Convocation, holden at London in the year '1562, &c. And therefore if any hereafter ſhall af-'firm, that any of thoſe articles are in any part ſu-'perſtitious or erroneous, or ſuch as he may not with 'a good conſcience ſubſcribe unto, let him be excom-'municated, and not abſolved before he make publick 'revocation of his error (14).'

(14) Life, &c. p. 17, 18.

[*K*] *An information exhibited againſt him in the Star-Chamber.*] The charge was, 'That he was pre-'ſent at Rippon, when one Mr Palmes had made ſome 'reflecting diſcourſe upon his Majeſty, and that his 'Lordſhip had taken no notice of it, either to reprove 'him or inform againſt him.' The words deſerved no very capital puniſhment, if they had been true, being no more than, 'That he feared a Scotiſh miſt was 'come over their town;' becauſe the King had altered his lodgings from Rippon, where he had deſigned them, to one Sir Richard Graham's houſe, not far from that place: But the Biſhop eaſily cleared the whole company (15).

(15) Ibid. p. 22.

[*L*] *In*

friends wrote to him to decline the trial, but he thought it dishonourable to fly. On the contrary, he repaired to Dublin, and shewed himself the next day in the Parliament-house, where his enemies stood staring upon him for a while, and then made him a close prisoner. But though all persons were encouraged to contribute to his ruin, they found little to object, but his endeavours to retrieve the ancient patrimony of the Church. Notwithstanding they examined all his actions with despight, they could not fix the least tincture of private advantage on him; none of his relations, family, or friends, being one farthing the richer for any thing he had recovered to the Church. Not being able, therefore, to make any thing good on that head, they endeavoured to worry him, with the accusation of his having attempted to subvert the fundamental laws. In this distress he writ to the Primate Usher, then in England, for his advice and comfort [*L*]; who mediated so effectually in his behalf with the King, that his Majesty sent a letter over to Ireland, to stop proceedings against Bishop Bramhall. But this letter was very slowly obeyed; however, the Bishop was at length restored to liberty, but without any publick acquittal, the charge lying still dormant against him, to be awakened when his enemies pleased (*t*). Shortly after his return to Londonderry, Sir Phelim O-Neil contrived his ruin in the following manner. He directed a letter to him wherein he desired, 'that, according to their 'articles, such a gate of the city should be delivered to him:' expecting that the Scots in the place would, upon the discovery, become his executioners. But the person who was to manage the matter, ran away with the letter. Though this design took no place, the Bishop found no safety there. The city daily filling with discontented persons out of Scotland, he began to grow afraid they would deliver him up. One night they turned a cannon against his house to affront him; whereupon, being persuaded by his friends to look on that as a warning, he took their advice, and privately embarked for England. He went into Yorkshire, where, by his example, his frequent exhortations from the pulpit, his incessant labours with the gentry, and his prudent advices to the Marquis of Newcastle, he put great life into the King's affairs. Moreover, he sent a considerable present of plate to his Majesty at Nottingham: and composed some things in favour of the royal cause, of which we shall give an account below (*u*). Thus he continued active all the time of his being in England; that is, 'till the unfortunate battle of Marston-moor: but, after that, the King's affairs being grown entirely desperate, the Bishop embarked with several persons of distinction, and landed at Hamburgh, July 8, 1644 (*w*) [*M*]. Thence he went to Brussels, where he continued for the most part 'till the year 1648, with Sir Henry De Vic the King's Resident: preaching constantly every Sunday, and frequently administring the sacrament. The English merchants of Antwerp, ten leagues thence, used to be monthly of his audience and communion, and were his best benefactors. In the year 1648 he returned into Ireland; and after having undergone several dangers and difficulties [*N*], narrowly escaped thence in a little bark [*O*]. At his arrival into foreign parts,

(*t*) Life, &c. as above, p. 24, 25, 26.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 26, 27. See below note [*U*]. It was then he writ *Fair Warning*, *Serpent-Salve*, &c.

(*w*) Historical Collections, &c. by J. Rushworth, Vol. V. edit. 1721, p. 637.

[*L*] *In this distress he writ to the Primate Usher, then in England, for his advice and comfort.*] Part of his letter to him, was as follows. 'It would have 'been a great comfort and contentment to me, to 'have received a few lines of counsell or comfort in 'this my great affliction, which has befallen me for my 'zeal to the service of his Majestie and the good of 'this Church, in being a poor instrument to restore the 'usurped advowzons and appropriations to the Crown, 'and to encrease the revenue of the Church, in a fair 'just way, alwaies with the consent of parties, which 'did ever use to take away errors: but now it is said, 'to be obtained by threatning and force. What force 'did I ever use to any? what one man ever suffered 'for not consenting? my force was only force of rea-'son and law. The scale must needs yield when 'weight is put into it. And your Grace knows to 'what pass many Bishopricks were brought, &c. See 'above note [*F*] how the Chantries of Ardee, Don-'dalk, &c. were employed to maintaine Priests and 'Fryers, which are now the chief maintenance of the 'incumbents. In all this my part was only labour 'and expence, but I find that losses make deeper im-'pression than benefits. I cannot stop mens mouths, 'but I challenge the world for one farthing I ever got 'either by references or Church-preferments. I fly 'to your Grace as an anchor at this time, when my 'friends cannot help me. God knows how I have 'exulted at night, that day I had gained any consider-'able revenue to the Church, little dreaming that in 'future times that act should be questioned as treason-'able. I never took the oath of Judge or Counseller, 'yet do I not know wherein I ever in all those passages 'deviated from the rule of Justice, &c.'—This letter is dated April 26, 1641.

Archbishop Usher, in his answer has these words.—'I assure you my care never slackened in solliciting 'your cause at Court, with as great vigilancy, as if 'it did touch mine own proper person. I never in-'termitted any occasion of mediating with his Majestie 'in your behalf, who still pittyed your case, acknow-'ledged the faithfulness of your services both to the 'Church and to him, avowed that you were no more 'guilty of treason than himself, and assured me that 'he would do for you all that lay in his power, '&c (16).'

(16) Life, as above, p. 25.

[*M*] *And landed at Hamburgh, July* 8, 1644.] Shortly after the treaty of Uxbridge, the Parliaments of England and Scotland made this one of their preliminary demands, That Bishop Bramhall, together with Archbishop Laud, &c. should be excepted out of the general pardon. This was accordingly done, in an ordinance of indemnity, passed by the Rump-Parliament in 1652 (†).

(†) Dugdale's View, &c. p. 741.

[*N*] *And after having undergone several dangers and difficulties.*] All the while he was there, he had his life continually in his hand, being in perils by the Irish, in perils by his own countrymen, and in perils by false brethren. At Limerick, the Earl of Roscomon had such a fall coming down a pair of stairs, that he lived only so long to declare his faith (at Bishop Bramhall's instance) as it is professed in the Church of England: which gave such offence to the Romanists there, who would have reported he died a Papist, if he had not spoke at all, that they threatned the Bishop's death, if he did not suddenly depart the town. At Portumnagh, indeed, he and such as went with him enjoyed afterwards more freedom under the Marquis of Clanrickard's protection, and an allowance of the Church-service: but, at the revolt of Cork, he had a very narrow deliverance, which Cromwell was so troubled at, that he declared he would have given a good sum of money for that *Irish Canterbury* (17).

(17) Ibid. p. 27, 28.

[*O*] *Narrowly escaped thence in a little bark.*] This escape of his is accounted very wonderful. For, the little bark he was in, was closely hunted by two of the Parliament-

parts, providence ſupplied him with a conſiderable ſum of money, of which he greatly ſtood in need (*x*). For having had ſeven hundred pounds long due to him, for ſalmon caught in the river Bann (*y*), and ſent abroad, which debt he looked upon as loſt; he was now ſo fortunate as to recover it: which proved a ſeaſonable relief, both to him, and to many royaliſts that partook of his generoſity. During this ſecond time of his being abroad, he had many diſputes about religion with the learned of all nations, ſometimes occaſionally, and at other times by appointment and formal challenge; and writ ſeveral things in defence of the Church of England (*z*). He likewiſe purpoſed to draw a parallel between the liturgy of the Church of England, and the publick forms of the Proteſtant Churches; and for that end deſigned a journey into Spain; but he met with an unexpected diverſion in his firſt day's journey into that kingdom (*a*) [*P*]. At the ſame time, there was a great friendſhip and correſpondence between him and the Marquis of Montroſe, whoſe cauſe he often recommended to the favour and juſtice of foreign Princes (*b*). Upon the reſtoration of the Church and Monarchy, Biſhop Bramhall returned to England (*c*); and was, from the firſt, deſigned for ſome higher promotion. Moſt people imagined it would be the archbiſhoprick of York; but at laſt he was appointed Archbiſhop of Armagh, Primate and Metropoliton of all Ireland (*d*) [*Q*], to which he was tranſlated the eighteenth of January, 1660-61 (*e*). Not long after, he conſecrated, in one day, Dr Margetſon, Archbiſhop of Dubin; Dr Pullen, of Tuam; and the following ten Biſhops, Dr Boyle, Biſhop of Cork; Dr Parker, of Elfin; Dr Jeremy Taylor, of Down; Syng, of Lymerick; Price, of Leighlin; Baker, of Waterford; Wild, of Derry; Leſsly, of Dromore; Worth, of Killalow; and Hall, of Killala. The ceremony was performed in the cathedral church of St Patrick, Dublin, the Lords-Juſtices and Council attending (*f*). In this ſame year, he viſited his dioceſe, where he found great diſorder; ſome having committed horrible outrages, and many imbibed very ſtrong prejudices, both againſt his perſon, and the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church: but by lenity and reproof, by argument, perſuaſion, and long ſuffering, he gained upon them even beyond his own expectation. He uſed to ſay, men muſt have ſome time to return to their wits, that had been ſo long out of them. Therefore, by his prudence and moderation he greatly ſoftened the ſpirit of oppoſition, and effectually obtained the point he aimed at (*g*) [*R*]. As he was, by his place, Preſident of the Convocation which met the eighth of May 1661, ſo was he alſo, for his merit, choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, in the Parliament which met at the ſame time [*S*]. And ſo great a value had both Houſes for him, that they appointed Committees, to examine what was upon record in their books,

(*x*) Life, &c. p. 27, 28.

(*y*) Where there is a fine ſalmon-fiſhery belonging to the Biſhop of London-derry.—The Biſhop had alſo ſome relief from the Lord Scudamore. See View of the Churches of Derry, &c. Lond. 1727, 4to, by Mr Gibſon, p. 110.

(*z*) See below, note [*U*]; and Life, p. 29, &c.

(*a*) Life, &c. p. 33; and Works, p. 511.

(*b*) Life, p. 29.

(*c*) In October 1660. Publick Intelligence, 4to.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 34.

(*e*) Sir James Ware's Works, as above.

(*f*) Ware's Works, in the Lives of thoſe reſpective Prelates; and Life, as above, p. 35.

(*g*) Life, &c. as above, p. 35, 36.

Parliament-frigates, many of which were on that coaſt, and when they were come ſo near, that all hopes of being ſaved were taken away; on a ſudden, the wind ſlackened into a perfect calm, and as it were flew into the ſails of the little veſſel, and carried her away in view (18)

(3) Ibid. p. 28.

[*P*] *But he met with an unexpected diverſion in his firſt day's journey into that kingdom.*] For he no ſooner came into the houſe where he intended to refreſh himſelf, but he was known and called by his name by the hoſteſs. And his Lordſhip admiring at his being diſcovered, ſhe ſoon revealed the ſecret and ſhewed him his own picture, and aſſured him there were ſeveral of them upon the road, that being known by them, he might be ſeized and carried to the Inquiſition; and that her huſband among others had power to that purpoſe, which he would certainly make uſe of, if he found him. The Biſhop ſaw evidently he was a condemned man, being already hanged *in effigie*, and therefore made uſe of the advertiſement, and eſcaped out of the power of that Court (19).

(4) Ibid. p. 33.

[*Q*] *Archbiſhop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland.*] The author of his life obſerves (20), That 'no man could be more acceptable to the Clergy 'there, becauſe none ſo fit to repair the breaches of 'the Church, by knowing to what part every ſtone 'and every piece of timber belonged, as this ſkilful 'Architect; who by aſſigning the proper place for 'every thing, had the ſatisfaction to ſee the build-'ing riſe ſuddenly out of it's aſhes, without the noiſe 'of hammer, or any contradiction; the authority 'of his perſon and of his judgment ſilenced all the 'oppoſition, which one of leſs veneration might poſ-'ſibly have met with. All men's expectations were 'fixed on him, and many of the prime Nobility and 'Clergy in England, particularly the Queen of Bo-'hemia, congratulated the Church's happineſs in his 'promotion'

(5) Page 34.

[*R*] *And effectually obtained the point he aimed at.*] We have one inſtance of his prudence, in turning the edge of the moſt popular objection of that time againſt Conformity. When the benefices were called over at the viſitation, ſeveral appeared, and exhibited only ſuch titles as they had received from the late powers. He told them, 'they were no legal titles, but in re-'gard he heard well of them, he was willing to 'make ſuch to them by inſtitution and induction; 'which they thankfully accepted of.'—— But when he deſired to ſee their letters of orders, ſome had no other, but their certificates of ordination by ſome Preſbyterian claſſes, which, he told them, did not qualify them for any preferment in the Church. Whereupon the queſtion aroſe, 'Are we not Miniſters of the Goſ-'pel?' To which his Grace anſwered, That is not the queſtion, at leaſt, he deſired for peace ſake, that might not be the queſtion for that time. 'I 'diſpute not, ſaid he, the value of your ordination, 'nor thoſe acts you have exerciſed by virtue of it; 'what you are, or might be here when there was no 'law, or in other Churches abroad. But we are now 'to conſider ourſelves at a national Church limited by 'law, which among other things takes chief care to 'preſcribe about ordination: and I do not know how 'you could recover the means of the Church, if any 'ſhould refuſe to pay you your tithes, if you are not 'ordained as the law of this Church requireth; and 'I am deſirous that ſhe may have your labours, and 'you ſuch portions of her revenue, as ſhall be allotted 'you in a legal and aſſured way.' By this means he gained ſuch as were learned and ſober (21).

(21) Life, &c. p. 35, 36.

[*S*] *Choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, in the Parliament which met at the ſame time.*] The author of his life obſerves (22), that it is not eaſy to ſay, which of the two places he filled beſt, whether the Stateſman or Divine ſhined with greater brightneſs. He had a judgment ſo clear, and a ſpeech ſo plain and perſuaſive, that he could readily unravel any intricacy, and divide all the parts of the controverſy into their proper ſides, ſo that the heavier ſcale would eaſily ſhew itſelf. In ſhort, he ſo moderated and ſtated all queſtions that aroſe, that few aſſemblies can boaſt of ſo great an intereſt being diſputed with ſo little noiſe (tho' there wanted not ſome) in thoſe kind of arguments wherein men are not uſually the moſt ſilent.

(22) Page 37.

books, concerning him and the Earl of Strafford, and ordered the ſcandalous charges againſt them to be torn out, which was accordingly done. In this Parliament, many advantages were procured, and more deſigned, for the Church, in which Archbiſhop Bramhall was very induſtrious. Several of the Biſhops obtained their augmentations through his interceſſion; as likewiſe the inferior clergy the forfeited impropriate tithes; and the whole Church, all the advantageous clauſes in the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. There were two bills, for the paſſing of which he took great pains, but was defeated in both; one was, for making the tithing-table of Ulſter the rule for the whole kingdom; the other, for enabling the Biſhops to make leaſes for ſixty years (*b*). About this time he had a violent ſickneſs, being the ſecond fit of a palſey, which was very near putting an end to his life, but he recovered. Before his death, he was intent upon a royal viſitation, in order to the correction of ſome diſorders he had obſerved, and the better ſettlement of Miniſters upon their cures, by a more convenient diſtribution or union of pariſhes, and the building of churches (*i*): but he could not put this, and ſome other deſigns he had formed in execution. A little before his death he viſited his diocefe, and having provided for the repair of his cathedral, and other affairs ſuitable to his paſtoral office, he returned to Dublin about the middle of May 1663. The latter end of the month following, he was ſeized with the third fit of the palſey [*T*], which quickly put an end to his life. By his wife, mentioned above, he had four children, a ſon, and three daughters. The ſon, Sir Thomas Bramhall, Bart. married the daughter of Sir Paul Davys, Knt, Clerk of the Council, and died without iſſue. Of the daughters; the eldeſt married Sir James Graham, ſon to the Earl of Monteith; the ſecond to Alderman Foxteath of Droghedah; and the third to Standiſh Hartſtrong, Eſq; Among other benefactions, the Archbiſhop left a legacy of five hundred pounds for the repair of the cathedral of Armagh, and St Peter's at Droghedah (*k*). We ſhall give an account of his works in the note [*U*]. With regard to his perſon and character; he was of a middle ſtature

(*b*) Ibid. p. 37, 38.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 39.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 39, 42, 43.

[*T*] *The latter end of June, he was ſeized with the third fit of the palſey.*] He had then a tryal for ſome part of his temporal eſtate, at Omagh, with Sir Audley Mervyn, depending in the Court of Claimes; and there, at the time of hearing, the third fit of the palſey ſo ſmote him, that he ſunk in the Court, was carried out ſenſeleſs, and continued ſo, 'till death finiſhed his work. Had the cauſe been unjuſt, as the author of his life obſerves (23), or adjudged againſt him, ſome cenſorious ſpirits, would not have ſpared to have made left-hand judgments, from the circumſtances of his death; but his right ſo appeared on the argument, that he was a conqueror in his death, and victory and honour waited on him to the grave.

(23) Page 42.

[*U*] *We ſhall give an account of his works*, &c.] They were moſt of them publiſhed at different times. But they were all reprinted at Dublin, in the year 1677, in one volume folio, under this title: 'The Works of 'the Moſt Reverend Father in God, John Bramhall, 'D. D. late Lord Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, Primate 'and Metropolitan of all Ireland. Some of which 'never before printed. Collected into one volume. 'To which is added (for the vindication of ſome of 'his writings) an exact copy of the records, touching 'Archbiſhop Parker's conſecration, taken from the 'original, in the regiſtry of the See of Canterbury. 'As alſo, the copy of an old manuſcript, in Corpus-'Chriſti college in Cambridge, of the ſame ſubject.' This volume is divided into four tomes, or parts. Tome I. containeth the diſcourſes againſt the Romaniſts, viz. 1. 'An Anſwer to M. De la Militiere 'his impertinent Dedication of his imaginary Tri-'umph; [intituled *The Victory of Truth*] or his 'Epiſtle to the King of Great-Britain, [King 'Charles II.] wherein he inviteth His Majeſty to 'forſake the Church of England, and to embrace the 'Roman-Catholick religion.' With the ſaid Militiere's Epiſtle prefixed. This was firſt publiſhed at the Hague, in 1654. 12*mo.* but not by the author. The occaſion of it was, That the Romaniſts endeavoured to perſuade King Charles II. during his exile, to hope his reſtoration, by embracing their Religion: and, for that purpoſe, employed M. de la Militiere, Counſellor in ordinary to the King of France, to write him this epiſtle (24). 2. 'A juſt Vindication of the Church 'of England, from the unjuſt Aſperſion of criminal 'Schiſm. Wherein the nature of criminal Schiſm, 'the divers ſorts of Schiſmaticks, the Liberties and 'Privileges of National Churches, the Rights of 'Sovereign Magiſtrates, the Tyranny, Extortion, and 'Schiſm of the Roman Court, with the Grievances, 'Complaints, and Oppoſition of all Princes and States 'of the Roman Communion of old, and at this very 'day, are manifeſted to the view of the World.' Firſt printed at London, 1661. 8*vo.* In this Diſcourſe he proves (25), That the ſeparation from the Court of Rome was not made by Proteſtants, but Roman Catholicks themſelves. That the Britannick Churches, were ever exempted from all foreign juriſdiction for the firſt ſix hundred years; and had both ſufficient authority, and ſufficient grounds, to withdraw their obedience from Rome (26). 3. 'A Repli-'cation to the Biſhop of Chalcedon's [Richard Smith] 'Survey of the Vindication of the Church of England, 'from criminous Schiſm. Clearing the Engliſh from 'the Aſperſion of Cruelty. With an Appendix, in 'anſwer to the Exceptions of S. W.' Printed at firſt, with *A juſt Vinditation*, &c. 4. 'Schiſm guarded, 'and beaten back upon the right Owners. Shewing, 'That our great Controverſie about Papal Power, is 'not a Queſtion of Faith, but of Intereſt and Profit, 'not with the Church of Rome, but with the Court 'of Rome, wherein the true Controverſie doth conſiſt, who were the firſt Innovators, when, and where, 'theſe Papal Innovations firſt began in England, with 'the oppoſition that was made againſt them.' This is an anſwer to a book intituled, *Schiſm Diſpatched*, by S. W. *i. e.* William Serjeant. And, among other things, our author proves, That the Pope hath no legiſlative, nor judiciary, power in England (27). 5. 'The Conſecration and Succeſſion of Proteſtant 'Biſhops juſtified. The Biſhop of Dureſme vindi-'cated. And that infamous Fable, of the Ordination 'at the Nag's-head, clearly confuted.' This is an anſwer, to a calumny of two Jeſuits, Father Talbot, and Father B———, againſt our author. And the Biſhop of Durham here vindicated, is Biſhop Morton, who was charged by the ſame Fathers, 'in 1640, when 'ſome Preſbyterian Lords preſented to the Upper-'Houſe a book, proving, that the Proteſtant Biſhops 'had no ſucceſſion or conſecration, and therefore were 'no Biſhops——— to have made a ſpeech againſt 'that book; and endeavoured to prove ſucceſſion from 'the laſt Catholick Biſhops, who, by impoſition of 'hands, ordained the firſt Proteſtant Biſhops, at the 'Nag's-head in Cheapſide.'——In oppoſition to which, Biſhop Morton, and ſuch of the ſpiritual and temporal Lords, as were in the Houſe in 1640, and ſtill living in 1658, made ſolemn proteſtations (inſerted in this book) 'That no ſuch book was ever preſented, nor 'ſuch a ſpeech made by Biſhop Morton.'——Tome II. Againſt the Engliſh Sectaries; comprehends, 1. 'A 'Fair Warning to take heed of the Scotiſh Diſcipline, 'as being of all others, moſt injurious to the Civil Ma-'giſtrate, moſt oppreſſive to the ſubject, moſt perni-'cious to both.' Written in the beginning of the civil wars. 2. 'The Serpent ſalve: or, a Remedy for the 'biting of an Aſpe Wherein the Obſervator's Grounds 'are

(24) Life, &c. as above, p. 29, 30.

(25) Ch. iii.

(26) Ch. v. and vi.

(27) Sect. I. ch. 6, 7.

ſtature and active, but his mein and preſence not altogther ſo great as his endowments of mind. His complexion highly ſanguine, pretty deeply tinctured with choler, which in his declining years became predominant, and would ſometimes overflow, not without ſome tartneſs of expreſſion, but it proceeded no further *(l)*. As he was a great lover of plain-dealing, and plain-ſpeaking *(m)*, ſo his converſation was free and familiar, patient of any thing in diſcourſe but obſtinacy; his ſpeech ready and intelligible, ſmooth and ſtrong, free from affectation of phraſe or phancy, ſaying, it was a boyiſh ſport to hunt for words, and argued a penury of matter, which would always find expreſſion for itſelf. His underſtanding was very good, and greatly improved by labour and ſtudy. As a ſcholar; his excellency lay in the rational and argumentative part of learning. He was alſo well acquainted with eccleſiaſtical and other Hiſtories; and in the pulpit an excellent perſuaſive orator. He was a firm friend to the Church of England, bold in the defence of it, and patient in ſuffering for it. Yet he was very far from any thing like bigotry. He had a great allowance and charity for men of different perſuaſions, looking upon thoſe churches as in a tottering condition that ſtood upon nice opinions. And accordingly, he made a diſtinction between articles neceſſary for peace and order, and thoſe that are neceſſary to ſalvation. And he often declared, That the Church was not to be healed but by general propoſitions *(n)*.

(l) Ibid. p. 43.

(m) Ibid. p. 21.

(n) Ibid. p. 43.

' are diſcuſſed, &c.' written dialogue wiſe, and in vindication of King Charles I wherein the author endeavours to prove, that power is not originally inherent in, and derived from, the people, &c. firſt printed in 1643. 3. ' Biſhop Bramhall's vindication of himſelf, ' and the Epiſcopal Clergy, from the Preſbyterian ' Charge of Popery, as it is managed by Mr Baxter, in ' his Treatiſe of the Grotian Religion.'——Tome III. againſt Mr Hobbes. 1. ' A Defence of true Liberty, ' from antecedent and extrinſecal Neceſſity. Being an ' anſwer to a late book of Mr Thomas Hobbes of ' Malmſbury, intituled, A Treatiſe of Liberty and ' Neceſſity.' Firſt printed in 1656, *4to.* 2. ' Caſtigations of Mr Hobbes his laſt Animadverſions, ' in the Caſe concerning Liberty, and univerſal ' Neceſſity.' Firſt printed in 1658. 3. ' The catching of Leviathan: or, the Great Whale. Demonſtrating out of Mr Hobbes his own Works, That no ' man who is thoroughly an Hobbiſt, can be a good ' Chriſtian, or a good Commonwealth's man, or reconcile himſelf to himſelf. Becauſe his Principles ' are not only deſtructive to all Religion, but to all ' Societies; extinguiſhing the relation between Prince ' and Subject, Parent and Child, Maſter and Servant, ' Huſband and Wife; and abound with palpable contradictions'——Tome IV. contains, 1. ' The controverſies about the Sabbath, and the Lord's day; ' with their reſpective obligations. Clearly, ſuccinctly, ' and impartially ſtated, diſcuſſed, and determined.' 2. ' A Sermon preached in York-Minſter, before his ' Excellency the Marquis of Newcaſtle, being then ' ready to meet the Scotch army, Jan. 28. 1643.' Printed firſt at York 1643. 3. ' A Sermon preached ' at Dublin, upon the twenty-third of April 1661, being the day appointed for his Majeſties coronation; ' with two ſpeeches made in the Houſe of Peers, the ' eleventh of May 1661, when the Houſe of Commons ' preſented their Speaker.' 4. ' The right way to ' Safety after Shipwrack: in a Sermon preached to the ' Honourable Houſe of Commons, in St Patrick's ' Church, Dublin June 16. 1661. at their ſolemn receiving of the bleſſed Sacrament.' 5. ' A ſhort Diſcourſe to Sir Henry de Vic, about a paſſage at his ' table, after the chriſtening of his daughter Anne ' Charlott; Of perſons dying without Baptiſm (28).' 6. ' An Anſwer to two Papers brought him June the ' nineteenth, 1645:' about the Proteſtants Ordination, ' &c.' 7. ' Proteſtants Ordination defended, &c. or, ' An Anſwer to the twentieth chapter of the Guide of ' Faith: or, The third part of the Antidote of S. N. ' Doctour of Divinity.' ——— He had likewiſe prepared an hundred ſermons for the preſs, but they were torne by the rats before his death. C

(28) See above, in the text of this article.

BRAY (THOMAS), Doctor of Divinity, an eminent, learned, and pious Divine of the XVIIth century, was born at Morton in Shropſhire in 1656; his parents were perſons of good reputation, and inhabitants of that place *(a)*. His infancy diſcovering promiſing parts, he was early ſent to the ſchool at Oſweſtry in the ſame county. His cloſe application to ſchool-learning, ſoon qualified him for a remove, and determined his parents to dedicate him to religion and learning; accordingly, he was entered of Hart-hall in Oxford. Here he ſoon made a conſiderable proficiency in Divinity, as well as other ſtudies neceſſary for the profeſſion for which he was intended, but labouring under the common diſadvantages of a narrow fortune, his circumſtances not permitting a longer reſidence at Oxford, he left the univerſity ſoon after he had commenced Bachelor of Arts *(b)*; much about which time he entered into Holy Orders, and the firſt pariſh wherein Providence placed him to exerciſe his ſpiritual function, was near Bridgenorth in Shropſhire, his native county, from which curacy he ſoon removed into Warwickſhire, officiating as chaplain in Sir Thomas Price's family, of Park-hall, and had the donative of Lac Marſin given him by Sir Thomas, which proved a very advantageous change of ſituation for him, for living now in the neighbourhood of Coleſhill, his exemplary behaviour, and diſtinguiſhed diligence in his calling, introduced him into the acquaintance of Mr Kettlewell, Sir Charles Holt, and the Lord Simon Digby. One incident which contributed to eſtabliſh his character at this juncture, was his preaching the aſſize ſermon at Warwick, on which occaſion Mr Bray, though but young, acquitted himſelf to the ſatisfaction of the whole audience, particularly the Lord Digby, who was afterwards pleaſed to honour him with many proofs of his friendſhip and eſteem [*A*], recommending him

(a) The Life and Deſigns of the Rev. Mr Thomas Bray, 1746.

(b) Ibid.

[*A*] *Recommending him to the worthy and honourable patronage of his brother the preſent Lord Digby.*] For Mr Bray eſteemed it not the leaſt honour and happineſs of his life to be preferred by ſuch a patron as Lord Digby, who was never determined by any other conſideration, in the diſpoſal of preſentations, than of chuſing the moſt uſeful perſons to ſerve in the church, and ſuch as he was perſuaded would make the diſcharge of their duty the ultimate end of their views; an obſervation not a little to Mr Bray's credit, as well as to the honour of my Lord Digby, in an age wherein moſt patrons are governed by party-zeal, ſelf-intereſt, or the powerful ſollicitations of friends and relations; of this Mr Bray was ſo truly ſenſible, that he never mentioned his

him to the worthy and honourable patronage of his brother the preſent Lord Digby, who ſome time after gave him the vicarage of Over-Whitacre in the ſame county, ſince augmented by his patron's uncommon generoſity of endowing it with the great tythes. In the year 1690, the rectory of Sheldon being vacant by Mr Digby Bull's refuſing to take the oaths at the Revolution, his Lordſhip preſented Mr Bray to it, which preferment he held 'till about a quarter of a year before his death, when he reſigned it by reaſon of his advanced age, and the known worth and abilities of his appointed ſucceſſor *(c)*. Dec. 12, 1693, he took his Maſter of Arts degree, in Hart-hall in the univerſity of Oxford *(d)*. In this pariſh of Sheldon he compoſed his Catechetical Lectures, a work which met with general approbation and encouragement [*B*], the publication of which, the firſt fruits of his piety and learning, drew him out of his rural privacy to London, and introduced him into a more conſpicuous and remarkable ſcene of action; for the reputation Mr Bray had acquired by theſe Catechetical Lectures, and the other ſhining qualities with which he adorned his function, immediately determined Dr Compton, Biſhop of London, to pitch upon him as a proper perſon to model the infant Church of Maryland, and eſtabliſh it upon a ſolid foundation [*C*]. Accordingly, in April 1696, he propoſed to Mr Bray, to go on the terms of having the judicial office of Commiſſary, valued, as was repreſented to him, at four hundred pounds *per annum*, conferred upon him, for his ſupport in that ſervice *(e)*. Mr Bray, diſregarding his own intereſt, and the great profit which would have aroſe from finiſhing his Courſe of Lectures on the plan he had formed, ſoon determined in his own mind, that there might be a greater field for doing good in the Plantations, than by his labours here; being always willing to be ſo diſpoſed of in any ſtation, as ſhould appear moſt conducive to the ſervice of God's Church, he no longer demurred to the propoſal, than to enquire into the ſtate of the country, and inform himſelf what was moſt wanting to excite good Miniſters to embark in that deſign, as well as enable them moſt effectually to promote it. With this view he laid before the Biſhops the following conſiderations: —That none but the poorer ſort of clergy could be perſuaded to leave their friends, and change their native country for one ſo remote.—That ſuch perſons could not be able ſufficiently to ſupply themſelves with books; that without ſuch a competent proviſion of books, they could not anſwer the deſign of their miſſion; — that a library would be the beſt encouragement to ſtudious and ſober men to undertake the ſervice; and that, as the great inducement to himſelf to go, would be to do the moſt good he could be capable of doing, he therefore propoſed to their Lordſhips, that if they thought fit to encourage and aſſiſt him in providing parochial libraries, for the Miniſters that ſhould be ſent, he would then accept of the Commiſſary's office in Maryland; this propoſal for parochial libraries being well approved of by the Biſhops, and due encouragement being promiſed in the proſecution of the deſign, both by their Lordſhips and others, he ſet himſelf with all poſſible application to provide Miſſionaries, and to furniſh them with libraries, intending, as ſoon as he ſhould have ſent both, to follow after himſelf *(f)*. But, upon his accepting of this employment of Commiſſary of Maryland, it fell to his ſhare to ſollicit at home whatever other matters related to that Church, more particularly to the ſettlement and eſtabliſhment thereof, which, with all other matters conducing to the good and welfare of the Church, he laboured to promote with unwearied diligence, and ſpared neither expence nor trouble. Of this the reader may find more particulars in note [*D*]. But, above all, it

(c) Ibid. ut ſupra.

(d) A Catalogue of the Oxford Graduates in Law, Phyſick, Divinity, &c. in Oxford, from 1689 to 1726.

(e) The Monthly Chronicle for February, 1738.

(f) The Life of Dr Bray, &c.

his noble benefactor without the utmoſt gratitude for his own obligations, and profoundeſt veneration for all his excellent qualities. My Lord, on the other hand, ſhewed the great eſteem he had for Mr Bray, by not only preſenting him with the livings of Over-Whitacre and Sheldon, but by augmenting and endowing the firſt, for his ſake, with the great tythes; "as laudable and uncommon an example, as his diſintereſtedneſs in his preſentations.

[*B*] *His Catechetical Lectures, a work which met with general approbation and encouragement.*] Was ſo well received, and generally circulated, that three thouſand proved not too great a number for the firſt impreſſion. It was eſteemed by many of the firſt diſtinction in the Church, as the moſt accurate performance extant on that ſubject, and was dedicated to that learned prelate William Lloyd, then Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry, by whoſe perſuaſion, and even *authoritative injunctions*, it was publiſhed (1), and of whoſe favour and eſteem Mr Bray had a more than ordinary ſhare. There was ſoon a demand for the ſecond impreſſion, by both of which, at a very reaſonable price, he cleared upwards of ſeven hundred pounds; nor had he room to doubt of a much greater advantage from the ſucceeding parts, ſo faſt did the ſubſcriptions come in for the ſecond volume, which was in the preſs, but was ſuperſeded for another undertaking.

(1) His Dedication to his Catechetical Lectures, p. 1, 3. 1696.

[*C*] *Determined the Biſhop of London to pitch upon him to model*, &c.] In the year 1691, and 1692, the then Governor and Aſſembly of Maryland, divided that province into pariſhes, and eſtabliſh'd a legal maintenance for the reſpective miniſters. In the month of October 1695, they took into conſideration, the expediency of having ſome one Clergyman to preſide over the reſt; and, in order to ſupport ſome ſuch ſuperintendant Commiſſary or Suffragan, they unanimouſly agreed in a petitionary act to their then Majeſties King William and Queen Mary, to annex for ever, the judicial office of Commiſſary, before in the diſpoſal of the Governor, to that which is purely eccleſiaſtical, and at the appointment of the Biſhop of London, to whom they wrote to deſire him to ſend them over ſome unexceptionable experienced Clergyman for the intended office (2).

(2) The Life and Deſigns of Thomas Bray.

[*D*] *It fell to his ſhare to ſollicit*, &c.] It happened, that the law for the eſtabliſhment of the Church of Maryland, having been ſent over for the Royal Aſſent, was rejected on account of a clauſe, whereby it was enacted, *that the great Charter of England ſhould be kept and obſerved, in all points, within the ſaid province*; being a clauſe of another nature, than was ſet forth in the title of the ſaid law; and the Biſhop of London having obtained, at Council, that inſtructions ſhould be given to have another bill formed, and paſſed into an act, with promiſe that it ſhould be confirmed, if formed and paſſed according to theſe inſtructions. Mr Bray, with the advice of his Lordſhip, and others well ſkilled in plantation-affairs, got a bill drawn up according to the inſtructions, and tranſmitted it to Maryland to be re-enacted in the ſucceeding Aſſembly.

In

it was his greateſt care, to endeavour to ſend over to Maryland and the other colonies, pious men of exemplary lives and converſations [*E*], and to furniſh out thoſe whom he had a hand in ſending, with good libraries of neceſſary and uſeful books, to render them capable of anſwering the ends of their miſſion, and inſtructing the people in all things neceſſary to their ſalvation: and theſe truly found him employment enough, though, on account of the more than ordinary ſervice ſuch a magazine of divine knowledge might be of, he could never be brought to regret the undertaking, however chargeable as well as laborious it proved; one half of either coſt or pains in which it engaged him, muſt have diſcouraged any one, leſs ſenſible to the impreſſions of a religious zeal, from proſecuting it. His only comfort was, that the libraries he had begun and advanced more or leſs in all the provinces on the Continent, and in moſt of the iſlands of America, as alſo in the factories in Africa, did not only ſerve the then Miniſters with whom they were firſt ſent, but by the care of ſome of the governments, and by Acts of Aſſembly, ſettling the rules he had preſcribed for their uſe and preſervation, they might be alſo of advantage to many ſucceeding generations. The ſenſe of the clergy and inhabitants, with reſpect to this, was teſtified by the ſolemn letters of thanks, returned him from the Aſſemblies of Maryland, from the veſtries of Boſton and Bantrie in New-England, from Newfoundland, Rhode-Iſland, New-York, Philadelphia, North-Carolina, Bermudas, and by the acknowledgments of the Royal African Company, on account of thoſe procured for their factories. About the ſame time it was, that the Secretary of Maryland, Sir Thomas Lawrence, with Mr Bray, waited on the then Princeſs of Denmark, in behalf of that province, humbly to requeſt her gracious acceptance of the Govornor's and country's dutiful reſpects, in having denominated the metropolis of the province, then but lately built, from her Royal Highneſs's name, *Annapolis*; and the latter being ſoon after favoured with a noble benefaction from the ſame royal hand, towards his libraries in America, he dedicated the primier library in thoſe parts, fixed at Annapolis, and which has books of the choiceſt kind belonging to it, to the value of four hundred pounds, to her memory, by the title of the *Annapolitan Library*, which words were inſcribed on the ſeveral books, as well in gratitude to her Majeſty, as for the better prevention of loſs or embezzlement (*g*). Another (*g*) Ibid.
deſign was alſo ſet on foot, much about the ſame time, by Dr Bray, having a reference to ſome ſervice at home as well as abroad, which was to raiſe lending libraries in every deanery [*F*] throughout England and Wales, out of which the neighbouring Clergy might

In the mean time, 'till the return of the new act, from Maryland, to be confirmed by the Sovereign, he was wholly and fully employed under the Biſhop of London, in enquiring out and providing Miſſionaries, to be ſent into that Province, on a preſumption, that the eſtabliſhment of the Church might be, at laſt, obtained; and alſo into the other Colonies on the Continent of America, and into moſt of the Iſlands, ſeveral of which had never before enjoyed any ſtanding miniſtry (3).

(3) The Life of Deſigns of Thomas Bray, D.D.

In the year 1696, the law for eſtabliſhing and endowing the church, was re-enacted in Maryland, and came over a ſecond time, to the Lords Commiſſioners of Trade, together with a moſt humble addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty, in behalf of the ſaid law, requeſting the royal confirmation. But it being found, that this ſecond law alſo, contrary to the inſtructions, contained in it a clauſe of a different nature, by declaring *all the laws in England to be in force in Maryland*; it was thought adviſeable not to follicit the Royal Aſſent to it, as being ſure it would be rejected, for the ſame reaſon as the former, and then the Church's maintenance would wholly drop; and, in the mean time, it being promiſed at Court, that the then law, ſuch as it was, ſhould remain unrepealed 'till another ſhould be ſent over, agreeable to the royal inſtructions; the Doctor (†) wrote to the Province to have it reviſed and re-enacted, according to the former inſtructions, ſignifying to them, that otherwiſe it would never paſs.

(†) Mr Bray had then taken his Doctor's degree.

[*E*] *But above all, it was his greateſt care to endeavour to ſend over to Maryland, and the other Colonies, pious men of exemplary lives and converſations.*] Of which we ſhall, in this note, preſent our reader with an inſtance or two. Among other Miſſionaries ſent at this time with Libraries, Mr Bray procured, and preſented to the Biſhop of London, two men as pious and happy in their conduct, as could have been found; one, Mr Clayton, ſent to Philadelphia in Penſilvania; the other, Mr Marſhal, ſent into Charles-Town in Carolina. Neither of theſe worthy perſons found, at their entrance, above fifty of our communion to make up their congregation, and yet both approved themſelves ſo well to the inhabitants of their reſpective places, that in two years time the congregation at Philadelphia, the metropolis of the Quakers, was increaſed to ſeven hundred, and an handſome church was erected; and at Charles-Town, to near as many; where, out of reſpect to Mr Marſhal, a new brick houſe for his better accommodation, a fine plantation, with a perpetual ſtock of two Negro-ſervants and two cows, with 150*l.* a year, were ſettled upon them, and their ſucceſſors, for ever. Both theſe worthy perſons died in about two years after their arrival, of contagious diſtempers, which they had taken in the execution of their duty, and in viſiting the ſick, leaving moſt amiable characters behind them. The libraries Mr Bray ſent with theſe gentlemen, continue to their ſucceſſors; and he did, at ſeveral times afterwards, procure and make conſiderable additions to them, as he did to moſt others both in America and Africa (4).

(4) Life, &c. of Tho. Bray, D.D.

[*F*] *To raiſe lending libraries in every Deanery.*] Dr Bray may be, perhaps, here cenſured for concerning himſelf in carrying on this affair at home, at the ſame time that he was engaged to promote a foreign charity. But the good man's inducement to it, as he has been heard to declare, was firſt, becauſe having never, for his own part, enjoyed in the Church what would enable him to furniſh himſelf with a ſufficient ſtock of neceſſary and uſeful books, to qualify himſelf for his profeſſion; he became, thereby, more ſenſible of the wants of his brethren in like circumſtances. Secondly, That in his ſollicitation, for benefactions to libraries in the Plantations, he often met with anſwers to this effect: That we had poor cures, and poor parſons enough in England, and that charity began at home: Now he thought it not amiſs to ſtrike the nail that would drive, and to give ſuch anſwerers an opportunity of exerciſing their beneficence to the Church, in the way to which they were moſt inclined; and, therefore, without the leaſt interruption of his endeavours for the Plantations, he ſet on foot this deſign alſo at home; and as thoſe libraries were intended for the clergy to meet and confer in, rather than their private houſes, which would cauſe expence, or publick houſes, which, beſides the expence, might give ſcandal; ſo if the ſame topicks were made the ſubject of their converſation, as had been reſolved on in the firſt library of that kind, which was founded by a noble Lord, his neighbour and patron already mentioned, the Doctor could not imagine what could be better purſued, in order to keep the country clergy to their rule, and cloſe to their duty, and thereby to advance their character and reputation, and to create a due veneration towards them; the reſolutions they formed were theſe: That they will meet

might borrow the books they had occaſion for, and where they might conſult upon matters relating to their function, and to learning. And many lending libraries were thereupon founded in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, beſides above a hundred and fifty parochial ones in Great Britain and the plantations, from ten to fifty pounds value, thoſe in South Britain being afterwards ſecured to poſterity, by an Act of Parliament paſſed for that purpoſe in 1708 (*). Soon after, upon the repeated inſtances of the Governor and ſome of the country, Mr Bray was at the charge of taking the degree of Doctor of Divinity, which degree, though it might be of ſome uſe, with reſpect to his having a better reſpect paid to the Church as well as himſelf, did, however, then but ill comport with his circumſtances. He took his degrees of Bachelor of Divinity, and Doctor, together, by accumulation, not of Hart-hall where he was entered, but of Magdalen-college, Dec. 17, 1696 (*b*), immediately following, the better to promote his main deſign of libraries, and to give the Miſſionaries directions in proſecuting their theological ſtudies, he publiſhed two books, one intituled, *Bibliotheca Parochialis* [G]: *or*, *A*

(*) See note [F], and the Monthly Chron. for Feb. 1730, Vol. III. p. 33.

(*b*) A Catalogue of the Oxford Graduates, in Law, Phyſick, Divinity, &c. in Oxford, from 1659 to 1726, &c.

in the library monthly, or oftener, to conſider, or confer upon ways and means of augmenting the ſame with the beſt books: alſo to conſult upon the beſt methods of furniſhing the common people with ſmall practical and devotional tracts; of principling the children and youth with catechetical inſtructions; for erecting ſchools for the education of poor children; of getting the laws put in execution againſt profaneneſs and immorality; and by what other means they can beſt diſcharge their paſtoral care and duty, and promote public good: And, in order to their better knowledge of the duties of their function, and forming no other reſolutions but what ſhall be agreeable to the conſtitution of our Church, that at every meeting they will read over ſome part, and that ſucceſſively, 'till they ſhall go thro' the whole, of their ordination vows, of the articles, rubricks, and canons of the Church, of the royal injunctions and proclamations, and acts of Parliament, ordered to be read in churches, thoſe eſpecially againſt profaneneſs and immorality; and, laſtly, the articles of enquiry exhibited at both epiſcopal and archidiaconal viſitations, and that as well to furniſh themſelves with proper and ſuitable matter for their converſation there, inſtead of news and other impertinences, as the better to know their duty, and take the beſt meaſures about it.

Now, had Dr Bray had nothing farther in view in his eſſay, to promote neceſſary and uſeful knowledge, at home as well as abroad, than to repreſent the miſerable want of books among the parochial Clergy throughout the kingdom, the ill conſequences of ſuch want both to themſelves and people, and the eaſieſt method to ſupply it by means of lending libraries, one, at leaſt, in every Deanery, which, if placed in ſome market-town neareſt the centre, the neighbouring Clergy, and others might, without farther trouble than the ſending on a market-day, by their own, or a neighbour's ſervant, borrow at any time, the book they wanted. This alone conſidered, it ſeems to be a moſt laudable deſign; and the ſucceſs it has met with is ſuch, that there are not many dioceſes in the kingdom, where libraries of this kind are not more or leſs advanced.

But, in truth, he had ſomething farther in view, than his deſign of having publick libraries for the parochial Clergy in every Deanery; which was to reduce into practice, and to reſtore more and more by degrees, the ancient uſe of rural Deans, and the juriſdiction pertaining to their reſpective Deaneries, whereby, as an excellent diſcipline was formerly maintained in our Church, ſo it might be again, in a good meaſure, revived.

And, indeed, whoever ſhall conſider the antient conſtitution of our rural Deaneries, as repreſented in an extract the Doctor has made from ſome of our Antiquaries, and how admirably they were fitted for good diſcipline, and ſhall compare that with what is already found practicable in the Clergy's meeting at their libraries, ſpoke of above, he will be apt to conclude, that as her antient diſcipline is the Church of England's wiſh, and deſire of all good people; ſo no means ſeem more likely to reſtore it, than the having libraries in our ſeveral rural Deaneries for the Clergy to meet in, where they may act to ſuch purpoſes, and according to ſuch powers, as ſhall be allowed them.

The Doctor obſerving alſo, that the Miſſionaries were often detained ſeveral weeks, and ſometimes months, in our ſea-ports, before they could go off; more eſpecially in time of war, when not only the want of wind, but of convoys, occaſioned ſuch ſtay; and reflecting upon it, as of conſequence to them, to have a library in each of the ſea-ports, where they uſually embark, in which they might ſtudy during their ſtay on ſhore; and this not only that they might loſe no time towards their better improvement, but to prevent alſo the expence and ſcandal to which they might be expoſed, by ſauntring away their time in coffee-houſes, or, perhaps, leſs ſober places: But could they have a library in each of thoſe ports, to be in all the time they could ſpare from their meals, and where they might recreate themſelves, after hard ſtudy, with the converſation of their brethren, whether Fellow-Miſſionaries, Sea-Chaplains, or other ingenious paſſengers or perſons; and were the uſe of thoſe libraries ſtrictly enjoined them at their departure, he preſumed, ſcarcely any thing could contribute more to the advantage, and reputation of our Miſſions and Miſſionaries, the ports being generally very looſe places, and dangerous for young men to abide in long, and where, without employment, and ſuitable retirement, they will be much expoſed to ſuch temptations as will ſtain their characters; upon which conſideration, and preſuming withal, that if the foundation of ſuch ſea-port libraries were once laid but by a few books, it would be no great difficulty to obtain ſuch conſiderable additions from the benefactions of ſea officers, who are uſually generous enough, as well as from other gentlemen; if the Clergy in ſuch places would be zealous and active in promoting the deſign, he formed proper propoſals for the raiſing ſuch libraries, obtained ſome benefactions towards making a beginning, and took with him ſome books to depoſit for that purpoſe, in each port that ſhould happen in his way; and being detained in three ſeveral places in his voyage to Maryland, experienced himſelf the firſt uſe of thoſe libraries he had before projected; he accordingly put the deſign in execution in each of them, *viz.* at *Graveſend*, *Deal*, and *Plymouth*. He alſo made a beginning towards eſtabliſhing parochial catechetical libraries in the Iſle of Man.

And now we are upon this head of libraries, we ſhall conſider how far he was alſo the inſtrument of eſtabliſhing them in ſeveral of the meaner cures in England and Wales.

In 1703, Dr Bray publiſhed an Eſſay, to ſhew the incompetent proviſion in many pariſhes, thro' a greater part of the kingdom, to enable the Clergy to inſtruct the people; upon which this excellent work of founding libraries, begun by him, was countenanced, and brought to perfection, by the patronage of the Legiſlature; for an act of Parliament paſſed in the ſeventh year of Queen Anne, intitled, *An Act for the better preſervation of parochial libraries in that part of Great-Britain called England* (5). Sir Peter King, afterwards Lord Chancellor, was the gentleman who brought the bill into the houſe, one equally diſtinguiſhed by his knowledge in Chriſtianity, and zeal for it.

(5) The Life, &c. of Dr Bray.

[G] *Bibliotheca parochialis.*] This book being a judicious performance, and of great uſe, eſpecially to the Clergy, has been much bought up; and notwithſtanding there was a ſecond edition of it in 1707, is at preſent a little hard to be met with. One of his chief deſigns in this work, as well as a ſort of common-place book for the uſe of the Clergy and others, was in order, as we hinted in the text, to promote the forming and erecting of libraries of three ſorts, or degrees, both at home and abroad, *viz.* general, decanal or lending, and

A Scheme of such Theological and other Heads, as seem requisite to be perused, or occasionally consulted by the Rev. Clergy, together with a Catalogue of Books, which may be profitably read on each of those Points, &c. (*i*). The other, *Apostolick Charity, it's Nature and Excellency considered, in a Discourse upon Daniel* xii. 3. *preached at St Paul's, at the Ordination of some Protestant Missionaries to be sent into the Plantations. To which is prefixed, A General View of the English Colonies in America, in order to shew what provision is wanting for the Propagation of Christianity in those Parts, together with Proposals for the promoting the same, and to induce such of the Clergy of this Kingdom, as are Persons of Sobriety and Abilities, to accept of a Mission* (*k*). During this interval, *viz.* in the year 1697, a bill being brought into the House of Commons to alienate lands given to superstitious uses, and to vest them in Greenwich Hospital, he preferred a petition to the House, that some share thereof might be appropriated, for the propagation of the true religion in the Plantations, and that the same should be vested in a body politick, to be erected for that purpose, which petition was received very well in the house, and a fourth part of all that should be discovered, after one moiety to the discoverer, was readily and unanimously allotted by the Committee for that use, it being thought by far more reasonable, to appropriate some part, at least, of what was given to superstitious uses, to uses truly pious, than altogether to other, though charitable, purposes: but the bill was never suffered to be reported. In the year 1698, failing of a publick and settled provision by law, for carrying on the service of the Church in Maryland, and the other plantations, he addressed his Majesty for a grant of some arrears of taxes due to the Crown, and some time after, was obliged to be at the charge and trouble of going over to the King in Holland, to have the grant compleated. The recovery of these arrears of taxes, was represented as very feasible and very valuable, and also without any grievance to the subject; but as they proved troublesome to be recovered, so scarce of any value (*l*). All designs failing of getting a publick fund for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, he thereupon formed a design, whereof he then drew the plan, of having a Protestant congregation, *pro fide propaganda*, by charter from the King. But things did not seem ripe enough to encourage him to proceed at that time in the attempt, and so he laid it aside 'till a more favourable opportunity. However, to prepare the way for such charter-society, he soon after made it his endeavours, to find worthy persons ready to form a voluntary society, both to carry on the service already begun for the Plantations, and to propagate Christian knowledge as well at home as abroad, hoping afterwards to get such a society incorporated (†). This he laid before the Bishop of London, in the year 1697, and a Society was constituted on this plan, and

(*i*) Bray's Bibliotheca Parochialis, title-page, 1707.

(*k*) The Life and Designs of Dr Tho. Bray, p. 16.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 17, 18.

(†) Monthly Chronicle for Feb. 1730, p. 33.

and parochial libraries (7). How far this design had been already advanced, and how practicable it was to bring it to perfection, was intended to have been added to it in a prefatory account (8), setting forth also the history, nature, and use of libraries; but these articles making a good many sheets, were too much to be added to the second edition of this first volume, as it was already swelled, by great additions, to a very large octavo; and as the nature and design of this book had already, in a good measure, been understood and explained, by means of the introduction prefixed to the first edition; they were therefore deferred 'till the publication, and to be prefixed to the second volume, which he tells us (9), was, in a manner, ready for the press; however, we do not find he ever published it, tho' he has given us twenty pages, in an analytical table, of all the heads, both general and particular, or a complete view of the contents of it, which are the several species, or sorts, of history, *viz. Civil, Ecclesiastical, Literary, Personal* or *Biography*; *Topographical, secret, fabulous, various*, and *miscellaneous History* appendent to each, taking in, as preparative, *Geography, Voyages, Travels*, and *Chronology* (10). Having mentioned Biography here, it cannot be thought improper, in a work of this nature, to quote a passage from him, in which he gives us his sentiments of it with respect to religion.

'It will be generally agreed by all who are conversant in books, that there is no part of history more useful and entertaining than Biography; or, the lives of persons eminent in any way or profession: But it is certain, when the lives of persons of any rank or station, either in Church or State; or, indeed, those of inferior condition, who have been illustrious for their uncommon virtue, and more exalted piety; come to be drawn out by a skilful hand, wherein their conflicts with an evil world, their triumphs over the various and mighty temptations of it, and their conduct thro' all the difficulties of their station in it; when these come to be advantageously set forth, and proposed for imitation, they will unquestionably afford great light in steering the course of our own lives; they must kindle noble desires in us to a virtuous emulation, and yield us a powerful support under our forest trials, by letting us see, that when we are oppressed with sufferings, and crossed in the worthiest undertakings, we are not yet the most forlorn and forsaken men, since others, who have gone before us, have sustained a like trial of afflictions. And, lastly, these furnish a noble apology for the Christian religion against our modern libertines; since the greatest difficulties, they upbraid it withal, do appear, from those examples, to have been surmounted; and the severest rules of piety are thereby demonstrated to be not only practicable, but pleasant. Nay, they will teach us, with St Paul, to rejoice in sufferings, thro' which our blessed Lord himself was made perfect (11).'

(11) Bibliotheca Paroch. p. 28, 29.

But to return. It seems a matter of no small surprize, that this second volume was never published, as he tells us the first edition of the first volume *had found so kind a Reception from the public, as to occasion the second impression to be very much desired and enquired for* (12). And what he has published at the end of this analytical table, looks as if he had had still further designs than a second volume. It runs thus:

(12) Ibid. The end of the Advertisement to the reader.

Part II.

'Or, Bibliotheca Parochialis Concionatoria.

Vol. I.

'will be the scheme of a library properly parochial; 'wherein will be exhibited, a view of such theological 'heads, as seem more peculiarly requisite to be well 'studied by every pastor of a parish: Together with a 'catalogue of books, which will be read upon each of 'those points.'

Vol. II.

'will be a scheme of concionatory Divinity: Or, a 'series of all the points in Theology both doctrinal 'and moral, necessary to be preached upon: And 'those digested withal in such order, as they do naturally lie: Together with the most considerable tracts 'and discourses, both ancient and modern; and the 'most valuable sermons which have been written upon 'the same (13).

(13) Ibid. The last page of the Analytical Table of the second Volume.

[*H*] *Dr*

(*i*) See more about his Libraries under note [*F*].

(*i*) Bray's Bibliotheca Parochialis, title-page.

(*j*) Bibliotheca Parochialis, Advertisement to the reader.

(10) Bibliotheca Paroch. chap. viii.

and though the design of having them incorporated by charter, could not then be brought to bear, yet they still subsisted and acted as a voluntary society; but their number and benefactions at last increasing, a different constitution, and more extensive powers, appeared necessary, for the success of the undertaking: application was therefore made by Dr Bray, to his then Majesty King William, for his royal charter. The Doctor's petition to his Majesty, with other papers relating to the corporation to be erected for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, was read May 5, 1701, and his Majesty's letters patent, under the great-seal of England, for erecting a corporation, by the name of *The Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts*, was laid before the Society, and read the ninth of June following (*m*). See Dr Bray's petition, and more of this, below in note [*H*]. He received no advantage all this time from his Commissary's place in Maryland, neither was any allowance made him at home, or preferment given him, to support the charge of living altogether in town, to sollicit the establishment and endowment of the Church of Maryland, and to provide Missionaries for that, and all the colonies on the Continent; which, except Virginia, lay upon him; all the benefactions that were received being to be laid out to raise them libraries, which also he did faster than money came in to answer the charge, which some of his friends observing, persuaded him to lay his design of going abroad aside, and take two good preferments that were then offered him at home, of as good or better value than what was proposed to him in Maryland, *viz.* that of Sub-Almoner, and the donative of Aldgate in the City of London But he declined all others that were inconsistent with his going to Maryland, as soon as it should become proper for him to take that voyage. By the year 1699, having waited upwards of two years for the return of the Act of Religion from Maryland, with such amendments as would render it without exception at the Court of England (*n*); and it being presumed by his superiors, that it would be requisite the Doctor should now hasten over, as well to encourage the passing of that Act in their Assemblies, as to promote other matters for the service of religion there, it was signified to him from them, that they would have him take the opportunity of the first ship: and indeed, the Doctor having, by this time, tried all ways he could think of, and done all he was able to do here, to serve those parts, and according to proposal having provided Maryland, as also many other colonies, with a competent

(*m*) The Minutes of the Society before, and at the time of the incorporation.

(*n*) See note [*C*].

[*H*] *Dr Bray's petition to his Majesty, and other things, relating to the Society for propagating the Gospel.*]

To the King's most excellent Majesty, the humble petition of *THOMAS BRAY*, DD.

Humbly sheweth,

'THAT the number of the inhabitants of your Majesty's Provinces in *America*, have, of late years, greatly increased; that in many of the Colonies thereof, more especially on the Continent, they are in much want of instruction in the *Christian Religion*, and in some of them, utterly destitute of the same, they not being able, of themselves, to raise a sufficient maintenance for an orthodox Clergyman to live amongst them, and to make such other provision, as shall be necessary for the propagation of the Gospel in those parts.

'Your petitioner farther sheweth, that upon his late arrival in England from thence, and his making known the aforesaid matters in this city and kingdom, he hath great reason to believe, that many persons would contribute as well by legacy, as gift, if there were any BODY CORPORATE, and of perpetual succession, now in being, and established in this kingdom, proper for the lodging of the said legacies and grants therein.

'Now forasmuch as your Majesty hath already been graciously pleased, to take the state of the souls of your Majesty's subjects in those parts, so far into consideration, as to found and endow a royal college in Virginia for the religious education of their youth; your petitioner is thereby the more encouraged to hope your Majesty will also favour any like designs and ends, which shall be prosecuted by proper and effectual methods.

'Your petitioner, therefore, who has lately been among your Majesty's subjects aforesaid, and has seen their wants, and knows their desires, is the more emboldened, humbly to request, that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to issue letters patent, to such persons as your Majesty shall think fit, thereby constituting them a BODY POLITICK and CORPORATE, and to grant them, and their successors, such powers, privileges, and immunities, as your Majesty, in your great wisdom, shall think meet and necessary for effecting the aforesaid ends and designs,

and your petitioner shall ever pray,

THOMAS BRAY.

Whitehall, April 7th, 1701.

'His Majesty having been moved upon this petition, is graciously pleased to refer the same to Mr Attorney, or Mr Sollicitor General, to consider thereof, and report his opinion, what his Majesty may fitly do therein; whereupon his Majesty will declare his further pleasure.

JA. VERNON.

The gentlemen who composed that venerable body, were so sensible how much was owing to the zeal and sollicitations of the Doctor, that it was resolved, that thanks should be returned him, for his great care and pains in procuring the grant of the said letters. If this Society is now enabled, by a revenue arising from occasional benefactions, and settled endowments, to support a number of Missionaries, School-masters, and Catechists, for the propagation of Christianity in foreign parts, the zealous labours of Dr Bray must be remembered with gratitude and honour, to which it owes it's establishment. One pamphlet has done him justice in the account of the origin of the incorporated Society, remarking, *that it took it's rise from the indefatigable endeavours of a reverend Clergyman now living (Dr Bray), to promote Christian knowledge in our foreign Plantations* (14). These gentlemen have since increased to a considerable body, and no small good has been done, as they assisted him in sending libraries abroad; and as they have dispersed numbers of excellent books among our fleets and armies, raised charity-schools in and about the city, and promoted the same, by their correspondence, in several parts of the kingdom; several thousand Psalters, ten thousand New Testaments, with great numbers of Catechisms, short histories of the Bible, and most sort of godly and religious books have been printed by it for the use of the eastern Churches; several of these have been sent over, and gratefully received, and this kingdom hath thereby had an opportunity of restoring, in some measure, the light of the Gospel, both in *Syria*, *Arabia*, and *Egypt*, and also in those countries from whence we first received it.

(14) A Letter from a residing Member of the Society of London for promoting Christian Knowledge, to a Corresponding Member in the country.

[*I*] *But*

competent number of Miſſionaries, and furniſhed them with good libraries, to be fixed in the places where they were ſent, to remain there for ever; he was himſelf eager to follow, and did accordingly, even in the winter, though he had no allowance made him towards his charge of the voyage, and the ſervice he was to do, but forced to diſpoſe of his own ſmall effects, and raiſe money on credit to ſupport him (*o*). With this poor encouragement, and thus, on his own proviſion, he took the voyage, December 16, 1699, and ſet ſail from the Downs the twentieth of the ſame month, but was drove back into Plymouth-ſound on Chriſtmas-eve, and remained in harbour almoſt all the holidays, where his time was not unuſefully ſpent, in the recovery of a tolerable library there out of duſt and rubbiſh, which was alſo indebted to him for a benefaction of books, and where he left a propoſal for taking in ſubſcriptions to make it a ſea-port library, for the uſe of Miſſionaries and Sea-Chaplains, as well as others. After an extream tedious and dangerous paſſage, the Doctor arrived at Maryland the twelfth of March, where not being ſo much concerned at his own, as the Church's, unſettlement, he applied himſelf immediately and wholly, to repair the breach made in the ſettlement of the parochial clergy; in order to which he conſulted, in the firſt place, the Governor, whom he found ready to concur in all proper methods for the re-eſtabliſhment of their maintenance. The next Aſſembly, which was to be in May following, he ſent to all the clergy on the weſtern ſhore, who only could come together in that ſeaſon, to be acquainted from them with the diſpoſition of the people, and their ſentiments on this occaſion, and to adviſe with them what was proper to be done, in order to diſpoſe the members of the Aſſembly, to re-enact their law next meeting. Soon after he had diſmiſſed the clergy, he made his parochial viſitation, as far as it was poſſible for him at that ſeaſon, in which he met with very ſingular reſpect from perſons of the beſt condition in the country, which the Doctor, by a happy conduct (of which he only was not ſenſible) turned to the advantage of that poor Church. During the ſeſſions of the Aſſembly, and whilſt the re-eſtabliſhment of the Church was depending, he preached very proper and ſeaſonable ſermons, and all of them with a tendency to incline the country to the eſtabliſhment of the Church and clergy; all which were ſo well received, that he had the thanks of the Aſſembly, by meſſages from the Houſe, for them, and for the ſervice done to that Church and province (*p*). The Doctor was providentially on ſuch good terms with the Aſſembly, that they ordered the Attorney-General to adviſe with him in drawing up the bill; and that he himſelf might be the better adviſed in that caſe, he ſent for the moſt experienced clergy within reach, to ſuggeſt to him, what, upon their own and their brethrens experience, they found would be of advantage to them and the Church, to be inſerted in, or left out of it; by which means the conſtitution of that Church has much the advantage of any in America. It may not be amiſs to obſerve in this place, that as well during the General Court or Aſſize, which preceded the Aſſembly and laſted thirteen days, as during the ſeſſions of the Aſſembly itſelf, he was under a neceſſity of much civil, but chargeable, entertainment of the gentlemen of the province, who univerſally viſited him; a charge, however, which he thought requiſite as circumſtances then were, that he might ſtrengthen his intereſt in them, the better to promote the eſtabliſhment of the clergy's maintenance. The bill being prepared, paſſed with a *nemine contradicente*, but it was on all hands declared and confeſſed, that it was very providential that Dr Bray came into the country at that juncture [*I*]. Soon after the Aſſembly was up, the Commiſſary cited the whole clergy of the province to a general Viſitation at Annapolis, to be held May 22, 1700: at the cloſe of this viſitation, the clergy taking into conſideration, that the violent oppoſition of the Quakers againſt the eſtabliſhment of that Church, would in all probability continue, ſo as to get the law for it's eſtabliſhment ſo lately re-enacted, annulled again at home; they entered into debates, whether it would not be of conſequence to the preſervation and final ſettlement of that Church, that the Doctor ſhould be requeſted to go home with the law, and to ſollicit the Royal Aſſent (*q*). It had been before voted, at the paſſing the bill in the Houſe of Burgeſſes, that he ſhould be deſired to requeſt his Grace of Canterbury, and the Biſhop of London, to favour that good law, by obtaining his Majeſty's royal aſſent to it with all convenient ſpeed, and the members who gave him an account of paſſing their vote, told him withal, that it was the general opinion

(*o*) Life of Dr Bray, p. 26.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 29.

(*q*) See the Acts of the Viſitation of Maryland.

[*I*] *But it was on all hands confeſſed and declared, that it was very providential that Dr* BRAY *came into the country at that juncture.*] For it was looked upon as a difficult attempt, to have that law re-enacted, after two repulſes at home; it being contrary to the inſtructions given with all Governors, that when a law has been reverſed at home, a bill of the ſame nature ſhould be again paſſed in any of their Aſſemblies; and conſidering alſo the intereſts of the people to be raiſed of the forty *per* poll, and the bad humour the country was brought into by inſinuations of the Quakers and Papiſts, and the diſcouragement thoſe who were well affected to the Church, met with, in having their laudable endeavours, for it's eſtabliſhment and ſupport, ſo often repulſed; all theſe things conſidered, it was often univerſally owned, that had not the Doctor come in when he did, the eſtabliſhment would ſcarcely have been ſo much as attempted, much leſs have ſucceeded. It was undoubtedly deſigned by the Quakers, to put the greateſt ſlur upon this new Church, and totally to diſcourage any farther ſtrugglings to preſerve it from falling, that they contrived not only to have the Law for it's eſtabliſhment annulled, juſt before the Commiſſary's going for Maryland, but that they ſent a Quaker with the order of Council in the very ſhip with him; which, however, rather contributed to it's eſtabliſhment; for the inſolence of the Quakers in that contrivance, raiſed a great indignation in the friends to that ſettlement, and the Doctor's preſence not a little animating them to attempt it's reſtoration anew.

opinion of the Houſe, that he could be moſt ſerviceable therein by waiting perſonally on their Lordſhips, rather than by letters, in which he could not crowd all that might be neceſſary to be repreſented concerning the then ſtate of the Church, and the neceſſity, at that time, of their utmoſt patronage; and it was in debate, Whether this ſhould not be the deſire of the Aſſembly? but it was thought too unreaſonable a requeſt from them, who were ſenſible of the great danger and fatigue he had already been at in the ſervice of that province, as they had a few days before acknowledged by a meſſage of thanks from that Houſe (*r*). Such were the ſentiments of the members of the Aſſembly, as to the neceſſity of his coming home to ſollicit the eſtabliſhment of that Church; and the clergy meeting at their Viſitation, ſome weeks after, as they had time to know more fully the ſenſe of the province upon it; ſo they repreſented it to him, as the earneſt deſire of the more ſenſible perſons throughout the country, as well as of the Aſſembly-men, that he ſhould go over with the law for England; being aware that the Quakers would this time openly, and the Papiſts covertly, make the utmoſt efforts againſt the eſtabliſhment of that Church, by falſe repreſentations at home, of the numbers and riches of their party, and by inſinuating, that to impoſe upon them an eſtabliſhed maintenance for the clergy, would be prejudicial to the intereſt of the province, by obliging ſo many wealthy traders to remove from thence, the falſity of which, or any other ſuggeſtions, they thought him beſt able to make appear, by the information he had gained from this Viſitation. There were alſo many other advantages to the Church in thoſe parts, which they propoſed by his coming home at that time, which were urged as reaſons for it (*s*), upon the conſideration of all which, though there was no proviſion could be made there to ſupport him in that charge, and the Commiſſary's office would alſo yield him no profit, it not being tenable by the law of the country but by one reſiding in it, yet upon the conſideration of much publick good, he determined himſelf, and took his voyage ſoon after. He was no ſooner arrived in England, but he found their apprehenſions in Maryland not ill grounded, for the Quakers forthwith beſtirred themſelves ſo exceedingly, that it was amazing to ſee what prejudices they had quickly raiſed in thoſe who had then the cognizance of plantation affairs, and what falſe and formidable computations they gave in of the clergy's charge to the country; which falſe ſuggeſtions, when they were found to ſtick even with ſome that ſeemed well-affected to that Church, Dr Bray refuted, by a printed memorial, repreſenting truly the ſtate of the Church of Maryland, to the full ſatisfaction of all to whom it was communicated. Happy was the province of Maryland in having it's concerns managed, at this critical juncture, by ſuch an able and indefatigable agent [*K*]. The Quakers oppoſition to the eſtabliſhment now depending, was carried by united councils and contributions, but the Doctor refuted their ſpecious objections by unanſwerable reaſons, and placed the affair in ſuch an advantageous light, that his Majeſty decided, without any appearance of heſitation, in the Church's favour, and gave the royal aſſent in theſe remarkable words: *Have the Quakers the benefit of a toleration? let the Eſtabliſhed Church have an eſtabliſhed maintenance.* This chargeable and laborious undertaking having ſwallowed up the Doctor's own ſmall fortune. Lord Weymouth generouſly preſented him with a bill of 300*l.* for his own private uſe, a large portion of which the Doctor devoted to the advancement of his farther deſigns. Though he was veſted with the character of Commiſſary, yet no ſhare of the revenue propoſed was annexed to it; and this diſappointment, though injurious in the higheſt degree, was not made by him either matter of complaint there, or of remonſtrance here; nay, his generoſity even induced him to throw in two ſums of fifty pounds each, that were preſented to himſelf in Maryland, towards defraying the charges of their libraries and law. But his generoſity and indefatigable endeavours to promote the intereſt of the Church, together with the ſucceſs which attended all his meaſures, for compleating and perfecting the polity and eſtabliſhment of it, would ſwell this account too much, for which reaſon we ſhall refer the reader to the places where he may find thoſe heads treated of more at large (*t*). After the return of Dr Bray from thence in 1701, he publiſhed his circular Letters to the clergy of Maryland, a memorial, repreſenting the preſent ſtate of religion on the Continent of North America, and the Acts of his Viſitation held at Annapolis; for which he had the thanks of the Society abovementioned: not only the Biſhop of London approved entirely of all theſe tranſactions, but alſo the Archbiſhop of Canterbury declared, that he was well ſatisfied with the reaſons of Dr Bray's return from the Weſt-Indies, and added, that his miſſion thither will be of the greateſt

(*r*) The Life and Deſigns of Dr Bray, &c. p. 34

(*s*) See the Acts of the Viſitation.

(*t*) See the ſeveral Orders of Council, and Dr Bray's own Letters to the Governor, Speaker, and Attorney-General of Maryland.

[*K*] *Happy was the province of Maryland in having it's concerns managed, at this juncture, by ſuch an able and indefatigable agent.*] And, indeed, conſidering the oppoſition which was made to the law, when it came home, the Doctor's preſence ſeemed to be as ſeaſonable here, as it had been before thought in getting it re-enacted in Maryland; for no ſooner was the occaſion underſtood (and it did quickly ſpread abroad of itſelf, without the printed account he gave of it) but it created ſuch cenſures againſt thoſe, who appeared no well-wiſhers to that ſettlement, as, perhaps, were none of the leaſt occaſions that it fared not again as formerly it had done.

But tho' the law, with much ſollicitation and ſtruggling, was preſerved from being totally diſannulled, yet many of the exceptions, which the Quakers made againſt it, ſticking with the Lords of Trade, all that could be obtained was, that Dr Bray might, with advice of Counſel, draw up another Bill, according to the inſtructions of that Board, and ſending that bill to Maryland, to be paſſed into a law; had the promiſe that his Majeſty, upon it's return, would confirm it here. In the drawing up of this bill, he was at great charge with Counſel; and after it had been thrice attended at the Plantation-Board, it was at laſt approved (15).

(15) The Life and Deſigns of Dr Bray, p. 35, 36.

[*L*] *Mr.*

greateſt conſequence imaginable to the eſtabliſhment of religion in thoſe parts. In 1706, he had the donative of St Botolph without Aldgate offered him again, which he then accepted of, worth about 150 pounds *per annum* by ſurplice fees and voluntary ſubſcriptions (*t*), only eight pounds *per annum* being allowed by the impropriator (*u*). In the year 1712, the Doctor printed his *Martyrology: or, Papal Uſurpation*, in folio; that nothing might be wanting to enrich and adorn the work, he eſtabliſhed a correſpondence with learned foreigners of the firſt diſtinction, and called in the aſſiſtance of the moſt eminent hands. This work conſiſts of ſome choice and learned treatiſes of celebrated authors, which were grown very ſcarce, ranged and digeſted into as regular an Hiſtory as the nature of the ſubject would admit. He propoſed to compile a ſecond volume, and had, at no ſmall expence and pains, furniſhed himſelf with materials for it, but he was aftewards obliged to lay the proſecution of his deſign aſide, and bequeathed by Will his valuable collection of Martyrological Memoirs, both printed and manuſcript, to Sion-college. He was, indeed, ſo great a maſter of the Hiſtory of Popery, that few authors could be preſumed able, with equal accuracy and learning, to trace the origin and growth of thoſe exorbitant claims, which are made by the See of Rome. He was happily formed by nature both for the active and for the retired life. Charity to the ſouls of other men, was wrought up to the higheſt pitch in his own; every reflection on the dark and forlorn condition of the Indians and Negroes, excited in his boſom the moſt generous emotions of pity and concern. He conceived nothing ſo deſirable, as to be the inſtrument of recovering thoſe loſt ſheep, and bringing them into the fold of their heavenly paſtor. His voyage to Holland, to ſollicit King William's protection and encouragement to his good deſigns, and the proofs he gave of a publick ſpirit and diſintereſted zeal, in ſuch a ſeries of generous undertakings, obtained him the eſteem of M. d'Allone of the Hague, a gentleman not more celebrated for his penetration and addreſs in ſtate-affairs, than for a pious diſpoſition of mind. An epiſtolary correſpondence commenced very early between him and the Doctor upon this ſubject, the reſult whereof was, that he gave in his life-time, a ſum to be applied to the converſion of negroes, deſiring withal, the Doctor to accept the management and diſpoſal of it. But that a ſtanding proviſion might be made for this purpoſe, M. d'Allone bequeathed by Will a certain ſum, *viz.* 900 pounds, out of his Engliſh eſtate, to Dr Bray and his aſſociates, towards erecting a capital fund or ſtock, for converting the Negroes in the Britiſh plantations: this was in the year 1723, much about which time Dr Bray had an extreme dangerous fit of illneſs, ſo that his life and recovery was deſpaired of. See more about this legacy, and the diſpoſal of it in note [*L*]. In the year 1726, he was employed in compoſing and printing his *Directorium Miſſionarium*, his *Primordia Bibliothecaria*, and ſome other tracts of the like kind. About this time he alſo wrote a ſhort account of Mr Rawlet, the author of the Chriſtian Monitor; and reprinted the Life of Mr Gilpin; ſome of theſe were calculated for the uſe of the miſſion, and in one he has endeavoured to ſhew, that civilizing the Indians muſt be the firſt ſtep, in any ſucceſsful attempt for their converſion. In his *Primordia Bibliothecaria*, we have ſeveral ſchemes of parochial libraries, and a method laid down to proceed by a gradual progreſſion from ſtrength to ſtrength, from a collection not much exceeding one pound in value, to one of a hundred. His attention to other good works, occaſioned no diſcontinuance of this deſign, whoſe ſucceſs was ſo much the object of his deſires; and accordingly benefactions came in ſo faſt, that he had buſineſs enough upon his hands to form the libraries deſired, and to diſcharge himſelf of them. As the furniſhing the parochial clergy with the means of inſtruction, would be an effectual method to promote Chriſtian knowledge; ſo another expedient, manifeſtly ſubſervient to the ſame end would be, he thought, to imprint on the minds of thoſe who are deſigned for the Miniſtry, previouſly

(*t*) See Newcourt's Repertorium Eccleſiaſticum Parochiale Londinenſ. Vol. I. p. 307, 308.

(*u*) Newcourt, ut ſupra. Monthly Chronicle for Febr. 1730, Vol. III. p. 32.

[*L*] *M. d'Allone bequeathed by Will a certain ſum, viz.* 900 *l. to Dr Bray and his aſſociates*, &c.] The Doctor finding, by the words of Mr d'Allone's will, as well as by his letters in his life-time, that he depended much upon him to form and model the deſign; that he might not be wanting to give the beſt aſſiſtance he could to a work ſo truly Chriſtian, immediately applied himſelf to form a ſcheme for the moſt effectual proceeding in this affair, though the legacy could not ſoon be paid in, yet, in aſſurance of it's certainty being intruſted to a perſon ſo truly honourable as Lord Palmerſton, he endeavoured, as occaſion offered, to ſet it a-going: this he did, by ſounding the inclinations of ſome Miſſionaries, ſent to him by the Biſhop of London, whether they would engage in the meaſures propoſed for the inſtruction of the Negroes, which they ſhould find in their ſeveral cures? Thoſe whom he obſerved well diſpoſed to it, he furniſhed with books, as neceſſary helps to them and their ſucceſſors, in diſcharging that part of their office; and as a further encouragement, he furniſhed them with other ſmall pieces, more immediately proper for the inſtruction of the Negroes. When the legacy was paid, the early iſſues from it, being too inconſiderable to begin the work in ſuch a manner as might aſſure himſelf, and his aſſociates, the deſired event, there was an apparent neceſſity either of breaking in upon the capital, or of furniſhing books on it's credit, the Doctor being deſirous, that the legacy might be handed down to his ſucceſſors in the truſt without any defalcation, choſe to make up the deficiencies at his own expence, and charge what was expended in thoſe proviſions on the fund. He did not propoſe to receive any intereſt for his money; and at his death, obliged his Executrix to ſubmit to the diſadvantage of a gradual reimburſement. The better to prepare thoſe young Divines that came to him, who had not read much for the work, he lent them ſuch books as he thought proper to employ their ſtudies whilſt they ſhould remain in London, and put them upon a catechetical exercife on Sunday evenings in his own pariſh of St Botolph's without Aldgate. Indeed he conceived it would be of ſingular uſe to have ſuch Miſſionaries under a probation here, before ſent abroad; and for this end founded a probationary Library, that, during the time of their probation, they might read over a whole courſe of Divinity, whereby they would be rendered more fit to teach, and give ſome ſpecimens of their preaching abilities (16).

(16) Life of Dr Bray, p. 45, 46.

[*M*] *He*

previouſly to their admiſſion, a juſt ſenſe of it's various duties, and their great importance: with a view to this, he reprinted the Eccleſiaſtes of Eraſmus [*M*], a name of great authority in the Republick of Letters, and to whom the re-eſtabliſhment of polite literature was principally owing. In the year 1727, an acquaintance of Dr Bray's made a caſual viſit to Whitechapel-priſon, and his repreſentation of the miſerable ſtate of the priſoners, had ſuch an effect on the Doctor, that he immediately applied himſelf to ſollicit benefactions in order to relieve them, and he had ſoon contributions ſufficient to provide a quantity of bread, beef, and broth, on Sundays, and now and then on the intermediate days, for this priſon and the Borough-counter (*w*). To temporal, he always ſubjoined ſpiritual, proviſions; and to enure them to the moſt diſtaſteful part of their office, the intended Miſſionaries were here employed in reading and preaching. On this occaſion the ſore was firſt opened, and that ſcene of inhumanity imperfectly diſcovered, which afterwards, ſome worthy patriots of the Houſe of Commons took ſo much pains to enquire into and redreſs: that zeal and compaſſion which led them to carry on this inſpection, and regulate many groſs abuſes, could not but procure them the eſteem of one diſtinguiſhed by ſuch an extenſive benevolence as Dr Bray. The divine guardianſhip apparently accompanied both his deſigns, of founding libraries and converting Negroes. The former, particularly, was advanced under the patronage of perſons in the higheſt ſtations; but being now far advanced in years, and continually reminded of his approaching change, by the imbecility and decays of old age, he was deſirous of enlarging the number of his aſſociates, and adding ſuch to them, in whoſe zeal and integrity he might repoſe an entire confidence. His enquiry into the ſtate of the goals, made him acquainted with Mr (now General) Oglethorpe, who accepted the truſt himſelf, and engaged ſeveral others, ſome of the firſt rank and diſtinction, to act with him and the former aſſociates [*N*]. To theſe two deſigns of founding libraries, and inſtructing Negroes, a third was now added, which, though at firſt view it appears to be of different nature, has a perfect coincidence with them; the miſerable condition of multitudes for want of employment, has of late excited the higheſt degree of compaſſion in the breaſts of all charitable perſons: the proviſion which the legiſlature has made, by a late Act, for the erecting pariſh work-houſes, proves inſufficient; and therefore, out of the ſame charitable regard to mankind, a deſign was formed of eſtabliſhing a colony in America, than which, nothing can be better entitled to conſideration and encouragement (*x*). The advantages which will accrue to the publick from ſuch a ſettlement, is a ſubject of too large extent to be conſidered here. In ſhort, moſt of the religious ſocieties and good deſigns in London, owe grateful acknowledgment to his memory, and are, in a great meaſure, formed on the plans he projected; particularly the Society for the Reformation of Manners, Charity-ſchools, and the Society for the relief of poor proſelytes, *&c.* The Doctor having thus happily lodged his principal deſigns in the hands of able managers, and being on the verge of the grave, could not but review his undertakings with complacency, and thank the good providence of God, which appeared to lay ſuch trains for their advancement. His conſcience crowned him with a ſecret applauſe, which was an inexhauſtible ſource of comfortable reflections, and joyful preſages, in his laſt minutes, which happened on the fifteenth of February, 1730, in the ſeventy-third year of his age (*y*), leaving iſſue (as we preſume) only one daughter (*z*).

(*w*) The Life of Dr Bray, *ut ſupra*. p. 8. Monthly Chron. *ut ſupra*.

(*x*) Life of Dr Bray, p. 54.

(*y*) Monthly Chronicle for Feb. 1730, Vol. III. p. 32.

(*z*) See the Dedication of the Pamphlet intituled, Publick Spirit illuſtrated in the Life and Deſigns of the rev. Tho. Bray, D. D. to Mrs Marten.

[*M*] *He reprinted the* ECCLESIASTES *of* ERASMUS.] This treatiſe was written at the deſire of a Biſhop of the Romiſh Church; and it is well worthy our obſervation, with how much energy the learned author employs all his arguments that he could think proper to excite a conſcientious regard to the weight of the miniſterial office, and a becoming diligence in the diſcharge of it. As excellent as this performance is, it lay before mixed and undiſtinguiſhed in his voluminous works, and could rarely fall into the hands of any, except thoſe few who have acceſs to publick librarles; ſo that a diſtinct impreſſion of it is what the Doctor might juſtly intend, as a common benefit to the greater part of his order. Take his own opinion of the book, and his view in reprinting it, in his own words: 'Whenever I take in-'to my hands this invaluable piece of Eraſmus his Ec-'cleſiaſtes, methinks I experience what has been often 'ſaid by others, with reſpect to that of *Thomas à Kempis de Imitatione Chriſti*, namely, that let a man read 'him never ſo often, every time he will find ſomething 'new in him, ſo poignant, ſo penetrating, are the pe-'riods and ſentiments of the learned Eraſmus, relating 'to this great concern, even to the exceeding of him-'ſelf in every thing he wrote: And it were much to be 'wiſhed, that among the many other tracts in Divinity, 'or relating to that ſubject, requiſite to be thoroughly 'read in our Univerſities by thoſe who are deſigned for 'the Miniſtry, previouſly to their entering into Holy 'Orders, this was alſo ſtrictly enjoined and inſiſted on. 'For, in ſhort, I may venture to ſay, that few of 'thoſe many who have written upon the nature and 'importance of the *Paſtoral Care*, ever exceeded the 'moſt eloquent and learned Eraſmus, in his awful way 'of delivering his ſentiments on this weighty office. 'Every period in his firſt book of Eccleſiaſtes being ſo 'pungent, and ſo admirably well levelled at the bold 'precipitancy and wretched views, with which many, 'too many, enter into Holy Orders; and 'I am per-'ſuaded, that being read over before-hand, it would 'deter ſome at leaſt, from venturing, *illotis manibus*, 'upon an office they are ſo little qualified for, as a 'thing in itſelf horridly profane, and audacious in 'them; and the ſerious and frequent peruſal of the 'ſame afterwards, even thro' the whole courſe of the 'miniſtry, would ſtimulate and invigorate even the beſt 'qualified and diſpoſed amongſt us, to execute the ſa-'cred truſt in a proper manner (17).'

(17) Bray's Primordia Bibliothecaria, p. 13, 14, 15.

[*N*] *Him and his former aſſociates.*] It may not, perhaps, be diſagreeable to our reader to have a ſmall liſt of thoſe worthy perſons that aſſociated with the Doctor in this laudable Deſign.

John Lord Viſcount Percival, now Earl of Egmont.—The Reverend Dr Stepben Hales.—William Belitha, Eſq;—The honourable Edward Digby, Eſq;—The Right Honourable George Lord Carpenter.—Major-General Oglethorpe—Edward Harley, Eſq;—The Honourable James Vernon, Eſq;—Edward Hughes, Eſq;—Robert Hucks, Eſq;—Thomas Tower, Eſq;—John Laroche, Eſq;—Rogers Holland, Eſq—Major Charles Selwyn.—Robert More, Eſq;—William Sloper, Eſq;—Oliver St John, Eſq;—Henry Haſting, Eſq;—George Heathcote, Eſq;—Francis Eyles, Eſq;—Mr Adam Anderſon.—Sir James Lowther.—Captain Thomas Coram.—The Reverend Mr Digby Cotes.—The Reverend Mr Arthur Bedford.—The Reverend Mr Samuel Smith.—The Reverend Mr Richard Bundy.—The Reverend Mr John Barton.—The Reverend Mr Daniel Somerſcald, *&c.* R.

BRENT (Sir NATHANAEL), a learned perſon in the XVIIth century, was born at Little Woolford in Warwickſhire, in 1573 (a), being the ſon of Anchor Brent of that place, Gent [A]. In the year 1589, he became Portioniſt, commonly called Poſt-Maſter of Merton-college in Oxford; and, on the twentieth of June 1593, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (b). The year following he was admitted Probationer-Fellow of the college aforeſaid (c). On the thirty-firſt of October 1598, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (d); and then entered upon the Law-line. In 1607, he was one of the Proctors of the Univerſity (e). Some years after, namely in 1613, &c. he travelled into foreign parts, and became acquainted with ſeveral of the moſt learned men abroad. After his return, he married Martha daughter and heir of Dr Robert Abbot Biſhop of Saliſbury, and niece to Dr George Abbot Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which was the cauſe of his ſucceeding great preferments (f). About the year 1618, he was ſent to Venice by Archbiſhop Abbot, on purpoſe to get a copy of the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent [B], then newly compoſed by the moſt renowned Padre Paolo Sarpi (g); in procuring of which he expoſed himſelf to very great dangers (h). In 1621, he was elected Warden of Merton-college (i), through the Archbiſhop's recommendation: who alſo made him his Vicar-General, Commiſſary of the dioceſe of Canterbury, Maſter of the Faculties, and at length Judge of the Prerogative (k) [C]. On the eleventh of October 1623, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Law (l). The twenty-third of Auguſt 1629, he received the honour of knighthood from King Charles I, at Woodſtock, being then ſuppoſed well-affected to the Church and Hierarchy (m). But in the great diſputes that aroſe between Archbiſhop Abbot and Biſhop Laud, he entirely ſided with the firſt, and his adherents, the Puritan party; and grew ſo inveterate againſt Laud, that he was a frequent witneſs againſt him at his trial (n). He likewiſe deſerted Oxford when King Charles I. garriſoned that place, and took the Covenant: for which reaſon he was deprived of his Wardenſhip of Merton-college, by his Majeſty's command; but reſtored again when Oxford garriſon was ſurrendered for the Parliament's uſe, in 1646 (o). In the years 1647 and 1648, he was appointed Chief-Viſitor of that Univerſity; and countenanced all the violent and arbitrary proceedings there uſed (p). When an order was made againſt Pluralities, he was forced to leave Merton-college, on the twenty-ſeventh of November 1651; at which time he refuſed alſo the oath called the Engagement (q). Whereupon, retiring to his houſe in Little Britain in London (r), he died there November 6, 1652, aged ſeventy-nine; and was buried, the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, with great ſolemnity, in the church of St Bartholomew the Leſs (s).

(a) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 161. He was 79 years old at the time of his death, in 1652.

Ibid. col. 161.

(b) Ibid. Vol. I. Faſti, col. 145.

(c) Athenæ, ubi ſupra.

(d) Ibid. Faſti, col. 154.

(e) Ibid. col. 176.

(f) Athenæ, ubi ſupra.

(g) See *Some Letters relating to the Hiſt. of the Council of Trent*: publiſhed by Dr Lewis Atterbury, Lond. 1705, 4to.

(h) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(i) Idem, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 86.

(k) Athenæ, ubi ſupra.

(l) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 225, 226.

(m) Athenæ, ut ſupra.

(n) Ibid. See alſo Canterbury's Doome, by W. Prynne.

(o) Wood, Ath. & Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. ut ſupra.

(p) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p 369, &c.

(q) Athenæ, ubi ſupra. Kennet's Regiſt. and Chron &c. edit. 1728, fol. p. 197.

(r) R. Smith, in his Obituary, ſays, that it was in Alderſgate ſtreet. See F. Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. lib. xiv. p. 25.

(s) Ibid. and Wood's Athen. ubi ſupra.

[A] *Being the ſon of Anchor Brent of that place, Gent.*] Who was a younger ſon of Richard Brent, Gent. eldeſt ſon of John Brent, of the houſe of Brent of Coſington in Somerſetſhire (1).

(1) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

[B] *About the year* 1618, *he was ſent to Venice by Archbiſhop Abbot, on purpoſe to get a copy of The Hiſtory of the Council of Trent.*] This appears from two letters, (publiſhed by Dr Lewis Atterbury, in the collection above-mentioned) from Archbiſhop Abbot to our author (2). The firſt of which, dated at Lambeth, June the twenty-firſt, 1618, is as follows. 'Salutem 'in Chriſto. I am glad that you are ſafely arrived whether you deſired to go. I have read your letters, 'and the *Canzoni* (3) incloſed, which are twelve in 'number, whereof I ſhall make ſuch uſe as is fit. I 'have not acquainted the greateſt with any thing of 'your perſon, nor with the matter ſo much deſired; 'ſo that you may confidently tell your two good friends '(4), that they need to dread nothing. And I may 'ſay in general, that there is no man living, to whom 'I have made known any thing in this matter, ſaving 'to you; only in general the old man, that liveth with 'me, underſtandeth of my deſire to get what I can appertaining to thoſe ſongs. Perſiſt, I pray you, in that 'courſe, which you have begun; and ſo commending 'me unto you, and wiſhing you to live as privately as 'you can, I reſt,

(2) Some Letters relating to the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, &c. Lond. 1705, 4to, as above.

(3) That feigned name [which ſignifies *Songs* in Italian] they gave to the Sheets of the Hiſt. of the Council of Trent.

(4) F. Paul, and F. Fulgentio.

'Your very loving friend,

G. CANT.

As Father Paul, and Father Fulgentio, the two joint authors of that excellent hiſtory, compoſed it, they privately delivered a copy of the ſame to Mr Brent; who ſent it over weekly, to the Archbiſhop in the original Italian; and it came to his hands, after five or ſix ſuperſcriptions to other perſons, for the greater ſecurity (5). When Mr Brent had ſent it all over, he came back himſelf, and tranſlated it out of Italian into Engliſh and Latin. The original Italian was printed firſt at London in 1619, and dedicated to King James I. by D. Antonio de Dominis, Archbiſhop of Spalato, who had been inſtrumental in procuring that Hiſtory (6). The Engliſh Tranſlation was publiſhed in 1619, under this title, 'The Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, con-'taining eight Books. In which, beſides the ordinary 'Acts of the Council, are declared many notable Occurrences, which happened in Chriſtendom, during 'the ſpace of forty years and more. And particularly the Practices of the Court of Rome, to hinder 'the Reformation of their Errours, and to maintain 'their Greatneſs.' In fol. A new edition was printed in 1640; and another in 1676, with other pieces of Father Paul, at the end.——Beſides this tranſlation, Sir Nathanael Brent reviewed Mr Fr. Maſon's 'Vindica-'tion of the Church of England, concerning the Con-'ſecration and Ordination of the Biſhops, &c.' examined the quotations, compared them with the originals, and printed that book from the author's manuſcript, in 1625, fol (7). Whatever elſe he compoſed, hath not been publiſhed.

(5) See ſome Letters, &c. as above, p. 2, 3.

(6) Echard's Hiſt. edit. 1720, p. 393.

(7) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 464, and Vol. II. col. 162.

[C] *Judge of the Prerogative.*] It is probable he was turned out of this place, by Archbiſhop Laud. For, thus we read in Whitelock's Memorials (8): 'The Com-'mons took orders touching the Prerogative Court, 'and appointed Sir *Nathaniel Brent*, to be the Judge 'of that Court.'

(8) Edit. 1732, fol. p. 92.

C

BREVINT (DANIEL), a learned Divine of the XVIIth century, was born in the Isle of Jersey, in the reign of King James I (*a*), and probably educated in grammar-learning in that place. From thence he went and studied Logic and Philosophy in the Protestant University of Saumur [*A*], where he took the degree of Master of Arts, on Septemb. 12, 1634 (*b*). Coming to Oxford, he, in all likelihood, studied for some time in that famous University, and October 12, 1638, was incorporated there Master of Arts (*c*), as he stood at Saumur. About this time King Charles I, having, through Archbishop Laud's persuasion, founded three fellowships in the colleges of Pembroke, Exeter, and Jesus, for the Islands of Jersey and Guernsey, alternately; Mr Brevint was nominated or chosen, to be the first Fellow at Jesus-College upon this foundation, in 1638 (*d*). Here he continued 'till he was ejected from his fellowship by the Parliament-Visitors [*B*], for refusing to take the Solemn League and Covenant (*e*). Whereupon he withdrew to his native country (*f*). But upon the reduction of that place by the Parliament's forces, he fled into France, and became Minister of a Protestant congregation in Normandy. Not long after, he had the honour of being made Chaplain to the Viscount de Turenne, afterwards Marshal of France, whose Lady was one of the most worthy and pious women in her time (*g*). Whilst he was in that station, he was one of the persons 'employed about the great design then in 'hand, of reconciling the Protestant and Popish religions; which gave him an access 'into, and made him acquainted with, every corner of that Church,' as he says himself (*h*). At the Restoration of King Charles II, he came back to England, and was presented by that Prince (who had known him abroad) to the tenth prebend in the church of Durham, vacant by the promotion of Dr J. Cosin to that See. He was installed March 15, 1660-61 (*i*). By Bishop Cosin, who had been his fellow-sufferer, he was also collated to a living in the diocese of Durham (*k*). On the twenty-seventh of February 1661-62, he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity at Oxford (*l*). Having, during his exile, seen Popery in it's native deformity, and observed all the mean and dishoneſt arts that are used to support that weak and ill-shaped building, he took all opportunities to attack, and endeavour to pull it down. Accordingly, in 1672, he published *Missale Romanum:* or, *The Depth and Mystery of the Roman Mass, laid open and explained, for the Use of both Reformed and Unreformed Christians* [*C*]. And, the next year, *The Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice, by way of Discourse, Meditation, and Prayer, upon the Nature, Parts, and Blessings of the Holy Communion* [*D*]. And in 1674, *Saul and Samuel at Endor, or the new Waies of Salvation and Service, which usually tempt Men to Rome, and detain them there, truly represented and refuted.* At the end of which is, *A brief Account of R. F. his* Missale Vindicatum, or *Vindication of the Roman Mass* [*E*], being an answer to *The Depth and*

(*a*) In the year 1616. He was baptized May 11, 1616. Register book of Sr John's in Jersey.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 927, edit. 1721, and Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. P. ii. p. 322.

(*c*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 277.

(*d*) Idem, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 927.

(*e*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. Lond. 1714, fol. p. 120.

(*f*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(*g*) From the information of a friend who knew him.

(*h*) In Preface to Saul and Samuel at Endor, p. 5. edit. Oxf. 1674, 8vo.

(*i*) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, &c. Lond. 1727, p. 273.

(*k*) From the information of a friend.

(*l*) Wood, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 148.

[*A*] *From thence he went and studied Logic and Philosophy, in the Protestant University of Saumur.*] Before the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and 'till the encouragement, given by the foundation of the three Fellowships above-mentioned, in the University of Oxford, the young gentlemen of the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, designed for the Ministry, were sent to study among the Protestants in France, particularly at Saumur. This University was founded by the learned Philip de Mornay, Lord Plessis Marly, who brought Professors to teach academical learning in that town, of which King Henry IV. had made him Governor (1). It was for several years in great repute, on account of it's eminent Professors of Divinity, John Cameron, Lewis Cappel, Moses Amyrauld, John de la Place, &c. The learned Tannegui le Feve, father of Madam Dacier, was also one of the Regents, or Masters, in that University. It was at length suppressed by Lewis XIV. in 1684.

(1) Account of Jersey by Falle, second edition, Lond. 1733, p. 316.

[*B*] *He was ejected from his Fellowship, by the Parliament-Visitors.*] He must have been dispossessed of it, or at least have quitted it, before the general visitation in 1647, &c. for he says himself, that he was 'kept by the times of rebellion, *seventeen years* a-'broad among the Romanists (2);' that is from 1643 to 1660.

(2) Preface to Saul and Samuel at Endor, ubi supra.

[*C*] *The depth and mystery of the Roman Mass.*] It was printed at Oxford 1672, and again in 1673, 8vo. In 1674, there came out an answer to it, entituled, *Missale Romanum Vindicatum*; or, *the Mass vindicated from Dr Dan. Brevint's calumnious and scandalous Tract.* 8vo. Of this the Doctor gave an account, with some short observations upon it, at the end of his *Saul and Samuel at Endor*, as is mentioned in the text above.

[*D*] *The Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice*, &c.] Printed at Oxford 1673, in 12mo. It passed through a second edition. And the third was published at London in 1739, upon the following recommendation given of it by Dr Waterland, in his Charge, entituled, *The Christian Sacrifice explained* (3). 'He [Dr Brevint] 'was well read in the Eucharistick Sacrifice: no man 'understood it better;——and he explained the prac-'tical uses of that doctrine, in so clear, so lively, and 'so affecting a way, that one can scarce meet with 'any thing on the subject, that can be justly thought 'to exceed it. So that I could heartily join my wishes 'with a late learned writer (4), that that excellent 'little book, entituled, *The Christian Sacrament and 'Sacrifice*, might be reprinted, for the honour of God 'and the benefit of the Church.' In the dedication of this book, the author says, 'That it is one of the 'many tracts, which he made at Paris, on several 'subjects, at the instance of those two incomparable 'Princesses [of Turenne, and Bouillon] who there for 'many years during his banishment, employed him in 'their service.'

(3) Page 31.

(4) Dr Hickes, Christian Priesthood Prefat. Discourse, Vol. I. p. 39, 40.

[*E*] *Saul and Samuel at Endor*, &c.] It was printed at Oxford 1674, 8vo. and reprinted at London 1688. in 12mo. The design of it, is, to shew the falseness and absurdity, of the new ways of salvation and service, which usually tempt men to embrace the Romish religion; namely, 1. The Romanists, pretending theirs to be the only true Catholick Church. 2. Romish miracles. 3. The protection and assistance of their imaginary Saints; particularly the Virgin Mary. Under this article, he fully shows, to what an excessive degree of superstitious idolatry, the veneration for her hath been carried by the Papists. They bestow upon her the highest titles, which are in Scripture attributed to God; and in their prayers and praises, commonly join her with the Supreme Being. They apply to her the most illustrious passages of Scripture, that belong directly to Christ. They have composed a psalter, *Psalterium S. Bonaventuræ*; nay even a whole bible, *Biblia Mariæ*, to her honour. 4. Another inducement to Popery, is the Beads, called the Rosary. 5. The next is, the Church's treasury. 6 Indulgences. 7. Pardon of sins, by means of holy confraternities, and friends. 8. The girdle of St Francis; the 150 beads of St Dominic, and the scapulary of St Simon Stock. 9. Relics, Agnus Dei's, &c. 10. Consecrated images.

[*F*] *He*

and Myſtery of the Roman Maſs, abovementioned. The learning, and other eminent qualifications of the author, having recommended him to the eſteem of the world, and to the favour of his Sovereign, he was promoted to the Deanery of Lincoln, vacant by the death of Michael Honeywood, D. D. Into this dignity he was inſtalled, January 3, 1681-82: and, into the prebend of Welton Payns-hall annexed thereto, January 7, following (*m*). Beſides the books already mentioned, he hath publiſhed ſome others in Latin, of which there is an account in the note [*F*]. He died May 5, 1695, and was buried in the cathedral church of Lincoln, behind the high-altar (*n*); where, on a grave-ſtone, is an inſcription to his memory [*G*]. He was a perſon of great reading, eſpecially in the controverſy between the Proteſtants and Papiſts; zealous for the Church of England; and for his life and learning truly praiſe-worthy (*o*).

(*m*) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedral of Lincoln, &c. 4to. p. 81, 261.

(*n*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 81.

(*o*) Wood's Ath. ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *He hath publiſhed ſome other books*, &c.] The titles of them are, I. *Eccleſiæ primitivæ Sacramentum & Sacrificium, à pontificiis corruptelis, & exinde natis controverſiis liberum*; written at the deſire of the Princeſſes of Turenne and Bouillon, *i. e* 'The Sacrament 'and Sacrifice of the primitive Church, freed from 'Popiſh Corruptions, and the diſputes occaſioned there-'by.' II. *Euchariſtiæ Chriſtianæ præſentia realis & pontificia ficta, iuculentiſſimis non teſtimoniis modo, ſed etiam fundamentis, quibus fere tota S. S. Patrum Theologia nititur, hæc exploſa, illa ſuffulta & aſſerta*, i. e. 'A conſutation of the Real Preſence in the Euchariſt, 'as maintained by the Papiſts, with an account of the 'manner how Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament, ac-'cording to the writings of the ancient Fathers.' III. *Pro Sereniſſima Principe Weimarienſi ad Theſes Jenenſes accurata Reſponſio*, i. e. 'An exact anſwer to 'the Theſes of Jena, for the Princeſs of Weimar.' IV. *Ducentæ plus minus Prælectiones in S. Matthæi xxv Capita & aliorum Evangeliſtarum locos kiſce paſſim parallelos*, i. e. 'About two hundred Lectures, upon 'twenty-five chapters of St Matthew, and thoſe paſ-'ſages of the other Evangeliſts that are parallel there-'to.' He alſo tranſlated into French, The Judgment of the Univerſity of Oxford, concerning the ſolemn League and Covenant (5).

[*G*] *On a grave-ſtone is an inſcription to his memory*] Which is as follows. 'Here lyeth the body of 'Daniel Brevint, D. D. late Dean of this Cathedral 'Church of Lincoln, who departed this life, May 5. '1695. I have waited for thy Salvation, O Lord '(6).

(5) Wood's Ath. ubi ſupra; & Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 322.

(6) Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 81.

C

BRIGGS (HENRY) an eminent Mathematician of the XVIth century, deſcended from the antient family of that name at Salle in Norfolk, was born at Warley Wood, a ſmall hamlet in the pariſh of Halifax in Yorkſhire (*a*): the time of his birth is uncertain; but, moſt probably, it was about the year 1556 [*A*]. After his education at a grammar ſchool in the country, he was ſent to St John's college in Cambridge, about the year 1757, and admitted a ſcholar of the houſe, November 5, 1579. In 1581, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, that of Maſter in 1585; and was choſen Fellow of his college March 29, 1588. He applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of the Mathematicks, in which he greatly excelled; and, in 1592, was made Examiner and Lecturer in that faculty, and, ſoon after, Reader of the Phyſick-Lecture founded by Dr Linacre. Upon the ſettlement of Greſham-college in London, he was choſen the firſt Profeſſor of Geometry there, about the beginning of March 1596; and ſome time after he conſtructed a *Table*, by the help of which, the *Magnetical Declination* being given, the height of the *Pole* may eaſily be found. This Table was ſuited to an inſtrument deſcribed by Dr Gilbert (*b*), and publiſhed by Mr Blondeville (*c*). In 1609, Mr Briggs contracted an intimacy with the learned Mr James Uſher, afterwards Archbiſhop of Armagh, which was kept up many years by letters, two of which, written by our author, are yet extant (*d*). In the former of them, dated in *Auguſt* 1610, he tells his friend, 'he was engaged in the 'ſubject of Eclipſes;' and in the latter, dated *March* 10, 1615, he acquaints him with his being 'wholly employed about the noble invention of *Logarithms*, then lately diſcovered:' in the improvement of which he was particularly concerned [*B*]. In the ſummer of the year

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 549. & Dr T. Smith's Comment. de vit. & ſtud. H. Briggii, in his Vit. quorund. erudit. & Illuſtr. Viroum, Lond. 1707, 8vo. See alſo Mr J. Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-college, Lond. 1740, p. 120. And the Rev. Mr Blomefield's Topographical Hiſt. of Norfolk, Vol. I. p. 641.

(*b*) In his fifth book of the Load-ſtone.

(*c*) In his Theoriques of the Seven Planets, Lond. 1602. 4to.

(*d*) In Archbiſhop Uſher's Letters, No. 4. and 16, Lond. 1686. fol.

[*A*] *About the year* 1556.] Dr Smith (1) places his birth *about the year* 1560; which, probably, he might collect from what is ſaid by Anthony Wood (2), that he died on the twenty-ſixth of January 1630, *aged ſeventy or more*; and likewiſe from Mr Gellibrand, who, ſpeaking of his death, calls him, *Apellem noſtrum Septuagenarium* (3). But, in a Letter from Mr Joſeph Mede of Chriſt's College in Cambridge, dated the 6th of February 1630, it is ſaid, *Mr Henry Brigges of Oxford, the great Mathematician, is lately dead, at* 74 *years of age* (4). According to this account, which is more expreſs and determinate than either of the former, he muſt have been born in the year 1556.

(1) Comment. de vit. & ſtud. H. Briggii, p. 1.

(2) Athen. Oxon. vol. I. col. 550.

(3) Pref ad Trigon. Brit.

(4) Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-college, Lond. 1740, p. 120.

[*B*] *He was particularly concerned in the improvement of* Logarithms.] Mr Wood tells us (5), that 'one Dr Craig, a Scotchman, coming out of Denmark 'into his own country, called upon John Neper, Baron 'of Marcheſton, near Edinburgh, and told him, 'among other diſcourſes, of a new invention in Den-'mark by Longomontanus, as it is ſaid, to ſave the 'tedious multiplication and diviſion in aſtronomical 'calculations. Neper being ſollicitous to know farther 'of him concerning this matter, he could give no 'other account of it, than that it was by *proportionable* '*numbers*. Which hint Neper taking, he deſired him 'at his return to call upon him again. Craig, after 'ſome weeks had paſſed, did ſo; and Neper then 'ſhewed him a rude draught of what he called *Canon* '*mirabilis Logarithmorum*. Which draught, with 'ſome alterations, he printing in 1614, it came forth-'with into the hands of our author Briggs, and into 'thoſe of William Oughtred, from whom the relation 'of this matter came.' As this ſtory is told, one would imagine it came from Mr Oughtred. But there is no mention of it in his writings. And it ſeems ſtrange, that Longomontanus, had he any pretenſions to it, ſhould have no where laid claim to the honour of this admirable invention (6); but have left the glory of it's firſt diſcovery to be ſolely aſcribed to the Baron of Marcheſton (7). This could not be for want of attention to a thing of that importance, or an opportunity of doing himſelf juſtice in ſo long a courſe of time: for he lived, as Voſſius tells us (8), to the year 1647, and was upwards of eighty years old, when he died. Gaſſendus indeed mentions (9) a compendious method of calculation in Trigonometry, as diſcovered by Tycho Brahe, in which Addition and Subſtraction were uſed inſtead of Multiplication and Diviſion; and he adds this remark: *Quod ut fieri poſſit, docuit poſtmodum ſuo Logarithmorum Canone Neperus.* But that Neper's diſcovery was altogether different from the method ſpoken of by Gaſſendus, may appear by conſulting

(5) Ubi ſupra, p. 549.

(6) Vid. Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 5.

(7) See Mackenzie's Lives of the Scots Writers, p. 522.

(8) De Natura Artium, l. iii. c. 46.

(9) Vit. T. Brahei. p. 109, 165, edit. 1655, 4to.

year 1616, he took a journey into Scotland, to converſe with John Neper, Baron of Marcheſton near Edinburgh, upon his new invention of *Logarithms*; and the ſummer following made him a ſecond viſit (*e*). In 1617, for the ſake of his friends and hearers at Greſham-College, he printed, in 8*vo*, his *Logarithmorum Chilias Prima* [*C*]. In 1619, he was made Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry at Oxford [*D*]; but continued to hold his Profeſſorſhip of Greſham-College, 'till the twenty of July 1620, and then reſigned it. Upon his going to Oxford he ſettled himſelf at Merton-College, and ſoon after was incorporated Maſter of Arts in that Univerſity, where he continued 'till his death. In 1622, he publiſhed a ſmall tract in 4*to*. concerning the *North-weſt Paſſage to the South-Sea, through the Continent of Virginia, and Hudſon's Bay* (*f*). The reaſon, which led him to it, was, probably, his being then a member of the Company trading to Virginia. His next performance was his great and elaborate work, intitled, *Arithmetica Logarithmica* [*E*]; and ſoon

(*e*) See remark [*B*].

(*f*) Reprinted in Purchas's Pilgrimes, Vol. III. p. 852.

fulting the authors, in which the artifice then uſed for that purpoſe is particularly explained (10) This invention was no ſooner known, than it gained the general applauſe of all the eminent Mathematicians of that age, who found it to anſwer, what the noble author had ſaid of it in his Dedication to Prince Charles, that *illius adminiculo plures quæſtiones Mathematicæ unius horæ ſpatio, quam priſtina et communiter recepta forma Sinuum, Tangentium, et Secantium, vel integro die abſolvantur*, i. e. 'By the help of this invention, 'more mathematical queſtions may be determined in 'one hour, than in a whole day, by the old, and com- 'monly received method of Sines, Tangents, and Se- 'cants.' But no one extolled it more than Mr Briggs, who, in a letter to Mr James Uſher (afterwards Archbiſhop of Armagh) ſpeaks of it thus: *Naper, Lord of Markinſton, hath ſet my head and hands at work with his new and admirable Logarithms. I hope to ſee him this ſummer, for I never ſaw a book which pleaſed me better, and made me more wonder* (11). This year the Baron publiſhed his *Rabdologia*, in the Dedication of which to the Lord Chancellor Seton, he mentions another ſpecies of *Logarithms*, different from what he had publiſhed in 1614, and which he had invented ſince that time. His words are theſe: *Logarithmorum ſpeciem aliam multo præſtantiorem nunc etiam invenimus, et creandi methodum una cum eorum uſu, ſi Deus longiorem vitæ et valetudinis uſuram conceſſerit, evulgare ſtatuimus. Ipſam autem novi Canonis ſupputationem, ob infirmam corporis noſtri valetudinem, viris in hoc ſtudii genere verſatis relinquimus; imprimis vero D. Henrico Briggs, Londini publico Geometriæ Profeſſori, et amico mihi longe chariſſimo*, i. e. 'I have lately in- 'vented another, and a much better, kind of *Loga- 'rithms*; and I purpoſe, if God grant me life and 'health, to publiſh the method of conſtructing them, 'together with their uſe. But, on account of the bad 'ſtate of my health, I leave the computation of the 'new Canon to perſons converſant in this kind of 'ſtudy; particularly to Mr Henry Briggs, publick 'Profeſſor of Geometry at London, and my moſt dear 'friend.' It ſeems from this paſſage, as if the Baron, being ſenſible of his declining health, was deſirous, by this publick notice of his new method of *Logarithms*, and his expectations from Mr Briggs, to engage him more firmly in the proſecution of that uſeful, but very laborious, work here mentioned. Soon after the publication of the *Canon Mirificus Logarithmorum*, it was tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr Edward Wright, and ſent to the author into Scotland for his peruſal, who approved of it very well. But Mr Wright dying before the book was returned from Scotland, the care of the impreſſion was, both by him and the Baron, committed to Mr Briggs, who publiſhed it in the year 1616, with a Preface of his own, containing ſome account of it's excellent uſes, and a deſcription of the inſtrumental *Table*, to find the *part proportional*, placed at the end. We find by the paſſage tranſcribed above, from the Baron's *Dedication* of his *Rabdologia*, that what he propoſed to do himſelf in relation to the ſecond ſpecies of *Logarithms*, was only to give an account how they were made, and explain the uſe of them, and to leave the labour of their calculation to others, and particularly to Mr Briggs. But he did not live to go through what he intended; and therefore, after his deceaſe, the manuſcript being ſent to Mr Briggs, he made ſeveral additions to it, as will appear by looking into the Contents of the book itſelf, publiſhed by the Baron's ſon (12). In 1615, Mr Briggs, in explaining the ſubject of *Logarithms* to his hearers at Greſham-College, obſerved, that it would be more commodious if they were ſo altered, that o ſhould be the *Logarithm* of the whole *Sine*, as in the *Canon*, and 10000000000 be made the *Logarithm* of a tenth part of the whole *Sine*, namely, 5 *degrees*, 44 *minutes*, and 21 *ſeconds*. And preſently after he acquainted the author with this by a letter; and, having calculated ſome *Logarithms* in that manner, he took a journey to Edinburgh, to ſhew the Baron what he had done. He was very kindly received by Neper, and ſtay'd with him a month; and in their converſation upon that head the Baron told him, he was ſenſible the *Logarithms* might be altered for the better, before he publiſhed his *Canon*; but choſe to have them printed, in the manner he had prepared them, 'till he had leiſure and health to make others more commodious; which he thought would be beſt, if o was made the *Logarithm* of an *Unite*, and 10000000000 that of the whole *Sine*. Mr Briggs agreed with him in this, and, at his deſire, after he came back to London, throwing by thoſe he had calculated upon his former ſcheme, made others in the manner ſuggeſted by the Baron, who highly approved of them, and earneſtly preſſed him to proceed (13). And upon this plan was Mr Briggs's *Arithmetica Logarithmica* formed. *See the remark* [*E*].

(10) Vid. Clavium De Aſtrolab. l. i. lemma 53. Pitiſci Trigonom. l. v. init. &c.

(11) Uſher's Letters, p. 36.

(12) Edinburgi, 1619, 4*to*.

(13) See the Preface to Briggs' Arithmetica Logarithmica.

[*C*] His *Logarithmorum Chilias Prima*.] Theſe *Logarithms*, he tells us in the Preface, are of a different kind from thoſe publiſhed by the illuſtrious inventor of the art in his *Canon Mirificus*. *Quod autem hi Logarithmi diverſi ſint ab iis, quos clariſſimus inventor, memoriæ ſemper colendæ, in ſuo edidit Canone Mirifico*, &c. And this *Chilias Prima* is what Sir Henry Bourchier refers to in the following paſſage of a letter written by him to Dr Uſher: 'Our kind friend Mr Briggs hath 'lately publiſhed a *Supplement* to the moſt excellent '*Tables* of *Logarithms*, which I preſume he has ſent 'you (14).' This letter is dated, Decemb. 6. 1617.

(14) Uſher's Letters, p. 62.

[*D*] *He was made Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry at Oxford.*] Sir Henry Savile, the founder of that Lecture, had himſelf for ſome time diſcharged that province, and read thirteen lectures upon the firſt eight Propoſitions of Euclid's *Elements*, which were afterwards printed (15); and then he ſurrendered the chair to Mr Briggs, taking leave of his audience, in his laſt lecture, with theſe words: *Trado lampadem ſucceſſori meo, doctiſſimo viro, qui vos ad intima Geometriæ myſteria perducet.* Mr Briggs entered upon this new province, January the 8th, that year, which he opened with an eloquent Oration, and the week following began his lectures with the ninth Propoſition of Euclid, where Sir Henry Savile had left off (16).

(15) Oxon. 1621 4*to*.

(16) Wood, Hiſt & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 324.

[*E*] *His* Arithmetica Logarithmica.] The Title at length is: *Arithmetica Logarithmica; ſive, Logarithmorum Chiliades triginta, pro numeris naturali ſerie creſcentibus ab unitate ad* 20,000, *et à* 90,000, *ad* 100,000. *Quarum ope multa perficiuntur arithmetica Problemata et geometrica. Hos numeros primus invenit clariſſimus vir* Johannes Neperus, *baron Merchiſtonii; eos autem ex ejuſdem ſententia mutavit eorumque ortum et uſum illuſtravit* Henricus Briggius, *in celeberrima Academia Oxonienſi Geometriæ Profeſſor Savilianus: Londini*, 1624, *folio*. There was a ſecond edition of this noble work publiſhed by Mr Adrian Vlacq, of Targou, in Holland, in which the intervening numbers from 20,000 to 90,000 were filled up. The title of that edition runs thus: *Arithmetica Logarithmica; ſive, Logarithmorum Chiliades centum, pro numeris naturali ſerie creſcentibus ab unitate ad* 100,000; *una cum Canone Triangulorum, ſeu Tabula artificialium ſinuum, tangentium, et ſecantium, ad radium* 10000000,00000, *et ad ſingula ſcrupula prima quadrantis. Quibus novum traditur compendium, quo nullum nec admirabilius,*

nec,

soon after he engaged in another grand work, intitled *Trigonometria Britannica* [F]. This great Mathematician died the twenty-sixth of January 1630, in Merton-College [G], and was buried in the choir of the chapel there, under the honorary monument of Sir Henry Savile; a plain stone being laid over him, with his name only inscribed on it. Besides the pieces already mentioned, Mr Briggs wrote many others; some of which have never been published [H], and others published by other persons [I]. We shall give his character, and the opinions of writers concerning him, in the remark [K].

BRIGGS

nec utilius, ad solvenda plerasque problemata arithmetica et geometrica. Hos numeros, &c. Editio secunda, aucta per Adrianum Vlacq, Goudanum: Goudæ, 1628, folio. This Edition, soon after his death, was translated into English, with the following title: 'Logarithmicall 'Arithmetike, or, Tables of Logarithmes for absolute numbers, from an unite to 100,000; as also for 'sines, tangentes, and secantes, for every minute of a 'quadrant: With a plain description of their use in 'arithmetike, geometrie, geographie, astronomie, 'navigation, &c. These Numbers were first invented 'by the most excellent *John Neper*, Baron of Marchiston; and the same were transform'd, and the 'foundation and use of them illustrated, with his approbation, by *Henry Briggs*, Sir Henry Savile's 'Professor of Geometrie in the Universitie of Oxford: 'the uses whereof were written in Latin by the author 'himselfe; and since his death published in English 'by diverse of his friends, according to his mind, for 'the benefit of such as understand not the Latin tongue. 'London, 1631, *folio*.'

[F] *A work intitled* Trigonometria Britannica.] He proposed to complete it in two books, but lived to write the first only; leaving the second to the care of his old friend Mr Henry Gellibrand, who finished the work, and published it under the title of *Trigonometria Britannica, sive, De Doctrina Triangulorum: Libri duo*, &c. (17). This seems to be the work promised, in a manner, by our author in the *Dissertation* prefixed to his *Arithmetica Logarithmica*, where he says; *supereſt adhuc logarithmorum usus nobiliſſimus, et maximè neceſſarius, in doctrina triangulorum ſphæricorum, quem ſeorſim, uti ſpero, peculiari libro exhibebo.* i. e. 'The 'noblest, and the most important, use of Logarithms, 'namely, in the doctrine of Spherical Triangles, is 'still behind; which I purpose to explain in a distinct treatise.'

(17) See the article GELLIBRAND (Henry).

[G] *He died ——— in Merton-College.*] The following account of him stands yet in the College Register. *Jan.* 26, 1630. *Obiit apud nos commenſalis, magiſter Henricus Briggs, vir quidem moribus ac vita integerrimus; quem in rebus Geometricis, quarum ſtudiis primum Cantabrigiæ in ſocietate Collegii S. Johannis ſeſe a juventute ſua addixerat, dein publicus prælector Londini in Collegio Greſhamenſi multos per annos ſuſtinuerat, omnium ſui temporis eruditiſſimum, D. Henricus Savilius, ut primo ex fundatione ſua geometriæ profeſſoris munere fungeretur, Oxonium evocavit: cujus exequias 29 die proximo ſequente, concione habita a magiſtro Sellar, et oratione funebri a magiſtro Creſſy, una cum primoribus Academiæ celebravimus.* We learn from this account, that the Heads, and other chief persons, of the University, attended his funeral; and that a Sermon was preached by Mr Sellar, and a funeral Oration spoken by Mr Cressy (Fellows of Merton College) on that occasion.

[H] *He wrote some pieces, which have never been published.*] They are: I. *Commentaries on the Geometry of Peter Ramus.* Mr Wood (18) tells us, that, after the author's death, this Treatise came into the hands of Mr John Greaves, from him to his brother Dr Thomas Greaves, and then to Mr Theodore Haak, a Fellow of the Royal Society. II. *Duæ Epiſtolæ ad celeberrimum virum, Chriſtianum Longomontanum.* One of these Letters contained some Remarks upon a Treatise of Longomontanus, about squaring the Circle; and the other a Defence of Arithmetical Geometry. Both of them were in the possession of Dr Smith, who intended to publish them, but did not live to execute his design (19). These, which follow, Mr Ward tells us (20), are in the hands of Mr Jones. III. *Animadverſiones Geometricæ.* 4to. IV. *De eodem Argumento.* 4to. Both these Treatises contain great variety of Geometrical Propositions concerning the Properties of many Figures, with several Arithmetical Computations relating to the Circle, Angular Sections, &c. V. *An Engliſh Treatise of Common Arithmetick*, folio. In this are contained not only the Vulgar Rules, but also the manner of extracting the square and cube roots, with the Rules of Proportion, Allegation, Arithmetical and Geometrical Progression. VI. *A Letter to Mr Clarke of Graveſend*, dated from Gresham-College the 25th of February, 1606; with which he sends him *the deſcription of a Ruler*, call'd *Bedwell's Ruler*, with *Directions how to draw it.* This Mr Bedwell was a Clergyman, who had a living at Tottenham (21), and was one of the Divines in that class at Westminster, who were appointed by King James I. to revise the English Translation of the Bible (22).

(18) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I, col. 550.

(19) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 13.

(20) Lives of the Professors, &c. p. 29.

(21) Usher's Letters, p. 12.

(22) Fuller's Ch. Hist. &c. l. x. p. 45.

[I]—*Some others, published by other persons.*] Namely; I. *Tables for the improvement of Navigation. A Table of Declination of every minute of the Ecliptick, in degrees, minutes, and seconds. A Table of the Sun's Poſtaphæreſes. A Table of Equations of the Sun's Ephemerides. A Table of the Sun's Declination. Tables to find the height of the Pole, in any latitude, from the height of the Pole-Star.* These Tables are printed in the second edition of Mr Edward Wright's Treatise, intitled, *Certain Errors in Navigation detected and corrected:* London, 1610, 4to (23). II. *Euclidis Elementorum* VI *libri priores, ſecundum vetera Exemplaria reſtituti, ex Verſione Latina Frederici Commandini, aliquam multis in locis caſtigati: Londini, 1620, folio.* This was printed without his name to it. III. *Mathematica ab antiquis minus cognita.* This is a summary of the most observable inventions of modern Mathematicians, communicated by Mr Briggs to Dr George Hakewill, and published by him in several editions of his *Apologie*: London, *folio*. It is likewise printed in Mr Ward's *Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-College*. Append. No. 9.

(23) See the end of Mr Wright's Preface.

[K] *His character, and the opinions of writers concerning him.*] Dr Smith (24) gives him the character of a man of great probity; easy and accessible to all; free from arrogance, moroseness, envy, ambition, and avarice; a contemner of riches, and contented with his own station; preferring a studious retirement to all the splendid circumstances of life. The learned Mr Thomas Gataker, who attended his lectures, when he was Reader of Mathematicks at St John's College in Cambridge, represents him as highly esteemed by all persons skilled in the Mathematicks both at home and abroad; and says, that desiring him once to give him his judgment concerning *Judicial Astrology*, his answer was, that he conceived it to be *a meer ſyſtem of groundleſs conceits* (25). And Mr Oughtred calls him 'the 'mirror of the age for excellent skill in Geometry (26).' But his successor at Gresham-College, the famous Dr Isaac Barrow, in his *Oration* there upon his admission (27), has given his character more fully in the following passage, wherein he celebrates his great abilities, skill, and industry, in perfecting Neper's admirable invention of Logarithms; which, but for his care and pains, might have continued an imperfect and useless design. *Atteſtor tuum, quod noſtris agmen ducit in tabulis, omni laude majus, omnique encomio celebratius nomen, doctrina, acumine, ſolertia, præſtantiſſime Briggi, tu, qui Logarithmorum illud præclariſſimum artificium non tua quidem (quod ad gloriam maxime fecerit) reperiſti fortuna; ſed (quod æque laudem meretur) conſummaſti induſtria, atque omnibus numeris abſolviſti: Quod inutile forſan adhuc et imperfectum jaceret opus, fundamenti ſui ruderibus obvolutum, niſi ſubtiliſſimi tu limam ingenii, et indefeſſæ diligentiam manus adhibuiſſes: Qui denſas iſtas numerorum phalanges dum velut in aciem ordinatim inſtrueres, tolque immenſos nobis canonas concinnares, tui temporis diſpendio noſtri otium redemiſti, tuo labore noſtrum ſublevaſti tædium, noſtro ut ſomno parceres ærumnoſis teipſum vigiliis macraſti; dignus propterea, qui innumerabiles a nobis, neque per tuos etiam logarithmos computabiles, gratias reportares.* We shall subjoin an Epigram upon Mr Briggs, written by Mr Henry Jacob (28), who was much celebrated at

(24) In Vit. Briggii, ubi ſupra.

(25) Vindicat of the Annot. on *Jerem.* x. 2. p. 87.

(26) Apolog. Ep. against Rich. de Laman, p. 30.

(27) See Ward's Lives of the Professors, &c. Append. No. 10.

(28) See his Poëmata Græca & Latina.

that time for his skill in Philology. The Point or Sting, of it is, that *Death had not put an end to his art, for his soul continued to* astronomize, *and his body to* geometrize.

Βριγγιάδης ζατὴρ γαίης, ϗ σύιδρομος ἀστρων,
Ευκλείδην φρονέων, ϗ Πτολεμαῖον ὅλος.
Ἦν ἔτι τεχνόξιος· μάλα δ' ἔπλεν αὐτοφανής τις·
Πράξεας ἔμμετρος, φροντίδας ἐράνιθ.
Παῦσε δέ μιν τέχνης ἐδ' αὐτὴ μοῖρα, θανόντ@
Ἀστρονομεῖ ψυχὴ, σῶμα γεωμετρέει. T

BRIGGS (WILLIAM), an eminent Engliſh Phyſician in the latter end of the ſeventeenth century, was born in the city of Norwich, and ſon of Auguſtin Briggs, Eſq; [*A*] four times Member of Parliament for that city; deſcended from an ancient family at Sall (*a*) in Norfolk (*b*). He was admitted into Bennet-College, in the Univerſity of Cambridge, at thirteen years of age; and educated under the care of Dr Thomas Tenniſon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and was choſen Fellow of that Society; in which he continued ſeveral years, and had the tuition of a good number of pupils; diſcharging that truſt with honour to the college. He there took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts; and entered on the Phyſick line; in which faculty he commenced Doctor in 1677. He ſtudied with the utmoſt application, and was a good Linguiſt and Philoſopher, and well verſed in moſt parts of learning. October the twenty-ſixth 1670, he was incorporated in the Univerſity of Oxford, being then Maſter of Arts (*c*). After he had improved himſelf by his travels into foreign countries, he ſettled at London, where he practiſed with great ſucceſs, and ſoon became eminent in his profeſſion, being much eſteemed by perſons of the higheſt rank, and moſt learned of his time. He was particularly famous for his exquiſite ſkill in difficult caſes of the eye, in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf to great advantage; he accurately ſurveyed the eye, and was a judicious Anatomiſt, as appears by his *Ophthalmographia* and *Nova Viſionis Theoria* [*B*], an account of which treatiſes is inſerted in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*

(*a*) See Baronetage, 8vo, 1741, Vol. II. p. 251.

(*b*) See the Pedigree of the Briggs's in Blomfield's Hiſt. of Norfolk, Vol. II. p. 640.

(*c*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 182, ſecond edit Lond. 1721.

[*A*] *Auguſtin Briggs, Eſq;*] Was ſon of Auguſtin Briggs, Eſq; and was educated at Norwich; where he lived many years in great credit and eſteem. He was Major of the Trained-Bands, or City Militia; being ſtrenuous for his royal maſter King Charles I. In the Rebellion, he was one of thoſe gentlemen, who in 1643. joined the Earl of Newcaſtle in the ſiege of Lynn. In 1660, at the Reſtoration, he was very ſerviceable in compoſing the differences between the Dean and Chapter, and City of Norwich; and in procuring a new charter for the city. He died Auguſt 28th, 1684, in the 63d year of his age; having juſtly deſerved the character given him by the late Reverend Mr Whitefoot, Miniſter of St Peter's, who compoſed the inſcription on his monument erected in that church; for he was indeed highly loyal to his King, and yet a ſtudious preſerver of the ancient privileges of his country; was always firm and reſolute in upholding the Church of England, and aſſiduous and punctual in all the important truſts that were committed to him, whether in the auguſt aſſembly of Parliament, his honourable commands in the Militia, or his juſticiary affairs upon the Bench; gaining the affections of the people by his hoſpitality, and repeated acts of kindneſs; which he continued beyond his death, leaving the charities mentioned in his will, as a more certain remembrance to poſterity, than the periſhing monument erected by his friends, on which is the following inſcription:

Auguſtinus Briggs Armiger,
Urbis & Agri Icenorum bonus Genius:
Vir Famæ Integræ,
Judicio Sano, Ingenio ſagaci præditus:
Pietatis, Charitatis, Comitatis,
Exemplar probatiſſimum.
Civitatis aliquando Præfectus, diu Senator;
Cohortis Urbanæ Dux militaris:
Regni ad Concilium publicum 4ter Cooptatus
Suffragio Civium Unanimi.
Regi Servus (ſi quis alius) Fidiſſimus,
Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Filius pientiſſimus
Pauperum patronus munificentiſſimus.
Filium Cognominem,
Honoris & Amoris publici,
Hæredem reliquit;
Cujus pictate, hoc quicquid eſt, Monumenti
Memoriæ Sacrum,
Invidia carentis
Erectum eſt,
Obiit 28° Auguſt:
Anno { Æræ Xánæ 1684 / Ætatis 67.
Cum Uxore Eliza Aldred ut diu jucundè vixit
Hic tandem placide quieſcit (*).

(*) See Blomfield's Hiſtory of Norfolk, Vol. II. p. 642.

[*B*] *His Opthalmographia, and Nova Viſionis Theoria.*] They were publiſhed at Cambridge 1676, in 12mo, under this following title: *Ophthalmographia, ſive oculi ejuſque partium deſcriptio Anatomica, cui acceſſit nova viſionis Theoria.* Theſe two treatiſes are highly commended by moſt authors, who have ſince written upon that ſubject. Dr William Derham, in his *Phyſico-Theology* (1), cites them with great commendation; and Sir Iſaac Newton, then Profeſſor of Mathematicks in the Univerſity of Cambridge, in his letter to the author, expreſſes his approbation of thoſe treatiſes in the following terms. 'Vir clariſſime, hiſce 'tuis tractatibus duas magni nominis ſcientias uno 'opere promoves, Anatomicum dico et Opticam. Or- 'gani enim (in quo utraque verſatur) artificio ſummo 'conſtructi diligenter perſcrutaris myſteria. In hujus 'diſſectione peritiam et dexteritatem tuam non exiguo 'olim mihi oblectamento fuiſſe recorder. Muſculis 'motoriis ſecundum fitum ſuum naturalem eleganter à 'te expanſis, cæteriſque partibus coram expoſitis, ſic 'ut ſingulorum uſus et miniſteria non tam intelligere 'liceret, quam cernere, effecerat dudum, ut ex cultro 'hic nihil non accuratum ſperarem. Nec ſpem falle- 'bat eximius ille Tractatus Anatomicus, quem poſt- 'modum edidiſti. Jam praxeos hujus ἀκρίβειαν per- 'gis ingenioſiſſimâ Theoriâ inſtruere et exornare. 'Et quis Theoriis condendis aptior extiterit, quam 'qui phænomenis accuratè obſervandis navârit ope- 'ram? &c.——i. e. *By theſe two Treatiſes you pro- 'mote two ſciences of great importance, Anatomy and 'Optics. For you have accurately penetrated into the 'myſteries of the Organ, upon which both of them is con- 'verſant, and which is formed with the higheſt art 'imaginable. I remember, that your ſkill and dexte- 'rity in the diſſection of that organ formerly gave me 'great pleaſure. And as you had elegantly opened the 'motory muſcles according to their natural ſituation, 'and explained the other parts in ſuch a manner, that 'we might not only underſtand, but even ſee the ſecret 'uſes of each of them, I expected every thing to be accu- 'rately performed by your diſſection. Nor was I de- 'ceived in my hopes by your excellent Anatomical Trea- 'tiſe, which you publiſhed ſince. You are now going on 'to adorn theſe exact diſcoveries with a very ingenious 'Theory. And indeed who is more qualified to form 'theories, than he, who has taken ſuch pains in ob- 'ſerving the phænomena of nature with ſo much accu- 'racy?'* Sir Iſaac concludes with encouraging the Doctor to proceed, as he had begun, in improving thoſe ſciences with his admirable diſcoverics; and to ſhew the world, that the difficulties with regard to natural cauſes, may be as eaſily ſurmounted by application and ſagacity, as they are hard to be overcome by the ordinary efforts of the generality of mankind. 'Pergas 'itaque, Vir ornatiſſime, ſcientias haſce præclaris in- 'ventis, uti facis, excolere, doceaſque difficultates 'cauſarum naturalium tam facilè ſolertia vinci poſſe, 'quam

(1) Book iv. cap. ii.

Transactions of the Royal Society (*d*), of which he was Fellow, as well as of the College of Physicians. He likewise wrote two other pieces [*C*]. In his letter before Mr John Brown's *Graphical Description of the Muscles* 1697, he informs the publick, that he had thoughts of publishing a tract about the uses and distempers of the Eye; and also another against the Epicurean Sect, about the origin of man [*D*], but he did not finish them. He was Physician in ordinary to King William III, and Physician to St Thomas's Hospital in Southwark (*e*). He married Hannah, sole Daughter and heiress of Edmund Hobart, Gent. of Holt in Norfolk [*E*], a descendant of Sir Henry Hobart, Lord Chief Justice of the Common-

(*d*) No. CXXIX, and CXLVII.

(*e*) Wood, ubi supra.

'quam solent conatibus vulgaribus difficulter cedere. 'Vale.' In this work the Doctor considers the form, parts, and motions of the eye, in an exact and curious manner; and as he thoroughly understood the œconomy of that admirable organ, he gives this character of it. 'Inter præcipuas corporis animati partes, quæ 'magni conditoris nostri sapientiam ostenderunt, nulla 'sanè reperitur, quæ majori pompâ elucet, quam ipse 'oculus, aut quæ elegantiori formâ concinnatur. Dum 'enim aliæ partes vel minori satellitio stipantur, vel in 'tantam venustatem haud assurgunt, Ocelli peculiarem 'horrorem et decus a supremo Numine afflatum refe- 'runt, et nunquam non stupendæ suæ potentiæ cha- 'racteres repræsentant. Nulla sanè pars tam divino 'artificio et ordine, &c (2). ——— *Among the prin-* (2) Ophthalmog. ap. i. §. 1.
'*cipal parts of an animated body, which display the* '*wisdom of our great Creator, there is none which ap-* 'pears with greater magnificence, or is formed in a 'more elegant manner, than the eye. For while other 'parts are either less attended and guarded, or do not 'rise to so great a share of beauty; the eyes have a 'peculiar grace and honour breathed upon them by the 'Almighty himself, and perpetually display the marks of 'his amazing power. For no part indeed with such 'divine skill and harmony, &c.' The *Theory of Vision*, and the continuation of that discourse, were at first inserted in the *Philosophical Transactions* in English; but the author, a few years after, translated them into Latin, and annexed them to his *Ophthalmographia*, to which they properly belong, in a second edition printed at London 1685, in 8vo. They were published also at Leyden; and are more frequently to be met with in the booksellers shops in Holland, than in England. Dr William Wotton in his *Reflections upon* (3) Cap. xvii. p. 103, & seq. third edit. Lond. 1705, 8vo.
ancient and modern Learning (3), gives an account of the discoveries of our author with regard to the eye; and having remarked, that the Ancients found out the humours of it, the watry, crystalline, and glassy, and all it's tunicles, and gave a good description of them; but that the optic nerve, the aqueous ducts, which supply the watry humour, and the vessels, which carry tears, were not sufficiently examined; he tells us, that the first was done by Dr Briggs, who has found, that in the Tunica Retiformis, which is contiguous to the glassy humour, the filaments of the optic nerve there expanded, lie in a most exact and regular order, all parallel one to another; which, when they are united afterwards in the nerve, are not shuffled confusedly together, but still preserve the same order, until they come to the brain. The crystalline humour, continues Dr Wotton, had already been discovered to be of a double-convex figure, made of two unequal segments of spheres, and not perfectly spherical, as the Ancients thought. So that this farther discovery made by Dr Briggs, shews evidently why all the parts of the image are so distinctly carried to the brain, since every ray strikes upon a several filament of the optic nerve, and all those strings so struck are moved equably at the same time. He observes afterwards (4), that the Lym- (4) Page 205.
phæducts, through which the moisture is conveyed from the two glands in the corner of the eyes, were not fully traced 'till Steno (5) and Briggs described (5) Observat. Anatomicæ de Oris & Oculorum & Narium Vasis,
them.

[*C*] *Wrote two other pieces.*] The first is intituled, *Two remarkable Cases relating to Vision*: published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. CLIX. p. 562. May the 20th, 1684. The other is intituled, Solutio Philosophica casus cujusdem rarioris in Actis Philosophicis, No. CLIX. nuper edit. de Juvene vesperi cæcutiente, *i. e. A Philosophical Solution of an uncommon Case*, lately printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, No CLIX. concerning a youth, who was blind in the evening.

[*D*] *About the origin of man.*] The Doctor after commending Mr Brown's industry, says — 'The pecu- 'liar frame and uses of the muscles in man (particularly of the hands) are wonderful, as they are requisite 'not only in the fine operations of your art, but also 'in Agriculture, Navigation, Writing, Manufacture, 'Building, and all sorts of mechanic Arts (which the 'brutes are not capable of) to which the exquisite 'fabrick of those of the legs in some of these assist: 'but besides, the formation of the *lumbricales* and '*perforantes* in the hand (described Tab. 22, and '24.) are requisite in the fine stops of the organ, 'and other musical instruments in the service of the 'great Creator, as the muscles of the tongue and 'larynx are subservient to those hymns and praises we 'duly offer to him; whereas, the beasts (who were not 'designed for that harmony) have only one particular 'note to call to their kind, or be distinguished by. It 'was the consideration of this, that made Galen so 'sensible of the admirable œconomy of the body in 'his tract *de Usu partium*; and Mr Hobbes confesses 'the same (*Lib. de Homine, cap.* 1.) where representing 'Epicurus's opinion, about the *autochthones* or *terri-* 'genæ, he is ashamed of it, (as I also knew by his 'conversation) and, like a convert of the more learn- 'ed Harvey on that subject, as to the formation of 'the fœtus, and it's nourishment afterwards by the 'breasts, ends the chapter in these words: *Qui ma-* 'chinas omnes, tum generationis tum nutritionis satis 'perspexerint, nec tamen eas a mente aliqua, conditas 'ordinatasque ad sua quasque officia viderint, ipsi profecto 'sine mente esse consendi sunt.

'The make indeed of the parts of the human 'body, at first view, is very surprizing; and the rude 'dissections in the time of Galen, the inspections of 'the *viscera*, and the sacrifices of the dark ages '(which obtained universally) gave many glimpses of 'the great author; but the improvement of Anatomy 'in our times, and the help we have by Microscopes 'of viewing more thoroughly the curious formation of 'the parts, sets us in a much better light, and raises 'our admiration higher. The consideration hereof 'may afford excellent and convincing arguments against 'the growing atheism of our age, and may prevail more 'than those of a metaphysical nature on the Scepticks or 'half-witted Philosophers amongst us; and I doubt not, 'but by a *Macænas* that may encourage here, a set of 'ingenious Anatomists, the learned Mr Boyle's noble 'design in his Lectures might be compleated. I con- 'fess, I have sometimes thought of publishing a tract, 'against the Epicurean sect, that has lain by me for 'some years, about the *Origin of Man*; (before I shall 'those I have promised about the uses and distempers 'of the parts of the eye) and I question not but the 'argument, with the fore-mentioned assistance, might 'be so managed as to make atheism as ridiculous as 'those excellent Prelates, and others of our times, have 'done superstition and idolatry. I could wish, in or- 'der hereunto, that Anatomical studies were encou- 'raged and brought to the greatest perfection, and 'the description and uses of all the parts accurately 'set forth; and as you have taken a great deal of 'pains in this treatise, so I could wish (wherein I 'hope you will excuse the liberty of friendship) that 'there might be a further progress in the graphical 'description of the muscles, and that their admirable '*series fibrarum* (as they serve to so many several mo- 'tions of the body) were delineated in the Mathema- 'tical method of the learned Steno, if any *Taille Douce* 'can reach it.'

[*E*] *Of Holt in Norfolk.*] This Mr Hobart was an eminent Royalist in the late civil wars; he was forced from his paternal seat, upon it's being discovered that he was one of those Norfolk gentlemen that intended an insurrection in favour of the King; a party of soldiers were sent to Holt to take him, who were very industrious so to do: he was three days concealed by Anthony Riches, a Currier in Holt, in the top of an out-house where he laid his firing; and after that, narrowly

Common-Pleas, in the reign of King James I, and related to the honourable family of that name, at Blicking in the ſaid county; ſhe was a woman of excellent ſenſe and great virtue, highly valued and loved in every relation of life. Our author died September the fourth, 1704, aged ſixty-two years, at Town-Malling in Kent, where he lies interred. He left three children, Mary, Henry, and Hannah. Mary, married to Thomas Bromfield, M.D. of London; Hannah, to Denny Martin, Gent. of Looſe in Kent; and Henry, now Rector of Holt, and Chaplain in ordinary to His Majeſty.

narrowly eſcaped them as he went to London; but getting thither ſafely, he let himſelf as a ſervant to a Shoemaker in Turnſtile, Holbourn, who was made privy to his man's circumſtances. He was once near being taken up on ſuſpicion in the way of his buſineſs, as he was fitting a wife of one of Oliver's Colonels with a pair of ſhoes, obſerving he had a very white hand, ſhe could not forbear ſaying, ſhe feared he was ſome cavalier rogue in diſguiſe, being ſure thoſe hands never handled ſhoe-maker's wax; upon which, he confeſſed to her good Ladyſhip, that he was a very idle fellow, and not being able to ſettle to the working part of his trade, his maſter wholly employed him to carry out ſhoes; and ſo he was diſmiſſed without further examination.——At the Reſtoration he carried his maſter with him to Holt, and maintained him as long as he lived. N

BROUNCKER, or BROUNKER (Sir William) Lord Viſcount of Caſtle-Lyons, in Ireland, and the firſt Preſident of the Royal Society, was the ſon of Sir William Brounker, Knt. [*A*], and born about the year 1620 (*a*). What place he was educated at we cannot learn. But he applied himſelf with ſo much diligence and ſucceſs, to the ſtudy of the Mathematicks, that he arrived to great perfection in that branch of uſeful knowledge. On the twenty-third of June 1646, he was created Doctor of Phyſick at Oxford (*b*). In April 1660, he ſubſcribed, among many others of the Nobility and Gentry, a Declaration, wherein General Monk was acknowledged the reſtorer of the laws and privileges of theſe nations (*c*). Before the forming of the Royal Society, he was one of thoſe ingenious perſons, of which the aſſemblies that gave riſe to it conſiſted (*d*). And when it was incorporated by charter, in the fourteenth of King Charles II (*e*), he was nominated the firſt Preſident of that illuſtrious Society (*f*). In this ſtation he continued about fifteen years [*B*]; and was of great ſervice, as well as a conſiderable ornament, to the Society, by his learning and experience. He enjoyed at the ſame time the following places of honour and profit; namely, the office of Chancellor to Queen Catharine, and the keeping of her Great Seal: he was alſo one of the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-Admiral; and Maſter of St Catharine's Hoſpital near the Tower of London. This laſt he obtained in 1681, after a long ſuit at law, between him and Sir Robert Atkins, one of the Juſtices of the Common-Pleas, concerning the right of the ſame (*g*). Tho' he was a learned and ingenious perſon, there are but theſe few things extant under his name, *viz.* 'Experiments of 'the recoiling of Guns (*h*).' 'An Alegebraical Paper upon the Squaring of the Hyperbola '(*i*).' 'Several Letters to Dr James Uſher, Archbiſhop of Armagh,' printed at the end of that Primate's life, by Dr R. Parr. He died at his houſe in St James's-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, April the fifth 1684, aged ſixty-four years; and was buried the fourteenth of the ſame month, in a little vault, which he had cauſed to be made in the middle of the choir, belonging to the Hoſpital of St Catharine abovementioned (*k*). He was ſucceeded in his honour by his younger brother Henry [*C*].

(*a*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. edit. 1721, col. 25, 56. That he was born in 1620, I gather from hence: becauſe Mr Wood tells us, he was 25 years old at the time of his father's deceaſe, in 1645, col. 25.

(*b*) Ibid. col. 56.

(*c*) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c Lond. 1728, fol. p. 120, 121.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 868.

(*e*) Anno 1662, See Bp. Spratt's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, ſecond edit. p. 134.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 134, &c.

(*g*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 56, 57.

(*h*) Publiſhed in Biſhop Spratt's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, Lond. 1702, ſecond edit. p. 233, &c.

(*i*) Publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. XXXIV, p. 645. and in Lowthorp's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 10, &c.

(*k*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 57.

[*A*] *Was the ſon of Sir* William Brounker, *Kt.*] This Sir William (who was ſon of Sir Henry Brounker, Preſident of Munſter in Ireland, by Anne his wife, ſiſter of (*) Henry Lord Morley) was Commiſſary-General of the Muſters in the expedition againſt the Scots in 1639; and, afterwards, one of the Privy-chamber to King Charles I. and Vice-Chamberlain to Prince Charles. On the 1ſt of November, 1642, he was created Doctor of the Civil Law at Oxford; and, the 12th of September, 1645, made Viſcount of Caſtle Lyons in Ireland. He died in Wadham-College about the middle of November following, and was buried the 20th of the ſame month, in the cathedral of Chriſt-Church in Oxford. Winefride, his widow, daughter of William Leigh, of Newnham in Warwickſhire, died the 20th of July 1649, and was buried by her huſband. Many years after a large marble-ſtone was laid over their graves, and in the wall near it was erected a ſplendid monument of alabaſter with their ſtatues ſitting, both leaning on a table that ſtands between them (1).

(*) There is no ſuch perſon mentioned by Sir W. Dugdale in his Baronage, Vol. II. p. 307.

(1) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. edit. 1721, col. 25.

[*B*] *In this ſtation he continued about fifteen years.*] And, as Biſhop Spratt obſerves (2), 'This office was 'annually renewed to him by election, out of the true 'judgment, which the Society made of his great abi- 'lities in all Natural, and eſpecially Mathematical 'Knowledge.'

(2) Ubi ſupra, p. 433.

[*C*] *By his younger brother* Henry] Who was created Doctor of Phyſick June 23, 1646; and dying about the 4th of January 1687, was buried at Richmond in Surrey, where there is a monument over his grave (3). C

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 57.

BROWN (Robert) an Engliſh Divine, of the XVIth, and beginning of the XVIIth century; and a famous Schiſmatick, from whom the ſect of the Browniſts derived it's name. He was deſcended of an antient and worſhipful family, ſays Fuller (*a*), (one whereof founded a fair hoſpital in Stamford (*b*) and was nearly allied to the Lord-Treaſurer Cecil. He was the ſon of Anthony Brown, of Tolthorp in Rutlandſhire, Eſq; (*) (tho' born at Northampton, according to (†) Mr Collier) and grandſon of Francis Brown, whom King Henry VIII, in the eighteenth year of his reign, privileged by charter to wear his cap in the preſence of himſelf, his heirs, or any of his nobles, and not to uncover but at his own pleaſure; which charter was confirmed by Act of Parliament. Robert Brown ſtudied Divinity at Cambridge, Fuller thinks in Corpus Chriſti College, but Mr Collier (*c*) ſays he was of Bennet, and was afterwards a ſchoolmaſter in Southwark (‖). He was ſoon diſcovered

(*a*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. ix. p. 166.

(*b*) Camd Britan. in Lincolnſhire.

(*) Ant. Wood ſays he was the ſon of a Knight. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 341.

(†) Collier's Great Hiſtorical Dict. Vol. I. article *Brownifts*. Fuller, ut ſupra.

(*c*) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p 581.

(‖) Collier's Dict. ut ſupra. Eccleſiæ Primitivæ Notitiæ, in the Index Hæreticus, p. 16.

discovered by Dr Still, Master of Trinity-College, to have somewhat extraordinary in him that would prove a great disturbance to the Church. Brown soon verified what the Doctor foretold, for he fell into Cartwright's opinions, in which however having discovered some defects, he resolved to refine upon his scheme, and to produce something more perfect of his own. Accordingly, about the year 1580, he began to enveigh openly against the discipline and ceremonies of the Church of England, and soon shewed, that he intended to go much farther than Cartwright had ever done (*). In his discourses the Church government was Antichristian, her Sacraments clogged with superstition; the Liturgy had a mixture of Popery and Paganism in it; and the Mission of the Clergy, was no better than that of Baal's Priests in the Old Testament. He first preached at Norwich, in 1581, where the Dutch having a numerous congregation, many of them inclined to Anabaptism, and therefore the more disposed to entertain any new resembling opinion, he made his first essay upon them, and having made some progress amongst them, and raised himself a character for zeal and sanctity, he then began to infect his own countrymen, for which purpose he called in the assistance of one Richard Harrison, a country schoolmaster (*d*), and they formed Churches out of both nations, but mostly of the English. He instructed his audience, that the Church of England was no true Church, that there was little of Christ's institution in the publick ministrations, and that all good Christians were obliged to separate from those impure assemblies; that their only way was to join him and his disciples, among whom all was pure and unexceptionable, evidently inspired by the Spirit of God, and refined from all alloy and prophanation (*e*). These discourses prevailed on the audience, and his disciples, now called Brownists, formed a society, and made a total defection from the Church, refusing to join any congregation in any publick office of worship. Brown being convened before Dr Freake, Bishop of Norwich, and other Ecclesiastical Commissioners; he not only maintained his schism, to justify which he had also wrote a book, but he misbehaved himself to the Court, upon which he was committed to the custody of the Sheriff of Norwich; but his relation, the Lord Treasurer Burghley, imputing his error and obstinancy, to zeal, rather than malice, interceeded to have him charitably perfuaded out of his opinions, and released. To this end, he wrote the following letter to the Bishop of Norwich, which procured his enlargement [*A*]. After this his Lordship ordered Brown up to London, and recommended him to Archbishop Whitgift for his instruction and counsel, in order to his amendment; but Brown left the kingdom, and settled at Middleburgh in Zealand, where he and his followers, obtained leave of the States, to worship God in their own way, and form a church according to their own model, which was drawn in a book published by Brown at Middleburgh in 1582, and called a *Treatise of Reformation*, without *staying for any Man*, and of which we shall give an account hereafter. What stay Brown made at Middleburgh, is not precisely known, but that he was in England in 1585, is very certain, for in that year he was cited to appear before Archbishop Whitgift, to answer to certain matters contained in a book by him published; but what this was we are not informed. The Archbishop however, a mild and moderate Prelate, by force of reasoning, brought Brown at last to a tolerable compliance with the Church of England, and having dismissed him, the Lord Treasurer Burghley, sent him to his father in the country, with a letter to recommend him to his favour and countenance. It is from this letter, which see in note [*B*], that

(*) See the article CARTWRIGHT (THOMAS).

(*d*) Fuller and Collier, ubi supra.

(*e*) Heylyn's Hist. of Presbyt. l. vii.

(*) Extant in Fuller's Church Hist. ut supra.

[*A*] *Wrote the following Letter* (*) *to the Bishop of Norwich, which procured his enlargement.*] viz.

'AFTER my very hearty recommendations to your Lordship; whereas, I understand that one Brown a preacher, is by your Lordship and others of the ecclesiastical commission, committed to the custody of the Sheriff of Norfolk, where he remains a prisoner, for some matter of offence uttered by him by way of preaching, wherein I perceive by sight of some Letters written by certain godly preachers in your Lordship's diocese he hath been dealt with, and by them dissuaded from that course he hath taken. Forasmuch, as he is my kinsman, if he be son to him whom I take him to be, and that his error seemeth to proceed of zeal rather than of malice, I do therefore wish he were charitably conferred with, and reformed; which course I pray your Lordship may be taken with him, either by your Lordship, or such as your Lordship shall assign for that purpose. And in case there shall not follow thereof such success, as may be to your liking, that then you would be content to permit him to repair hither to London, to be further dealt with as I shall take order for upon his coming, for which purpose I have written a Letter to the Sheriff, if your Lordship shall like thereof. And so I bid your Lordship heartily farewel. From the court at Westminster, this 21st of April, 1581.'

Your Lordship's ever loving friend,

W. B.

[*B*] *It is from this letter, which see in note* [*B*].

'AFTER my very hearty recommendations; understanding that your son Robert Brown had been sent for up by my Lord Bishop of Canterbury to answer to such matters as he was to be charged withal, contained in a book made by him, and published in print (as it was thought) by his means; I thought good, considering he was your son, and of my blood, to send unto my Lord of Canterbury in his behalf, that he might find what reasonable favour he could shew him; before whom I perceive he hath answered in some good sort; and altho' I think he will not deny the making of the book, yet by no means will he confess to be acquainted with the printing of it. He hath besides yielded unto his Lordship such further contentment, as he is contented (the rather at my motion) to discharge him; and therefore for that he purposeth to repair to you, I have thought good to accompany him with these my letters, and to pray you for this cause, or any his former dealings, not to withdraw from him your fatherly love and affection, not doubting but with time he will be fully recovered, and withdraw from the reliques of some fond opinions of his, which will be the better done, if he be dealt withal in some kind, and temperate manner. And so I bid you heartily farewel. From my house near the Savoy this eighth of October 1585.'

Your loving friend and cousin,

WILLIAM BURGHLEY.

that we have gathered this circumſtance of his life. And from another letter of the Lord Treaſurer's in note [C], we alſo learn, that Brown's errors had ſunk ſo deep in him, as not to be ſo eaſily rooted out as was imagined, and that he ſoon relapſed into his former opinions and heterodoxies, and ſhewed himſelf ſo incorrigible, that his good old father reſolved to own him for his ſon, no longer than his ſon owned the Church of England for his mother; and Brown chooſing rather to part with his aged ſire, than his new ſchiſm, he was diſcharged the family. When gentleneſs was found ineffectual, ſeverity was next practiſed, and Brown, after wandering up and down, and enduring great hardſhips, at length went to live at Northampton, where, induſtriouſly labouring to promote his ſect, Lindſell, Biſhop of Peterborough, ſent him a citation to come before him, which Brown reſuſed to obey; for which contempt he was excommunicated (*f*). And this it was which proved the means of his reformation, for he was ſo deeply affected with the ſolemnity of this cenſure, that he made his ſubmiſſion, moved for abſolution, and received it, and from that time continued in the communion of the Church, tho' it was not in his power to cloſe the chaſm, or heal the wound he had made in it [D]. It was towards the year 1590, that Brown renounced his principles of ſeparation, and was ſoon after preferred to the Rectory of a church in Northamptonſhire (*g*). Fuller does not believe that Brown ever formally recanted his opinions, either by word or writing, as to the main points of his doctrine; but that his promiſe of a general compliance with the Church of England, improved by the countenance of his patron and kinſman, the Earl of Exeter, prevailed upon the Archbiſhop, and procured this extraordinary favour for him. He adds, that Brown allowed a ſalary for one to diſcharge his cure, and tho' he oppoſed his pariſhioners in judgment, yet agreed in taking their tythes (*h*). Brown was a man of good parts and ſome learning, but was of a nature imperious and uncontroulable, ſo far from the Sabbatarian ſtrictneſs, afterwards eſpouſed by ſome of his followers, that he rather ſeemed a libertine therein. In a word, ſays our author (*i*), he has a wife with whom he never lived, and a church in which he never preached, tho' he received the profits thereof; and as all the other ſcenes of his life were ſtormy and turbulent, ſo was his end; for the conſtable of his pariſh, requiring ſomewhat roughly, the payment of certain rates, his paſſion moved him to blows, of which the conſtable complaining to Juſtice St John, he rather inclined to pity, than puniſh him; but Brown, at fair words alſo diſguſted, behaved with ſo much inſolence, that he was ſent to Northampton goal, on a feather bed in a cart, being very infirm, and aged about eighty years; where he ſoon after ſickened and died, anno 1630 (*k*), after boaſting, *that he had been committed to thirty-two priſons, in ſome of which he could not ſee his hand at noon-day.* This was the life and tragical end, of the famous Schiſmatic, Robert Brown, whoſe writings,

(*f*) Coll'er's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 582.

(*g*) Collier, ut ſupra.

(*h*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. ix. p. 168.

(*i*) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Heylyn's Hiſt. Preſbyt. Biblioth. Scriptor. Eccleſ. Anglic. Præfat. Fuller and Collier, ut ſupra.

Mr Collier places this circumſtance of the Lord Treaſurer's ſending Brown home to his father, with his letter of recommendation, immediately after his being releaſed from his confinement at Norwich, in the year 1581; and both he and Fuller ſeem to be miſtaken in another circumſtance alſo, for they ſay, that Brown went firſt to Zealand before he began preaching at Norwich; if this be true, he muſt have been twice abroad, for it is certain, he was there in 1582, when he publiſhed the book above-mentioned at Middleburgh; it ſeems however, more probable that he did not go there at all, 'till 1581, after he had been releaſed from his confinement at Norwich.

[C] *Another Letter of the Lord Treaſurer's.*

'AFTER my very hearty commendations; I 'perceive by your Letters, that you have little 'or no hopes of your ſon's conformity, as you had 'when you received him into your houſe, and there'fore you ſeem deſirous that you might have liberty 'to remove him further off from you, as either to 'Stamford or ſome other place, which I know no 'cauſe, but you may very well and lawfully do, 'where I wiſh he might better be perſuaded to con'form himſelf for his own good, and your's and his 'friends comfort. And ſo I very heartily bid you 'farewel. From the Court this 17th of February, '1585.'

Your very loving friend and couſin,

WILLIAM BURGHLEY.

[D] *It was not in his power to heal the wound he had made in the Church.*] The revolt of Brown was far from being followed with the diſſolution of the ſect, on the contrary it daily increaſed, inſomuch that in 1592, Sir Walter Ralegh, in a ſpeech which he delivered in the Houſe of Commons, computes no leſs than twenty thouſand followers of it. This ſpeech was made upon occaſion of a ſcheme which was then on foot, for tranſporting all the Browniſts, and which actually produced a bill in Parliament for explaining a branch in *an act to retain the Queen's ſubjects in due obedience.* But before the bill was committed, many ſpeeches paſſed in the houſe, through the many imperfections in the preamble and body of the ſaid bill: for it pretended a puniſhment only of the Browniſts and other ſectaries; but, alledging nothing againſt them in particular, contained ſome enſnaring clauſes that might comprehend more innocent perſons (1). As the ſpeeches before Sir Walter Ralegh's, on this occaſion, are not rehearſed, we can only gueſs at them by what is preſerved of his; who ſaid, 'in 'my conceit, the Browniſts are worthy to be rooted 'out of a commonwealth, but what danger may grow 'to ourſelves if this law paſs, were fit to be conſider'ed. For it is to be feared, that men not guilty will 'be included in it; and that law is hard, that taketh 'life, and fendeth into baniſhment, where men's in'tentions ſhall be judged by a Jury, and they ſhall be 'judges what another means. But that law which is 'againſt a fact, is but juſt, and puniſh the fact as ſe'verally as you will. If two or three thouſand Browniſts 'meet at ſea, at whoſe charge ſhall they be tranſport'ed, or whither will you ſend them? I am ſorry for 'it, but I am afraid there are near twenty thouſand 'of them in England; and when they are gone, who 'ſhall maintain their wives and children (2)?' A committee was therefore appointed to reviſe and correct this bill; among whom Sir Walter Ralegh was the foremoſt named; who, after many alterations, and debates, moved it might be read to the houſe for their approbation: and after many arguments and conferences, being read the third time, as were alſo the additions and amendments, it paſſed, upon the queſtion. Accordingly the laws were executed with great ſeverity on the Browniſts, their books were prohibited by the Queen's orders, and their perſons impriſoned, and many of them hanged (3). The eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and the Star-Chamber, in fine, diſtreſſed them to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved to quit their country. Accordingly many families retired to Holland and ſettled at Amſterdam, where they formed a Church (*).

(1) Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, by Mr Oldys, p. 68.

(2) Townſhend's Hiſtor. Collect. p. 76. Dewes's Journal, fol. 517. Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, by Mr Oldys, p. 69. Happy Future State of England, fol. 28.

(3) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. ix p. 167. Stow's Chronic. p. 697.

(*) See note [F].

[F] *Theſe*

writings, and those of other authors, both for and against Brownism, come next under our consideration [*E*]; as also the particular tenets of the Brownists, their progress and end, which we

[*E*] *Whose writings, and those of other authors, both for and against* Brownism, *come next under our consideration.*] The writings and controversies which the separation of the *Brownists* occasioned, are many; the chief of *Brown*'s own works is a small thin quarto, which contains the model and seeds of *Brownism*, in three pieces, printed at Middleburgh in 1582. The title of the first is, *A Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for any, and of the wickedness of those preachers which will not reform themselves and their charge, because they will tarry till the Magistrate command and compel them. By me*, Robert Brown. The drift of this piece is to spirit up the people to separate themselves from the Church and follow him; and also to exclude the Civil Magistrate from having any authority over ecclesiastical persons or affairs.—The second piece is, *A Treatise upon the 23d chapter of St Matthew, both for an order of studying and handling the Scriptures, and also for avoiding the Popish disorders, and ungodly communion of all false Christians, and especially of wicked preachers and hirelings.* In this piece he exclaims against the abuse of Tongues in preaching, that is against the use of Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, in sermons: Also against the Use of Logick and Rhetorick, Tropes, Figures, *&c.* Against disorderly preaching at Paul's Cross in London, or before the Queen, the Bishops, or Noblemen; and against parish Preachers and hired Lecturers.—The title of the third piece is, *A Book which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians, and how unlike they are unto Turks and Papists, and Heathen folk. Also the points and parts of all Divinity, that is, of the revealed will and word of God, are declared by their several definitions and divisions, following.* Every Page is divided into Columns, thus:

The State of Christians.	The State of Heathens.	Definitions.	Divisions.
1. Wherefore are we called the People of God and Christians? Because that by a willing Covenant made with our God, we are under the government of God and Christ, and thereby lead a godly and Christian life.	1. Wherefore are the Heathen forsaken of God, and be the cursed People of the world? Because they forsake or refuse the Lord's Covenant and government; and therefore they lead an ungodly and worldly life.	1. Christians are a company or number of believers, which by a willing Covenant made with their God, are under the Government of God, and Christ, and keep his Laws in one Holy Communion: Because they are redeemed by Christ, unto holiness and happiness for ever, for which they were fallen by the sin of Adam.	Christians which shoud lead a godly life, by knowing God, and the duties of Godliness.
2. How should we lead a godly and Christian life? By knowing God, and the duties of Godliness; and by keeping those duties.	2. How do the Heathen lead an ungodly and worldly life? By ignorance of God, and deceiving themselves; and by sinning and faulting to their own destruction.	2. The knowledge of God and Godliness, is a right and stedfast judgment in his Godhead and most blessed state; and of his whole will in his word, *&c.*	By keeping those duties.

This is a very curious and well wrote piece; the first column, containing the state of Christians, is orthodox, and a pretty system of Divinity, shewing the several points of the Christian faith, and the several duties and offices of Religion. The Definitions, in the third column, are very clear and expressive; but the second column, containing the Heathen State, and also the Antichristian State, as it is afterwards called, is entirely levelled against the Church, as to it's discipline and form of government, which it reviles in bitter terms, and, at the same time, defends the separation of the Brownists. Some part of it is also called the Jewish State; and the whole contains 185 queries, and answers.

In the year 1596, was published another piece in defence of the Brownists, under the title of, *A true Confession of the Faith, and humble acknowledgement of the allegiance which we, her Majesty's subjects, falsely called Brownists, do hold towards God, and yield to her Majesty and all other that are over us in the Lord. Set down in articles or positions, for the better and more easy understanding of those that shall read it; and published for the clearing ourselves from those unchristian slanders of Heresy, Schism, Pride, Obstinacy, Disloyalty, Sedition, &c. which by our adversaries are in all places given out against us.* The preface to this piece is full of complaints of the severe usage to the Brownists; and the Confession of Faith itself, is no other than that of every Protestant; but what regards the Church, agrees only with the principles of their separation, laid down from numberless texts of Scripture. In the last page of this work, which is a thin octavo pamphlet, we have an account of their opinion concerning the Lord's Prayer, in these words. 'Finally, whereas we are 'much slandered, as if we denied or misliked that 'form of prayer commonly called the Lord's Prayer, 'we thought it needful here also concerning it, to make 'known, that we believe and acknowledge it to be a 'most absolute and most excellent form of Prayer, such 'as no men or angels can set down the like. And that 'it was taught and appointed by our Lord Jesus Christ, 'not that we should be tied to the use of those very 'words, but that we should, according to that rule, 'make all our requests and thanksgivings unto God; 'forasmuch as it is a perfect form and pattern, con'taining in it plain and sufficient directions for prayer 'upon all occasions, and necessities that have been, are, 'or shall be, to the Church of God, or any member 'thereof to the end of the world.' This opinion they ground upon the following passages of the New Testament, among many others, Matth. vi. 9. *After this manner therefore pray ye: Our father which*, &c. Luke xi. 1, 2. *One of his disciples said unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples. And he said unto them, when ye pray, say, Our father, &c.* (5). There was also a Confession of the Faith of the Brownists published in the Year 1602, by the learned Mr Ainsworth and Mr Johnson. There was likewise an Apology for the Brownists published by Mr Robinson, one of their Ministers.

(5) True Confession of the Faith of the Brownists, article 45.

In the year 1612 appeared a very severe piece against the Brownists, called *The profane Schism of the Brownists, or Separatists; with the impiety, dissensions, lewd and abominable vices, of that impure sect*; discovered by four of their members lately returned from the company of Mr Johnson, into the bosom of the Church of England. If this be a true picture of the Brownists, they must have been a very profligate set of people. There were some very learned men who took great pains to confute the Brownists. Dr Hall, Bishop of Exeter, wrote with great strength of reason against them, in a piece called, *A common apology for the Church of England, against the unjust challenges of the over just sect, commonly called Brownists, wherein the grounds and differences of the separation are largely discussed.* The famous and learned Dr John Rainolds wrote *A Defence of the*

we ſhall take a view of in note [F].

the Engliſh Liturgy againſt Robert Brown's ſchiſmatical book, &c (*). Dr Fulke alſo wrote very learnedly againſt the Browniſts; as did Mr Dayrel; Bredwell in his *Detection of Glover the Browniſt*; Giffard's *Treatiſe of Engliſh Donatiſts*, and his *Reply to Barrow and Greenwood*, &c.

(*) See the article RAINOLDS (John).

[F] *The particular tenets of the Browniſts, their progreſs and end, we ſhall take a view of in the note.*] In the year 1599, there was a long controverſy carried on in print, between Francis Johnſon a Browniſt, and H. Jacob, about ſome of the tenets of the Browniſts. The whole of this was publiſhed together at Middleburgh, the ſame year, in a ſmall quarto pamphlet, conſiſting of 91 pages, under the title of, *A defence of the churches and miniſtery of England, againſt the reaſons and objections of Maiſter Francis Johnſon, and others of the ſeparation commonly called Browniſts. In two treatiſes. Publiſhed eſpecially for the benefit of thoſe in theſe parts of the Low Countries.* In one of theſe treatiſes is a recapitulation of all the chief objections raiſed by the Browniſts againſt the Church of England; and from which we may gather a much more complete account of the tenets and doctrines of this famous ſect, than from any thing elſe ever publiſhed concerning it; and it is truly authentick, becauſe wrote by a Browniſt, then one of the leaders of that ſect, we ſhall therefore give it a place here, not for the ſame reaſon for which the author publiſhed it, which was to ſhew the black conſtitution of the Church, as he terms it, and the Antichriſt an enormities ſtill remaining and practiſed therein; but to give the reader, at one view, the whole ſyſtem of Browniſm, many particulars of which, but for this recapitulation, might have remained unknown, and ſeem indeed to have been ſo to all thoſe who have hitherto wrote concerning this ſect. It will therefore be the more acceptable to the reader, ſince it is no where extant, that we know of, but in the piece in which it was originally publiſhed, and which perhaps few, if any, of our readers, may at this time meet with. It is called,

Antichriſtian Abominations yet reteyned in England.

1. *The confuſion of all ſorts of people in the body of their (the Engliſh) Church; even the moſt polluted, and their ſeed being members thereof.* It then enumerates all the Officers and Miniſters of the Church, from the Archbiſhop, down even to the Sexton and Organ Blower, all of them of the Antichriſtian and *viperous generation.* 2. *Their miniſtration of the Word, Sacraments, and Government of the Church by virtue of the officers aforeſaid.* The Browniſts held, that the evil life of the Miniſter took away the efficacy of the Sacraments. *The titles of Primate, Metropolitan, Lords, Grace, Lordſhip*, &c. *aſcribed to the Prelates.* 3. *The inferior Prelates ſwearing obedience to the metropolitical Sees of Canterbury and York.* 4. *The inferior Miniſters when they enter into the miniſtery, promiſing obedience to the Prelates, and their ordinances; and when they are inducted to benefices, confirming it with their oath.* 5. *The Deacon's and Prieſt's preſentation to a Lord Biſhop, by an Archdeacon.* 6. *Their receiving of orders of the Prelates, or their ſuffragans.* 7. *Their pontifical, or book of conſecrating Biſhops, and of ordering Prieſts and Deacons, taken out of the Pope's pontifical, where their abuſe of Scripture to that end, their Collects, Epiſtles*, &c. *may be ſeen.* 8. *Their making, and being made, Prieſts, with blaſphemy; the Prelates ſaying to whom they make Prieſts*, Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe ſins ye forgive, they are forgiven, &c. 9. *Their confounding of Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Offices, and authorities in eccleſiaſtical perſons.* 10. *Their retaining and uſing in their publick worſhip, the apocryphal books, which have in them divers errors, untruths, blaſphemies, and contradiction to the canonical Scriptures.* 11. *Their ſlinted Prayers and Liturgy, taken out of the Pope's Maſs book, with the ſame order of Pſalms, Leſſons, Collects, Pater Noſters, Epiſtles, Goſpels, Verſicles, Reſponds*, &c. The Browniſts, in general, rejected all ſet forms of prayer, and held, that the Lord's Prayer ought not to be uſed as a prayer, in it's preſent form of words, being only intended as a model whereon our extempore prayers are to be formed (6). 12. *The Croſs in Baptiſm.* 13. *The Hallowed Font, queſtions to the Infants at Baptiſm.* 14. *The Godfathers and Godmothers promiſing that the child doth believe, forſake the Devil and all his works*, &c. 15. *Womens baptiſing of children; which maintaineth that hereſy, that the children are damned, which die unbaptized.* They would not allow any children to be baptized, whoſe parents were not members of the Church, or of ſuch as did not take ſufficient care of the education of thoſe formerly baptized. 16. *Their howſeling of the Sick, and miniſtring the Communion to one alone.* 17. *The miniſtring it, not with the words of Chriſt's inſtitution, but with others taken out of the Pope's Portuis.* 18. *They ſell that ſacrament for two-pence to all comers.* 19. *The receiving of it kneeling, which maketh it an idol, and nouriſheth that hereſy of receiving their Maker, of worſhiping it*, &c. The reaſon of our kneeling at the Sacrament, is explained in the Rubrick at the end of the Communion Service, for which purpoſe it was inſerted there in the reign of Edward VI. 20. *Their ring in Marriage, making it a ſacramental ſign, and Marriage an eccleſiaſtical action: thereby nouriſhing the Popiſh hereſy, that Matrimony is a Sacrament.* They looked upon matrimony as a political contract, and therefore ſaid, that the confirmation of it ought to come from the Civil Magiſtrate; and hence they condemned the ſolemn celebration of marriages in the Church. 21. *Their praying over the dead, making it alſo a part of the Miniſter's duty, and nouriſhing the hereſy of prayer for the dead.* 22. *Their churching or purifying of women, then alſo abuſing that Scripture*, The Sun ſhall not burn them by day, nor the Moon by night. 23. *Their Gang week*, * *and praying then over the corn and graſs.* At the time of the Reformation, when proceſſions, which made a part of the ſolemnities at this ſeaſon, were aboliſhed, by reaſon of the abuſe of them, yet, for retaining the *peranbulation of the circuits of pariſhes*, it was enjoined (7), 'that the people ſhould once a year, at the 'accuſtomed time, with the Miniſter and ſubſtantial 'men of the pariſh, walk round the pariſh as uſual, and 'at their return to church, make the common prayers: 'provided that the Miniſter, at certain convenient 'places, ſhall admoniſh the people to give thanks to 'God for the increaſe and abundance of the fruits of 'the earth, repeating the 103d Pſalm; at which time 'alſo the Miniſter ſhall inculcate this and ſuch like 'ſentences: *Curſed be he that removeth his neighbour's 'land-mark.*' No ſuch prayers indeed have been ſince appointed: But there is an Homily, divided into four parts; the three firſt to be uſed on the Monday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday; and the fourth upon the day when the pariſh make their proceſſion. 24. *Their forbidding of Marriage in* Gang-week, *in* Advent, *in* Lent, *and on all the* Ember Days; *which the Apoſtle calleth* a Doctrine of Devils, 1 *Tim.* iv. 1, 2, 3. 25. *Their Saints, Angels, and Apoſtles days, with their preſcript ſervice.* 26. *Their Faſts, and abſtaining from fleſh, on their Eves, on Fridays, Saturdays, Ember-Days, and all Lent through.* 27. *Their diſpenſations from the Prelates courts of Faculties, to eat fleſh at theſe times; which diſpenſations alſo have this wholſome clauſe in them,* ſanâ conſcientiâ, *that is, with a* ſafe conſcience: *plainly ſhewing that they make it a matter of conſcience. This is another Doctrine of Devils, noted in the Scripture before alledged,* 1 Tim iv. 28. *Their diſpenſations in like manner to marry in the times among the forbidden, which are noted before.* 29. *Licences from the ſame authority, to marry in places exempt.* 30. *Diſpenſations alſo from thence, for boys and ignorant fools to have benefices.* 31. *Diſpenſations alſo for non-reſidents.* 32. *For having two, three, four, or more benefices, even* tot, quot, *that is to ſay, as many as a man will have and can get.* 33. *Tolerations.* 34. *Patronages of, and preſentations to, benefices, with buying and ſelling of advowſons.* 35. *Their inſtitutions into benefices by the Prelates, their inductions, proxies*, &c. 36. *Their Suſpenſations, Abſolutions, Degradations, Deprivations*, &c. 37. *The Prelate's Chancellor's, and Commiſſarie's Courts, having power to excommunicate alone, and to abſolve.* 38. *Their Penance in a white ſheet.* 39. *Their commutation of Penance, and abſolving one man for another.* 40. *The Prelate's Confirmation, or Biſhopping of children, to aſſure them of God's favour, by a ſign of man's deviſing.* 41. *The ſtanding at the Goſpel.* 42. *The putting off the cap, and making a leg when the word Jeſus is read.* 43. *The*

(*) Gang-Week what we ca Rogation-Week the word Gan is Saxon, and ſig nifies a *walkin* or *going about* and was particu larly applied t this week, from the cuſtom ob ſerved at tha time of walkin the bounds of pariſh, ſtill in uſ amongſt us, un der the name o Proceſſioning. Hence alſo th Gang-flower, o Rogation-flower i. e. *Flos Ambulatorius*, ſo called, becauſe it flowers about thi time.

(7) Injunct. Q. Eliz. 18, 19.

(6) Stoup, or Stubbs's Religion of the Hollanders. Alexander Roſs's View of all Religions.

Religion of Hollanders, Stubbs.

The ring of peals at burials. They objected againſt bells, becauſe they pretended they were conſecrated to the ſervice of idolatry (8). 44. *Bead-men at burials, and hired mourners in mourning apparel.* 45. *The hanging and mourning of churches and hearſes with black, at burials.* 46. *Their abſolving the dead, dying excommunicate, before they can have, as they ſay, Chriſtian burial.* 47. *The Idol temples.* 48. *The Popiſh veſtments, as Rochet, horned Cap, Tippet, the Surplice in Pariſh Churches, and Cope in Cathedral Churches.* 49. *The Viſitations of the Lord Biſhops, and Archdeacons.* 50. *The Prelates lordly dominion, revenues, and retinue* 51. *The Prieſts maintenance by tythes, Chriſtmas offerings, &c.* 52. *The oathes* ex officio *in their Eccleſiaſtical Courts, making men ſwear to accuſe themſelves.* 53. *The Church-warden's oath to preſent to the Prelates, all the offences, faults, and defaults, committed in their pariſhes, againſt their articles and injunctions.* 54. *The Prelates ruling of the Church, by the Pope's curſed Canon Law.* 55. *Finally, their impriſoning, and baniſhing, ſuch as renounce and refuſe to witneſs theſe abominations aforeſaid, and the reſt yet retained among them* — They might well find fault with the Church for this laſt article, ſince they had ſmarted ſo ſeverely under it.

From the ſame curious piece, we alſo learn the texts of Scripture, upon which they grounded their reaſons of ſeparation, They are theſe.

Gen. vi. 2 Then the ſons of God ſaw the daughters of men. *Levit* xx. 22, 26. Ye ſhall therefore keep all my ſtatutes, and all my judgments, and do them; that the land whither *I bring you to dwell therein*, ſpew you not out. —— And ye ſhall be holy unto me, for I the Lord am holy, and have *ſevered* you from other people, that ye ſhould be mine. *Ezra* vi 21. And the children of Iſrael which were come again out of captivity, and all ſuch as had *ſeparated* themſelves unto them from the *filthineſs* of the *Heathen* of the land, to ſeek the Lord God of Iſrael, did eat. — *Iſa.* lii. 11. *Depart ye, depart ye, go ye out* from thence, *touch* no unclean thing, *go ye out* of the midſt of her; *be ye clean*, that *bear* the veſſels of the Lord.—*Jer.* l. 8. *Remove* out of the midſt of Babylon, and *go forth* out of the land of the Chaldeans, and be as clean as the he-goats before the flocks. — *Jer.* li. 6, 45. *Flee* out of the midſt of Babylon, and deliver every man his ſoul; be *ye* not cut off in *her* iniquity; for this is the time of the Lord's vengeance; he will render unto her a recompence. —— My people *go ye* out of the midſt of her, and deliver ye every man his ſoul from the fierce anger of the Lord.— *Hoſea* iv. 15. Though *thou* Iſrael play the harlot, yet let not *Judah offend*, &c.—*Amos* iv. 4, 5. *Come* to Bethel and tranſgreſs, at Gilgal multiply tranſgreſſion; and bring your ſacrifices every morning, and your tythes after three years. And offer a ſacrifice of thankſgiving with a leaven, and proclaim and publiſh the free-offerings; for this liketh you, O ye children of Iſrael, ſaith the Lord God.—*Acts* ii. 40. And with many other words did he teſtify and exhort, ſaying, *ſave yourſelves from this untoward generation.* —*Acts* xix. 9. But when *diverſe* were *hardned*, and believed not, but ſpake evil of that before the multitude, he *departed from* them, and *ſeparated* the diſciples, *&c.* —2 *Cor.* vi. 17. Wherefore *come ye out* from among them, and be ye *ſeparate*, ſaith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will *receive you.*— *Rev.* xviii. 4. And I heard another voice from heaven, ſaying, *Come out of her* my people, that *ye* be not *partakers* of *her* ſins, and that *ye* receive not of *her* plagues.

Thus the occaſion of the ſeparation of the Browniſts, was not for any fault they found with the faith, but only with the diſcipline or form of government of the other Churches in England. They equally condemned Epiſcopacy and Preſbytery, as to the juriſdiction of Conſiſtories, Claſſes, and Synods; and therefore they would not join with any other reformed Churches, becauſe they were not ſufficiently aſſured of the ſanctity and probity of the members who compoſed it; and on account of the toleration of ſinners, with whom they maintained it an impiety to communicate. The form of Church Government they eſtabliſhed, was democratical. When a church was to be gathered, ſuch as deſired to be members, made a confeſſion of it, and ſigned a covenant, by which they obliged themſelves to walk together in the order of the Goſpel. The whole power of admitting and excluding members, with the deciſion of all controverſies, was lodged in the brotherhood. Their Church-officers were choſen from among themſelves, for preaching the word, and taking care of the poor, and ſeparated to their ſeveral offices by faſting, prayer, and impoſition of hands of ſome of the brethren. But they did not allow the prieſthood to be any diſtinct order, or to give any indelible character. As the vote of the brotherhood made a man a miniſter, and gave authority to preach the word and adminiſter the Sacraments amongſt them; ſo the ſame power could diſcharge him from his office, and reduce him to a meer Layman again. As they maintained the bounds of a church to be no greater than what would contain as many as could meet together in one place, and join in one Communion, ſo the power of theſe officers was preſcribed within the ſame limits. The Miniſter or Paſtor of a church could not adminiſter the Sacrament to another, nor baptize the children of any but thoſe of his own ſociety. Any lay-brother was allowed the liberty of giving a word of exhortation to the people; and it was uſual for ſome of them after ſermon to aſk queſtions, and reaſon upon the doctrines that had been preached. In a word, every church, on the Browniſts model, is a body corporate, having full power to do every thing which the good of the community requires, without being accountable to any Claſſis, Synod, Convocation, or other juriſdiction whatever.

But the model of the Browniſts was far from being a new one; for if we compare their principles with thoſe of the antient Donatiſts, we ſhall find them to be the ſame, as the learned Dr Fulke has proved The Donatiſts were the Puritans of their age; they held that the Roman-Catholic Church was proſtituted, and was no where to be found but among them who were perfect, wherefore they re-baptized all thoſe that came over to them; for no other Baptiſm was valid: They held the validity of the Sacraments to depend upon the dignity of the Miniſter; they diſowned the power of the Magiſtrate to puniſh Heretics, *&c* (9). But Brown was not the firſt that brought Donatiſm into England, the principles of which, as well as of Browniſm, had been adopted here long before, by others, under the different appellations of Puritans, and Separatiſts. Theſe latter, Hornius tells us (10), were thoſe who, under Edward VI. Elizabeth, and James I. refuſed to conform to the Church of England, and were firſt called Puritans, then Separatiſts, and laſtly Nonconformiſts. The firſt leader of the Separatiſts, was Bolton; who, upon quitting the party he had formed, and abjuring his errors, was ſucceeded by Robert Brown, from whom the Separatiſts were called Browniſts: When Brown, in imitation of Bolton, deſerted the ſect, he was ſucceeded by Barrow, who unfortunately made his exit at Tyburn, at the inſtigation of the Biſhops. Their fourth chief was Johnſon (author of the piece from whence we have, above, extracted the tenets of Browniſm) who, together with Mr Ainſworth, author of the learned *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, ſet up a Church at Amſterdam (11), but they differing about ſome points of diſcipline, ſeparated, and even went ſo far as to excommunicate each other (*). Soon afterwards, one Smith ſet up a Church at Leyden; but he dying, his ſect could not long ſurvive him, and Separatiſm was brought very low when Robinſon appeared, and raiſed it's head. He ſoftened the dogma's of Brown, and ſet on foot a good underſtanding among them, but was not able to unite the whole ſect. Part of it ſtill adhered to the rigid opinions of their old maſter, Brown, and part of them followed Robinſon, and pretended to ſteer a middle courſe between the Browniſts and the Church of England, calling themſelves ſemi-Separatiſts, but at laſt, in reality, went further even than the Browniſts themſelves The Browniſts however, notwithſtanding the frequent change of their maſters, did, in general, ſtill retain the name they derived from their firſt leader Brown, and this even after his death ſeveral years; for in the Civil Wars in 1640, *&c.* We read of a mob of 2000 Browniſts entring St Paul's church, London (where the High-Commiſſion Court was ſitting) and making a great tumult, tearing down the benches, and crying out, *no Biſhops, no High Commiſſion*, &c (12). And in 642, King Charles, in a ſpeech which he made at the head of his forces, then marching towards Shrewſbury, makes particular mention of the Browniſts, and that not at all to their honour. 'You ſhall meet, ſays his Majeſty, with no 'enemies but traitors, moſt of them Browniſts, Ana-'baptiſts, and Atheiſts; ſuch who deſire to deſtroy 'both Church and State, and who have already con-'demned

(9) Index Hæreticus, before Eccleſiæ Primitivæ Notitia, p. 15. Optatus de Schiſ. Donatiſtarum.

(10) Hornius. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Cent. XVI.

(11) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 47.

(*) See the article AINSWORTH (HENRY).

(12) Echard's Hiſt of England, p. 483.

'demned you to ruin for being loyal to us (13).' And the next year the King made it an article in his propositions to the Parliament, 'that a good bill might be 'framed for the better preserving the book of Com-'mon-Prayer from the scorn and violence of Brownists, 'Anabaptists, and other sectaries (14).' At length, however, the Brownists degenerated into Independents, a party which adopted most of their principles, and were first called Congregationalists, then Independents, from their holding the independency of churches; but it will be necessary to give some further account of this sect, as it is the spawn of that whose author makes the subject of this article. The Independents owed their rise chiefly to Goodwin, Rye, Bridge, Sympson, and Burroughs, five Devines in the reign of King Charles I. who had transported themselves into Holland, for Liberty of Conscience (15). These had proselyted several wealthy merchants and others, who went along with them. The States of Holland gave them a friendly reception, assigned them churches to meet in, and allowed their ministers a competent maintenance. Some of these English refugees settled at Rotterdam, and some at Arnheim in Guelderland. Being thus encouraged by the Dutch government, they set about forming their Church-discipline. And here, to speak in their own language, 'they consulted the Scriptures without any 'prejudice: they considerd the word of God as im-'partially as men of flesh and blood are like to do, in 'any juncture of time; the place they went to, the con-'dition they were in, and the company they went 'with, affording no temptation to any byas (16).' They asserted, that every church, and congregation, has sufficient power to act and do every thing, relating to religious government, within itself, and is no ways subject or accountable to other churches, or their Deputies. The principles upon which they founded their Church-Government, were, to confine themselves to what the Scriptures prescribed, without paying any regard to the opinions or practice of men; nor to tie themselves down so strictly to their present resolutions, as to leave no room for alterations, upon farther views and enquiry. They steered a middle course between Presbytery and Browniſm: the first they accounted too arbitrary and decisive; the other too loose and indeterminate (17). They disallowed parochial and provincial subordination, and formed all their congregations upon a scheme of co-ordinancy; allowing, however, some sort of ceremonious preference to the elder church, but without any addition of authority. As to their Service they prayed publickly for Kings, and all in authority; they read and expounded the Scriptures, and administered the Sacraments of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. They rejected all learning in order to preach the Gospel; all set forms of Prayer; abhorred tythes as superstitious and judaical (18). Their publick officers were Pastors, Teachers, Ruling-Elders, and Deacons. Their Church-Censures lay all within the compass of admonition and excommunication (19).

These Congregationalists, or Independents, took the opportunity occasioned by the Civil War, and the ruin of Episcopacy, to quit Holland, and come over into England, where they began to put in practice their scheme, and gather churches. The Presbyterians complained of this as an encroachment, and insisted that the Independents should come under the Scotch regulation. This the latter refused to comply with, and continued a distinct sect, or faction (20); and, during the Civil Wars, became the most powerful party; and getting to the head of affairs, most of the other sects, which were averse to the Church of England, particularly the Brownists, joined with them, and all of them yielded to lose their former names, in the general one of Independents. H

(13) Hist. of the Troubles of Great Britain, by Monteth, p. 115.

(14) Hist. of the Troubles of Great Britain, p. 124.

(15) Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. B. ix. p. 829.

(16) Apologetical Narrative, p. 3.

(17) Collier's Eccles. Hist. ut supra.

(18) Index Hæresiticus, p. 37.

(19) Apologetical Narrative, p. 8, & Actus Reginald à Synodis debet porrigi, non p ragi. Respons Jo. Norton. 114.

(20) Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. I p. 830.

BROWNE (GEORGE) the first Bishop that embraced and promoted the Reformation in Ireland, was originally an Austin Frier of London (*a*). He received his academical education in the house of his order, near Halywell in Oxford (*b*): and becoming eminent for his learning and other good qualities, was made Provincial of the Austin Monks in England. About which time he supplicated the University for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, namely in 1523; but it doth not appear he was then admitted. He took afterwards the degree of Doctor in Divinity, in some University beyond sea, and was incorporated in the same degree at Oxford, in 1534, and soon after at Cambridge (*c*). Before that time having read some of Luther's writings, he took a liking to his doctrine; and, among other things, was wont to inculcate into the people, 'That they should make their applications 'solely to Christ, and not to the Virgin Mary, or the Saints.' King Henry VIII. being informed of this, took him into his favour, and promoted him to the Archbishoprick of Dublin (*d*). He had the royal assent, March the twelfth 1534-5 (*e*); was consecrated the nineteenth of the same month, by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of Rochester and Salisbury (*f*); and had restitution of the temporalities, the twenty-third following (*g*). A few months after his arrival into Ireland, the Lord Privy-Seal, Cromwell, signified to him, that His Majesty having renounced the Papal Supremacy in England, it was his Highness's pleasure, that his subjects of Ireland should obey his commands in that respect as in England; and nominated him one of the Commissioners for the execution thereof. The twenty-eighth of November 1535, he acquainted the Lord Cromwell with his success; telling him [*A*], that he had 'endeavoured, 'almost

(*a*) The site of their convent is still known by the name of Austin Friers, in Throckmorton-street.

(*b*) Where Wadham-college now stands. See Wood's Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 116, &c.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 678. & Fasti, Vol. I. col. 56.

(*d*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. edit. 1739, fol. by Walter Harris, Esq; p. 348, &c.

(*e*) Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 560.

(*f*) Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, by J. Strype, Lond. 1694, fol. p. 37.

(*g*) Rymer, ut supra, p. 561.

[*A*] *He acquainted the Lord Cromwell with his success*, &c. In the following letter:

'My most honoured Lord,

'YOUR humble servant receiving your mandate, 'as one of his Highness's Commissioners, hath 'endeavoured, almost to the danger and hazard of this 'temporal life, to procure the Nobility and Gentry of 'this nation to due obedience, in owning of his High-'ness their supream Head as well Spiritual as Tempo-'ral, and do find much oppugning therein, especially 'by my brother of Armagh (1), who hath been the 'main oppugner, and so hath withdrawn most of his 'Suffragans and Clergy within his See and jurisdiction. 'He made a Speech to them, laying a curse on the 'people whosoever should own his Highness's Supre-'macy; saying, that isle, as it is in their Irish Chro-'nicles, *Insula sacra*, belongs to none but the Bishop 'of Rome, and that it was the Bishop of Rome's pre-'decessors gave it to the King's ancestors. There be 'two messengers by the Priests of Armagh, and by 'that Archbishop, now lately sent to the Bishop of 'Rome. Your Lordship may inform his Highness, 'that it is convenient to call a Parliament in this na-'tion, to pass the Supremacy by Act; for they do not 'much matter his Highness's Commission which your 'Lordship sent us over. This island hath been for a 'long time held in ignorance by the Romish Orders; 'and as for their Secular Orders, they be in a manner 'as ignorant as the people, being not able to say Mass, 'or pronounce the words, they not knowing what 'they themselves say in the Roman tongue: The com-'mon people of this isle are more zealous in their 'blindness, than the Saints and Martyrs were in the 'truth at the beginning of the Gospel. I send to you, 'my very good Lord, these things, that your Lord-'ship, and his Highness, may consult what is to be 'done. It is feared O-Neal will be ordered by the 'Bishop of Rome, to oppose your Lordship's order 'from

(1) George Cromer, then Archbishop of Armagh.

'almoſt to the danger and hazard of his life, to procure the nobility and gentry of the 'Iriſh nation to due obedience, in owning the King their ſupream Head, as well ſpiritual 'as temporal (*b*).' In the Parliament which met at Dublin, May 1, 1536, he was very inſtrumental in having the Act, for the King's Supremacy over the Church of Ireland, paſſed [*B*]: But he met with great and many obſtacles in the execution of it [*C*]. And the Court of Rome left no ſtone unturned, to prevent any alterations in Ireland, with regard to religious matters. For the Pope ſent over a Bull of Excommunication, againſt all ſuch as had owned, or ſhould own, the King's Supremacy within that kingdom: as alſo the form of an oath of obedience [*D*], to be taken to his Holineſs, at confeſſions. Nay endeavours

(*b*) Life and Death of George Browne &c. edit. Lond. 1681, 4*to*, p. 1, 2.

'from the King's Highneſs; for the natives are much 'in numbers within his power. I do pray the Lord 'Chriſt to defend you from your enemies. Dublin '4 Kalend. Decembris 1535.'

[*B*] *He was very inſtrumental in having the Act, for the King's Supremacy over the Church of Ireland, paſſed.*] Upon that occaſion he made this ſpeech. 'My Lords 'and Gentry of this his Majeſties realm of Ireland, Be- 'hold your obedience to your King is the obſerving of 'your God and Saviour Chriſt; for he, that High- 'Prieſt of our ſouls, paid tribute to Cæſar (though no 'Chriſtian). Greater honour then furely is due to 'your Prince, his Highneſs the King, and a Chriſtian 'one. Rome, and her Biſhops, in the Fathers days, 'acknowledged Emperors, Kings, and Princes to be 'ſupream over their dominions, nay, Chriſt's own Vi- 'cars. And it is as much to the Biſhop of Rome's 'ſhame, to deny what their precedent Biſhops owned. 'Therefore his Highneſs claims but what he can juſti- 'fy the Biſhop Elutherius gave to St Lucius, the firſt 'Chriſtian King of the Britains; ſo that I ſhall, with- 'out ſcruple, vote his Highneſs King Henry my Su- 'preme, over Eccleſiaſtick matters as well as Tempo- 'ral, and Head thereof, even of both iſles England 'and Ireland, and that without guilt of conſcience, or 'ſin to God, and he who will not paſs this Act as I do, 'is no true Subject to his Highneſs.' The other Bi- ſhops, and other Lords, were ſo ſtartled at this ſpeech, that the Act paſſed, tho' with great difficulty (2).

(2) Life of G. Browne, &c. p. 3.

[*C*] *But he met with great and many obſtacles in the execution of it.*] Of which he gave the Lord Cromwell an account in the following letter.

'Right honourable and my ſingular good Lord,

'I Acknowledge my bounden duty to your Lord- 'ſhip's good will to me, next to my Saviour Chriſt's, 'for the place I now poſſeſs; I pray God give me 'his grace to execute the ſame to his glory, and his 'Highneſs's honour, with your Lordſhip's inſtructions. 'The people of this nation be zealous, yet blind and 'unknowing; moſt of the Clergy, as your Lord- 'ſhip hath had from me before, being ignorant, and 'not able to ſpeak right words in the Maſs or Liturgy, 'as being not ſkilled in the Latin Grammar; ſo that a 'bird may be taught to ſpeak with as much ſenſe, as 'ſeveral of them do in this country. Theſe ſorts, 'though not ſcholars, yet are crafty to cozen the poor 'common people, and to diſſuade them from follow- 'ing his Highneſs's orders: George (3), my brother 'of Armagh, doth underhand occaſion quarrels, and 'is not active to execute his Highneſs's orders in his 'dioceſe. I have obſerved your Lordſhip's Letter of 'Commiſſion, and do find ſeveral of my pupils leave 'me for ſo doing. I will not put others in their Liv- 'ings, till I know your Lordſhip's pleaſure; for it is 'meet I acquaint you firſt, the Romiſh relicks and 'images of both my Cathedrals in Dublin, of the Ho- 'ly Trinity and of St Patrick's, took off the common 'people from the true worſhip, but the Prior and the 'Dean find them ſo ſweet for their gain, that they heed 'not my words: Therefore ſend in your Lordſhip's 'next to me an order more full, and a chide to them 'and their Canons, that they might be removed. Let 'the order be, that the chief governors may aſſiſt me 'in it. The Prior and Dean have written to Rome, 'to be encouraged, and if it be not hinded before 'they have a mandate from the Biſhop of Rome, 'the people will be bold, and then tugg long before 'his Highneſs can ſubmit them to his Grace's orders. 'The country folk here much hate your Lordſhip, and 'deſpiteſully call you in their Iriſh tongue, *the Black- ſmith's ſon.* The Duke of Norfolk is by Armagh, 'and that Clergy, deſired to aſſiſt them, not to ſuffer 'his Highneſs to alter church-rules here in Ireland: 'As a friend, I deſire your Lordſhip to look to your 'noble perſon; for Rome hath a great kindneſs for 'that Duke (for it is ſo talked here) and will reward 'him and his children. Rome hath great favours for 'this nation, purpoſely to oppoſe his Highneſs; and 'ſo having got, ſince the Act paſſed, great Indulgences 'for Rebellion, therefore my hope is loſt, yet my zeal 'is to do according to your Lordſhip's orders. God 'keep your Lordſhip from your enemies here and in 'England. Dublin the 3d Kalends April 1538.'

(3) Cromer.

[*D*] *As alſo the form of an oath of obedience.*] This the Archbiſhop ſent in a letter to the Lord Cromwell, which was as follows.

'Right Honourable,

'MY duty premiſed, it may pleaſe your Lordſhip 'to be advertiſed, ſithence my laſt there has 'come to Armagh and his Clergy, a private commiſ- 'ſion from the Biſhop of Rome, prohibiting his gra- 'cious Highneſs's people here in this nation to own 'his Royal Supremacy, and joining a curſe to all them 'and theirs who ſhall not, within forty days, confeſs 'to their Confeſſors (after the publiſhing of it to them) 'that they have done amiſs in ſo doing: the ſubſtance, 'as our Secretary hath tranſlated the ſame into Eng- 'liſh, is thus.'

I A. B. from this preſent hour forward, in the preſence of the holy Trinity, of the bleſſed Virgin Mother of God, of St Peter, of the holy Apoſtles, Archangels, Angels, Saints, and of all the holy Hoſt of Heaven, ſhall and will be always obedient to the holy See of St Peter of Rome, and to my holy Lord the Pope of Rome and his ſucceſſors, in all things as well ſpiritual as temporal, not conſenting in the leaſt that his Holineſs ſhall loſe the leaſt title or dignity belonging to the Papacy of our Mother Church of Rome, or to the regality of St Peter. I do vow and ſwear to maintain, help and aſſiſt the juſt laws, liberties and rights of the Mother Church of Rome. I do likewiſe promiſe to confer, to defend, and promote, if not perſonally, yet willingly as far as able, either by advice, ſkill, eſtate, money, or otherwiſe, the Church of Rome and her laws, againſt all whatſoever reſiſting the ſame. I further vow to oppugn all Hereticks, either in making or ſetting forth Edicts or Commands contrary to the Mother Church of Rome, and in caſe any ſuch be moved or compoſed, to reſiſt it to the uttermoſt of my power, with the firſt convenience and opportunity I can poſſibly. I count and value all acts made or to be made by heretical Powers of no force or worth, or be practiſed or obeyed by myſelf, or by any other ſon of the Mother Church of Rome I do further declare him or her, father or mother, brother or ſiſter, ſon or daughter, huſband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinſman or kinſwoman, maſter or miſtreſs, and all others, neareſt or dearcſt relations, friends or acquaintance whatſoever, accurſed, that either do or ſhall hold for the time to come, any Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Power above the authority of the Mother Church, or that do or ſhall obey, for the time to come, any of her, the mother of Churches, oppoſers or enemies, or contrary to the ſame, which I have here ſworn unto: So God, the bleſſed Virgin, St Peter, St Paul, and the holy Evangeliſts help me.

'His Highneſs's Vice roy of this nation (4), is of 'little or no power with the old natives, therefore 'your Lordſhip will expect of me no more than I 'am able: This nation is poor in wealth, and not ſuf- 'ficient

(4) Sir Anthony St Leger. The Archbiſhop ſent complaints againſt him to England; whereupon he was recalled, R. Cox, ubi ſupra, p. 290.

endeavours were uſed to raiſe a rebellion there: for one Thady O-Birne, a Franciſcan Frier, being ſeized by Archbiſhop Browne's order, letters were found about him, from the Pope and Cardinals (*i*) to O-Neal; wherein, after commending his own, and his father's faithfulneſs to the Church of Rome, he was exhorted 'for the glory of the Mother Church, 'the honour of St Peter, and his own ſecurity, to ſuppreſs Hereſie, and his Holineſs's 'enemies.' And the Council of Cardinals thought fit to encourage his country, as a ſacred iſland, being certain, while Mother Church had a ſon of worth as himſelf, and thoſe that ſhould ſuccour him, and join therein, ſhe would never fall, but have more or leſs a holding in Britain, in ſpite of fate (*k*). In purſuance of this letter, O-Neal began to declare himſelf the champion of Popery; and having entered into a confederacy with others, they jointly invaded the Pale, and committed ſeveral ravages; but were ſoon after quelled (*l*). About the time that King Henry VIII. began to ſuppreſs the Monaſteries in England and Ireland, Archbiſhop Browne, compleated his deſign of removing all ſuperſtitious reliques and images out of the two cathedrals of St Patrick's and the Holy Trinity, in Dublin, and out of the reſt of the churches within his dioceſe; and, in their room, placed the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in gold letters. And, ſoon after, namely in 1541, the King having converted the priory of the Holy Trinity, into a cathedral church, conſiſting of a Dean and Chapter [*E*], our Archbiſhop founded three prebends in the ſame, in 1544, namely, St Michael's, St John's, and St Michan's: from which time it hath generally been known by the name of Chriſt-Church (*m*). King Edward VI. having cauſed the Liturgy to be compiled, and publiſhed in Engliſh, ſent an order to Sir Anthony St Leger, Governor of Ireland, dated February 6, 1550-1, to notify to all the clergy of that kingdom, that they ſhould uſe this book in all their churches; and the Bible in the vulgar tongue. When Sir Anthony imparted this order to the Clergy (which was on the firſt of March) it was vehemently oppoſed by the Popiſh party, eſpecially by George Dowdall, Primate of Armagh: but Archbiſhop Browne, received it with the utmoſt ſatisfaction and pleaſure (*n*) [*F*]. And, upon Eaſter-day following, the Liturgy was accordingly read, for the firſt time within Ireland, in Chriſt-Church Dublin, in preſence of the Mayor and Bayliffs of that city, the Lord-Deputy St Leger, Archbiſhop Browne, *&c.* (*o*) On which occaſion, the Archbiſhop preached a ſermon againſt keeping the Scriptures in the Latin tongue, and the worſhip of images [*G*]. But Dowdall, by reaſon of his violent and unſeaſonable oppoſition to the King's order, was deprived of the title of Primate of all Ireland; which, by letters patent, bearing date the twentieth of October 1551 (*p*), was conferred on Archbiſhop Browne, and his ſucceſſors in the See of Dublin for ever (*q*). However he did not long enjoy this dignity; for he was deprived, both of it, and his Archbiſhoprick, in 1554, the firſt of Queen Mary I, under pretence that he was married; but in truth, becauſe he had zealouſly promoted the Reformation. And then Archbiſhop Dowdall, who had lived in exile during part of the reign of King Edward VI, recovered the title of Primate, and alſo the Archbiſhoprick of Armagh, which had been given to Hugh Goodacre. While Archbiſhop Browne enjoyed the See of Dublin, the cathedral of St Patrick's was ſuppreſſed, for about the ſpace of eight years; but Queen Mary reſtored it to it's antient dignity, towards the end of the year 1554. The exact time of Archbiſhop Browne's death is not recorded; only we are told, that he died about the year 1556 (*r*). He was a man of a chearful countenance; meek and peaceable; in his acts and deeds plain and downright; of good parts and very ſtirring in what he judged to be for the intereſt of religion, or the ſervice of his King; merciful and compaſſionate to the poor and miſerable; and adorned with every good and valuable qualification (*s*).

(*i*) Theſe Letters ware dated at Rome, April 25, 1538, and ſigned by the Biſhop of Meath.

(*k*) Life of G. Browne, *&c.* p. 3, 4, 5, 6.

(*l*) Hiſt. of Ireland, *&c* by R. Cox, V. 1. p. 259.

(*m*) Sir J. Ware's Works, edit. 1705, as above.

(*n*) Ibid. & Life of G. Browne, as above, p. 8, 9, *&c.*

(*o*) Ware's Works as above. R. Cox, as above, p. 290.

(*p*) Rot. Canc. de ann. 5 Edw. VI.

(*q*) Sir J. Ware's Works, as above.

(*r*) Life of G. Browne, as above, p. 11, 12.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 1.

'ficient now at preſent to oppoſe them. It is obſerved, 'that ever ſince his Highneſs's anceſtors had this na- 'tion in poſſeſſion, the old natives have been craving 'foreign Powers to aſſiſt and rule them; and now both 'Engliſh race and Iriſh begin to oppoſe your Lord- 'ſhip's orders, and do lay aſide their national old 'quarrels; which I fear will, if any thing will, cauſe 'a foreigner to invade this nation. I pray God I may 'be a falſe Prophet, yet your Lordſhip muſt pardon 'my opinion, for I write it to your Lordſhip as a 'warning. Dublin, May, 1538 (5).'

(5) Life of G. Browne, as above.

[*E*] *Conſiſting of a Dean and Chapter.*] It conſiſted, upon this alteration, of a Dean and Chapter, a Chanter, a Treaſurer, ſix Vicars choral, and two Singing-Boys; who were allowed 45*l.* 6*s.* Engliſh money: This ſum Queen Mary confirmed for ever. But King James I. altered what King Henry, and his daughter, had done; and upon this ſecond alteration he conſtituted a Dean, a Chanter, a Chancellor, a Treaſurer, three Prebends, ſix Vicars choral, and four Singing-Boys: Ordering likewiſe, that the Archdeacon of Dublin ſhould have a place in the choir, and a vote in the Chapter (6).

(6) Ibid.

[*F*] *Archbiſhop Browne received it with the utmoſt ſatisfaction and pleaſure.*] At which time he ſpoke to this effect: 'This order, good brethren, is from our 'gracious King, and from the reſt of our Brethren the 'Fathers and Clergy of England, who have conſulted 'herein, and compared the Holy Scriptures with what 'they have done; unto whom I ſubmit, as Jeſus did 'to Cæſar in all things juſt and lawful, making no 'queſtion why or wherefore, as we own him our true 'and lawful King.' Edward Staples Biſhop of Meath, and Thomas Lancaſter Biſhop of Kildare, both concurred with the Archbiſhop; and were, for ſo doing, deprived of their Biſhopricks in Queen Mary's reign (7).

(7) Ibid. p. 9, 10.

[*G*] *On which occaſion the Archbiſhop preached a ſermon, &c.*] This ſermon is printed at the end of the Archbiſhop's life, and is the only piece of his extant; beſides his Letters ſet down above. C

BROWNE (Sir THOMAS) an eminent Engliſh Phyſician, and celebrated writer, of the XVIIth century, for whoſe memoirs we have very ample materials, tho' hitherto they have been but inaccurately written [*A*]. He was the ſon of Mr Thomas Browne, Merchant of London, deſcended from an antient and genteel family of that name, ſeated at Upton in Cheſhire. He was born October the nineteenth 1605, in the pariſh of St Michael, Cheapſide, in the city of London (*a*), and had the misfortune to loſe his father in his nonage, who left him however a conſiderable fortune, in which he was injured not a little by one of his guardians (*b*). He was firſt ſent for education to Wincheſter-College, and thence removed to the Univerſity of Oxford, where he was entered a Fellow-Commoner of Broadgate's-Hall, ſoon after ſtiled Pembroke-College, in the beginning of the year 1623 (*c*), took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, January the thirty-firſt 1626 (*d*), proceeded in due time to his degree of Maſter of Arts, entered on the Phyſick line, and practiſed that faculty (*e*) for ſome time in Oxfordſhire. His mother having married Sir Thomas Dutton, a very worthy gentleman, who enjoyed an honourable poſt in the government of Ireland; Mr Browne went over with him into that iſland, where he accompanied him in a viſitation of all the fortreſſes of the kingdom, which heightening his natural inclination to travel, he went over to France, made ſome ſtay at Montpellier, and then making the tour of Italy, and reſiding ſome time at Padua, he returned into Holland, and took his degree of Doctor in Phyſick, in the Univerſity of Leyden (*f*). We have no certain account when he came back into England, but it muſt have been earlier than moſt of our writers have placed it, I think it might be about the year 1634 (*g*), but I can ſay nothing as to the place of his reſidence, unleſs it was in London [*B*]. In 1635 he wrote his *Religio Medici*, or at leaſt made the ſketch of it, which afterwards being handed about in manuſcript, at laſt ſtole abroad (tho' very incorrectly) in print (*h*) [*C*]. In 1636 he ſettled himſelf at Norwich, by the perſuaſion of his old tutor Dr Thomas Luſhington, who was Rector of Burnham-Weſtgate, not far from thence, and on the invitation of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and other principal perſons of the county; and the year following was incorporated as Doctor of Phyſick at Oxford (*i*). He had impaired his fortune pretty much while abroad, though he had increaſed his learning and experience, and therefore he applied himſelf with the more diligence to his practice, which ſoon became very extenſive, not a little furthered perhaps by his marrying a lady, whoſe maiden name was Mileham, of a very conſiderable family in Norfolk (*k*). This change in his condition happened in 1641, and he enjoyed the ſociety of this lady, equally diſtinguiſhed by the graces of her body and mind, one and forty years. It does not appear, that he had any inclination to be known to the world as an author, but was

(*a*) Life of Sir T. Browne, prefixed to his Antiquities of Norwich.

(*b*) Memoirs of our author's Life by Mr John Whitefoot, prefixed to the Antiquities of Norwich.

(*c*) Life of Sir Thomas Browne, beforementioned, p. 2.

(*d*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 233.

(*e*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 713.

(*f*) Life of Sir Thomas Browne, p. 2.

(*g*) See this fact eſtabliſhed in note [*B*].

(*h*) See Sir Thomas's complaint of this, in his Preface to that piece.

(*i*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. c. 273.

(*k*) See Whitefoot's Memoirs of our author, before cited.

[*A*] *Inaccurately written.*] The collections made by the induſtrious Anthony Wood, in reference to the life of Sir Thomas Browne, are remarkably full, and more regular than is common with that author (1). Dr Tenniſon, who publiſhed part of our author's works, contents himſelf with ſaying ſomething briefly as to his character, becauſe it was expected that an intimate friend of Sir Thomas's would publiſh his life at large (2). This intimate friend was, very probably, the Rev. Mr John Whitefoot, Rector of Heigham in Norfolk, whom I find mentioned as ſuch by Sir Thomas himſelf (3), and who, in all probability, preached his funeral-ſermon. His minutes for that life conſiſting chiefly of the facts made uſe of in his ſermon, are ſtill preſerved, and were publiſhed by the editor of our author's poſthumous works (4), who has alſo prefixed a ſhort life of Sir Thomas to that piece (5). Father Niceron has likewiſe given us, in his manner, a ſketch of this gentleman's life (6), which has been canvaſſed by many other foreigners, as will be ſhewn hereafter. My reaſon for taking notice of theſe facts, is plainly this, that the reader may not be ſurprized at the unuſual length of this article. The worth of this gentleman, and the excellency of his writings, might well juſtify the pains that has been taken to ſet his hiſtory in a true light, and to rectify the miſtakes that have been made about them; but the principal motive which led us to this copious account, is, the notice taken by foreigners of our author and his works, which has been ſuch as few Engliſhmen have met with, and it ſeems to be a reflection on his countrymen, that while his fame is ſo great abroad, there ſhould be nothing of this ſort worthy of his memory, performed at home. In order to wipe off this reflection, the utmoſt induſtry has been uſed in collecting and digeſting whatever might be neceſſary to ſatisfy the curious and intelligent peruſer; and if this has grown to a greater Bulk than is common, it muſt be aſcribed to the author's extenſive reputation, and to the numerous circumſtances worthy of remembrance which occur in the hiſtory of his life and writings.

[*B*] *Unleſs it was in London.*] In a letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, dated from Norwich March 3d, 1642, Sir Thomas himſelf ſays (7), that the *Religio Medici* was written many years before. In his epiſtle to the reader, he limits this to about ſeven years. In the piece itſelf he obſerves, that his life had been hitherto but a reſtleſs pilgrimage, and that he had but very lately leiſure to make reflections; from all which it is evident, that he wrote this treatiſe in 1635, and therefore he muſt have been in England that year, or the year before. Mr Wood ſeems to think, that he did not ſettle at Norwich 'till about the time of his being incorporated Doctor of Phyſick at Oxford; but the fact is otherwiſe, as appears by his monumental inſcription, where it is ſaid that he practiſed Phyſick there forty-ſix years. Theſe are, it muſt be confeſſed, but trivial circumſtances, and yet there is no reaſon that we ſhould not be right in theſe, as well as in matters of greater moment, and the rather, becauſe hitherto theſe miſtakes have paſt unobſerved.

[*C*] *Tho' very incorrectly, in print.*] This piece, which was the firſt eſſay of our author's pen, was written for his private exerciſe and ſatisfaction, then being communicated to one, it became, as he tells us, common to many; and was, by tranſcription, ſucceſſively corrupted, until it arrived in a moſt depraved copy at the Preſs (8). It contains abundance of curious particulars relating to himſelf; he tells us therein, that his life was a miracle of thirty years, which to relate, were not a hiſtory but a piece of poetry, and would found to common ears like a fable (9). He obſerves, that he was at that time unmarried; nay, he ſays plainly, I never yet caſt a true affection on a woman (10). He informs us likewiſe, that he underſtood ſix languages (11); that he had been a great traveller (12); and many other little circumſtances, which abundantly ſhew the truth of his aſſertion, that he never intended it ſhould appear in print. The conſideration, however, of theſe peculiarities afford us ſuch means of entering into his character, and of forming a true idea of the nature and excellency of that little treatiſe, as will enable us to underſtand it better than any commentary could have done.

(1) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 233, 273. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713, 14.

(2) In his Preface to certain Miſcellany Tracts by Sir Thomas Browne.

(3) Antiquities of Norwich, p. 20.

(4) Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his poſthumous Works, p. xxiv.

(5) See the Poſthumous Works, of the learned Sir Thomas Browne, Lond. 1712, 8vo.

(6) Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſt. Tom. XXIII. p. 353.

(7) This Letter is prefixed to the *Religio Medici*, in our author's Works.

(8) See the Epiſtle to the reader prefixed to the *Religio Medici*.

(9) Religio Medici, P. ii. §. 11.

(10) Ibid. §. 5.

(11) Ibid. §. 8.

(12) Ibid. §. 1.

was rather forced to it, by the unforeſeen accident of the *Religio Medici*'s being printed ſurreptitiouſly, and being ſo much taken notice of, as to engage the Earl of Dorſet, to recommend it to the peruſal of the famous Sir Kenelm Digby, who not only read it over, but alſo wrote notes upon it in the ſpace of a night (*l*) [*D*]. There hardly ever was a book publiſhed in Britain, that made more noiſe than the *Religio Medici*. The novelty of the title, the brilliancy of it's ſentiments, and the neat turn of the language, ſtruck the lovers of polite literature with unuſual delight. But as we rarely ſee pieces of this nature, received with great applauſe, and yet remain exempt from the attacks of envy; ſo in this caſe anſwers quickly appeared, and we may ſafely affirm, that few things have been more commended on the one hand, or on the other now eagerly cenſured (*m*) [*E*]. The tranſlation of it into Latin, which was the pure effects of a gentleman's value for the piece, tho' he had no knowledge of the author, ſpread the book throughout all Europe, firſt among the learned who differed widely in their opinions, ſome applauding, others condemning it; and then through the general maſs of readers, by various tranſlations into moſt of the languages of Europe (*n*) [*F*]. As this contributed to raiſe the author's reputation, for wit, learning,

(*l*) See this explained in the note [*D*].

(*m*) Remarks upon modern authors by J. D. p. 195.

(*n*) See the Preface to the laſt edition.

[*D*] *In the ſpace of a night.*] Whoever has read and conſidered the obſervations of this learned Knight, would be inclined to doubt the truth of the fact, if we had not Sir Kenelm's authority for it, in his anſwer to that letter from Sir Thomas Browne before-cited, wherein he gives the following diſtinct and particular account of the matter (13). 'I verily believe there is 'ſome miſtake in the information given you, and that 'what is printing muſt be from ſome other pen than 'mine: for ſuch reflections as I made upon your 'learned and ingenious diſcourſe, are ſo far from me'riting the Preſs, as they can tempt no body to a ſe'rious reading of them: they were notes haſtily ſet 'down, as I ſuddenly ran over your excellent piece, 'which is of ſo weighty a ſubject, and ſo ſtrongly 'penned, as requireth much time and ſharp attention 'but to comprehend it; whereas what I wrote, was 'the employment but of one ſitting; and there was 'not twenty-four hours between my receiving my Lord 'of Dorſet's letter, that occaſioned what I ſaid, and 'the finiſhing my anſwer to him; and yet part of that 'time was taken up in procuring your book, which he 'deſired me to read, and give him an account of; for, 'till then, I was ſo unhappy as never to have heard of 'that diſcourſe. If that letter ever comes to your 'view, you will ſee the high value I ſet upon your 'great parts; and if it ſhould be thought I have been 'ſomething too bold in differing from your ſenſe, I 'hope I ſhall eaſily obtain pardon, when it ſhall be 'conſidered, that his Lordſhip aſſigned it me, as an 'exercitation to oppoſe in it for entertainment, ſuch 'paſſages as I might judge capable thereof; wherein 'what liberty I took, is to be attributed to the ſecurity 'of a private letter, and to my not knowing (nor my 'Lord's) the perſon whom it concerned.' This letter is dated from Wincheſter-Houſe where the author was priſoner, March 20, 1642.

(13) This Letter ſtands before the *Religio Medici*, in the laſt edition of our author's Works, fol. 1686.

[*E*] *More eagerly cenſured.*] It may not be amiſs to begin with a ſuccinct and impartial character of this book, which ſo much alarmed the publick at it's firſt appearance, and which the learned have never ceaſed to talk of ſince (14). 'The *Religio Medici* may paſs 'for a treatiſe, on which it is extremely hard to paſs any 'judgment. It is to weak heads, perhaps, a dangerous, 'to proper judges a moſt ſalutary counſellor. It is the 'picture of the author's mind painted by himſelf; and 'who would not rejoice to ſee ſo fair a piece drawn by 'ſo fine a pencil? It is a noble repreſentation of hu'man nature as it is, and who can be untouched at 'the ſight of what ſo nearly concerns him? It is a 'brave attempt to bring down thoſe ſubjects, which 'have been ſuppoſed to be ſuperior to man's intellects, 'within the view of his reaſon; and tho' not near 'enough to acquaint him with their nature, yet within 'ſuch a ſpace as to delight him with their proſpect. 'Who then that conſiders this, but muſt own an obli'gation to the author? If ſingularities, prejudices, ex'travagancies, wild excurſions, and ſometimes gloomy 'reflections ſtrike us, let us ſtrictly examine whether 'the fault lies in us or in him; we ought not too rea'dily exalt our own, at the expence of his judgment. 'If we meet with ſtrange thoughts, free remarks, diſ'agreeable diſcoveries, let us bring them to the touch'ſtone of truth, and remember, that tho' anatomies 'of human bodies are frequent, yet we are rarely 'called to the diſſection of a human ſoul. If his ſen'timents ſeem too fine ſpun, his conjectures briſk, his 'diſquiſitions daring, his deſcriptions aſtoniſhing, and 'his flights prodigious, let us conſider that Columbus 'told ſtrange tales when he returned firſt from his new 'world. In ſhort, he has undertaken a hard taſk, *viz.* 'to make us, in ſome meaſure, acquainted with the 'Eſſence, as well as Attributes of God, the Nature 'of Angels, the Myſteries of Providence, the Divinity 'of the Scriptures, and which is, perhaps, moſt diffi'cult of all, with ourſelves. How eaſily he might 'miſtake, how often he muſt ſeem obſcure, how fre'quently digreſs from vulgar tracks, every candid cri'tick will conceive, and therefore more eaſily excuſe. 'To conclude, our author ſhares the fortune of ſuch as 'are diſtinguiſhed by exalted merit; ſuch as taſte his 'excellencies, magnify him beyond meaſure, while 'thoſe who want the power of digeſting his ſtrong ſen'tences, revenge themſelves on his character, and in'timate ſuch ſuſpicions, as are bred only in ignorant 'heads, and are publiſhed merely from malevolence 'of heart, With the pious and the wiſe, *Religio Me'dici* will always be eſteemed the Goſpel of Rea'ſon (15).' The ſurreptitious edition of this book, which made the true one neceſſary, was printed in the winter of 1642, and the genuine edition did not come out 'till the ſpring following (16). By the year 1685, it had run through eight editions, and there have come out two, if not three, ſince (17). The firſt annotations that were written upon it, fell from the pen of Sir Kenelm Digby in the night of the 22d of December, 1642. They are addreſſed to the Earl of Dorſet, tho' to ſay the truth, it is rather a refutation, in many reſpects, than an explanation; and yet, upon the whole, he confeſſes the *Religio Medici* to be a very learned and excellent piece, and ſpeaks every where, with much veneration, of it's author's great abilities. The later editions of the book, are uſually accompanied with a very complete body of notes, originally written in 1644, tho' frequently re-touched for ten years after. Who the author was of theſe annotations remains ſtill a ſecret, but that they were not written under the direction of the author, as one might be eaſily tempted to think they were from their being bound up in his works, appears from hence, that now and then he miſtakes the ſenſe of his author. Soon after it was publiſhed, it was attacked by Alexander Roſs, who wrote an expreſs treatiſe againſt it, under the title of *Medicus medicatus, or the Phyſician cured* (18), but it was far from meeting with ſucceſs. There never were indeed men more unequally matched, than Dr Browne and Mr Roſs, the former having all the advantages of ſtrong parts and lively wit, the latter ſcarce any other qualification than a confuſed erudition grounded on a laborious courſe of reading without taſte, penetration, or judgment, at leaſt in any degree of compariſon with the author he cenſures.

(14) A Century of ſhort Characters of Books and Authors, MS.

(15) This appears from Dr Browne's Letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, dated March 3, 1642.

(16) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

(17) Theſe Obſervations corrected and enlarged, are to be found in the full edition of Sir Tho. Browne's Works.

(18) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 713.

[*F*] *Moſt of the languages of Europe.*] As to the firſt verſion of it into Latin, it was made in 1644, and publiſhed in Holland, but with ſome difficulty, as appears from the following letter written to Dr Browne by the author of that traſlation, dated from Magdalen-College in Cambridge October 1, 1649. 'It met 'with ſome demur in the firſt impreſſion at Leyden, 'and upon this occaſion, one Haye, a book-merchant 'there to whom I firſt offered it, carried it to Salma'ſius for his approbation, who, in ſtate, firſt laid it 'by for very near a quarter of a year, and then at laſt 'told him, that there were indeed in it many things 'well

learning, and a singular solidity of judgment, it subjected him at the same time to the imputation of Atheism, especially among foreigners; some having charged it upon him as a crime, the proofs of which were to be found in this book (*o*), and others vindicating him from that aspersion, yet with such tenderness for themselves, that they are content to leave some stain upon him as to heresy, though perhaps never any man of his abilities and learning, gave stronger proofs of sincere belief. Of these censurers we shall in the notes give some account [*G*], it is sufficient to observe here, that the very dispute was favourable to his character as an author, and made his subsequent writings appear with the greater lustre. He published in 1646, his *Treatise on vulgar Errors*, intituled by himself *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*; *or*, *Enquiries into very many received Tenets*, *and commonly presumed Truths* (*p*). This was a book as singular in it's way as the former, and was read with equal avidity, by such as were capable of understanding the diversity of subjects which are therein treated [*H*].

(*o*) Reimanni, Histor. Atheism. p. 446.

(*p*) It was printed originally in a small folio.

This

'well said, but that it contained also many exorbitant 'conceptions in Religion, and would probably find but 'frowning entertainment, especially amongst the Mi'nisters; which deterred him from undertaking the 'printing. After I shewed it to two more, De Vogel 'and Christian, both Printers; but they, upon advice, 'returned it also; from these I went to Hackius, who, 'upon two days deliberation, undertook it (19).' It came quickly to a second edition, and in 1652 it was printed at Straßourg, with a large body of notes written by a learned German whose name was Levinus Nicolaus Moltkenius. In his preface this writer observes, that he was first led to the perusal of this book by the reception it met with from the best judges, that England, France, Italy, Holland, and Germany rung with his applause, and much more to the same purpose. About 1668 it was printed in French, having been before translated into Italian, High-Dutch, and Low, and is still read with the highest satisfaction by persons of true genius, though the sense and spirit of the author have been not a little injured by translations from translations; none but the Latin being made from the original, and that too having considerable deficiencies.

(19) See the Letter at large in the Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his Antiquities of Norwich, p. vi.

[*G*] *In the notes gives some account.*] The first writer of note that we find detracting from our author's merit, is the famous Guy Patin, who, in a letter of his dated from Paris, April 7th, 1645, gives his judgment on the *Religio Medici* in the following words. 'The 'book intituled *Religio Medici* is in high credit here. 'The author has wit; there are abundance of fine 'things in that book; he is a humourist whose thoughts 'are very agreeable, but who, in my opinion, is to 'seek for a master in Religion as many others are, and 'in the end, perhaps, may find none. One may say 'of him, as Philip de Comines did of the Founder of 'the Minimes, a Hermit of Calabria, Francis de Paula, '*he is still alive, and may grow worse as well as bet*'*ter* (20).' I should not have cited this passage but that I find it has made some impression on the French criticks, and even upon (21) Mr Bayle, which is the more wonderful, since he could not but know, that Patin scarce spoke well of any body, and was a smatterer himself: One who dipped into books and then decided upon them, which easily accounts for his notions of the *Religio Medici* and it's author. Yet this stroke of French censure is but gentle, in comparison of the correction given our author, and his writings, by German pens (22). One Tobias Wagner is pleased to say, that the seeds of atheistical impiety are so scattered through this book, that it can hardly be read without danger of infection. Two other learned men of the same nation, (23) Muller and (24) Reiser, agree with him in passing sentence on our author as an atheist. The very learned John Francis Buddeus is a little more moderate, for though he puts Sir Thomas Browne's name into the list of English Atheists, in conjunction with Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Thomas Hobbes, and John Toland; yet he is pleased to add, that as for Thomas Browne though he is not free from the suspicion of absolute indifference in Religion, yet from the charge of Atheism he ought certainly to be acquitted (25). But the no less learned James Frederick Reimmannus, who also wrote very largely on Atheism, and of such as have been justly or unjustly suspected thereof, has taken great pains to wipe off not only the former, but the latter aspersion from our author, and has very fairly shewn the true state of the case, that the *Religio Medici* has been condemned by some without reading it carefully, and by others for want of understanding what they did read (26). In a subsequent note I shall have occasion to mention a still larger defence of our author, written by an illustrious Foreigner. Here, perhaps, it may not be amiss to add, that the *Religio Medici*, as soon at it was published in Latin, had a place given it in the *Index Expurgatorius* (27), tho' the French translator wrote a long preface, to prove that the author was very favourably inclined to the Church of Rome.

(20) Lettres Choises de feu M. Guy Patin, &c. Francfort, 1683, 12*mo*, p. 12.

(21) Oeuvres de M. P. Bayle, Tom. I. p. 25. a.

(22) In examine clenchtico atheismi speculativi, cap. v. p. 11.

(23) Exam. Atheismi, c. vi. §. 34.

(24) In Dissertat. de Atheismo, p. 35.

(25) Theses Theologicæ de Atheismo & Superstitione, p. 136.

(26) Historia Universalis Atheismi & Authorum falso & merito suspectorum, p. 448.

(27) Index Librorum Prohibit. p. 242.

[*H*] *Which are therein treated.*] This noble monument of our author's learning consists of seven books. In the first he considers the general causes of vulgar errors, wherein with equal penetration he discovers, and patience pursues, these sources of error, 'till he has fully described the course of the streams to which they swell. In the remaining books he treats of particular errors; in the second of such as relate to mineral and vegetable bodies, in the third as to animals, with respect to man in the fourth, in the fifth of things questionable in pictures, of Geographical and Philosophical errors in the sixth, and of such as are historical in the seventh. As to the author's intention in this treatise, and how much further he has prosecuted his subject, than other writers handling it before him, together with the obligation he thought himself under of defending what he wrote, information may be best received from his own pen. 'We hope (says he in his epistle to the reader prefixed to the sixth edition, printed in 1673) 'it will not be unconsidered, that 'we find no open track or constant manuduction in this 'labyrinth; but are oft-times fain to wander in the 'America and untravelled parts of truth. For though 'not many years past, Dr Primrose hath made a learned discourse of vulgar errors in Physick, yet have 'we discussed but two or three thereof. *Scipio Mercurii* hath also left an excellent tract in Italian 'concerning popular errors, but confining himself only 'to those in Physick, he hath little conduced unto the 'generality of our doctrine. *Laurentius Joubertus*, 'by the same title led our expectations into thoughts of 'great relief; whereby, notwithstanding we reaped 'no advantage, it answering scarce at all the promise 'of the inscription. Nor perhaps, if it were yet 'extant, should we find any further assistance from 'that ancient piece of *Andreas*, pretending the same 'title. And therefore, we are often constrained to 'stand alone against the strength of opinion, and 'to meet Goliah and giant of authority, with contemptible pebbles, and feeble arguments drawn from 'the scrip and slender stock of ourselves. Nor have 'we indeed, scarce named any author whose name 'we do not honour; and if detraction could invite 'us, discretion surely would contain us from any derogatory intention, where highest pens and friendless eloquence must fail in commendation. And 'therefore, also we cannot but hope the equitable 'considerations and candour of reasonable minds. 'We cannot expect the frown of Theology herein; 'nor can they which behold the present state of things, 'and controversy of points so long received in Divinity, condemn our sober enquiries in the doubtful appurtenances of Arts and Receptaries of Philosophy. 'Surely Philologers and critical discoursers, who look 'beyond the shell and obvious exteriors of things, 'will not be angry with our narrower explorations. 'And we cannot doubt our brothers in Physick, whose 'knowledge in naturals will lead them into a nearer 'apprehension of many things delivered, will friendly 'accept if not countenance our endeavours. Nor 'can we conceive it may be unwelcome unto those 'honoured worthies who endeavour the advancement 'of learning, as being likely to find a clearer progression, when so many rubs are levelled, and many 'untruths taken off, which passing as principles with

'common

This too met with anſwers, written with more heat than learning, and with much ſtronger marks of paſſion than concern for Truth [*I*]. We need not wonder therefore, that ſuch oppoſition contributed rather to the fame of this performance, than any way affected it's credit, eſpecially ſince foreigners have unanimouſly declared in it's favour, and beſtowed the higheſt praiſes on the author's wiſdom, learning, and penetration, of which abundant teſtimonies may be produced [*K*]. The profound learning diſcovered in this laſt book, induced ſome mercenary ſcribbler, of which that age, as well as this, wanted not one in every corner, to make free with our author's name, by prefixing it to a book, which he not only never wrote, but without all doubt would never have read, conſidering it's bombaſt and fooliſh title [*L*]; and yet our author contented himſelf, with hinting this deceit to the publick, in the ſofteſt and modeſteſt terms, and without expreſſing the leaſt reſentment againſt ſo impudent an impoſtor (*q*). In 1658 he publiſhed, *Hydriotaphia, Urne Burial; or, a Diſcourſe of the Sepulchral Urnes, lately found in Norfolk. Together with the Garden of Cyrus, or the quincuncial Lozenge, or Net-Work Plantations of the Antients, artificially, naturally, myſtically, conſidered. With ſundry Obſervations.* The firſt of theſe treatiſes he dedicated to Thomas Le Gros, Eſq; afterwards Sir Thomas Le Gros, of Croſtwick; and the latter to Nicholas Bacon, of Gillingham, Eſq; both are dated from Norwich, May 1, 1658, and ſhew that he lived in the ſtricteſt intimacy and warmeſt friendſhip, with the worthieſt of his neighbours. Theſe treatiſes are in themſelves extreamly curious,

(*q*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713.

'common beliefs, diſturb the tranquillity of axioms, 'which otherwiſe might be raiſed. And wiſe men 'cannot but know, that Arts and Learning want this 'expurgation; and if the courſe of truth be permitted unto itſelf, like that of time and uncorrected 'computations; it cannot eſcape many errors, which 'duration ſtill enlargeth. Laſtly, we are not magiſterial in opiuions, nor have we, dictator like, obtruded 'our conceptions; but in the humility of enquiries or 'diſquiſitions, have only propoſed them unto more 'ocular diſcerners. And therefore opinions are free, 'and open it is for any to think or declare the contrary. 'And we ſhall ſo far encourage contradiction, as to 'promiſe no diſturbance, or re-oppoſe any pen that 'ſhall fallaciouſly or captiouſly refute us; that ſhall 'only lay hold of our lapſes, fingle our digreſſions, 'corollaries, or ornamental conceptions, to evidence 'his own in as indifferent truths. And ſhall only take 'notice of ſuch, whoſe experimental and judicious 'knowledge ſhall ſolemnly look upon it; not only to 'deſtroy of ours, but to eſtabliſh of his own; not 'to traduce or extenuate but to explain and dilucidate, 'to add and ampliate, according to the laudable cuſtom 'of the Antients in their ſober promotions of learning. Unto whom, notwithſtanding, we ſhall not 'contentiouſly rejoin, or only to juſtify your own, 'but to applaud or confirm his maturer aſſertions; 'and ſhall confer what is in us unto his name and 'honour; ready to be ſwallowed in any worthy en'larger, as having acquired our end, if any way, or 'under any name, we may obtain a work ſo much de'ſired, and yet deſiderated of truth.'

[*I*] *Than concern for Truth.*] The firſt of theſe appeared under this title, *Arcana Microcoſmi, or the hid ſecrets of Man's Body diſcovered in an anatomical duel between Ariſtotle and Galen concerning the parts thereof; as alſo by a diſcovery of the ſtrange and marvelous diſeaſes, ſymptoms, and accidents of man's body. With a Refutation of Dr Brown's Vulgar Errors, the Lord Bacon's Natural Hiſtory, and Dr Harvey's book de Generatione, Comenius, and others; wherunto is annexed a Letter from Dr Primroſe to the author, and his anſwer thereto, touching Dr Harvey's Book de Generatione, By A. R.* i. e. Alexander Roſs, London 1652. By tranſcribing this whole title it appears, that the author had a great inclination to diſtinguiſh himſelf by combating the opinions of famous men. He was a ſort of knight-errant in the learned world, whoſe Dulcinea was Antiquity. Much of this humour appears in the manner of printing his book, the running title of which to page 92 is, *The hid Secrets of Man's Body diſcovered*; from 92 to 207, Dr Browne's *Vulgar Errors refuted and anſwered*; from 224 to 243, *a Refutation of Dr Harvey and Fernelius*; from 244 to 265, *a Refutation of the Lord Bacon's Natural Hiſtory*; and thence to the end of the book, *a Refutation of Comenius*. Yet on the whole it muſt be allowed, that this is far from being ſo mean a piece as many have repreſented it, there is in it a great deal of vanity, and more ſpleen, but withal there wants not truth, learning, and ſome ſenſe. There was another anſwer publiſhed under the following title,

(28) *Eudoxa, ſeu Quæſtionum quarundam Miſcellanearum Examen probabile*, &c. London 1656. 8*vo.* written by John Robinſon, M. D. But this did it's author no great honour, and had not merit enough to make it much known in the world. (28) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol II. col. 713.

[*K*] *Abundant teſtimonies may be produced.*] It is ſomewhat ſurprizing, that ſo very learned a treatiſe as this, and which it's author once thought to have publiſhed in Latin, ſhould never have been tranſlated into that language, which however has not hindered it from being very well known abroad. It was firſt tranſlated into Low-Dutch by John Grundal, and printed at Amſterdam, in 1668, 8*vo.* It was afterwards publiſhed in High-Dutch by a noble author, for though in the title-page of the book, printed at Nuremberg, in 1680. 4*to.* the tranſlator calls himſelf Chriſtopher Peganius, yet this was only according to the mode of Germany, the true author being Chriſtian Knorr, Baron of Roſenroth. The judicious Morhof (29) ſpeaks of this work of our author's twice, with all poſſible marks of approbation and eſteem. 'No modern au'thor, ſays he, has treated this ſubject more accurately 'or copiouſly. In his firſt book he learnedly enquires 'into the general cauſes of error, and in his ſucceed'ing books he not only diſcourſes of the miſtakes 'which are crept into Natural Philoſophy, but ſuch 'alſo as have corrupted Hiſtory, Theology, Mechanic 'Arts, and Phyſick.' The famous Reimmannus (30) delivers himſelf in theſe terms. 'As he excelled in 'Theoretical and Practical Divinity, ſo he ſhone no 'leſs in Philoſophy, wherein he emulated Hercules, 'and undertaking by his *Pſeudodoxia Epidemica* to 'clear the Sciences from errors, he fell nothing ſhort of 'the other's labour in cleanſing the *Augean Stable.*' Father Niceron (31) ſpeaking of this book ſays, 'That 'it is an excellent work and contains abundance of 'curious things.' (29) Polyhiſtor. II. 2, 1, 9. III. 5, 1, 10. (30) Hiſtoria univerſalis Atheiſmi, p. 448. (31) Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſt. Tom. XXIII. p. 357.

[*L*] *Conſidering it's bombaſt and fooliſh title.*] This book called itſelf, *Nature's Cabinet unlock'd; wherein is diſcovered the natural cauſes of Metals, Stones, precious Earth*, &c. London 1657. 12*mo* Mr Wood's character of this book is, 'That it is a dull worthleſs 'thing, ſtole for the moſt part out of the Phyſicks 'of Magirus, by a very ignorant perſon, a Plagiary 'ſo illiterate and unſkillful in his author, that not 'diſtinguiſhing between *lævis* and *levis*, in the ſaid 'Magirus, hath told us of the Liver, that one part 'of it is gibbous, and the other light; and yet he 'had the confidence to call this ſcribble, *Nature's 'Cabinet unlock'd*, an arrogant and fanciful title, of 'which our author's true humility would no more 'have ſuffered him to have been the father, than his 'great learning could have permitted him to have 'been the author of the ſaid book (32).' Dr Browne in an advertiſement, as from the Stationer, diſclaims it thus, 'I cannot omit to advertiſe, that a book was 'publiſhed not long ſince, intituled, *Nature's Cabinet 'unlock'd*, bearing the name of this author; if any 'man have been benefited thereby, this author is not 'ſo ambitious as to challenge the honour thereof, as 'having no hand in that work (33).' (32) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 713. (33) Printed at the end of his treatiſe, intituled. The Garden of Cyrus, &c.

[*M*] *Uncommon*

curious, and abound with noble, uncommon, and useful observations (*r*) [*M*], so that we need not wonder they have been so often cited, and so much admired. His readiness to afford any assistance in his power, to such of the learned as were engaged in great and laborious undertakings, procured him the correspondence of abundance of great men, both at home and abroad. Sir William Dugdale applied to him for his assistance, when he was composing that work of his, which has been thought to do him most honour, and many of the letters that passed between them have been made publick (*s*) [*N*]. His foreign correspondents extended as far as Iceland, where dwelt his good friend and intimate acquaintance, Theodore Jonas, from whose information, probably, he wrote that short account of this northern isle, which one may venture to pronounce, the clearest and most authentick that is any where extant (*t*) [*O*]. His reputation in his profession, was equal to his fame for learning in all other respects, and therefore the Royal College of Physicians in London, were pleased to take him into their number, as an Honourary Fellow, as appears by a very honourable diploma under the college-seal, dated the twenty-sixth of June 1665 (*u*). In the Month of September 1671, King Charles II. coming to Norwich in his progress, was pleased to knight Dr Browne, with very singular marks of favour and respect (*w*). This circumstance is mentioned by our author, in one of his pieces, with his usual modesty, and upon such an occasion, as did not only invite, but compel him to it; and yet his gratitude to

(*r*) See the Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his Antiquities of Norwich.

(*s*) These are printed with his Antiquities of Norwich, in 8*vo*, 1712, under the title of The Posthumous Works of Sir Thomas Browne.

(*t*) Printed also in his Posthumous Works.

(*u*) See this annexed to the Memoirs of our author by Mr Whitefoot.

(*w*) Antiquities of Norwich, p. 85.

[*M*] *Uncommon and useful observations.*] The first Treatise concerning Urn Burial was occasioned by the digging up between 40 and 50 of these monuments of antiquity in a field of Old Walsingham, in the latter end of the year 1657, or the beginning of 1658. These urns were deposited in a dry and sandy soil not a yard deep, and at no great distance from each other; they were not exactly similar nor much unlike, some contained two pounds of bones, distinguishable in sculls, ribs, jaws, thigh-bones, and teeth, with fresh impressions of combustion, besides extraneous substance, like pieces of small boxes or combs handsomely wrought, handles of small brass instruments, brazen nippers, and in one some kind of opal. Near the same plot of ground, for about six yards compass, were digged up coals and incinerated substances, which begat conjecture that this was the Ustina, or place of burning their bodies, or some sacrificing place unto the Manes, which was properly below the surface of the ground, as the Aræ and Altars unto the gods and heroes above it. That these were the urns of Romans from the common custom and place where they were found, is no obscure conjecture, not far from a Roman garrison, and but five miles from Brancaster, set down by ancient record under the name of Brannodunum. And where the adjoining town, containing seven parishes, in no very different sound, but Saxon termination, still retains the name of Burnham, which being an early station, it is not improbable the neighbour parts were filled with habitations, either of Romans themselves, or Britons Romanised, which observed the Roman customs.

[*H*] *Have been made publick.*] These letters were written partly in the autumn of the year 1658, and partly in the spring of 1659, and contain abundance of curious particulars in relation to our Antiquities. They were published among the posthumous works of Mr Browne, and I mention them here only to take notice, that one of the pieces before published by Dr Tennison, under the title of *Miscellanies*, belongs properly to this collection. The title of it is, *Of Artificial Hills, Mounts, or Burrows, in many parts of England*, what they are, to what end raised, and by what nations. Before it there is a quære in answer to which it is written, said to have come from his honoured friend Mr E. D. This E. should certainly be a W. for without question the letters were intended for William Dugdale, as may be easily discerned by comparing the contents of this with those of the epistles before-mentioned; and I take it to be the only letter amongst those *Miscellanies* of which any certain account can be given. It is manifest from hence, that he was regarded as an oracle in these matters, even by such a man as Sir William Dugdale, whose knowledge in British Antiquities is unanimously confessed, and the answers given him by Sir Thomas Browne, are such as sufficiently demonstrate his having enquired narrowly, even into the abstrusest subjects.

[*O*] *That is any where extant.*] This letter is dated Norwich, January 15th, 1663. Some particulars seem worthy of being transcribed, inasmuch as we scarce find any thing in relation to this island, elsewhere, which is not strongly mixed with fable. 'Great 'store of drift, or float-wood, says he, is every year cast 'upon their shores, brought down by the northern 'winds, which serveth them for fewel, and other uses, 'the greatest part whereof is fir. Of bears there are 'none in the country, but sometimes they are brought 'down from the north upon ice, while they follow 'seals, and are carried away. Two in this manner 'came over and landed in the north of Iceland this 'last year, 1662. No conies or hares, but of foxes 'great plenty, whose white skins are much desired, 'and brought over into this country. The last winter, '1662, so cold and lasting with us in England, was 'the mildest they have had for many years in Iceland. 'Two new eruptions, with slime and smoak, were 'observed the last year in some mountains about Mount 'Hecla. Some hot mineral springs they have and 'very effectual, but they make but rude use thereof. 'The rivers are large, swift, and rapid, but have 'many falls, which render them less commodious; 'they chiefly abound with Salmons. They sow no 'corn, but receive it from abroad. They have a 'kind of large lichen, which dried becometh hard and 'sticky, growing very plentiful in many places, 'whereof they make use for food, either in decoction 'or powder, some whereof I have by me, different 'from any with us. In one part of the country and 'not near the sea, there is a large black rock, which 'polished, resembleth touchstone, as I have seen in 'pieces thereof of various figures. —— And exceeding 'fine russet down is sometimes brought unto us, which 'their great number of fowls afford, and sometimes 'store of feathers, consisting of the feathers of small 'birds. Besides shocks, and little hairy dogs, they 'bring another sort over, headed like a fox, which 'they say are bred betwixt dogs and foxes; these 'are desired by the shepherds of this country. Green 'plovers, which are plentiful here in the winter, are 'found to breed there in the beginning of summer. 'Some sheep have been brought over, but of coarse 'wool, and some horses of mean stature, but strong 'and hardy; one whereof kept in the pastures by 'Yarmouth, in the summer, would often take the 'sea, swimming a great way, a mile or two, and re'turn the same; when it's provision failed in the ship 'wherein it was brought, for many days, it fed upon 'hoops and casks; nor at the land would for many 'months be brought to feed upon oats. These ac'counts I received from a native of Iceland, who 'comes yearly into England; and by reason of my 'long acquaintance, and directions, I send unto some 'of his friends against the Elephantiasis or Leprosy, 'constantly visits me before his return, and is ready to 'perform for me what I shall desire in his country: 'wherein, as in any other ways, I shall be very am'bitious to serve the noble Society, whose most 'honouring Servant, I am, T. B.' —— This last paragraph shews, that this letter was written at the instance of the Royal Society, and is a proof how much he was considered by that learned body of men, who at their first institution were the glory of this island and the wonder of Europe.

to the King is manifeſted therein, rather than any ſatisfaction in this addition of honour [*P*]. He ſpent the remainder of his days, in the quiet practice of his profeſſion, and the improvement of his mind, by a cloſe and diligent purſuit of his ſtudies, which he never intermitted, 'till having attained the age of ſeventy-ſeven, for he died on his birth day, he in 1682, left this life for a better (*x*). In his perſon he was of a moderate ſtature, of a brown complection, and his hair of the ſame colour. His picture in the College of Phyſicians, ſhews him to have been remarkably handſome, and to have poſſeſſed in a ſingular degree, the bleſſing of a grave and yet chearful and inviting countenance. As to his temper it was perfectly even and free from paſſions, he had no ambition beyond that of being wiſe and good, and no farther concern for money than as it was neceſſary, for otherwiſe he might certainly have raiſed a very large fortune in the way of his profeſſion, but his charity, generoſity, and tender affection for his children, to the expence of whoſe education he would ſet no bounds, contracted the wealth he left into a very moderate compaſs. His virtues were many, and remarkably conſpicuous; his probity ſuch as gained him univerſal reſpect, as his beneficence rendered him generally beloved; in reſpect to knowledge, he was extremely communicative in his converſation, and notwithſtanding his rare abilities, and eſtabliſhed reputation, wonderfully modeſt. His Religion was that of the Church of England, in which he ſhewed himſelf unaffectedly humble and ſincere. As to ſects in learning he followed none, but thought and wrote with the utmoſt freedom, illuſtrating every ſubject he touched, by ſuch new and nervous remarks, as charmed every attentive reader, and has occaſioned more care to be taken of the papers he left behind him, than has uſually happened to the remains of learned men, a circumſtance ſingular in itſelf, and which reflects on his memory the higheſt honour (*y*) [*Q*]. There may be notwithſtanding this, and indeed there is reaſon to believe there are, ſeveral little pieces of his which have not yet ſeen the light, which is the more to be regretted, becauſe certainly never any thing fell from his pen which did not deſerve it. His very letters were diſſertations, and full of ſingular learning, tho' written upon the moſt common ſubjects. Of this we have a ſhining proof, in a letter of his to a young ſtudent, as to the method of reading phyſical authors [*R*]. His knowledge and charity made him dear to his contemporaries, as

(*x*) See his Monumental Inſcription.

(*y*) Taken from a Letter written to Lady Browne, when he propoſed to write Sir Thomas's Life, by Mr Whitefoot.

[*P*] *In this addition of honour.*] This paſſage occurs in his Antiquities of Norwich, where, ſpeaking of the cathedral and city, he ſays, 'Tho' this church, 'for it's ſpire, may compare, in a manner, with any 'in England, yet in it's tombs and monuments it is 'exceeded by many. No Kings have honoured the 'ſame with their aſhes, and but few with their preſence. And it is not without ſome wonder, that 'Norwich having been for a long time ſo conſiderable 'a place, ſo few Kings having viſited it: of which 'number among ſo many Monarchs ſince the Conqueſt, 'we find but four, *viz.* King Henry III. Edward I. 'Queen Elizabeth, and our gracious ſovereign now 'reigning, King Charles II. *of which I had a particular reaſon to take notice* (34).'

(34) Antiquities of Norwich, p. 35.

[*Q*] *The higheſt honour.*] The firſt who took the pains to digeſt and fit for the preſs the pieces our author left behind him, in ſuch a degree of perfection as ſeem to intimate his deſign of printing them, was Dr Thomas Tenniſon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who publiſhed, from his manuſcripts, at London 1684. 8*vo.* A collection of *Miſcellaneous Tracts*, containing, 1. *Obſervations upon ſeveral plants mentioned in Scripture.* 2. *Of Garlands, and Coronary or Garland Plants.* 3. *Of the Fiſhes catched by our Saviour with his Diſciples after the Reſurrection.* 4. *An anſwer to certain Queries relating to Fiſhes, Birds, and Inſects.* 5. *Of Hawks and Falconry, ancient and modern.* 6. *Of Cymbals and other muſical Inſtruments.* 7. *Of Ropalic or gradual Verſes.* 8. *Of Languages, particularly the Saxon.* 9. *Of artificial Hills, Mounts, and Burrows, in many places of England.* 10. *Of Troas, what place is meant by that name. Alſo the Situation of Sodom, Gomorrah, and Zeboim.* 11. *Of the Anſwers of the Oracle of Apollo at Delphos to Cræſus.* 12. *A Prophecy concerning the future State of ſeveral Nations.* 13. *Muſæum Clauſum, containing ſome Books, Antiquities, Pictures, and Rarities of ſeveral kinds, ſcarce or never ſeen by any man now living.* Theſe with the other Treatiſes publiſhed in his life-time, were printed in one folio Volume at London, 1686. His ſon Dr Edward Browne publiſhed in 1690, a ſingle tract of his father's, intituled, *A Letter to a Friend, upon Occaſion of the Death of his intimate Friend.* It contains about twenty-four pages in 8*vo.* and we meet therein with many curious things, and a concluſion ſo pious, that whoever reads it will diſcern with indignation the falſhood of ſuch calumnies as have been ſpread in relation to his indifference in Religion. The third guardian of our author's fame was his grandſon by marriage, Owen Brigſtock, Eſq: who communicated his remains to thoſe who afterwards publiſhed them, under the title of, *Poſthumous Works of the Learned Sir Thomas Browne, Knt. M. D. late of Norwich*, printed from his original manuſcripts, *viz.* I. *Repertorium, or the Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Norwich.* II. *An Account of ſome Urns, &c. found at Brampton in Norfolk*, anno 1667. III. *Letters between Sir William Dugdale and Sir Thomas Browne.* IV. *Miſcellanies.* Laſt of all, in 1716, there was publiſhed a book of his in 12*mo*, intituled, *Chriſtian Morals, by Sir Thomas Browne of Norwich, M. D. and author of Religio Medici*, publiſhed from the original and correct manuſcript of the author, by John Jeffery, D. D. Archdeacon of Norwich. It was dedicated by our author's daughter, Mrs Elizabeth Littleton, to David, Earl of Buchan. And Dr Jeffery in his preface obſerves, that if any one after he has read *Religio Medici*, and this diſcourſe, can doubt whether the ſame perſon was the author of them both, he may be aſſured by the teſtimony of Mrs Littleton above-mentioned, who lived with her father, when it was compoſed by him, and who at the time read it written by his own hand, and alſo by the teſtimony of others, of whom the Doctor is one, who read the manuſcipt of the author immediately after his death, and who have ſince read the ſame; from which it was faithfully and exactly tranſcribed for the preſs. The reaſon why it was not printed before was, becauſe it was unhappily loſt by being miſlaid among other manuſcripts, for which ſearch was lately made in the preſence of Archbiſhop Tenniſon, of which his Grace by letter informed Mrs Littleton, when he ſent the manuſcript to her. Dr Jeffery likewiſe tells us, that there is nothing printed in the diſcourſe, or in the ſhort notes, but what is found in the original manuſcript, except only where an overſight had made the addition or tranſpoſition of ſome words neceſſary.

[*R*] *As to the method of reading phyſical authors.*] This letter was communicated to the world by a very learned and ingenious gentleman (35), but to whom it was directed is not known. '*Ἐκ βιβλίων νυθέρηται*' [*i. e.* Stateſman from the book] is grown into a proverb; and no leſs ridiculous are they who think out 'of books to become Phyſicians. I ſhall therefore 'mention ſuch as tend leſs to oſtentation than uſe, for 'the directing a novice to obſervation and experience, 'without which you cannot expect to be other than '*ἐκ βιβλίων νυθερνήτης*. Galen and Hippocrates muſt 'be had as Fathers and fountains of the faculty. And 'indeed Hippocrates's *Aphoriſms* ſhould be conned for 'the

(35) By the learned and ingenious Richard Middleton Maſſey, M. D. F. R. S.

as his excellent works have transmitted the fruits of his learning, and thereby secured him a high reputation with posterity, and as this has not been built on the slight foundation of lively thoughts, delivered in a graceful manner of expression, but on the more solid basis of communicating useful truths, and suggesting the propereſt means for avoiding dispondency as well as error; so by degrees his writings have triumphed over all those prejudices, which naturally rise in weak minds at the appearance of a genius of the first rank, as appears by that eagerness, which even learned foreigners have expressed in his defence, and that applause which has been bestowed on his works, by such as were equal as well as candid judges [S]. His body was interred in the church of St Peter's Mancroft, in Norwich, where, upon a mural monument, fixed to the south pillar of the altar, there are two inscriptions, one in Latin the other in English, containing several particulars relating to his life, which, as they have been mentioned in the course of this article, and as those inscriptions have been published more than once, render it unnecessary to transcribe them here (z). This monument was erected from the tender affection of Lady Dorothy Browne, his widow, to whose memory on the opposite pillar, there is another mural monument, which informs us that she died February 4, 1685, in the sixty-third year of her age. By this Lady Sir Thomas had ten children, of whom only one son (who is taken notice of in the next article) and three daughters survived him; all of them remarkable for inheriting their parents virtues, and enjoying an uncommon share of that sprightly wit and solid sense, so conspicuous in their father's writings, as they have also been by expressing an affectionate and becoming zeal for preserving their father's memory, and securing his literary remains from oblivion.

(z) In the *Life* prefixed to the Antiquities of Norwich, p. xix.

'the frequent use which may be made of them. Lay 'your foundation in Anatomy, wherein ἀνατομία must 'be your *fidus achates*. The help that books can afford, you may expect, besides what is delivered *sparsim* from Galen and Hippocrates, Vesalius, Spigelius, and Bartholinus. And be sure you make yourself 'master of Dr Harvey's piece *De Circul. Sang.* which 'discovery I prefer to that of Columbus. The knowledge of Plants, Animals, and Minerals (whence are 'fetched the *Materia Medicamentorum*) may be your παρεργον; and so far as concerns Physick, is attainable in gardens, fields. Apothecaries and Druggists 'shops. Read Theophrastus, Dioscorides, Matthiolus, 'Dodonæus, and our English Herbalists: Spigelius's *Isagoge in rem herbariam* will be of use. Wecker's *Antidotarium speciale*, Renodæus for composition and 'preparation of medicaments. See what Apothecaries 'do. Read *Morelli formulas medicas*, *Bauderoni Pharmacopœa*, *Pharmacopœa Augustana*. See chymical 'operations in hospitals, private houses. Read Fallopius, 'Aquapendente, Paræus, Vigo, &c. Be not a stranger 'to the useful part of Chymistry. See what Chymistators do in their officines. Begin with *Tyrocinium Chymicum*, *Crollius*, *Hartmannus*, and so by degrees 'march on. *Materia Medicamentorum*, Surgery, and 'Chymistry, may be your diversions and recreations; 'Physick is your business. Having therefore gained 'perfection in Anatomy, betake yourself to Sennertus's '*Institutions*, which read with care and diligence two 'or three times over, and assure yourself, that when 'you are a perfect master of these Institutes, you will 'seldom meet with any point in Physick to which you 'will not be able to speak like a man. This done, 'see how Institutes are applicable to practice, by reading upon diseases in Sennertus, Fernelius, Mercatus, 'Hollerius Riverius, in particular treatises, in counsels and consultations, all which are of singular benefit. But in reading upon diseases, satisfy yourself not 'so much with the remedies set down (altho' I would 'not have these altogether neglected) as with the true 'understanding the nature of the disease, it's causes, 'and proper indications for cure. For by this knowledge, and that of the instruments you are to work 'by, the *Materia Medicamentorum*, you will often 'conquer with ease those difficulties, through which 'books will not be able to bring you, *secretum Medicorum est judicium*. Thus have I briefly pointed out 'the way, which, closely pursued, will lead to the 'highest pitch of the art you aim at. Although I mention but a few books (which, well digested, will be '*instar omnium*) yet it is not my intent to confine you. 'If at one view you would see who hath written, and 'upon what diseases, by way of counsel and observation, 'look upon Moronus's *Directorium Medico-practicum*. 'You may look upon all, but dwell upon few. I need 'not tell you the great use of the Greek tongue in Physick; without it nothing can be done to perfection. 'The words of art you may learn from Gorræus's '*Definitiones Medicæ*. This, and many good wishes, 'from your loving friend. T. B.'

[S] *Equal as well as candid judges.* The celebrated Hermannus Conringius, the glory of the German nation, professed himself always a great admirer of our author, and was wont to say, he always read his *Religio Medici* with fresh delight; and in respect to that imputation of Atheism, or indifferency in point of Religion, which had been circulated with such industry by certain supercilious Criticks, he delivered his sentiments of it in these words: Utinam nemo Medicorum, imo Theologorum, illo homine sit minus religiosus, *i. e. I wish no Physician, I will go farther and say, none of our Divines, were less religious than this man* (36). If we consider the great character, and still greater merit, of Conringius, we cannot but allow his testimony to weigh down the prejudices of a multitude of minor Criticks, who have no way of raising a reputation to themselves, but by attacking such of the learned as are in possession of it. The learned and judicious Frederick Heister (37), son of the celebrated Lawrence Heister, whose system of Surgery has made him known to all the learned world, thought himself obliged, on Buddæus's publishing a large work against Atheism and Superstition, to vindicate the Physicians in general, and our author in particular, from the injurious aspersion cast upon him in that book. His defence of Dr Browne takes up the whole sixth section, in which, from a great variety of passages in our author's works, he demonstrates the cruelty of this calumny, as well as it's notorious falsehood. It is true that Michael Lilienthal (38), in his dissertation on Literary Machiavelism, has a stroke at Sir Thomas Browne, as if he had been an enemy to antiquity; and the famous Peter Bayle (39) speaks but slightly of him in some parts of his works; yet when the censures and characters of these Criticks are compared and considered, they will be found to do as much honour to our author's memory, as the praises of other men. On the whole, we may safely say, that as his pen vindicated useful science by vanquishing and driving away a multitude of errors which had been long received; so his fame has triumphed over envy, and will appear in the eyes of posterity as clear and bright as the truths which he espoused; and it was with great justice this sentence was inscribed on his monument, *Scriptis quibus tituli, Religio Medici & Pseudodoxia epidemica aliisque per orbem notissimus.*

(36) Conringiana, p. 10.

(37) Eliæ Frederici Heisteri Laurentii filii Apologia pro medicis qua eorum depellitur cavillatio, qui Medicinam Atheismum aliosque in Theologia errores abducere perhibent, & qua simul præcipui Medici & nominatim Hippocrates, Galenus, Cardanus, Taurellus, Vannius, & *Brownius*, qui Atheismi crimine commaculati sunt, defenduntur. Amstelædami, 1736, 8vo.

(38) §. v. p. 39.

(39) See his *Illustration* upon the *Sceptics*, §. vi.

BROWNE (EDWARD) a very eminent Phyſician, and Preſident of the Royal College at London, as well as Phyſician to his Majeſty King Charles II. He was the ſon of Sir Thomas Browne beforementioned, and was born ſome time in the year 1642, notwithſtanding what has been reported by ſome writers, who took it for granted he was in the ſeventieth year of his age (*a*) when he died. He received the firſt tincture of letters under the care of his father, who obſerving in him a great propenſity to learning, reſolved to ſpare nothing in his education (*b*), that might tend to the improvement of his natural genius, and gratify his ſtrong appetite to knowledge. He ſpent ſome time at Norwich ſchool, which was in thoſe days very famous, and from thence, when he was about fifteen, he removed to the univerſity of Cambridge, but in what college of that univerſity he ſtudied, I have not, at this diſtance of time, been able to diſcover. In all probability, the reaſon of his going thither was, for the ſake of being near the place of his father's reſidence, and that he might have the opportunity of enquiring into, and facilitating his progreſs in learning, which exceeded even the hopes of his indulgent parent, ſince, while a very young man, he became a perfect maſter, not only of the learned languages, and more eſpecially of Greek, but of every kind of academical knowledge, ſo that in 1665, he took there the degree of Bachelor of Phyſick (*c*). He removed afterwards to Oxford, and there, June 19, 1666, he was admitted to the ſame degree (*d*), and ſettling in Merton college the year following, *viz.* July 7, 1667, he proceeded Doctor in that Faculty (*e*), and then returned to Norwich; ſo that ſuch writers as have aſſerted that he travelled before this time, are utterly miſtaken. But after remaining about a year there, he, with the conſent, and probably with the advice, of his father, reſolved to make a tour through Germany, and accordingly, Auguſt 14, 1668, he embarked at Yarmouth for Holland, and having paſſed through the United Provinces, the Spaniſh Netherlands, and the Lower Germany as far as Cologne, he went from thence through Bavaria to the imperial city of Vienna, where he remained for ſome time, and then, paſſing through Moravia, and Bohemia, where he made ſome ſtay at Prague, and having examined the ſilver mines at Guttenberg, purſued his journey through Saxony, viſiting the Electoral Reſidence at Dreſden, the mines at Friedberg, the celebrated univerſity of Leipſic, and the famous city of Magdeburg, from whence he travelled to Hamburgh, and after a ſhort ſtay there, embarked on board a veſſel bound for London, and landed in Kent upon Chriſtmas-day that year (*f*). In theſe five months he made ſo many curious obſervations, contracted acquaintance with ſo many perſons conſiderable in the world by their rank or learning, and obtained ſuch a knowledge of the advantages beſtowed by travelling on perſons of his profeſſion, that he reſolved to go abroad again, and to make a more extenſive tour, which he accordingly did in the year following, paſſing through moſt of the dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria, viſiting ſeveral provinces, and taking a conſiderable view of the mines in Hungary; afterwards he went to Lariſſa in Theſſaly, where the Grand Seignior then reſided, and having travelled through that country and Macedonia, returned again to Vienna, from whence he went to Venice by land through the country of Friuli, which gave him an opportunity of ſeeing and examining the quick-ſilver mines. He returned from Venice to Vienna, which is three hundred and fifteen miles, alone, and upon one horſe. He had, before this, made either a journey or a voyage to that city, and from thence, in company with Sir William Trumbull, who was afterwards Secretary of State, Mr Soames, Dr Palman, Dr James, and Mr Daſhwood, to Genoa, from whence he returned home through France, but at what time we cannot exactly diſtinguiſh (*g*). In the courſe of his travels, beſides his great improvements in all kinds of knowledge, more eſpecially Antiquities, Natural Hiſtory, and Phyſick, he had an opportunity of ſeeing the courts and perſons of four of the greateſt Monarchs, *viz.* the Emperor Leopold, at Vienna; the Grand Seignior, Mohammed IV, at Lariſſa; Pope Clement IX, at Rome; and Lewis XIV, at Verſailles (*h*). Upon his return to London, he became a Member of the Royal Society, as well as of the College of Phyſicians (*i*), and being equally diſtinguiſhed by his extenſive learning and polite converſation, grew into high favour and eſteem with the famous Earl of Dorſet, and other perſons of great quality and diſtinction (*k*), at whoſe requeſt he publiſhed a relation of ſome part of his travels [*A*]. This book had a great character given it in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, and

(*a*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 409.

(*b*) Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his Poſthumous Works.

(*c*) From the information of the Rev. Mr B. of St John's.

(*d*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 166.

(*e*) Id. ibid. col. 170.

(*f*) Taken from his Travels, Lond. 1685, folio.

(*g*) This Journey is inſerted at the cloſe of the folio edition.

(*h*) Sir Thomas Browne's Life by the Rev. Mr John Whitefoot. p. xxxiii.

(*i*) Theſe titles are given in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. XCIV. p. 6049.

(*k*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 410.

[*A*] *A relation of ſome part of his travels.*] The title of this work at large runs thus: 'A brief account 'of ſome travels in Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Theſſaly, Auſtria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Friuli, *&c.* By Edward Browne, M. D. of 'the College of London, Fellow of the Royal Society, 'and Phyſician in Ordinary to his Majeſty. London in 4to.' It is to be obſerved, that our author, after his return from Hamburgh, had communicated his deſign of making a tour through theſe countries, to ſome of the Members of the Royal Society; and as it was the cuſtom of that learned body, at this time, to frame inſtructions for the uſe of travellers, that they might receive ſuch lights as might conduce to the improvement of thoſe ſciences which fell more immediately under their inſpection; ſo we are informed, that their Secretary delivered ſuch to our author, which we find printed at large in the Tranſactions under the following title (1): 'Directions and Inquiries, as they 'were ſome time ſince recommended by the publiſher, 'to the care of the ingenious and learned Dr Edward 'Browne (ſon to that deſervedly famous Phyſician, Dr 'Thomas Browne, and Fellow of the Royal Society) 'travelling in Germany, Hungary, Turkey, *&c.*' To theſe queries, Dr Browne gave very copious anſwers, which were alſo printed at large in the Tranſactions; and were ſo full of curious, entertaining, and inſtructive circumſtances, that he was preſſed and prevailed upon to digeſt and put into order the whole ſeries of his travels, in order to their being made publick. As ſoon as they appeared, they were taken notice of in, and recommended by, the Tranſactions of the

(1) See the Tranſactions of the Royal Society, No. LVIII. p. 1159.

and was received with univerſal applauſe, which, without doubt, it very well deſerved; as it contained a copious and circumſtantial account of ſeveral countries, with which we were very little acquainted (*l*); and indeed, from that time to this, there has been nothing publiſhed of the ſame kind that comes near it in any degree. Yet the Doctor, conſidering that there was ſome part of Germany, and more eſpecially the baths of Aix la Chapelle, the mineral waters at Spa, and other curioſities in that neighbourhood, which he had not ſeen, took the advantage of the Congreſs held at Cologne in 1673 (*m*), and having accompanied thither our Plenipotentiaries, Sir Joſeph Williamſon, and Sir Leolinc Jenkins, he went from thence, in the beginning of July, to Aix la Chapelle, and having curiouſly examined, not only the baths for which that city is famous, but the mines in it's neighbourhood, and particularly that of *lapis calaminaris* in the country of Limburgh, he proceeded to Spa, and enquired narrowly into the nature and virtue of the waters. He went next to Liege, and from thence, by Tongres, Louvain, Bruſſels, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Oſtend, Newport, and Dunkirk, to Graveline, and from thence to Calais, where he embarked for Dover, and arrived the latter end of the ſame year at London. He had promiſed, in the volume of Travels which he publiſhed, that if they were well received, he would preſent the world with another collection of the like nature; and it was very probably with a view of compleating this ſecond collection, that he made this laſt tour through Germany and the Low-Countries. Yet he did not publiſh his ſecond volume 'till ſome years afterwards, when it met with the ſame reception from the learned world as the former volume had done, and with equal juſtice (*n*) [*B*]. About this time he ſettled in London, married, and began to grow into great practice, for his furtherance in which, upon the deceaſe of Sir John Micklethwaite, a very eminent Phyſician, he was, upon the King's recommendation, choſen to ſupply his place in St Bartholomew's Hoſpital, ſome years before which, the King had made him his own Phyſician. He was elected at the Hoſpital, September 7, 1682 (*o*). The year following he publiſhed the Life of Themiſtocles, in the Engliſh tranſlation of Plutarch undertaken by Mr Dryden, and therein gave a proof of his perfect acquaintance with the Greek language, and his great ſkill and accuracy in writing his own (*p*). On Michaelmas-day in the ſame year, he was, according to their charter, elected one of the Cenſors of the Royal College of Phyſicians (*q*). In 1684, the Life of Sertorius, as tranſlated by him, was made publick (*r*); and in 1685, he augmented, as well as corrected and improved, the Collection of his Travels, which he then publiſhed all together [*C*]. Theſe, as far as I have been able

(*l*) See the note [*A*].

(*m*) Dr Browne's Travels, p. 180.

(*n*) See the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. CXXX. p. 767.

(*o*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 410.

(*p*) Plutarch's Lives, Vol. I. p. 354.

(*q*) As appears from the Catalogue of the Members of the College, printed that year.

(*r*) Plutarch's Lives, Vol. III. p. 598.

the Royal Society, in very ſtrong terms: the publiſher introducing his account of them in the following manner (3): 'This learned and inquiſitive traveller gives 'ſo good an account of the voyages he made through 'thoſe parts named in the title, that thereby he excel-'lently inſtructs others what great benefit may be made 'by travelling, if performed with curioſity and judg-'ment.' After which follows a kind of extract from his travels, of ſeveral paſſages relating to Phyſical Diſcoveries and Natural Hiſtory.

(3) Ibid. No. XCIV. p. 6049.

[*B*] *The ſame reception from the learned world as the former volume had done, and with equal juſtice.*] The title page of this ſecond volume of our author's travels, runs thus, 'An account of ſeveral travels through a 'great part of Germany, in four journeys. 1. From 'Norwich to Cologn. 2. From Cologn to Vienna, 'with a deſcription of that imperial city. 3. From 'Vienna to Hamburgh. 4. From Cologn to London, 'wherein the mines, baths, &c. London 1677, 4*to* (4).' It is neceſſary to acquaint the reader, that the three firſt parts contain an account of our author's voyages to and from Germany, and his travels through a great part of that country, in 1668; ſo that theſe are prior in point of time to the travels publiſhed in the former volume. As for the fourth part, it relates to his laſt journey to Cologn, when the Congreſs was held there, of which we have given an account in the text. One may eaſily perceive that it was his great ſkill in minerals, and the curious accounts he had given upon his firſt return home; that, on the one hand, induced the Royal Society to lay ſo great a weight upon his communications, and, on the other, prompted him after two ſuch long and fatiguing journeys, to make a third, that he might have an opportunity of viewing and examining all the remarkable mines in the Lower Germany, as he had before taken a view of thoſe in Bohemia, Saxony, Hungary, and Friuli. It is indiſputable, that the relations he has given us upon theſe ſubjects, are, beyond all compariſon, clearer and more correct than any that are to be met with either in our own or perhaps in any other language. He was a man that not only underſtood theſe matters in the higheſt degree of perfection, but was alſo very far from being credulous, and took little or nothing upon truſt, as appears from the accounts he gives us, in which he mentions a great variety of experiments made by himſelf upon the ſpot, in order to aſcertain the facts which he delivered. It may not be amiſs alſo to obſerve, that he travelled at a time when the knowledge of metals was in particular eſteem, ſo that ſeveral Princes in Germany employed both their heads and their hands in this ſtudy, and therefore his inclination for it was ſufficient to procure him in every place throughout that country a favourable reception, and even particular indulgencies. We have a very ſtrong inſtance of this in the compliment made him by the learned Lambeccius, who was at that time Library-keeper to the Emperor Leopold, of not only carrying to his lodgings any Chymical manuſcripts he deſired, but offering to cauſe them to be tranſcribed for his uſe, or even to allow him to carry them with him into England (5). This ſecond volume was alſo mentioned in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* with the higheſt marks of approbation of the book (6), and reſpect for it's author; and this raiſed his reputation to ſuch a height, that he was conſidered even by the moſt knowing men in thoſe times, as a perfect maſter of Chymiſtry in all it's branches, as well as of every part of Natural Hiſtory, and of Antiquities, more eſpecially medals, of which in this and in his former volume of travels, he delivers a great deal, and diſcourſes of them with much ſagacity and judgment, as well as on ſeveral points of Roman and Greek Literature relating to them, as he likewiſe does of ancient inſcriptions, in the collecting which he was very diligent, and equally happy in explaining them.

(4) In ſeveral Catalogues, this book is ſaid to be printed A. D. 1679, but that is a miſtake.

(5) Dr Browne's Travels, p. 146.

(6) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. CXXX. p. 707.

[*C*] *Corrected and improved the collection of his travels, which he then publiſhed all together.*] It is not neceſſary to give the reader the title page of this book, which comprehends only what is mentioned in thoſe of the other two, but it is very requiſite to obſerve, that it differs from them very much in it's contents, the author having enlarged every part of it with freſh obſervations, ſo that it is in ſome meaſure a new work. Beſides this, he has annexed his journey from Venice to Genoa, which is not in either of the two former volumes, and is full of great variety of curious and learned obſervations, in reſpect, more eſpecially, to the Roman antiquities,

able to trace them, are all the works of his that are extant. Yet it is both possible and probable, that he might communicate several things to the Royal Society (s), more especially Chemical experiments, of which he made many, and of one of these we find very honourable mention, in the works of that great Philosopher, and true friend to useful knowledge, the famous Mr Boyle, of which some account will be given in the notes [D]. He attended his royal master, King Charles II, in his last illness, and to the time of his decease (t). Upon the coming of the Duke of York to the crown, he was left out of the number of his Physicians, but his practice still continued as great as ever, or rather increased. After the Revolution, he remained likewise at a distance from the Court, but his great success, in his profession, made him known and considered both at home and abroad, and that too by men of all parties and persuasions, as appears by a letter of his to the celebrated M. le Clerc, in favour of one Mr Beverland, a man of great learning, and particularly remarkable for writing a most excellent Latin stile, in which, however, he had exercised his pen on subjects that occasioned his being banished his country, on the repeal of which sentence, this letter of recommendation was written, at the request of Mr John Locke and the Earl of Carberry (u). It is, without doubt, as elegant a piece of Latin as can well be seen, and may be therefore considered as a proof of our author's excellence in that respect. In 1701, about the month of May, when King William was preparing for his last voyage to Holland, Dr Browne, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Millington, Sir Richard Blackmore, and Dr Lawrence, was called to a consultation on the state of his health, but it does not appear that he attended him in his last illness (w). In the spring of the year 1705, upon the death of Sir Thomas Millington, Dr Browne, who had risen gradually through all the honours of the Faculty, and was at that time one of the Elects, and Treasurer, succeeded him as President of the Royal College of Physicians (x), which office he filled with great abilities, and discharged it with universal approbation to the time

(s) Some pieces of his are said to be in the Philosophical Collections by Dr Hook, but these I have not seen.

(t) History of Europe for 1708, p. 410.

(u) See the General Dictionary, Vol. III. p. 302.

(w) Hist. of Europe for 1705, p. 410.

(x) Catalogue of the Members of the College for that year.

antiquities, with which he shows himself extremely well acquainted. There is one thing, however, that ought not to be passed in silence, which is his turn for Poetry, of which we will give the reader an instance, that would be no discredit even to a more modern writer. It is the following translation from Virgil, where Venus is introduced expostulating with Jupiter in the behalf of Æneas, which our author produces to prove, that Antenor was the founder of Padua, which by the way he always writes Padoa (7).

(7) Dr Browne's Travels, p. 195.

——Quem das finem, Rex magne, malorum?
Antenor potuit, mediis elapsus Achivis,
Illyricos penetrare sinus, atque intima tutus
Regna Liburnorum, et fontem superare Timavi:
Unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure montis
It mare proruptum, et pelago premit arva sonanti.
Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi sedesque locavit
Teucrorum, et genti nomen dedit, armaque fixit.

What time, great King, shall terminate our woes?
Safe could Antenor break thro' all his foes,
Pierce to the bottom of the Illyrian bay,
View kingdoms where Liburnian princes sway;
Pass the nine mouths of fierce Timavus' waves.
Which roars upon the hills, and o'er the vallies raves,
And there could fix; and on that foreign ground,
Great Padoa's towers for after-ages found:
New name the race, and free from all alarms,
Hang up in peace his consecrated arms.

It may not be amiss to add here, the character given of our author's performance in the large Introductory Discourse prefixed to the first volume of Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, which was either written by, or at least under the direction of, the famous Mr Locke (8). 'The author, says he, a Doctor of Physick, has 'shewed himself excellently qualified for a traveller by 'this ingenious piece, in which he has omitted no'thing worthy the observation of so curious a person, 'having spent much time in the discovery of European 'rarities, and that in those parts which are no: the 'common track of travellers, who content themselves 'with seeing France and Italy, and the Low-Coun'tries, whereas his relation is of Hungary, Servia, Bul'garia, Macedonia, Thessaly, Austria, Styria, Carin'thia, Carniola, and Friuli; adding to these Germany, 'the Low-Countries, and a great part of Italy, of all 'which he has composed a work of great use and be'nefit.' To this we may subjoin, that these travels have been translated into French, and as much esteemed by the learned (9) in France, as their originals here.

(8) Churchill's Voyages, Vol. I. introduction, p. xcviii.

[D] *Of which some account will be given in the note.*] This passage in relation to Dr Browne, occurs in Mr. Boyle's *second* Essay upon *unsucceeding experiments*, in which he proposes two things. First, To render people cautious of establishing any doctrine of consequence upon single experiments, or even on several experiments, all the circumstances of which they have not particularly observed. The other is, that practical writers should not be too hastily censured on the score of experiments by them related, failing upon repetition. After mentioning various instances in support of these positions, he proceeds thus with regard to our author (10). 'And so having been informed 'that the learned Dr Brown somewhere delivers, 'that aquafortis will quickly coagulate common oil, 'we poured some of those liquors together, and let 'them stand for a considerable space of time in an open 'vessel, without finding in the oil the change by him 'promised (though we have, more than once, with 'another liquor, presently thickened common oil). 'Whereupon, being unwilling that so faithful and 'candid a Naturalist should appear fit to be distrusted, 'we did again make the trial, with fresh oil and aqua'fortis, in a long-necked phial left open at the top, 'which we kept both in a cool place, and after in a 'digesting furnace; but after some weeks, we found 'no other alteration in the oil, than that it had ac'quired a high and lovely tincture; notwithstanding 'which, being still concerned for the reputation of a 'person that so well deserves a good one, the like con'tingencies we have formerly met with in other expe'riments, made us willing to try whether or no the 'unsuccessfulnes we have related, might not proceed 'from some peculiar, though latent quality, either in 'the aquafortis, or the oil, by us formerly employed. 'Whereupon, changing those liquors, and repeating 'the experiment, we found, after some hours, the oil 'coagulated almost into the form of a whitish butter.' It appears clearly from hence, how great an opinion so good a judge, as Mr Boyle was, had of our author's abilities, and more especially how just a sense he had of his integrity in reporting, as well as capacity in making, experiments. But at this distance of time, it has not been possible for us to recover the original experiment, as made and delivered by Dr Browne; and, therefore, this, as well as other circumstances, seems to justify what we have hinted in the text, that there may be several communications of our author's preserved in the archives of the Royal Society, exclusive of those that are to be met with in the printed Transactions, which I have very carefully examined, and find no papers bearing his name later than 1673.

(9) Lenglet du Fresnoy, Methode pour etudier l'Histoire, Tom. IV. p. 328.

(10) Boyle's Works, Vol. I. p. 224.

[E] *And*

time of his death, which happened on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt, 1708, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, after a very ſhort illneſs, at his ſeat at Northfleet near Greenhithe in the county of Kent (*y*). He was extreamly regretted by ſuch as were beſt acquainted with his merit, as appears by a very large character of him, which I have been favoured with, and which was drawn up for the uſe of Dr Harris, in caſe he had lived to publiſh the ſecond part of his Hiſtory of Kent, in which there are ſeveral things that deſerve notice, and therefore it is remitted into the notes [*E*]. At the time of his deceaſe, our author had been for ſeveral years a widower, and though he had many children, yet only two ſurvived him, a ſon and a daughter. Of theſe, the former was Dr Thomas Browne, who, at the time of his father's death, was Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Royal College of Phyſicians. He was likewiſe a gentleman of great parts and knowledge, and made a good figure in his profeſſion, but did not long ſurvive his father, dying in the month of July 1710 (*z*), without iſſue. His ſiſter married Owen Brigſtock of Lechdenny in the county of Caermarthen, Eſq; to whom the publick is indebted for the Poſthumous Works (*a*) of Sir Thomas Browne; and in his family I ſuppoſe the eſtate of Northfleet, which was of the value of about two hundred and forty pounds a year, continues. But in caſe iſſue by his ſon and daughter failed, it was demiſed, by Dr Edward Browne, to be equally divided between the Royal College of Phyſicians, and St Bartholomew's Hoſpital (*b*), in regard to his having been for ſome time Preſident of the former, and continuing for many years Phyſician to the latter.

(*y*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 411.

(*z*) Le Neve's Monum. Anglic. Vol. IV. p. 164.

(*a*) The Preface to the Poſthumous Works aſſerts this.

(*b*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 411.

[*E*] *And therefore it is remitted into the notes.*] This, and various other characters of perſons with whom he had been acquainted, was drawn up by an old Clegyman in Kent, out of pure zeal for the honour of that county; after whoſe death, they fell into the hands of the Reverend Mr Knipe, from whom I had it ſeveral years ago. 'Though this gentleman was no native of 'Kent, yet having ſettled, and lived therein many 'years, and ſeeming to have fixed his family there, in 'caſe GOD had been pleaſed to continue it in the 'male line, he may well deſerve a place amongſt the 'Kentiſh Worthies. He received from his father an 'earneſt deſire after uſeful and extenſive ſcience, which 'was the beſt inheritance he left to his ſon. It is 'wonderful, that knowing ſo many things as he did, 'he ſhould know them all ſo thoroughly well. He 'was acquainted with Hebrew; he was a critick in 'Greek; and no man of his age wrote better Latin; 'High-Dutch, Italian, French, &c. he ſpoke and 'wrote with as much eaſe as his mother tongue. Phyſick was his buſineſs, and to the promotion thereof, all his other acquiſitions were referred. Botany, Pharmachy, and Chemiſtry, he knew and practiſed. 'As to the latter, he inherited from his father the 'MSS of Dr A. Dee, among which too were ſome of 'John's (11); but his own lights went farther, and 'taught him, as ſome have thought, the whole Arcana of that myſterious ſcience. In the company of 'the learned, his diſcourſes were ſo academical, that 'he might be thought to have paſſed his days in a 'college. Amongſt politer company, his behaviour 'was ſo eaſy and diſengaged, you would have judged 'that he lived all his life in a court. With all this 'fund of knowledge, he was inquiſitive, patient, and 'modeſt; heard with great attention, and ſpoke with 'much circumſpection. In Religion, zealous without 'bigotry; in Politicks, inflexible but without aſperity 'or rudeneſs; in private life, affable, beneficent, and 'chearful. In a word, he juſtified what King Charles 'ſaid of him on a particular occaſion, *he was as learned 'as any of the College, and as well bred as any at 'Court.* The nobility were fond of his company; his 'houſe was the reſort of ſtrangers; and, as he acquired 'the prudence of age without it's grey hairs, ſo when 'they came he kept up all the chearfulneſs of youth.'

(11) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 146.

E

BROWNRIG, or BROUNRIG (RALPH) Biſhop of Exeter in the XVIIth century, was born at Ipſwich in Suffolk, in the year 1592. His father, who was a Merchant of that place, dying when he was but a few weeks old (*a*), his mother took due care to have him well educated, and brought up to learning, in which he made a very conſiderable progreſs [*A*]. At the age of fourteen, he was ſent to Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge; of which he ſucceſſively became Scholar and Fellow (*b*) [*B*]; and there he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by his facetious and inoffenſive wit, his eloquence, and his great ſkill and knowledge in Philoſophy, Hiſtory, Poetry, and all ſorts of ingenuous Arts and Sciences (*c*). He was appointed *Prævaricator* when King James I. viſited the Univerſity, and dicharged that employment to the univerſal admiration of the whole audience (*d*). His firſt preferments were, the Rectory of Barley in Hertfordſhire (*e*), and a Prebend of Ely in 1621 (*f*), to both which he was collated by Dr Nicholas Felton, Biſhop of Ely (*g*). July 15, 1628, he was incorporated Doctor in Divinity at Oxford (*h*). On the twenty-firſt of September 1629, he was collated to the Prebend of Tachbrook, in the cathedral church of Lichfield (*i*), which he quitted September 19, 1631 (*k*), when he was admitted to the Archdeaconry of Coventry (*l*). He was likewiſe Maſter of Catherine-Hall in Cambridge (*m*), and proved a great benefit and ornament, both to that College and the whole Univerſity [*C*]. In the years 1637, 1638, 1643, and 1644, he underwent the office of Vice-

(*a*) Memorials of Biſhop Brounrig, by D. Gauden: at the end of his Funeral Sermon, Lond. 1660. 8*vo.* p. 142, 143.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 146.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 147.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 154, 155.

(*e*) See Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 618.

(*f*) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. Vol. II. edit. 1730, 4*to.* p. 385.

(*g*) Gauden, ubi ſupra, p. 157, 158.

(*h*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 245.

(*i*) Br. Willis, as above, Vol. I. p. 465.

(*k*) J. Le Neve ſays it was the 29th, Faſti Eccl. Angl. edit. 1716. fol. p. 132.

(*l*) Willis, ut ſupra, p. 416.

(*m*) J. Le Neve, ibid. p. 430.

[*A*] *In which he made a very conſiderable progreſs.*] 'For he was, *to a wonder*, in all ages of his life, not 'only *capable* of learning, but ſo *comprehenſive*, that 'he drank in learning not as narrow-mouthed bottles '(to which young learners are compared) by drops, 'but as a ſponge by great draughts, even in his minority. —— Nay, he ſcarce had any minority, comparatively to others, except in growth and ſtature; 'for he was above his equals or coetaneans; ſuperior 'or *major* in abilities, when inferior or *minor* in 'years (1).'

(1) Gauden, ubi ſupra, p. 143, 144.

[*B*] *Of which he ſucceſſively became Scholar and Fellow.*] 'He was made a Fellow, a little ſooner than 'either his years or ſtanding, according to the ſtatutes 'of the college, permitted. But the college was 'impatient not to make ſure of him, by grafting him 'firmly into their Society; which had been famous 'for many excellent men, but for none more than for 'him (2).'

(2) Ibid. p. 146.

[*C*] *And proved a great benefit and ornament both to that College and the whole Univerſity.*] So that, it was wonderful to ſee, how the buildings, the revenues, the ſtudents, and the ſtudiouſneſs of that place increaſed, by the care, counſel, prudence, diligence, and

Vice-Chancellor; which he discharged to the universal satisfaction of all people, and to his own great credit (*n*). In 1641, he was presented to the eleventh Stall or Prebend in the church of Durham (*o*), by Dr Thomas Morton, Bishop of that diocese, to whom he was chaplain (*p*). Upon the translation of Dr Joseph Hall to the Bishoprick of Norwich, Dr Brownrig was nominated to succeed him in the See of Exeter, in 1641. Accordingly he was elected March 31, 1642; confirmed May 14; consecrated the day following; and installed the first of June (*q*). But the troubles that soon after followed, did not permit him long to enjoy that dignity. Before the beginning of them, he was much esteemed, and highly commended, by his relation Mr John Pym, and others of the Presbyterian stamp (*r*); but they forsook him, only because he was a Bishop, and suffered him to be deprived of his revenues, so that he was almost reduced to want (*s*). Nay, once he was assaulted, and like to have been stoned by the rabble, his episcopal character being his only crime (*t*). About the year 1645, he was deprived of his mastership of Catherine-Hall, on account of a sermon preached by him before the University, on the King's inauguration; at some passages of which offence was taken by the Parliament-party; and neither his piety, gravity, or learning, were sufficient to preserve him in his station (*u*). Being thus robbed of all, he retired to the house of Thomas Rich, of Sunning, Esq; in Berkshire, by whom he was generously entertained [*D*]: and there, and sometimes at London, at Highgate, and St Edmundsbury, spent several years (*w*) [*E*]. During which time, he had the courage to advise Oliver Cromwell to restore King Charles II. to his just rights (*x*). But, notwithstanding, he suffered in his reputation, of not being zealous enough for the Church (*y*). About a year before his decease, he was invited to be a preacher at the Temple, in London, with a handsome allowance; and accordingly he went and settled there, in good lodgings furnished for him (*z*). But his old distemper, the stone, coming upon him with greater violence than usual, and being attended with the dropsy, and the infirmities of age, they all together put an end to his life, on the seventh of December 1659 (*a*): he was buried the seventeenth following in the Temple-church, where there is an epitaph over him [*F*]. He was once married, but never had a child (*b*). Though he was very elaborate and exact in his compositions, and compleatly wrote his sermons (*c*); yet he could not be persuaded to put any thing in print (*d*). But several of his sermons were published after his decease [*G*]. Bishop Brownrig, as to his person, was taller and bigger than ordinary, yet very comely. The majesty of his presence was so allayed with meekness, candor, and humility, that no man was further from any thing morose or supercilious (*e*). He had a great deal of wit, as well as wisdom (*f*); and was an excellent scholar, an admirable orator, an acute disputant, a pathetick preacher, and a prudent governor, full of judgment, courage, constancy, and impartiality (*g*). He was likewise a person of that soundness of judgment, of that conspicuity for an unspotted life, and of that unsuspected integrity, that he was a compleat pattern to all (*h*). In a word, Dr Gauden, who had known him above thirty years, declares (*i*), that he never heard of any thing said or

(*n*) Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. by J. Walker, Lond. 1714, fol. P. ii. p. 23.

(*o*) Willis, ubi supra, p. 274.

(*p*) Life of Bishop Morton, 4*to*. p. 162.

(*q*) J. Walker, ubi supra, and Br. Willis, as above, Vol. II. p. 385.

(*r*) Gauden, ubi supra, p. 191, 192.

(*s*) Gauden, ibid. p. 201—206. He found, as Dr Gauden observes, the predominant genius of the times was such, that instead of letting Bishops live in a capacity to be given to *hospitality*, they reduced them to the necessity of getting into some *hospital* for their relief. p. 203.

(*t*) J. Walker, ubi supra.

(*u*) Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge, edit. 1655, fol. p. 169.

(*w*) Gauden, as above, p. 197, 219.

(*x*) J. Walker, ubi supra.

(*y*) See Life of Dr John Barwick in English, 8*vo*. Append. No. XXIV. p. 488.

(*z*) Gauden, as above, p. 220, 221. His last Sermon was on Nov. 5. 1659. Ibid. p. 181.

(*a*) Gauden, ibid. p. 229.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 204, 205, &c. His wife lived but a little while, ib.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 209.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 213.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 232, 233.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 146—154.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 195.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 137.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 138, 139.

and fame of Dr Brownrig, who had such an eye to all, that he over-saw none; frequenting the studies, and examining even younger scholars, that they might be encouraged, both in learning and piety (3).

(3) Ibid. p. 160.

[*D*] *By whom he was generously entertained.*] Not, that he wholly depended upon his bounty, and must have starved without it. For 'his wife brought 'him a very handsome estate in money, and being con'sumptive, and so likely to die without child, she de'sired him to give her leave to give away by will, as 'she pleased, to her friends some part of that estate 'she brought him. He most chearfully granted her 'desire (if he would to the half, or all her estate). 'She having made this essay of his noble mind, told 'him, with thanks and tears, that she gave all she had 'to him as her best friend, and one that deserved 'much more than she could give him. Soon after 'she left him.——After-times shewed him, what a 'providence it was, by so ingenuous a way to have 'something of estate cast in, to defend himself against 'the after-injuries and pressures of life, besides learn'ing and merit. For that estate was his best reserve; 'though the distress of times had shrewdly wire-drawn 'that also before he died (4).'

(4) Gauden, ubi supra, p. 206, 207.

[*E*] *And sometimes at London, at Highgate, and St Edmundsbury, spent several years.*] 'Willing, (as Dr 'Gauden observes) (5) to appear, as he thought himself, 'and was treated in this world, *a pilgrim and stranger*, 'never at home, nor owning any home, 'till he came 'to Heaven, which was his father's house, where he 'should find better natured, and more loving brethren 'than those, that, as Joseph's, had without cause, 'shipp'd him, and cast him into a pit of narrowness 'and obscurity to die there.'

(5) Ubi supra, p. 219.

[*F*] *Where there is an epitaph over him.*] Which was composed by Dr Gauden, his successor in the See of Exeter, and is as follows:

Sumptibus & Auspiciis Honorab. Societat.
Templi, subtus posita sunt Reliquiæ
RADOLPHI BROWNRIG, S. T. D. *Cantabr.*
Reverendiss. Episcopi Exon. quem honorem
Optime meruit, & per annos XIX *tenuit.*
Malo tamen seculi fato Bellis, Schismatibus,
Sacrilegiis, & Regicidiis ferociente, nunquam
Exercuit. Tandem anno ætatis LXVII. *Provinciam*
Terrestrem nondum visam deserens, ad cœlestem
Migravit. Æra Christi MDCLX. *illucescente*
Caroli II. *fœliciss. reditu, L. M. P. I. G.*
Epis. Exon. Electus.

The meaning of which is, 'That the remains of Ralph 'Brownrig, the right reverend Bishop of Exeter, had 'been deposited there, at the charge of the honour'able Society of the Temple. That he well deserved, 'and possessed for 19 years, the episcopal dignity, but 'never enjoyed it, by reason of the bad times he lived 'in; full of schisms, sacrilege, king-killing, and wars. 'At length leaving his earthly province which he never 'saw, he passed into Heaven, in the 67th year of his 'age. And, that this monumental stone was put down 'by J. Gauden, Bishop Elect of Exeter, in the year '1660, at the dawn of King Charles IId's Restoration.'

[*G*] *But several of his sermons were published after his decease.*] Some of his sermons were published at London in 1662, fol. under this title; 'Forty sermons 'preached by the Right Reverend Father in God 'Ralph Brownrig, late Lord Bishop of Exeter. Pub'lished by William Martyn, M. A. Preacher at the 'Rolls: being such sermons as have been perused and 'approved of by the Right Reverend Father in God, 'John Gauden, now Lord Bishop of Exeter, his re'verend and worthy successor.' They were reprinted (with

or done by him, which a wife and good man would have wifhed unfaid or undone. We fhall give the reft of his character in the note [*H*].

(with the addition of twenty-five more, which make a fecond Volume) under this general title; 'Sixty-five 'Sermons by the Right Reverend Father in God, Ralph 'Brownrig, late Lord Bifhop of Exeter. Publifhed by Wil- 'liam Martyn, M. A. fometimes Preacher at the Rolls. 'Lond. 1674. fol. in two Volumes.' The firft Volume is dedicated to King Charles II. and the fecond to Gilbert (Sheldon) Archbifhop of Canterbury. At the beginning of the firft Volume, there is a letter from Bifhop Gauden to the publifher, dated June 12, 1661, in which he gives, both the author, and the fermons, a very great character. —— Bifhop Brownrig's ftyle is tolerably good, and his fentences generally fhort. But he is too full of divifions and fubdivifions, and of fcraps of Latin and Greek: which was the great fault of the age he lived in. He hath fomething particular in his manner of writing, which will be beft underftood by the following inftances. 'The chapter, *'tis* a pathe- 'tical expoftulation of God with his chofen people, '*&c* (6). — The text, *'tis* a prophecy, *&c.* (7).'

(6) Beginning of Sermon on *Micah* vi. 5. Vol. I. p. 63.

(7) In the fame Volume, p. 76.

[*H*] *We fhall give the reft of his character in the note.*] Dr Gauden informs us (befides what hath been already cited from him) that he was 'a perfon of thofe 'ample and cubical dimenfions, for *height* of learning 'and underftanding, for *depth* of humility and devo- 'tion, for *length* of all morality and vertue, and for '*breadth* of all humanity and charity, that it is hard 'to *contract* or *epitomize* him (8)' —— And, 'that he 'had the learning of Nazianzen. Bafil, or Jerom; the 'courage and conftancy of Athanafius and St Am- 'brofe; the eloquence of St Chryfoftom and Chryfo- 'logus; the mildnefs and gentlenefs of St Cyprian or 'St Auftin; the charity and benignity of Paulinus and 'Martinus And bore his troubles with great content- 'ednefs and patience (9).' Another author (10), gives him this character, that he was 'a great man for the 'Anti-arminian caufe (for he was a rigid Calvinift) yet 'a mighty champion for the Liturgy and Ordination by 'Bifhops. And his death was highly lamented by men 'of all parties.'

(8) Gauden, ubi fupra, p. 135.

(9) Ibid. p. 201.

(10) Echard's Hift of England, edit. 1720, fol. p. 752.

C

BUC (GEORGE), a learned Antiquarian, was born in Lincolnfhire (*a*) in the XVIth century, and flourifhed in the beginning of the XVIIth. He was defcended from the ancient family [*A*] of the Bucs, [or Buckes] of Weft-Stanton and Herthill in Yorkfhire, and Melford-hall in Suffolk (*b*). His great-grand-father, Sir John Buc, Knt. (*c*) was one of King Richard IIId's favourites, and attended that unfortunate Prince to the battle of Bofworth, where he loft his crown and life (*d*). In the firft Parliament of King Henry VII, this Sir John Buc was attainted, for being one of the chief aiders and affiftants, to the King juft now mentioned, in the battle of Bofworth, and foon after was beheaded at Leiceftер (*e*). By this attainder, his pofterity were reduced to very great ftreights (*f*); but, through the favour and intereft of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, the great patron of the family, they had probably fome of their eftates reftored to them, and, among others, that in Lincolnfhire (*g*), where our author was born. In the reign of King James I, he was made one of the Gentlemen of his Majefty's Privy-Chamber, and knighted (*h*). He was alfo conftituted Mafter of the Revels, whofe office was then kept upon St Peter's-Hill, in London (*i*). What he moftly diftinguifhed himfelf by, was, writing *The Life and Reign of Richard* III, *in five books* [*B*]; wherein, in oppofition to the whole body of Engliſh hiſtorians, he endeavours to repreſent that Prince's perſon and actions, in a quite different light from what they have been by others; and takes great pains to wipe off the bloody ſtains that have been fixed upon his character [*C*]. He hath alſo written, *The third Univerſitie of England*; or, *A Treatiſe of the Foundations of all the Colledges, ancient Schooles of Priviledge, and of Houſes of Learning, and liberall Arts, within and about the moſt famous Citie of London. With a briefe report of the Sciences, Arts, and Faculties therein profeſſed, ſtudied, and practiſed* [*D*]. And a treatiſe of *The Art of Revels* (*k*). Mr Camden (*l*) gives

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon Vol. I. col. 38. edit. 1721.

(*b*) Life and Reign of Richard III. by G. Buc, in Compleat Hiſt. Lond. 1706, Vol. II. p. 545.

(*c*) Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722. Vol. II. col. 1092.

(*d*) G. Buc, ibid.

(*e*) Hollingſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 762. edit. 1587, and G. Buc, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) G. Buc, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) See G. Buc, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 38.

(*i*) See Dedicat. of his Third Univerſitie of England. Wood, ubi ſupra. and Camden, Brit. ubi ſupra.

(*k*) See his Third Univerſitie of England, cap. 47.

(*l*) Britannia, Vol. II. col. 1092.

[*A*] *He was deſcended from the ancient family of the Bucs.*] This family derive their deſcent from Sir Walter de Buc, a younger ſon of the houſe of Flanders; who came over to England, in King John's reign (1), as one of the Commanders of thoſe Rutarii, or adventurers, ſent for by that King, to aſſiſt him againſt his Barons (2). Walter behaving with great prudence and bravery, was rewarded by that Monarch with lands in Yorkſhire and Northamptonſhire, where his poſterity flouriſhed for many generations (3).

(1) G. Buc's Life of King Richard, ubi ſupra.

(2) See M. Paris, ad ann. 1215.

(3) G. Buc, ubi ſupra. Camden's Britan. Vol. II. col. 1092.

[*B*] *The life and reign of Richard* III.] It is printed in that collection of the Engliſh Hiſtorians, made by Doctor (afterward Biſhop) Kennet, which was publiſhed at London, in 1706. 3 Vols fol. and again there in 1719, with notes and animadverſions by the induſtrious Mr Strype. This book, as the ingenious Mr Hughes obſerves (4), 'is much too looſely writ for a Hiſtory; 'it is pedantick and full of harangue, and may more 'properly be called, A Defence of King Richard 'than any thing elſe.' Beſides, it is full of needleſs digreſſions, and too frequent quotations out of the Greek and Latin writers; and abounds with faults, which, in a man of his learning, is ſomething unaccountable.

(4) Preface to Compleat Hiſt. at the beginning of Vol. I.

[*C*] *He endeavours to repreſent that Prince's perſon and actions in a different light from what they have been by others.*] He will neither allow him to have had any deformity in mind or body: and is angry to find him deſcribed by others crook-back'd, and of an ill countenance; ſo that he ſeems to be for reverſing his character throughout. Thus he ſays (5), 'That he 'was of bodily ſhape comely enough, only of low ſta- 'ture.' And he concludes (6), that he was 'without 'diſproportion and unevenneſs either in lineament or 'parts' And that he had, 'even from thoſe bittereſt 'times in which he lived, the eſteem of a valiant, wiſe, 'noble, charitable, and religious prince.' He alſo labours hard, to clear him of the imputation, of having been the murderer of King Henry VI. King Edward V, and his brother Prince Richard, *&c* (7). It is indeed very probable, that his anceſtors obligations to the houſe of York, and the cruel attainder under Henry VII, might biaſs him very much. But it is likewiſe certain, that great abatements ought to be in all the ill that hath been ſaid of King Richard III. Sir Thomas More, who compoſed his life, writ, as Mr Rapin obſerves (8), when the throne was filled with the Princes of the houſe of Lancaſter, and at a time when it was almoſt a crime to praiſe or ſpeak well of the Princes of the houſe of York: and, after-writers have copied him without examination. For, hating Richard's too great eagerneſs, and unlawful meaſures taken, to obtain the Crown; he behaved well in other reſpects, and expreſſed a due regard for learning and religion, a concern for checking vice and wickedneſs, and a greater care for the good and welfare of his people, than many of his ſucceſſors have done.

(5) In Compleat Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 548. col. 2.

(6) Ibid. p. 577.

(7) Ibid. p. 549, 550, 551.

(8) Hiſt. of Engl. fol. Lond. 1733. Vol. I. p. 627.

[*D*] *The third Univerſitie in England*, &c.] This is printed at the end of the folio edition of J. Stow's Chronicle by E. Howes, Lond. 1631, and dedicated to Sir Edward Coke, Knight, the dedication bearing date, Auguſt 24, 1612. His deſign in that treatiſe, is, to

gives him the character of 'a person of excellent learning,' and thankfully acknowledges, that he 'remarked many things in his histories, and courteously communicated his obser-'vations to him.' But what character is given of him by others, the reader may see in the note [*B*].

'present a view of the Academicall State, and of the 'Universality of the Studies, and of the liberall Arts, 'and Learnings taught and professed in the cittie of (9) Epistle Dedicat. 'London (9): and to set down, *first*, the beginnings 'and foundations of all the Colledges and Schooles of 'Learning within and about the citty of London, 'with a briefe mention of the Arts, Sciences, and 'Faculties, professed and taught in them: *next* the 'names of the founders, with the times of their erec-'tion and foundation: and, *lastly*, close every one 'of them with the blazon of the Armes belonging to (10) End of chap. ii, and chap. iii. 'every School and Colledge (10).' These Schools and Colleges he divides into three parts; namely, 1. Schools of Divinity, 2. Colleges of the Common Law, 3. and those of the Civil Lawes, *&c.* The first are St Paul's Cathedral, Westminster-Abbey, St Peter's Cornhill, and other churches, where there are regular Lectures, and settled Sermons. The second are, The Temple, and several Inns of Court. The third, Doctors Commons: With the College of Physicians, Gresham College, Whittington College, St Catherine's, Christ-Church, St Anthony's College, and the College of Heralds. He shows, at the same time, that all sorts of liberal Arts and Sciences are taught in London. C

BULL (JOHN), a celebrated Musician, and Doctor in that faculty, was descended from a family of that name in Somersetshire, and born about the year 1563 (*a*). Having discovered an excellent natural genius for Musick, he was educated in that science, when very young, under Mr William Blitheman, an eminent Master, and Organist of the chapel to Queen Elizabeth. On the ninth of July 1586, he was admitted Bachelor of Musick at Oxford, having exercised that art fourteen years (*b*); and, we are told (*c*), he would have proceeded in that University, 'had he not met with clowns and rigid Puritans there, that 'could not endure Church-Musick.' Some time after, he was created Doctor of Musick at Cambridge; but in what year, is uncertain, there being a deficiency in the register (*d*). In 1591, he was appointed Organist to the Queen's chapel, in the room of Mr Blitheman deceased; and on the seventh of July, the year following, he was incorporated Doctor of Musick at Oxford (*e*). He was greatly admired for his fine hand on the organ [*A*], as well as for his compositions; several of which have been long since published in musical collections [*B*]; besides a large number in manuscript, that make a part of the curious and valuable collection of Musick, now reposited in the library of Dr Pepusch. Upon the establishment of Gresham-College, Dr Bull was chosen the first Professor of Musick there, about the beginning of March 1596, through the recommendation of Queen Elizabeth; and not being able to speak in Latin, he was permitted to deliver his lectures altogether in English: which practice, so far as appears, has been ever since continued, though the professors of that science have been all men of learning. In 1601, his health being impaired, so that he was unable to perform the duty of his place, he went to travel, having obtained leave to substitute, as his deputy, Mr Thomas Birde, son of Mr William Birde, one of the gentlemen of her Majesty's chapel. He continued abroad above a year; during which interval, probably, happened the remarkable story related of him by Anthony Wood (*f*) [*C*]. After

(*a*) Communicated by Dr Pepusch. See Mr John Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham-college, Lond. 1740, p. 199.

(*b*) Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 131.

(*c*) Id. ib. col. 144.

(*d*) Communicated by the late Rev. Mr Th. Baker of Cambridge. See Mr Ward, ubi supra.

(*e*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*f*) Ward, ubi supra, p. 200—202.

[*A*] *He was greatly admired for his fine hand on the organ.*] Here we shall set down the following little story, taken out of one of our Historians (1) of those times. On the 16th of July 1607, the King and Prince Henry, with many of the nobility, and other honourable persons, dined at Merchant-Taylor's Hall, it being the election-day of their Master and Wardens; when the Company's Roll being offered to his Majesty, he said, he was already free of another company, but that the Prince should grace them with the acceptance of his freedom, and that he would himself see, when the garland was put on his head; which was done accordingly. During their stay, they were entertained with a great variety of Music, both voices and instruments, and with several speeches. And while the King sat at dinner, Dr Bull, 'who was free of the company, 'being in a cittizens gowne, cappe, and hood, *played* '*most excellent melodie* upon a small payre of organs, 'placed there for that purpose only.' To which may be added what Mr Wood affirms (2), that *he was so much admired for his dextrous hand on the organ, that many thought there was more than man in him.*

(1) Stow's Chron. ed. 1615, p. 891.

(2) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 144.

[*B*] *Some of his compositions have been long since published in musical collections.*] As, I. *Parthenia*, or, *The Maiden-head of the first Musick, that ever was printed for the Virginals: Composed by three famous Masters*; William Byrd, Dr John Bull, *and* Orlando Gibbons, *Gentlemen of her Majesties Chappell.* This book was printed at London in *folio*, but without any date, and was the prime book, for many years, that was used by learners and others that exercised their hands on that instrument. It contains twenty-one lessons, taken off from copper-plates (3); of which those from *nine* to *fifteen* inclusive were made by Dr Bull (4). Mr Ward tells us (5), he has seen another edition of this book, dated 1659, with the words *cum privilegio* underneath, tho' the two last figures seem to have been altered; nor was that time at all suited to publish works of this kind, while the affairs of the nation were in such disorder. II. *The first book of selected Church-Musick, consisting of Services and Anthems, such as are now used in the Cathedrall and Collegiat Churches of this kingdom; never before printed: Collected out of divers approved authors by* John Barnard, *one of the Minor Canons of the Cathedrall Church of St Paul, London.* London, 1641, *in* folio. In this collection the Anthem. *Deliver me, O God*, fol. 123, is ascribed to Dr Bull. III. *The divine Services and Anthems usually sung in the cathedrals, and collegiate choirs, in the Church of England; collected by* James Clifford, *Petty Canon of St Paul's, and sometimes Chorister of Magdalen-College in Oxford.* Lond. 1663. in *octavo* (6). Some of Dr Bull's pieces are inserted in this collection at *p.* 36, 137, 187, *&c.*

(3) Wood, ibid.

(4) Mr John Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham-college, Lond. 1740, p. 203.

(5) Ibid.

(6) So says Mr Wood, ubi supra, col. 73. But Mr Ward (ubi supra) tho' he confesses he has not seen the book, says, in folio.

[*C*] *A remarkable story related of him by* Anthony Wood] The story, as that Biographer tells it (7), is this. 'Dr Bull took occasion to go *incognito* into 'France and Germany. At length, hearing of a fa-'mous Musician belonging to a certain cathedral (at 'St Omers, as I have heard) he applied himself as a 'novice to him, to learn something of his faculty, 'and to see and admire his works. This Musician, 'after some discourse had passed between them, con-'ducted Bull to a vestry, or musick-school, joining to 'the cathedral, and shewed to him a lesson or song of '*forty* parts, and then made a vaunting challenge to 'any person in the world to add one more part to 'them; supposing it to be so complete and full, that 'it

(7) Ubi supra.

After the death of Queen Elizabeth our Profeſſor became chief Organiſt to King James I (*g*); and, December the twentieth the ſame year, he reſigned his Profeſſorſhip of Greſham-College, but for what reaſon is not known (*b*). In 1613, he again left England, induced, probably, by the declining reputation of Church-Muſick [*D*], which at this time had not that regard paid to it, that had been formerly. He went directly into the Netherlands, where, about Michaelmas the ſame year, he was received into the ſervice of the Archduke (*i*); and Mr Wood ſays (*k*), he died at Hamburgh, or (as others, who remember him, have ſaid) at Lubeck. His picture is yet preſerved in the Muſick-School at Oxford, among other famous Profeſſors of that ſcience, which hang round the room.

(*g*) Wood, ibid.

(*b*) Ward, ibid. p. 201.

(*i*) Communicated by Dr Pepuſch.

(*k*) Ibid.

' it was impoſſible for any mortal man to correct, or ' add to it. Bull thereupon deſiring the uſe of ' ink and ruled paper (ſuch as we call muſical paper) ' prayed the Muſician to lock him up in the ſchool for ' two or three hours, which being done, not with- ' out great diſdain, by the Muſician; Bull, in that ' time, or leſs, added *forty more* parts to the ſaid leſ- ' ſon or ſong. The Muſician thereupon being called ' in, he viewed, tried it, and re-tried it. At length ' he burſt out into a great extaſy, and ſwore by the ' great God, that *he that added thoſe forty parts muſt ' either be the Devil or Dr Bull.* Whereupon Bull ma- ' king himſelf known, the Muſician fell down, and ' adored him. Afterwards continuing there, and in ' thoſe parts, for a time, he became ſo much admired, ' that he was courted to accept of any place or prefer- ' ment, ſuitable to his profeſſion, either within the ' dominions of the Emperor, King of France, or Spain. ' But the tidings of theſe tranſactions coming to the ' Engliſh court, Queen Elizabeth commanded him ' home.' That part of the ſtory relating to the *forty parts* ſaid to have been added by Dr Bull in *two or three hours*, has been rejected by our beſt artiſts in Muſick, as a thing wholly improbable. And the account they give, as handed down to them by tradition, is this; that the leſſon or ſong, when delivered to the Doctor, conſiſted of *ſixteen parts*, to which he added *four* others. This, conſidering the fulneſs of the piece before, and the ſhortneſs of the time, in which he made thoſe additions, is eſteemed by them an extraordinary performance, and what might juſtly occaſion the greateſt ſurprize in the Muſician, upon the firſt ſight of it (8).

(8) Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 200, 201.

[*D*] *The declining ſtate of Church-Muſick.*] It is well known, that Church-Muſick, for which the Doctor was ſo eſpecially celebrated, had received a very great change by the Reformation, the *Motettis* of Saints, *Aves*, *Salves*, and the like, being all rejected, where that prevailed. In the Church of England, the matter of it was adapted to the Liturgy. And the Lutherans ſeem to have gone much the ſame length in retaining the ſolemn ſervice, tho' with more inſtruments and variety of harmony. But the Calviniſts, at the ſame time, wholly excluded this ſervice, and ſubſtituted a metrical pſalmody inſtead of alternate and antipbonical chanting, which by degrees obtained in our Engliſh churches; ſo that the former was kept up only in the colleges, cathedrals, and royal chapels, from which alſo attempts were made by ſome courtiers in the time of Queen Elizabeth to get it removed, had ſhe not prevented it by her Injunction (9). However, that our moſt celebrated compoſers of Church-Muſick 'till that time flouriſhed in her reign, is acknowledged by a noted author upon this ſubject. ' Since the time, *ſays he* (10), ' that the old Primate of England Theodore, with his ' aſſiſtant Adrian the Monk, firſt eſtabliſhed the ſkilful ' uſe of Muſick throughout all the Saxon-Engliſh ' Churches; and the good old Biſhop Putta of Roche- ' ſter, being driven from his dioceſe by the Mercians, ' thought it no diſparagement to go about the churches, ' and teach them choral harmony; many, doubtleſs, ' have excelled from time to time in this faculty among ' us: yet none, that we know of, have committed ' ought to ſcore, which would be much uſeful, or ' pleaſing to the ears of our age, 'till Queen Elizabeth. ' Her reign brought forth a noble birth, as of all ' learned men, ſo of famous compoſers in Church Mu- ' ſick.' This was very probably owing to the encouragement given by that Princeſs to this art in common with others, as well by her example as favour; for ſhe was not only a lover of Muſick, but likewiſe ſkilled in it herſelf. And therefore Richard Mulcaſter, then Maſter of Merchant-Taylor's ſchool, paid her an handſome compliment on that account in the following verſes:

(9) MS. Dr Pepuſch ap. Ward, ib p. 201.

(10) In the Dedication of The firſt Book of ſelected Church Muſick, &c. See the title at length in the remark [*C*].

Regia majeſtas, ætatis gloria noſtræ,
Hanc in deliciis ſemper habere ſolet;
Nec contenta graves aliorum audire labores;
Ipſa etiam egregiè voce manuque canit (11).

That is,

The Queen, the glory of our age and iſle,
With royal favour bids this ſcience ſmile;
Nor hears ſhe only others labour'd lays,
But, artiſt-like, herſelf both ſings and plays.

(11) In a Poem prefixed to a book intituled *Diſcantus cantiones, quæ ab argumento ſacræ vocantur, quinque et ſexpartium: Autoribus Thoma Talliſo et Gulielmo Birdo, Anglis*, &c. 1575, quarto oblongo.

But notwithſtanding there were many artiſts of that profeſſion, who were then very eminent both for their ſkill and compoſitions, the eſteem of that ſcience began to ſink very much in the following reign; ſo that ſeveral maſters, in publiſhing their compoſitions, complain of the great want of court-patrons at that time, and therefore dedicate their works to one another (12).

(12) Ward, ib. p. 202.

T

BULL (George), Biſhop of St David's, was born in the pariſh of St Cuthbert, at Wells in Somerſetſhire, the twenty-fifth of March 1634 (*a*). He was deſcended from an antient and genteel family, ſeated at Shapwick in that county. Our Prelate's father, Mr George Bull [*A*], dedicated his ſon to the Church from his infancy, having declared at the font, that he deſigned him for Holy Orders. He died when young George was but four years old, and left him under the care of guardians, with an eſtate of two hundred pounds *per annum*. When he was fit to receive the firſt rudiments of learning he was placed

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 954. and The Life of Dr George Bull, &c. by Robert Nelſon, Eſq; Lond. 1713, 8vo, p. 6.

[*A*] *His father, Mr* George Bull.] He was ſecond ſon of William Bull, Eſq; who had ten ſons and eight daughters; ſo that, by reaſon the family was ſo numerous, he was bred to a trade in Wells, and became a principal member in that corporation. The ſettling him in the world after this manner was contrary to his own inclinations, which led him to a learned education: but the choice of his parents determined him another way, in which he ſucceeded much better than perſons uſually do who engage againſt the bent of their diſpoſitions. ' I venture, ſays Mr Nelſon (1), to call him a ' good man, becauſe the memory that is ſtill preſerved ' of him repreſenteth him, as a perſon that was very ' conſcientious in his dealing, and very pious towards ' God; and when he left off his trade, which he was ' never well pleaſed with, becauſe it diverted him from ' Holy Orders, which he chiefly coveted, he gave ' conſiderable charities to the poor; and after ha- ' ving been twice Mayor of the city of Wells, became ' a benefactor to the corporation.' The direct male line of this antient family being extinct, the eſtate devolved upon Mrs Eleanor Doddington, ſole heireſs of Henry Bull, Eſq; of Shapwick, and wife of George Doddington, Eſq; member of Parliament, in Queen Anne's reign, for the borough of Bridgwater, and one of the Lord's Commiſſioners of the Admiralty.

(1) Life of Dr George Bull, &c. by Robert Nelſon, Eſq; Lond. 1713, 8vo, p. 8.

[*B*] *He*

placed in a grammar-ſchool at Wells, from whence he was ſoon removed to the free-ſchool of Tiverton in Devonſhire; where he made a very quick progreſs in claſſical learning [*B*], and became qualified for the Univerſity at fourteen years of age (*b*). He was entered a Commoner of Exeter-College in Oxford, the tenth of July 1648 (*c*), under the tuition of Mr Baldwin Ackland. And tho' he loſt much of the time he ſpent at the Univerſity, in the purſuit of pleaſures and diverſions; yet, by the help of Logick, which he maſtered with little labour, and a cloſe way of reaſoning, which was natural to him, he ſoon gained the reputation of a ſmart diſputant, and as ſuch was taken notice of and encouraged by his ſuperiors, particularly Dr Conant, Rector of the College, and Dr Prideaux, Biſhop of Worceſter, who at that time reſided in Oxford. At the Univerſity Mr Bull began his acquaintance with Mr Clifford, afterwards Lord High-Treaſurer (*d*) [*C*]. He continued in Exeter-College 'till January 1649 (*e*); at which time, having refuſed to take the oath to the Commonwealth of England [*D*], he retired, with his tutor Mr Ackland, who had ſet him the example, to North-Cadbury in Somerſetſhire; where he continued under the care of that good and able man, 'till he was about nineteen years of age. This retreat gave him an opportunity of frequent converſe with one of his ſiſters, whoſe good ſenſe, and pious admonitions, weaned him entirely from all youthful vanities, and influenced him to a ſerious proſecution of his ſtudies (*f*). And now, by the advice of his friends and guardians, he put himſelf under the care of Mr William Thomas (*g*) Rector of Ubley in Somerſetſhire [*E*], in whoſe houſe he boarded, with ſome of his ſiſters, for the ſpace of two years. It is true, he received little or no aſſiſtance, or real improvement, in the ſtudy of Divinity from that gentleman; but the acquaintance he had an opportunity of contracting with Mr Thomas's ſon [*F*], made him ſome amends for the loſs of time under ſuch a director. For 'till now Mr Bull had applied himſelf entirely to the reading little ſyſtems of Divinity, ſuch as *Wollebius*'s; but, his judgment being ripened, he grew more and more out of conceit with that ſort of Theology, and began to ſtudy Hooker, Hammond, Taylor, Epiſcopius, *&c.* with which his friend, Mr Samuel Thomas, ſupplied him [*G*]. Two years after he had left Mr Thomas, he entertained thoughts of entering into Holy Orders, and for that purpoſe applied himſelf to Dr Skinner, the ejected Biſhop of Oxford, by whom he was ordained Deacon and Prieſt the ſame day [*H*], being at that time but twenty-one years

(*b*) Nelſon's Life of Dr G. Bull, ubi ſupra, p. 7—11.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Life, *&c.* p. 11—13.

(*e*) Wood, ibid.

(*f*) Ib. p. 17, 18.

(*g*) Anthony Wood tells us, he was put under the care of Mr Henry Jeanes, Rector of Chedzey in Somerſetſhire; but Mr Nelſon ſays nothing of that gentleman.

[*B*] *He made a very quick progreſs in claſſical learning.*] Mr Samuel Butler, the Maſter of Tiverton ſchool, was very eminent in his profeſſion, being an excellent Grammarian both in Latin and Greek, and very diligent in the care and obſervation of his ſcholars. It was his uſual method, when he gave his boys themes for verſes, to preſs them to exert themſelves and do their beſt, becauſe he judged how far each boy's capacity would carry him; but he always told George Bull, that he expected from him verſes like thoſe of Ovid, becauſe, ſaid he, I know you can do it; ſufficiently intimating thereby, that his ſcholar had a capacity and genius that enabled him to excel in ſuch exerciſes (2).

(2) Ibid. p. 10, 11.

[*C*] *He became acquainted with Mr Clifford, afterwards Lord High-Treaſurer.*] The greatneſs of Mr Bull's friend was attended with no advancement to his fellow collegiate; though Mr Nelſon tells us (3), he was informed, that his Lordſhip did make ſome attempts to procure Mr Bull preferment, and particularly ſollicited the Lord-Keeper Bridgman for a prebend of Glouceſter: but, probably, no vacancy happened in the Church during my Lord's ſhort reign of favour; beſides, Mr Bull living at a diſtance from Court, and not underſtanding the art of intriguing for preferment, might eaſily be forgot by a great man, who could not want for ſuch as were perpetually ſolliciting his favour.

(3) Ibid. p. 15.

[*D*] *He refuſed to take the oath to the Commonwealth of England.*] Mr Bull had not been admitted two years in Exeter-college, before the *Engagement* was impoſed upon the nation by a pretended Act of Parliament, which paſſed in January 1649. The kingly office being aboliſhed upon the murther of King Charles I. it was declared, that for the time to come, England ſhould be governed as a commonwealth by Parliament; and this oath was prepared, and ordered to be taken by the ſubjects, *That they would be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it was then eſtabliſhed, without a King or Houſe of Lords.* Whoever refuſed to take this engagement, was diſqualified thereby from holding any place or office in the Church or in State; and they who had no employments to loſe, were to be deprived of the benefit of the Law, and to be diſabled from ſuing in any Court. There was great zeal ſhewn in ſeveral places to procure this acknowledgment and ſubmiſſion from the people to this new government; and among others, all the members of the Univerſities were ſummoned to appear, and take the appointed oath. Our young ſtudent appeared upon this occaſion, and ſignalized himſelf by refuſing to take it. The ſeveral Hypotheſes that were then ſtarted to make men eaſy under a change of government, which was directly contrary to the national conſtitution, could not prevail upon him to comply. Neither the argument of Providence, nor preſent poſſeſſion, nor the advantages of protection, which were all pleaded in thoſe times, were ſtrong enough to influence a mind that was early determined to be conſtant in his duty to the Church and the King (4).

(4) Ibid. p. 15, 16.

[*E*] *Mr William Thomas, Rector of Ubley in Somerſetſhire.*] This gentleman then was in great reputation for his piety, and eſteemed one of the chief Miniſters of his time in the neighbourhood where he lived. He was always reckoned a Puritan, and cloſed with the Preſbyterian meaſures in 1642, and was appointed an aſſiſtant to the Commiſſioners for ejecting ſuch whom they called ſcandalous, ignorant, and inſufficient Miniſters and School-maſters. He lived to be ejected himſelf for Non-conformity, and died in 1667 (5).

(5) Ibid. p. 22, 23.

[*F*] *Mr Thomas's ſon.*] Mr Samuel Thomas was a perſon of a very valuable character for his piety and learning: He was afterwards Chaplain at Chriſt-Church in Oxford, Vicar of Chard in Somerſetſhire, and Prebendary of Wells. The friendſhip contracted between this gentleman and Mr Bull was afterwards cultivated by many mutual kind offices; and when they were at a diſtance, it was ſupported by a frequent correſpondence (6).

(6) Ibid.

[*G*] —— *With which Mr Samuel Thomas ſupplied him.*] This he did at the hazard of his father's diſpleaſure: for the old gentleman had a watchful eye over Mr Bull, and never found any of theſe books in his ſtudy without diſcovering viſible marks of his anger and reſentment. For being well acquainted with his ſon's principles, and with the intimate correſpondence there was between them, he eaſily gueſſed from what quarter Mr Bull was provided with ſo much Heterodoxy, and would often ſay, *My ſon will corrupt Mr Bull* (7).

(7) Ibid. p. 24.

[*H*] *He was ordained Deacon and Prieſt the ſame day.*] The Biſhop, tho' he was willing to ordain Mr Bull, yet refuſed to give him, or any others, Letters of Orders under his own hand and ſeal, for this prudential reaſon, becauſe he was apprehenſive ſome ill uſe might be made of them, if they fell into the hands of thoſe unjuſt powers which then prevailed, who had made

years of age [*I*]. Soon after, he accepted the ſmall benefice of St George's near Briſtol [*K*]; where, by his conſtant preaching twice every Sunday [*L*], the method he took in governing his pariſh [*M*], his manner of performing Divine Service [*N*], his exemplary life,

made it criminal for a Biſhop to confer Holy Orders; but at the ſame time he aſſured him, that when the antient Apoſtolical Government of the Church ſhould be reſtored, which he did not queſtion but a little time would bring about, his Letters of Orders ſhould be ſent to him, in what part ſoever of the nation he then lived; which was accordingly punctually complied with upon the happy reſtoration of King Charles *II* (8).

(8) Ibid. p. 26.

[*I*] — *Being at that time but twenty-one years of age.*] It is true, this was much ſhort of that age, which is required by the Canons of the Church in candidates for the Prieſthood. But Mr Bull, upon his examination, acquitted himſelf ſo perfectly well, that tho' the Biſhop was rightly informed as to that circumſtance, yet he was pleaſed to ſay, that the Church wanted perſons qualified as he was, and that he could not make too much haſte, when his pains and labour might be of ſuch importance; that as to the Canons, they could not be obſerved ſtrictly in ſuch times of difficulty and diſtreſs, and that he did diſpenſe with his want of canonical age as much as in him lay (9).

(9) Ibid. p. 27.

[*K*] *He accepted the ſmall benefice of St George's, near Briſtol.*] He the rather accepted it, becauſe, the income being very inconſiderable, it was very likely he would be ſuffered to reſide without any diſturbance from the men of thoſe times, who would not think it worth their while to perſecute and diſpoſſeſs him for 30*l.* a year. Before he ſettled at this place, he met by accident with one of his godfathers, Mr Hall a clergyman, who acquainted him with the declaration his father had made when he was baptized; which gave him no ſmall pleaſure and ſatisfaction, in that he had fulfilled the intention of his father from the bent of his own inclination and free choice, without having ever 'till that time received the leaſt intimation concerning it (10).

(10) Ib. p. 29.

[*L*] *His conſtant preaching twice every Sunday.*] A little accident, ſoon after his coming to this living, contributed very much to the eſtabliſhing his reputation as a preacher. One Sunday, when he had begun his ſermon, as he was turning over his Bible to explain ſome texts of Scripture, which he had quoted, it happened that his notes, contained in ſeveral ſmall pieces of paper, flew out of his Bible into the middle of the church; upon which many of the congregation fell into laughter, and concluded that their young preacher would be non-pluſſed for want of materials: but ſome of the more ſober and better natured ſort gathered up the ſcattered notes, and carried them to him in the pulpit. Mr Bull took them, and perceiving that moſt of the audience, conſiſting chiefly of ſea-faring perſons, were rather inclined to triumph over him under that ſurprize, he clapped them into his book again, and ſhut it, and then, without referring any more to them, went on with his ſubject he had begun (11). It happened once, while he was preaching, that a Quaker came into the church, and in the middle of the ſermon cried out, *George, come down, thou art a falſe prophet and an hireling*; whereupon the pariſhioners, who loved their miniſter exceedingly, fell upon the poor Quaker with ſuch fury, as obliged Mr Bull to come down out of the pulpit to quiet them, and to ſave him from the effects of their reſentment. After they were ſomewhat pacified, Mr Bull began to expoſtulate with the Quaker concerning his miſbehavionr: but the people perceiving the ſilly enthuſiaſt to be perfectly confounded, and not able to ſpeak a word of ſenſe in his own defence, fell upon him a ſecond time with ſuch violence, that had not Mr Bull by great entreaties prevailed upon them to ſpare him, and to be ſatisfied with turning him out of the church, he would hardly have eſcaped with his life: after which Mr Bull went up again into his pulpit, and finiſhed his ſermon (12).

(11) Ib. p. 30, 31.

(12) Ib. p. 31—4.

[*M*] *The method he took in governing his pariſh.*] He did not content himſelf only with preaching to his flock on Sundays, and viſiting the ſick; but he went from houſe to houſe, viſiting the rich and poor without diſtinction, not to gratify their civil invitations, or his own diverſion, but to be ſerviceable to them in a matter of the greateſt importance, the ſalvation of their ſouls. And therefore upon theſe occaſions the time was not trifled away in empty talk; but his diſcourſe was ſuited to the ſeveral exigencies of thoſe he converſed with. By this means he became acquainted with the ſtate of their ſouls, and was thereby the better enabled to adapt his publick diſcourſes to the wants of his flock; beſides, that this practice gave him an opportunity of thoroughly underſtanding the neceſſities of thoſe that were really poor, whom he conſtantly relieved, either from his own charity, or the bounty of thoſe who ſupplied him upon all ſuch occaſions. There was hardly a family in his pariſh, which was not furniſhed with great ſtore of Antinomian books, ſuch doctrines prevailing very much in thoſe times; and therefore in theſe viſits he took frequent occaſion to warn his pariſhioners againſt the poiſon they were ſo familiar with, convincing them of the falſe reaſoning contained in thoſe books, and the inconſiſtency of their tenets with the ſcheme of ſalvation laid down in the Goſpel. When Mr Bull found any perſons, that either never came to the pariſh-church, or, after having frequented it, withdrew to ſome other communion, his conſtant practice was to enquire who had ſeduced them, and to know their names, in order to ſummon them to a conferrence in the preſence of the perſon, who had been prevailed upon to abſent from the pariſh-church. Theſe challenges were frequently accepted; for Mr Bull being young, it was not imagined that he was able to maintain a cauſe againſt perſons of riper age, and who had been long verſed in the controverſy; but by the quickneſs of his parts, and his cloſe way of reaſoning, he generally got the better in theſe conferences, and was thereby very ſucceſsful in recovering his wandering ſheep. As to the younger ſort, his method was to addreſs them in publick as well as private; and therefore he uſually preached to them on ſome week-day before he adminiſtered the Euchariſt, in order to inſtruct them in the nature of that Sacrament, and the preparation neceſſary to the worthy receiving it (13).

(13) Ib. p. 34—38.

[*N*] *His manner of performing Divine Service.*] As the iniquity of the times would not admit of the conſtant and regular uſe of the Liturgy, to ſupply this misfortune, Mr Bull formed all the devotions he offered up in publick, while he continued Miniſter of this place, out of the book of Common-Prayer; in which practice he was juſtified by the example of the judicious Dr Sanderſon, one of the brighteſt lights of that age. And he performed the publick ſervice with ſo much ſeriouſneſs and devotion, with ſuch fervour and ardency of affection, and with ſo powerful an emphaſis in every part, that they, who were moſt prejudiced againſt the Liturgy, did not ſcruple to commend Mr Bull as a perſon who prayed by the ſpirit, at the ſame time that they railed at the Common-Prayer as a beggarly element, and a carnal performance. A particular inſtance of this happened to him, upon his being ſent for to baptize the child of a Diſſenter in his pariſh. Upon this occaſion he made uſe of the office of Baptiſm, as preſcribed by the Church of England, which he had got entirely by heart, and which he went through with ſo much readineſs, gravity, and devotion, that the whole company were extremely affected; and notwithſtanding that he uſed the ſign of the Croſs, they were ſo ignorant of the offices of the Church, that they did not diſcover thereby that it was out of the Common-Prayer. After the ceremony, the father of the child returned him a great many thanks, intimating at the ſame time, with how much greater edification they prayed, who entirely depended upon the Spirit of God for his aſſiſtance in their *extempore* effuſions, than thoſe did who tied themſelves up to premeditated forms; and that, if he had not made the ſign of the croſs, that badge of Popery, as he called it, no body could have formed the leaſt objection to his excellent prayers. Upon which Mr Bull ſhewed him the office of Baptiſm in the Liturgy, wherein was contained every prayer which he had offered up to God on that occaſion; which, with other arguments offered by Mr Bull in favour of the Common-Prayer, ſo effectually wrought upon the good man and his whole family, that from that time they became conſtant attendants on the publick ſervice of the Church (14).

(14) Ib. p. 39, 40.

life, and great charities, he entirely gained the affections of his flock, and was very inſtrumental in reforming his pariſh, which he found over-run with Quakers and other wild Sectariſts (*b*). Whilſt he remained Miniſter of this pariſh, the providence of God wonderfully interpoſed for the preſervation of his life: for his lodgings being near a powder-mill, Mr Morgan, a gentleman of the pariſh, repreſented to him the danger of his ſituation, and at the ſame time invited him to his own houſe. Mr Bull, at firſt, modeſtly declined the offer, but after ſome importunity accepted it, and, not many days after his removal to Mr Morgan's, the mill was blown up, and his apartment with it. In this part of his life he took a journey once a year to Oxford, where he ſtayed about two months to enjoy the benefit of the publick libraries. In his way to and from Oxford, he always paid a viſit to Sir William Maſters of Cirenceſter; by which means he contracted an intimacy with Mr Alexander Gregory, the Miniſter of the place, and after ſome time married one of his daughters [*O*], on the twentieth of May 1658 (*i*). The ſame year he was preſented, by the Lady Pool, to the rectory of Suddington St Mary [*P*], near Cirenceſter in Glouceſterſhire. The next year, 1659, he was made privy to the deſign of a general inſurrection in favour of King Charles II, and ſeveral gentlemen of that neighbourhood, who were in the ſecret, made choice of his houſe at Suddington for one of the places of their meeting. Upon the Reſtoration, Mr Bull frequently preached for his father-in-law, Mr Gregory, at Cirenceſter, where there was a large and populous congregation; and his ſermons gave ſuch general ſatisfaction [*Q*], that, upon a vacancy, the people were very ſollicitous to have procured for him the preſentation; but the largeneſs of the pariſh, and the great duty attending it, deterred him from conſenting to the endeavours they were making for that purpoſe. In 1662, he was preſented by the Lord High-Chancellor, the Earl of Clarendon, to the vicarage of Suddington St Peter, which lay contiguous to Suddington St Mary [*R*], at the requeſt of his Dioceſan, Dr Nicholſon Biſhop of Glouceſter (*k*). When Mr Bull came firſt to the rectory of Suddington, he began to be more open in the uſe of the Liturgy of the Church of England, though it was not yet reſtored by the return of the King; for being deſired to marry a couple, he performed the ceremony, on a Sunday morning, in the face of the whole congregation, according

(*b*) Ib. p. 28.—30.

(*i*) Ib. p. 41—45.

(*k*) Mr Wood, then, is miſtaken in ſaying, he was preſented by the Biſhop himſelf to both the Suddingtons.

[*O*] *He married one of Mr Gregory's daughters.*] Her name was Mrs Bridget Gregory. The ceremony of their marriage was performed by Mr William Maſters, Vicar of Preſton, according to the form preſcribed by the book of Common-Prayer, the uſe of which was at that time forbidden under a heavy penalty. Mrs Bull proved in all reſpects a fit concert for a clergyman, being in her own nature ſufficiently provident, and yet well diſpoſed in all manner of good works, out of a true principle of love to God and goodneſs. Her attire was very plain and grave: her chief diverſion was the care of her family, and her main ambition to pleaſe her huſband. Her piety extended itſelf to the whole pariſh wherever ſhe lived: for, by the help of her cloſet, and ſkill in Surgery, ſhe made herſelf extremely uſeful upon many occaſions, and very much beloved, eſpecially by thoſe of the meaner ſort She was very inſtrumental in perſuading the people, eſpecially thoſe of her own ſex, to lay aſide their prejudices againſt the Common-Prayer, to bring their children to church to receive publick Baptiſm, which they had not been uſed to do for many years before, and to return thanks to God after child-birth, which had been a long time diſcontinued. Mr Bull and ſhe were man and wife above fifty years, in which time ſhe brought him five ſons and ſix daughters, and ſo proved a fruitful, as well as a provident and obedient wife, agreeably to the prayer of her wedding-ring, which was, *Bene parere, parere, parare det mihi Deus* (15).

(15) Ib. p. 45, —47.

[*P*] *He was preſented by the Lady Poole to the Rectory of Suddington St Mary.*] This living, being under value, was in the gift of the Keeper of the Seal, and conſequently at the diſpoſal of thoſe, who at that time were no friends to the Church of England; notwithſtanding which, Mr Bull obtained the preſentation in the manner following. The Lady Pool, who at that time lived at Cirenceſter, claimed as a Lady of the Manour of Suddington, a right of preſenting to the living, and having a reſpect for Mr Gregory, whoſe daughter Mr Bull had married, and a much greater for Mr Bull himſelf afterwards (as appeared by making him her executor) ſhe offered him the preſentation, which he accepted purely upon her right: but he had certainly loſt it, if Mr Stone of Cirenceſter, a particular friend of Mr Gregory's, had not taken out the Broad Seal, without Mr Bull's knowledge or privity; which he did on this occaſion: a clergyman, who knew that Mr Bull had not a good title, endeavoured to get the Broad Seal for the living; which he had certainly ſucceeded in, if Mr Stone had not been concerned in the preſentations: for when he applied to Mr Stone for that purpoſe, he told him that there was a miniſter lately ſettled at Suddington, whoſe name was Bull; to which the clergymen replied, that, though he was in poſſeſſion, he had not a legal title. Upon this Mr Stone acquainted him, that, though he did not perſonally know Mr Bull, yet he was not a ſtranger to his character; and having heard that he had married a daughter of a very good friend of his, if he had not a good title he would help him to one. Hereupon, Mr Stone took out the Broad Seal for Mr Bull, and ſent it to Mr Gregory, and at the ſame time gave him an account of the danger his ſon-in-law had been in of loſing his living (16).

(16) Ib. p. 47. —49.

[*Q*] *His ſermons gave general ſatisfaction.*] The choice of the ſubjects, which he diſcourſed upon at that place, and in that conjuncture of publick affairs, was ſo very ſeaſonable, that they had a viſible good effect upon the congregation. His deſign was to convince his hearers of the neceſſity of a religious obſervation of the Lord's day, and decent behaviour in the houſe of God; which he explained and preſſed in ſeveral ſermons from *Levit.* xix. 30. *Ye ſhall keep my ſabbaths, and reverence my ſanctuary; I am the Lord.* How proper ſuch applications then were to the people, we may collect from the character of thoſe times, in which, the numerous ſwarms of ſectaries, which overran the nation during the great rebellion, having carried religious hypocriſy to it's higheſt pitch, many perſons, upon the Reſtoration, thought they could not recede too far from the behaviour and practices of thoſe men, and, being inclined to think every appearance of devotion puritanical, were unhappily led to the other extreme (17).

(17) Ib. p. 51.

[*R*] *He was preſented to the vicarage of Suddington St Peter, which lay contiguous to Suddington St Mary.*] This vicarage, tho' the yearly value of it did not amount to above 25 *l.* yet was of ſome advantage to Mr Bull by it's lying ſo near the rectory of the ſame name, of which he was then in poſſeſſion. The income of both together did not riſe to above an 100 *l.* a year, clear of taxes. But Mr Bull had a farther view in holding them both; for he propoſed to get them united for the future; and the application he made upon this account proved ſucceſsful: for the matter being fairly repreſented to my Lord Chancellor by Mr Bull's dioceſan, the two livings were accordingly united, and were to paſs under the ſame grant for the future (18).

(18) Ib. p. 52, 53.

[*S*] *He*

according to the form prescribed by the Book of Common-Prayer [S]. He took the same method in governing these parishes, as in that of St George's, and with the same success, applying himself with great diligence to the discharge of his pastoral functions [T], and setting the people an admirable example in the government and œconomy of his own family (l) [U]. During his residence here, the providence of God gave him an opportunity of confirming two Ladies of quality in the Protestant Communion [W], who were reduced to a wavering state of mind by the arts and subtilties of the Romish Missionaries. The only dissenters he had in his parish were Quakers; whose impertinences and extravagances often gave him no small uneasiness [X]. In this part of his life, Mr Bull prosecuted his studies with great application [Y], and composed most of his works during the twenty-seven years that he was Rector of Suddington. Several tracts, indeed, which cost him much pains, are entirely lost, through his own neglect in preserving them; particularly a treatise on the *posture* used by the antient Christians *in receiving the Eucharist* [Z], a Letter to Dr Pearson concerning the genuineness of *St Ignatius's Epistles* [AA], a long one to Mr Glanvil, formerly Minister of Bath, concerning the *Eternity*

(l) Life, &c. ubi supra, p. 47—78.

[S] *He married a couple —— according to the form prescribed by the book of Common-Prayer.*] When he came out of the church, he asked the people how they liked that manner of solemnizing matrimony, not concealing from them how much it was in their power to expose him to a malicious prosecution; whereupon they all expressed their unanimous approbation of his performance, with solemn assurances, that they would not only make no complaints of him themselves, but also endeavour to prevent them from others (19).

(19) Ib. p. 55.

[T] *He applied himself diligently to the discharge of his pastoral functions.*] He had a most excellent talent at reading the publick prayers. His whole deportment was grave and serious, and carried withal an air of authority: his pronunciation was distinct and audible, and yet natural and unaffected; and he went through every part of the service with that particular devotion that belongs to it. He read the holy Scriptures with such deliberation, and such exactness in observing the stops and points, that they were rendered thereby the more intelligible to the people (20). Nor did he shine less in the pulpit. All subjects, which he handled there, were confirmed and strengthened by passages of holy writ, which were explained and made easy to the meanest capacity. He had a clear head, and a strong judgment, and perfectly understood the learned languages, in which the Bible was originally written. But, above all, he was thoroughly acquainted with primitive antiquity, and had read with care the works of the Fathers and ancient Doctors of the Church (21). He seldom committed his sermons to writing, which is the reason he left so few finished discourses behind him. His usual method was, after the choice of his text, to mark some words that were to be explained; after which he wrote down some observations, which flowed naturally from the subject, and under each observation hints for illustrating it, and texts of Scripture to confirm it: and then drew inferences from the whole by way of application. What Mr Bull delivered of this kind never wanted a becoming fervour; and he enlivened his discourses with proper and decent gestures, and always exerted his voice with some vehemency, to awaken the attention of his hearers (22). He was particularly careful in catechizing the youth; in which God so far blessed his endeavours, that he carried fifty persons well instructed in the principles of the Christian Religion, at one time, to the visitation at Circncester, who were all confirmed by the Bishop, when his whole parish did not consist of above thirty families. He administered the Sacraments with great reverence and solemnity, and was always very unwilling to baptize children at home, excepting in cases of necessity. He celebrated the Eucharist seven times a year (23), and strictly observed all the feasts and fasts of the Church (24).

(20) Ib. p. 54.

(21) Ib. p. 57—59.

(22) Ib. p. 59, 60.

(23) That is, I suppose, on the three great Festivals, and once a quarter besides.

[U] *The government and œconomy of his own family.*] Every morning and evening the family were called to prayers, which were either those composed by Bishop Taylor, or taken out of *The Common-Prayer book the best Companion*. A portion of Scripture was read at the same time, with the addition, on Sunday evenings, of a chapter out of that excellent book the *Whole Duty of Man*. If any of his servants could not read, he would assign one of the family to be their teacher; and no neglect of duty in them offended him so much as their absence from the family devotions (*). The constant frame and temper of his mind was so truly devout, that he would frequently in the day-time, as occasion offered, use short prayers and ejaculations; and when he was sitting in silence in his family, and they, as he thought, intent upon other matters, he would often, with an inexpressible air of great seriousness, lift up his hands and eyes to heaven, and sometimes drop tears. He was very frequent and earnest in his private devotions, of which singing psalms always made a part (25).

(24) Life, &c. ib. p. 60—65.

(*) Ib. p. 65—68.

(25) Ib. p. 69—73.

[W] *He confirmed two Ladies of quality in the Protestant Communion.*] As they lived in the neighbourhood, he had frequent conferences with them both, and answered those objections, which appeared to them to have the greatest strength, and which had very near seduced them from the Church of England. At the request of one of them he wrote a small treatise, of which no copy was to be found among the papers he left behind him. Both the Ladies always owned, with the greatest sense of gratitude, this signal service they received from the learning and capacity of Mr Bull (26).

(26) Ib. p. 79.

[X] *The impertinences and extravagances of the Quakers often gave him no small uneasiness.*] There goes a ridiculous story of one of them, who was a preacher among them, and would frequently accost Mr Bull; and once in particular he said to him, *George, as for human learning, I set no value upon it; but if thou wilt talk Scripture, have at thee.* Upon which Mr Bull, to correct his confidence, answered, *Come on then, friend.* So opening a Bible, he fell upon the book of *Proverbs*. *Seest thou, friend*, said he; Solomon *saith in one place*, answer a fool according to his folly, *and in another*, answer not a fool according to his folly: *how doest thou reconcile these two texts of Scripture? Why*, said the preacher, Solomon *don't say so*; to which Mr Bull replied, *Ay, but he doth:* and turning to the places, he soon convinced him; upon which the Quaker, being much out of countenance, said, *Why then Solomon's a fool*; which put an end to the controversy (27).

(27) Ib p. 80, 81.

[Y] *He then prosecuted his studies with great application.*] His study was the scene of his most exquisite pleasure, and he would often declare, that he tasted the most refined satisfaction in the pursuit of knowledge, and that, when his thoughts were lively and lucky in his compositions, he found no reason to envy the enjoyment of the most voluptuous Epicure. His course of study, indeed, proved prejudicial to his health, because, for many years together, he dedicated the greatest part of the night to that purpose, and contented himself with little sleep (28).

(28) Ib. p. 86.

[Z] *A treatise on the posture used by the ancient Christians in receiving the Eucharist.*] It was composed by Mr Bull in answer to this question: *What was the posture of communicating in the blessed Sacrament, before the doctrine of Transubstantiation was received in the Church?* In his reply, he proved from antiquity, that the practice in the most ancient times was for the communicants to draw near the Bema or Chancel, and there to receive the consecrated elements at the hands of the Priest in a bowing or adoring posture. This piece was written at the request of his diocesan Bishop Frampton (29).

(29) Ib. p. 87.

[AA] *A Letter to Dr Pearson concerning the genuineness of St Ignatius's Epistles.*] It was written in Latin, and contained many excellent observations and solid arguments to prove that those Epistles were genuine.

Dr

nity of Future Punishments; and another, on the subject of *Popery*, to a person of very great quality (*m*). In 1669, he published that excellent book, his *Apostolical Harmony* [*BB*], with a view to settle the peace of the Church, upon a point of the utmost importance to all it's members; and he dedicated it to Dr William Nicholson Bishop of Gloucester (*n*). This performance was greatly disliked, at first, by many of the Clergy, and others, on account of the author's departing therein from the private opinions of some Doctors of the Church, and his manner of reconciling the two Apostles, St Paul and St James, as to the doctrine of *Justification* (*o*). It was particularly opposed by Dr Morley, Bishop of Winchester [*CC*]; Dr Barlow, Margaret-Professor of Divinity at Oxford [*DD*]; Mr Charles Gataker, a Presbyterian Divine [*EE*]; Mr Joseph Truman, a Non-Conformist Minister [*FF*]; Dr Tully, Principal of

(*m*) Ibid. p. 78—89.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 89.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 97, 98.

Dr Pearson, who was about vindicating the Epistles of that apostolical Bishop and Martyr, returned Mr Bull a large answer in the same learned language; wherein he gave him ample thanks for the pains he had taken upon that subject, and acknowledged the great usefulness of his observations, and the strength of his arguments (30).

(30) Ib. p. 88, 89.

[*BB*] *His Apostolical Harmony.*] It is intituled; *Harmonia Apostolica; seu Binæ Dissertationes, quarum in priore Doctrina D. Jacobi de justificatione ex operibus explanatur et defenditur, in posteriore consensus D. Pauli cum Jacobo liquido demonstratur*, &c. i. e. 'The 'Apostolical Harmony, or Two Dissertations, in the first 'of which St James's doctrine of Justification by works 'is explained and defended; in the second, the agree-'ment of St Paul with St James is clearly demonstrated.' Though this piece was not printed 'till the year abovementioned, it appears to have been written eight or nine years before (31), during the unhappy times of the great rebellion, when a vast number of books were written and published by the hot men of the several parties, on the subject of Justification, and abundance of learned Sophistry had been used to perplex the natural and plain sense of the sacred writers (32). He wrote this work in Latin, the rather because he thought too much had been written in English upon this subject, and that most of what had been written served only to divide and distract peoples minds: he therefore chose a learned language, that it might be thoroughly considered by the men of learning and capacity, reasonably supposing, that if they were set right in this great article, it would be more easily propagated among the vulgar and unlearned. The peculiar aim and design of the *first dissertation* is to shew, 'That *good works*, which proceed from *faith*, and 'are conjoined with *faith*, are a necessary condition 'required from us by God, to the end that by the 'new and evangelical covenant, obtained by and sealed 'in the blood of Christ the Mediator of it, we may 'be *justified* according to his *free* and *unmerited grace*.' In which doctrine, and throughout the whole book, Mr Bull absolutely excludes all pretensions to *merit* on the part of men (33). Mr Nelson has given us a distinct plan of the *Harmonia*, to which the reader is referred.

(31) See his Apologia pro Harmonio, &c. Sect. 8. n. 5.

(32) Life, &c. p. 90—93.

(33) Ib. p. 94—97.

[*CC*] *It was opposed by Dr Morley, Bishop of Winchester.*] That great and good prelate, whatever his own private opinion might be of the matter, seems to have been utterly against reviving a controversy of this kind at all, and not to have been so well satisfied, as some of his brethren were, with the performance of an author, who had done nothing before this to signalize himself, and whose youth was too great a prejudice for many to get over. But whatever were his motives for so doing, this learned Bishop, in a Pastoral Charge to the Clergy of his diocese, at his next visitation, thought fit to warn them against intruding too rashly into things above them, and to prohibit them the reading of this book, or preaching agreeably to it. Some heads of houses in the two Universities were also of the Bishop's mind; and there were some tutors, who thought it incumbent on them to guard their pupils against what appeared to them an innovation in the Church (34).

(34) Ib. p. 122.

[*DD*] — *Dr Barlow, Margaret-Professor of Divinity at Oxford.*] This learned Divine, who was afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, read publick lectures against the *Harmonia Apostolica* from the Divinity-Chair, in which he treated Mr Bull very roughly, even so far as to give him opprobrious names; an account of which was sent him by his learned and pious friend Mr Thomas, at that time Chaplain of Christ-Church, who was present, and took notes of all that related to his friend in those lectures. This treatment brought Mr Bull to Oxford, who, with Mr Thomas, waited upon the Professor, and, complaining of the inhumanity with which he had been treated, offered to clear himself by a public disputation. The Professor thought fit to decline the challenge, and endeavoured to get off as well as he could by avoiding to own the fact; 'till Mr Thomas positively affirmed it to his face, offering to produce the notes he had taken; to which the Professor had no more to say, and they parted (35).

(35) Ib. p. 201, —212.

[*EE*] — *Mr Charles Gataker, a Presbyterian Divine.*] He was son of that learned Critick Mr Thomas Gataker of London, author of the *Dissertatio de stylo Novi Testamenti*, &c. who was a member of the Assembly of Divines that met at Westminster in 1643, and was preparing to publish an *Harmony* of the Apostles James and Paul, a little before he died; with whose papers the son being assisted, thought himself more than able to deal with our author, and even to overthrow his whole foundation (36). About a year after the publication of the *Harmonia*, a copy of it, with marginal annotations and animadversions, was sent to the author by his diocesan and patron Bishop Nicholson, who had received them from an unknown hand, after they had been communicated in the same manner to others of the Bishops, together with a letter, stirring them up to make use of their apostolical authority in thundering out their anathema's against the doctrines contained in Mr Bulls book, as pernicious and heretical, and contrary to the decrees of the Church of England, and all the other Reformed Churches. About a year after, it was discovered that these animadversions were written by Mr Charles Gataker (37); who, according to my author, 'appeareth to have been a 'person of great violence in his temper, but one well 'intentioned, and a zealous Protestant; and had he 'had but more coolness of thought, and had he withal 'read more of the Ancients, and fewer of the 'Moderns, would have made no inconsiderable wri-'ter (38).' The substance of Mr Gataker's animadversions, being twenty-three in number, may be seen in Mr Nelson (39).

(36) Ib. p. 139.

(37) Ib. & p. 101.

(38) Ib. p. 145, 146.

(39) Page 140—145.

[*FF*] — *Mr Joseph Truman, a Non-Conformist Minister.*] This writer, we are told, was one of a cooler head than the younger Gataker, and one also not unacquainted with the antient Fathers. He had before written and published a short discourse concerning St Paul's meaning of *Justification by Faith without Works*; and finding some of the opinions therein advanced in danger of being quite overthrown by the *Harmonia Apostolica*, he set himself to write an answer in English to that part of it which concerned himself, and published it under the title of, *An endeavour to rectify some prevailing opinions contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England.* By the author of the *Great Propitiation.* In the preface to which, the reader is informed, 'that 'about half a year after that he had published some 'sermons entituled *The Great Propitiation*, whereunto 'was added that short discourse aforesaid concerning '*Justification by Faith* in the sense of St Paul, there 'came forth a learned book called *Harmonia Apo-'stolica*, written by Mr George Bull, which quite 'crossing the interpretation he had given of St Paul, 'he was occasioned, by some occurrences, which it 'concerned not the reader to know, to write the sub-'stance of those reflexions upon it for some private use.' For he tells us, they were written, without any design of printing them, within three months after the publication of Mr Bull's book, but were not published 'till about two years after, when he observed how fast *some opinions*

of St Edmund's-Hall [*GG*]; Mr John Tombes, a famous Anabaptiſt Preacher [*HH*]; Dr Lewis Du Moulin, a violent Independent [*II*]; and by M. De Marets, a French writer, who tells us (*p*), 'that the author, tho' a profeſſed Prieſt of 'the Church of England, was more addicted to the Papiſts, Remonſtrants, and 'Socinians, than to the orthodox party (*q*).' Towards the end of the year 1675, Mr Bull publiſhed his *Examen Cenſuræ*, &c. in anſwer to Mr Gataker, and his *Apologia pro Harmonia*, &c. in reply to Dr Tully [*KK*]. About three years after, he was promoted

(*p*) In his Syſtema Theologiæ, printed at Groningen, in 4*to*.

(*q*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 955.

opinions got ground in the Church of England, contrary to his expoſition thereof, which he attributed, in a great meaſure to Mr Bull, and eſpecially to the *latter* part of his performance (40). I refer the reader, for a full account of Mr Truman's anſwer, to Mr Nelſon (41), who deſcribes him to have been 'a perſon 'of a deep and ſearching genius, but perhaps too me-'taphyſical; candid in fully repreſenting the argument 'of his adverſary without diſguiſe, and commending 'whatever he thought worthy of commendation, but 'ſevere alſo in his animadverſions, where he believed 'he wanted not ſufficient grounds for ſo doing; gene-'rous very often in his manner of treating thoſe he diſ-'ſented from, but ſometimes unreaſonably ſuſpicious 'and ſcrupulous; cool and moderate in the management 'of his cauſe, with very little appearance of paſſion or 'prejudice, but vigorous and zealous for the *rectifying* 'of ſome certain opinions, which he took to be contrary 'to the doctrine of the church of England, for which he 'ſtill continue to profeſs an eſteem (42)' Mr Bull wrote an anſwer to Mr Truman, which was never publiſhed (43), and took ſome notice of his objections in his *Examen Cenſuræ* (44).

40) Ib. p. 162, 63.

41) Page 171—94.

42) Ib. p. 204.

43) Ib. p. 194.

44) Ib. p. 196.

[*GG*] — *Dr Tully, Principal of St Edmund's-Hall.*] This eloquent and learned writer had ſome time before printed a ſhort *Syſtem of Divinity* (45), for the uſe of young ſtudents, which had met with a favourable reception, and paſſed thro' ſeveral editions. But his notions being partly different from thoſe of Mr Bull in his *Harmonia*, the Doctor was prevailed upon to write an anſwer to that book in Latin; and the rather, becauſe as yet it had received no direct reply from the ſide of the Church of England. While Dr Tully's treatiſe was yet, according to his own expreſſion, *ſticking in the birth*, a conference was propoſed, and agreed to, between him and Mr Bull; at which meeting, Mr Bull earneſtly beſought the Doctor, 'above all things 'to conſider the peace of God's Church, and to take 'diligent heed, leſt, by a publick diſſenſion between two 'Divines of the ſame communion, the enemies of our 'Church might take occaſion of upbraiding and re-'proaching her.' He therefore entreated him, 'that he 'would, for preventing this evil, be pleaſed, as a friend to 'communicate to him his papers, upon condition, that 'if by theſe he could make it appear, that he had written 'any thing againſt ſound doctrine, he would not refuſe '*publickly to retract his error.*' This propoſal ſeemed ſo reaſonable, that Dr Tully replied, 'he might, pub-'haps in a very little while, ſend him a copy of his 'papers.' But after this Mr Bull never once heard from him, nor had any reaſon given him for the alteration of his mind. At length, about the beginning of the year 1674, after much expectation, there was publiſhed at Oxford (*cum Permiſſu Superiorum*, as the title-page expreſſes it) a Treatiſe in Latin intituled; *Juſtificatio Paulina ſine operibus, ex mente Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, omniumque reliquarum quæ Reformatæ audiunt, aſſerta et illuſtrata contra nuperos novatores: Authore* Tho. Tullio, S. T. P. &c. i. e. 'St Paul's doctrine of '*Juſtification without Works* aſſerted and explained, 'according to the ſenſe of the Church of England, and 'all the reſt of the Reformed Churches, againſt ſome 'late innovators; by Thomas Tully, S. T. P. *&c.*' In *quarto*. There was added at the end of this book a ſmall tract, in anſwer more particularly to the ninth chapter of the ſecond diſſertation of the *Harmonia*, under the title of *Diſſertatiuncula de ſententia Paulina*, Rom. 7. *à com.* 14. *in qua oſtenditur Paulum de ſe loqui* regenito, *non autem in perſona hominis nondum regeniti.* i. e. 'A ſhort diſſertation concerning St 'Paul's meaning in *Rom.* vii. from *ver.* 14. in which 'is ſhewn, that St Paul ſpeaks of himſelf as *regenerate*, 'and not in the perſon of an unregenerate man (46).' For a diſtinct account of Dr Tully's performance, conſult Mr Nelſon (47), who tells us, the Doctor 'had 'merited the reputation of a very pious and learned 'man; but as ſome that perſonally knew him have 'obſerved, it was a great misfortune that he betook 'himſelf to write controverſy, and eſpecially that he 'engaged with ſo briſk a writer as Mr Bull was, even 'then when he was well nigh worn out (48).'

45) The title of it was, Præcipuorum Theologiæ Capitum Enchiridion didacticum, ſecond. 1665, 1668, *&c.*

(46) Ib. p. 212, —220.

(47) Page 220, —227.

(48) Ib. p. 228.

[*HH*] — *Mr John Tombes, a famous Anabaptiſt Preacher.*] This author had been engaged in the ſame controverſy twenty years before, and had written againſt Mr Baxter's *Aphoriſms* concerning *Juſtification*. And now he reſolved to draw out all his artillery againſt Mr Bull, as an enemy of the greateſt weight, and as one who had brought together the whole ſtrength of the cauſe in which he had engaged. He was threeſcore and twelve years of age, when he publiſhed his book, which was entitled, *Animadverſiones in librum Georgii Bulli, cui titulum fecit* Harmonia Apoſtolica: i. e. 'Animadverſions upon a book of 'George Bull's, which he hath intitled, *The Apoſtoli-'cal Harmony* (49).'

(49) Ib. p. 243 —248.

[*II*] — *Lewis du Moulin, an Independent.*] He was ſon of the famous Peter du Moulin; and in a virulent pamphlet (50), which he publiſhed in 1680 againſt the Church of England, he fell foul upon the principles of our moſt eminent Divines, among whom he did not forget Mr Bull, beſtowing at the ſame time great commendations on the induſtry and zeal of Dr Tully and Dr Barlow, as the two principal perſons, who kept the Univerſity of Oxford from being *poiſoned with Pelagianiſm, Socinianiſm, and Popery.* This was deſpiſed, as it deſerved, by Mr Bull (51).

(50) Intituled. A ſhort and true Account of the ſeveral Advances the Church of England hath made towards Popery, *&c.* 4*to*.

(51) Life, *&c.* p. 253.

[*KK*] *His* Examen Cenſuræ, &c. *in anſwer to Mr Gataker*; *and his* Apologia pro Harmonia, &c. *in reply to Dr Tully.*] Theſe two peices were both publiſhed together. The title of the firſt is; *Examen Cenſuræ, ſive Reſponſio ad quaſdam Animadverſiones, antehac ineditas, in librum cui titulus Harmonia Apoſtolica, &c. per Georgium Bullum, Anglicanæ Eccleſiæ Preſbyterum*, i. e. 'An Examination of the Cenſure, 'or, An Anſwer to certain Animadverſions, never be-'fore publiſhed, upon a book intitled, The Apoſtoli-'cal Harmony, *&c.* by George Bull, a Preſbyter of 'the Church of England.' The other has for it's title; *Apologia pro Harmonia ejuſque authore contra Declamationem Thomæ Tullii* S. T. P. *in libro nuper typis evulgato, quem Juſtificatio Paulina, &c. inſcripſit.* i. e. 'An Apology for the Apoſtolical Harmony, and 'the author thereof, againſt the Declamation of Tho-'mas Tully, D.D. in a book lately publiſhed by him, in-'titled *Juſtificatio Paulina.*' Dr Tully being dead, when theſe pieces were publiſhed, Mr Bull took care to have ſeveral paſſages expunged out of the ſheets remaining to be printed, becauſe they contained ſome ſharp reflections upon the Doctor, tho' they were true in fact, and by ſome of Mr Bull's friends thought too material to be omitted (52). There is an *Appendix* to our author's Examination of Mr Gataker's *Seventeenth Animadverſion*, in anſwer to Mr Truman's objections (53). The *Examen* is not barely to be conſidered as a reply to Mr Bull's adverſaries, but as a fuller explication of his own ſentiments. For he very ſolemnly aſſures us (54), that, when he was about forty years of age, he read over again his *Harmonia* ſeveral times, with as much ſerioufneſs and impartiality as he poſſibly could, and that he earneſtly prayed to God, in the firſt place, that he would enlighten his mind, and diſcover to him whatever errors he might have been guilty of; that he did his utmoſt to diveſt himſelf of all ſelf-love, and partiality for his own work; and that he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn vow, upon the diſcovery of any errors, openly to renounce them before the Church. Upon which review of his work, ſo accurately and ſo religiouſly performed, he declares, that there were ſome things in it, which might have been explained more clearly and fully, for the ſake at leaſt of younger readers, and that therefore he had endeavoured to ſupply this defect as well as he could in his *Examen* (55). In his *Apologia*, he very ingenuouſly confeſſes, 'that Dr 'Tully had not a few Divines of the Church of Eng-

(52) Ibid. p. 229, 230.

(53) Ib. p. 196.

(54) Apolog. Sect. viii. n. 5.

(55) Life, *&c.* p. 231, 232.

moted by the Earl of Nottingham, then Lord Chancellor, to a Prebend in the church of Glouceſter [*LL*], in which he was inſtalled the ninth of October 1678 (*r*). In 1680, he finiſhed his *Defence of the Nicene Faith* [*MM*], of which he had given an hint five years before in his *Apology* (*s*). This performance was received, as it deſerved, with univerſal applauſe, and it's fame ſpread into foreign countries, where it was highly eſteemed by the beſt judges of antiquity, tho' of different perſuaſions [*NN*]. It is true, it has been animadverted upon, and cenſured, by ſome Unitarian writers [*OO*]. Five years after the publication

(r) Life, &c. p. 279.

(s) Ibid. p. 280.

' land, and thoſe of ſome eminence alſo in it, who had ' led him into the error; but that theſe learned men ' lived in thoſe times, when by the arts of certain per- ' ſons, who were extremely wedded to the *Geneva-Di-* ' *vinity*, matters were come to that paſs, that it was ' hardly ſafe for any one to interpret either the arti- ' cles of our Church, or even the Scriptures them- ' ſelves, otherwiſe than according to the ſtandard of ' *Calvin's Inſtitutions* (56).' 'This *Apology* of Mr Bull's is written with ſuch maſterly ſtrength and judgment, that a very learned foreigner * called it the *Triumph of the Church of England* in this cauſe (57).

(56) Apolog. Sect. xi. No. 7.

(*) Dr Grabe.

(57) Life, &c. P. 235.

[*LL*] *He was made a Prebendary of Glouceſter.*] Anthony Wood tells us (58), Mr Bull obtained this Prebend thro' the intereſt of Dr John Tillotſon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury. But Mr Nelſon (59) aſcribes this promotion only to the great reputation the author had acquired by his *Harmonia*; and adds, that, as a teſtimony of his gratitude, he deſigned a publick acknowledgment of the Chancellor's favour, by dedicating to him his *Fidei Niceнæ Defenſio*, which was the next book he publiſhed; but before it appeared, that great man died, in whom the Church loſt a faithful and zealous friend, and learning a generous and conſtant patron (60).

(58) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 955.

(59) Life, &c. p. 278.

(60) Ib. p. 276—280.

[*MM*] *His* Defence of the Niccne Faith.] It is intitled; *Defenſio Fidei Nicenæ ex Scriptis, quæ extant, Catholicorum Doctorum, qui intra tria prima Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ Sæcula floruerunt.* i. e. ' A Defence of the ' Nicene Faith, from the writings, which are extant, ' of the Catholick Doctors, who flouriſhed within the ' three firſt centuries of the Chriſtian Church.' After Mr Bull had finiſhed this work, he offered the copy to three or four bookſellers ſucceſſively, who all refuſed it, being unwilling to venture the expences of the impreſſion; ſo that he brought it home, and entirely laid aſide all thoughts of printing it: for being in low circumſtances, and having a large family to ſupport, he could not poſſibly be at the charge of printing it himſelf, as he was inclinable enough to have done, if he had been able. And ſo this excellent book might have been buried for ever, had not a certain worthy friend of the author's, ſome few years after, adviſed him to put his neglected copy into the hands of Dr Jane, then *Regius Profeſſor* of Divinity in the Univerſity of Oxford, and ſubmit the ſame to his cenſure and diſpoſal. Accordingly Mr Bull committed his papers to the Profeſſor, who, highly approving them, recommended this work to the pious and learned Biſhop Fell. That prelate was preſently for encouraging ſo uſeful and excellent a performance, and wanted no ſollicitation to undertake the whole expence of printing it; which was accordingly done at the Theatre in Oxford in the year 1685 (61). This book is written againſt the Arians and Socinians on the one hand, and the Tritheiſts and Sabellians on the other. The author of Biſhop Bull's *Life* has given us an hiſtory of the controverſy, which occaſioned the writing this book, together with a plan of the work, and an account of the uſes made of it by ſome later writers, particularly Dr Samuel Clarke in his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, and Dr Edwards of Cambridge in his *Animadverſions* on Dr Clarke's book (62).

(61) Ib. p. 280—284.

(62) Ib. p. 284—341.

[*NN*] *It was received with univerſal applauſe, and highly eſteemed by the beſt judges of antiquity, tho' of different perſuaſions.*] An Unitarian author, who calls himſelf a *diſintereſted perſon*, tho' he has given his judgment againſt the *Defenſio Fidei Nicenæ*, with all the ſtrength and learning that he was maſter of, yet was obliged by the irreſiſtible force of truth, to give the following character both of the book and author. ' After Dr Cudworth, came Dr *Bull*, author of the ' *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, a book that has ren- ' dered the writer of it very famous not in England ' only or chiefly, but beyond the water. 'Tis com- ' poſed in a ſtyle moſt truly Latin, with much vivacity ' of expreſſion, with great vigour and ſubtilty of ' thought: in ſhort 'tis worthy of the noble argument, ' of which he treats. This author having ſtudied the ' Fathers with an application, diligence and obſerva- ' tion, almoſt peculiar to *him*, perceived that the ſchools ' have departed from that notion of the Trinity, be- ' lieved and profeſſed by ſome of the principal Fa- ' thers (63).' The anſwerer of this Socinian pamphlet, who is ſuppoſed to be Dr Sherlock himſelf, in a diſcourſe intitled, *The difference between real and nominal Trinitarians examined* (64), aſſures us, this was not ſaid out of any good will to our author, or diſintereſtedneſs between the two contending parties, but that *All that this Socinian intended by bringing Dr* Bull *into the fray, was to follow the blow the animadverter* (Dr South) *and the Oxford decree had given to a* Trinity of diſtinct, proper, ſubſiſting, living, intelligent perſons *(which is all that Dr* Bull, *or the* Dean *aſſert) by their charge of* Tritheiſm; *which*, he hoped, *would be a ſufficient anſwer to that otherwiſe unanſwerable book, and, together with Dr* Bull, *would confute all the Fathers at once, on whoſe authority he ſo much relies, and to whom he perpetually appeals.* Among the foreign authors, who have made honourable mention of Dr Bull, I ſhall cite here the teſtimony of M. Boſſuet Biſhop of *Meaux*; whoſe *Hiſtory of the Variations*, &c. having been attacked by M. Jurieu, in defence of the Proteſtants, with too little deference to the primitive Fathers of the Church, the Biſhop publiſhed a reply, in which he frequently ſends his adverſary and his readers, for ſatisfaction, to the collection of teſtimonies made by our author out of the Fathers. In one place he ſays; ' That I may have no ' occaſion, my brethren, to defend, againſt you, the ' doctrine of the firſt ages concerning the eternal gene- ' ration of the Son, if your Miniſter hath any doubt ' hereof, and is not willing to read the learned trea- ' tiſes of Father Thomaſſin *, who ſo profoundly ex- ' plains the ancient traditions, or the learned preface ' of Father Petau †, which is the elucidation and key ' of his whole doctrine concerning this matter, I ſend ' him to BULL, that learned *Engliſh* Proteſtant, in ' the treatiſe, where he hath ſo well defended the Fa- ' thers, who lived before the Council of Nice. You ' muſt either renounce the faith of the Holy Trinity, ' which God forbid, or pre-ſuppoſe with me, that this ' author hath reaſon (65).' And here it is very remarkable, that our author's book was in ſuch eſteem abroad, both with Romaniſts and Proteſtants, that even M. Jurieu himſelf contended, no leſs than the Biſhop his adverſary, to have him on his ſide, ſaying, *that* Bull's *obſervations and his were as like as an egg to an egg*, concerning the generation of the Son of God. But the Biſhop of Meaux replied to M. Jurieu, that, without entering into all the particulars, it was enough to let him know, that he, the Biſhop, had *taken from him in one word all the Antients, by ſending him to* Bull, as from whom he might *learn the true explication of all their paſſages* (66).

(63) See The Judgment of a diſintereſted Perſon, concerning the Controverſy about the bleſſed Trinity, depending between Dr South and Dr Sherlock, 4to, Lond. 1696.

(64) Page 4.

(*) Dogmata Theolog. T. III.

(†) Pref. Theolog. Dogm. T. II.

(65) Premier Auvertiſement aux Proteſtants ſur les Lettres du Miniſtre Jurieu contre *L'Hiſtoire des Variations*. §. xxv.

[*OO*] *It has been animadverted upon, and cenſured by ſome* Unitarian *writers.*] The author of a pamphlet intitled, *The Judgment of the Fathers concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity, oppoſed to Dr* G. Bull's Defence of the Nicene Faith (67), undertakes to *diſcover Dr* Bull's *frauds and miſtakes, detect his his ſophiſtrics and eluſions, and confront his miſrepreſentation of the Fathers with the confeſſions and judgment of the criticks, who have either publiſhed or commented on the writings of the Fathers* (68). This author complains of the ſevere terms, in which Dr Bull treats the Unitarians, both in this work and in his *Judicium Eccleſiæ Catholicæ*. ' In ſhort *(ſays he)* Dr Bull hath expreſſed ' ſuch a malevolence, and hath ſo notoriouſly and in- ' famouſly violated the cartel of honour and civility, ' that was thought to be agreed and eſtabliſhed be- ' tween perſons of excellent learning and great abili- ' ties, when they happen to be engaged in contrary ' ſides, that no reſpect or tenderneſs can be ſhewn to ' him

(66) Life, &c. p. 346.

(67) Printed at London in 1695, in 4to.

(68) Page 76.

publication of this book, the author was preſented, by Philip Sheppard, Eſq; to the Rectory of Avening in Glouceſterſhire [*PP*], a very large pariſh (*t*), and worth two hundred pounds *per annum*. The people of this pariſh, being many of them very diſſolute and immoral, and many more diſaffected to the Church of England, gave him for ſome time great trouble and uneaſineſs; but, by his prudent conduct and diligent diſcharge of his duty [*QQ*], he at laſt got the better of their prejudices, and converted their diſlike into the moſt cordial love and affection towards him (*u*). He had not been long at Avening, before he was promoted, by Archbiſhop Sancroft, to the Archdeaconry of Landaff, in which he was inſtalled the twentieth of June 1686 (*w*). He was invited ſoon after to Oxford, where the Degree of Doctor in Divinity was conferred upon him by that Univerſity [*RR*], in conſideration of the great and eminent ſervices he had done the Church (*x*). During the reign of King James II. the Doctor preached very warmly againſt Popery [*SS*], with which the nation was then threatened. Some time after the Revolution, he was put into the commiſſion of the peace [*TT*], and continued in it, with ſome little interruption, 'till

(*t*) It is eight miles in compaſs.

(*u*) Ib. p. 348—354.

(*w*) Ibid.

(*x*) Ib. p. 360. & Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 229.

69) Page 77.

70) See the Hiſtorical Preface to his Primitive Chriſtianity reſtored, ond. 1711, 8vo, . 57.

71) Ch. xiv. edit. Amſterd. 1714, 2 Vols, 12mo.

72) Life, &c. p. 349, 350.

'him by an Unitarian (69).' Mr Whiſton, in his letter to the Archbiſhops of York and Canterbury (70), tells them, he had occaſion to take notice of *ſeveral great miſtakes in the right reverend and very learned Biſhop* Bull, *concerning the Trinity and Incarnation*; 'which I could not, *ſays he*, avoid without betraying 'the truths of God Almighty, ſince I think he has too 'often *perverted* them, and the teſtimonies in antiquity belonging to them. Nor can I forbear to wiſh 'that his Lordſhip's plain failure in ſo celebrated a 'work may be a warning to all the *learned* hereafter, 'how they write in the uſual way of modern controverſy, which has too long by much been the bane of 'the Church of Chriſt; and to the *unlearned*, how 'they truſt to ſuch writings in the determination 'of their faith and practice.' I ſhall only add the judgment of Father Simon, who, in his *Nouvelle Bibliotheque Choiſie* (71), after endeavouring to ſhew, that the Anti-Nicene Fathers are favourable to Arianiſm, and that our author has not proved the contrary, concludes with remarking, that it is not his deſign to run over the whole book of Dr Bull, 'which, 'notwithſtanding, *ſays he*, what I have juſt now obſerved, is a good book, and may be of uſe to Divines.' Then he adds; 'Perhaps it would have 'been better, if the author had proved the myſtery of 'the Trinity, againſt the Socinians, by clear and formal paſſages of the New Teſtament, rather than 'have oppoſed againſt them a tradition, which does 'not appear altogether conſiſtent,' And again; 'if 'the learned Biſhop Bull had been well ſkilled in the '*critique* of the Greek copies of the New Teſtament, 'and of the antient Latin copies, he would not have 'affirmed ſo poſitively, that Tertullian and Cyprian 'have quoted the 7th verſe of the vth chapter of 'the 1ſt epiſtle of St John, nor would he have alledged that paſſage againſt thoſe, who believe that 'it is not genuine.'

[*PP*] *He was preſented by Philip Sheppard, Eſq; to the Rectory of Avening in Glouceſterſhire.*] Mr Bull owed this preferment to the following accident. At the time when that Rectory became vacant, Mr Sheppard and Mr Bull, with ſome other friends, were at Aſtrop-wells in Oxfordſhire, drinking thoſe mineral waters for the advantage of their health; and they were even in company together with ſome other gentlemen, when Mr Sheppard received the news of it. Upon which he acquainted the company, that he had a very good living to diſpoſe of, and reckoned up the qualifications he expected in the perſon, upon whom he ſhould beſtow it; which ſo exactly agreed with Mr Bull's character, that every one preſent plainly perceived, that Mr Sheppard deſigned that perferment in favour of Mr Bull. Some time after, Mr Bull withdrew with ſome of the company, to walk in the garden; which opportunity Mr Sheppard took to declare, that he had purpoſely thrown out thoſe hints, that Mr Bull might be encouraged to apply to him for it; but finding his modeſty was too great to make that ſtep, he was reſolved to offer it to him; which he accordingly did, as ſoon as Mr Bull returned into the room, who received it with all the acknowledgments due for ſo good a living to ſo generous a patron (72).

[*QQ*] *His prudent conduct, and diligent diſcharge of his duty.*] As a particular account has already been given of Dr Bull's method of governing thoſe pariſhes, of which he had the care, it is not neceſſary to add any thing farther upon that ſubject, than what appears to have been peculiar to his conduct at Avening. He had a ſermon at his church every Thurſday, at which time the children were catechized by his Curate; and, to encourage the poor to attend the church at ſuch ſeaſons, he conſtantly upon that day diſtributed five ſhillings among them (73). One great conteſt he had with the diſorderly people of Avening related to the obſervation of a feaſt or wake, which was attended the day following with extravagant revels. Dr Bull preached againſt the diſorders committed upon that occaſion. But when neither his inſtructions nor exhortations could prevail with his pariſhioners to obſerve that decency, which becomes Chriſtians in the celebration of thoſe anniverſaries, he procured an order of ſeſſions to ſuppreſs it, which effectually put an end to it many years before he left that place (74).

(73) Ib. p. 360, 361.

(74) Ib. p. 362, 363.

[*RR*] *The degree of Doctor in Divinity was conferred upon him by the Univerſity of Oxford.*] A motion was made, in full convocation, by Dr Jane, *Regius* Profeſſor of Divinity, that, as an acknowledgment of the ſingular honour done that Univerſity, and of the laſting ſervice done to the whole Church, by Mr George Bull, in his excellent *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, lately printed and publiſhed among them, and as a perpetual teſtimony of their eſteem and regard for a perſon of his merit, he ſhould be admitted to the degree of Doctor in Divinity, notwithſtanding that he had never taken any academical degree. Which motion being unanimouſly agreed to, Biſhop Fell wrote a Letter to Mr Bull, to thank him for the noble preſent he had made him in that immortal work, and to acquaint him at the ſame time with the honour which the Univerſity deſigned him. The Profeſſor wrote alſo a Letter to him, acquainting him with what paſſed in convocation, and preſſing him to come to Oxford, there to be admitted to the higheſt degree of honour that was in their power to conſer on any perſon. Mr Bull received theſe letters at Landaff, where he had juſt taken poſſeſſion of the Archdeaconry, and came to Oxford the beginning of July, where he was created Doctor in Divinity the tenth of the ſaid month 1686, without the payment of the uſual fees (75).

(75) Ib. p. 359, 360.

[*SS*] *He preached very warmly againſt Popery.*] This he did, not only in his own pariſh, but in other publick places, where he was called to preach, as at Bath and Glouceſter, and in a viſitation ſermon at Hampton. It is true, indeed, that Dr Bull was a frank aſſertor of ſome primitive truths, upon which are built ſeveral errors of the Church of Rome; upon which account he had been cenſured by many, who could not diſtinguiſh the foundation from the hay and ſtubble built thereupon, as too much inclining to favour that Church. But how little he deſerved that reflection, appeared now by his courage and reſolution in attacking thoſe pernicious errors, which he apprehended might gain ground by the favour and authority of the Prince upon the throne, who was unhappily engaged in that communion (76).

(76) Ib. p. 364, 365.

[*TT*] *He was put into the Commiſſion of the Peace.*] The main inducement, which prevailed upon Dr Bull to act in a ſecular poſt, was, that he might have an opportunity of putting in execution the laws againſt immorality and prophaneneſs; in which he was very ſucceſsful, by the help of ſome clergymen in his neighbourhood, who procured him informations againſt common ſwearers, drunkards, and ſabbath-breakers (77).

(77) Ib. p. 366.

[*UU*] *His*

'till he was made a Biſhop (*y*). In 1694, whilſt he continued Rector of Avening, he publiſhed his *Judicium Eccleſiæ Catholicæ*, &c. [*UU*], in defence of the *Anathema*, as his former Book had been of the *Faith*, decreed by the firſt Council of Nice (*z*). The laſt treatiſe, which Dr Bull wrote, was his *Primitive Apoſtolical Tradition*, &c. [*WW*], againſt Daniel Zwicker, a Pruſſian (*a*). All Dr Bull's Latin works, which he had publiſhed by himſelf at different times, were collected together, and printed in 1703, in one volume in folio, under the care and inſpection of Dr John Erneſt Grabe, the author's age and infirmities diſabling him from undertaking this edition. The ingenious editor adorned the work with many learned annotations, and uſhered it into the world with an excellent preface (*b*). Dr Bull was in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, when he was acquainted with Her Majeſty's gracious intention of conferring on him the Biſhoprick of St David's; which promotion he at firſt declined, on account of his ill ſtate of health and advanced years; but, by the importunity of his friends, and ſtrong ſollicitations from the governors of the Church, he was at laſt prevailed upon to accept it, and was accordingly conſecrated in Lambeth-Chapel, the twenty-ninth of April 1705 (*c*). Two years after, he loſt his eldeſt ſon, Mr George Bull [*XX*], who died of the ſmall-pox the eleventh of May 1707, in the thirty-

(*y*) Life, &c. p. 363—366.

(*z*) Ib. p. 369.

(*a*) Ib. p. 390.

(*b*) Ib. p. 401, 402.

(*c*) Ib. p. 407—409.

[*UU*] *His Judicium Eccleſiæ Catholicæ*, &c.] The whole title runs thus: *Judicium Eccleſiæ Catholicæ trium priorum Seculorum de neceſſitate credendi, quod Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus ſit verus Deus, aſſertum contra M. Simonem Epiſcopium alioſque*, i. e. 'The 'judgment of the Catholick Church of the three firſt 'centuries concerning the neceſſity of believing, that 'our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is very God, aſſerted againſt 'Simon Epiſcopius and others.' The occaſion of Dr Bull's writing this treatiſe was, that, in reading the thirty-fourth chapter of the fourth book of Epiſcopius's *Inſtitutions*, in which he treats concerning the neceſſity of believing the manner of the *divine filiation* of Jeſus Chriſt, and puts this queſtion, *Whether the fifth (and higheſt) manner of Chriſt's being the Son of God, be neceſſary to be known and believed, and whether they, who deny the ſame, are to be excommunicated and anathematized*; he had made ſome remarks thereupon for his own private uſe, by way of anſwer to the arguments of that learned writer, who held, that the primitive Catholicks did not refuſe communion with thoſe that received not the article of the divine generation or filiation of Jeſus Chriſt, provided they acknowledged him to be the Son of God, in virtue of his miraculous Conception, his mediatorial Office, his Reſurrection from the dead, and exaltation to the right-hand of God the Father (78). The *anathema*, pronounced by the Council of Nice, which Epiſcopius thought too harſh and uncharitable, and which our author undertook to vindicate, is this: 'Thoſe who 'ſay, *there was a time when he was not*, or, *before* 'he was born he was not, or, he was made of things 'that are not, or, he is of another ſubſtance or eſſence; 'and thoſe who maintain that the Son of God is *creat*-'ed, or *convertible*, or *changeable*; all theſe doth 'the Catholick and Apoſtolical Church anathematize.' But this anſwer of Dr Bull to Epiſcopius, in defence of the ſaid *anathema*, was not written ſo much againſt Epiſcopius himſelf, as againſt ſome at home, to whom Dr Bull gives the name of *Mediators*, for joining together two extremes (79). Mr Nelſon has given us a ſhort abſtract of the contents and method of this book (80), which was deſigned as a ſupplement to the *Defenſio Fidei Nicenæ*. The ſame gentleman, ſoon after it's publication, ſent it as a preſent to M. Boſſuet, Biſhop of Meaux, who, upon ſeveral occaſions, had expreſſed a great value and eſteem for Dr Bull's learning and judgment (81). That Prelate not only read the Doctor's work with great care and exactneſs himſelf, but communicated it likewiſe to ſeveral other French Biſhops, who peruſed it with equal pleaſure and ſatisfaction; the reſult of which, was, to compliment the author in their name; and Mr Nelſon was deſired, in a letter from the Biſhop of Meaux, not only to return Dr Bull his humble thanks, but the unfeigned congratulations alſo of the whole clergy of France, then aſſembled at St Germains, for the great ſervice he had done to the Catholick Church, in ſo well defending her determination, concerning the neceſſity of believing the Divinity of the Son of God (82). In that letter, the Biſhop of Meaux expreſſes himſelf in the following terms: *There is one thing I wonder at, which is, that ſo great a man, who ſpeaks ſo advantageouſly of the Church, of Salvation which is obtained only in Unity with her, and of the infallible aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt in the Council of Nice, which infers the ſame aſſiſtance for all others aſſembled in the ſame Church, can continue a moment without acknowledging her. Or, let him tell me, Sir, what he means by the term* Catholick Church? *Is it the Church of* Rome, *and thoſe that adhere to her? Is it the Church of* England? *Is it a confuſed heap of ſocieties, ſeparated the one from the other? And how can they be that Kingdom of Chriſt, not divided againſt itſelf, and which ſhall never periſh? It would be a great ſatisfaction to me to receive ſome anſwer upon this ſubject, that might explain the opinion of ſo weighty and ſolid an author.* Dr Bull anſwered the queries propoſed in this letter; but juſt as his anſwer came to Mr Nelſon's hands, he received the news of the Biſhop's death, which prevented the progreſs of this controverſy (83). However Dr Bull's anſwer was publiſhed, and a ſecond edition printed at London, 1707. in 12*mo*, under the following title; *The Corruptions of the Church of Rome, in relation to Eccleſiaſtical Government, the Rule of Faith, and Form of Divine Worſhip: In anſwer to the Biſhop of* Meaux's *Queries.*

(78) Ib. p. 369.

(79) Ib. p. 372.

(80) Ib. p. 376—383.

(81) See the remark [*OO*].

(82) Life, &c. p. 383—385.

(83) Ib. p. 388—390.

[*WW*] *His* Primitive, Apoſtolical, Tradition, &c.] The whole title is; *Primitiva et Apoſtolica Traditio Dogmatis in Eccleſia Catholica recepti de Jeſu Chriſti Servatoris noſtri Divinitate; Aſſerta atque evidenter demonſtrata contra Danielem Zuikerum Boruſſum, ejuſque nuperos in Anglia Sectatores* (84). i. e. 'The Pri-'mitive and Apoſtolical Tradition of the Doctrine 'received in the Catholick Church, concerning the 'Divinity of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, aſſerted and 'evidently demonſtrated againſt Daniel Zwicker the 'Pruſſian, and his late followers in England.' In this work, Dr Bull undertakes to prove, that Juſtin Martyr was not, as is pretended, an innovator of the Chriſtian Faith in the article concerning the perſon of Chriſt; that he was not deceived herein by the frauds and artifices of the Diſciples of Simon Magus; that he never learnt from the ſchools of Plato, what he taught concerning the *Logos*; and that he was the fartheſt in the world from any deſign of intermixing Polytheiſm with Chriſtianity, or of accommodating the Goſpel of Chriſt to the Gentile theology; but that, on the contrary, it was an apoſtolical tradition, introduced into the firſt Chriſtian Churches, that our Saviour did exiſt before the world was made; that the doctrine of his Godhead could not proceed from the ſchool of the *ſorcerer*, whoſe ſentiments differed very widely from the Catholick tradition of that doctrine; and that it could not poſſibly be derived, either from the Platonick Philoſophers, or any other, whom the Chriſtians had a mind to gain over to their party. Here is alſo a particular and moſt accurate account given of Hegeſippus, and his ſentiment concerning Chriſt's perſon; as likewiſe of the primitive Nazarenes, and of the firſt Biſhops of Jeruſalem, challenged as theirs by Dr Zwicker's Engliſh diſciples. The reader will here be entertained with a good deal of curious and uſeful learning, about the Sibylline Oracles, and the verſes of Orpheus, which are cited by ſeveral of the primitive writers againſt the Heathens (85).

(84) Lond. 1703.

(85) Life, &c. p. 400, 401.

[*XX*] *He loſt his eldeſt ſon* Mr George Bull.] This young gentleman had ſpent ſeventeen years at Chriſt-Church in Oxford, and was eſteemed one of the ornaments of that ſociety. He was tutor to ſeveral young gentlemen; one of whom, Sir Bourchier Wrey, became his patron, and preferred him to the rectory of Tawſtock

thirty-seventh year of his age (*d*). Our Prelate took his seat in the House of Lords in that memorable session, when the bill passed for the *Union* of the two kingdoms, and spoke in a debate which happened upon that occasion [*YY*]. About July after his consecration, he went into his diocese, and was received with all imaginable demonstrations of respect by the gentry and clergy. The episcopal palace at Aberguilly being much out of repair, he chose the town of Brecknock for the place of his residence (*e*), but was obliged, about half a year before his death, to remove from thence to Abermarles, for the benefit of a freer air (*f*). He resided constantly in his diocese, and carefully discharged all the episcopal functions [*ZZ*]. Tho' Bishop Bull was a great admirer of our ecclesiastical constitution, yet he would often lament the distressed state of the Church of England, chiefly owing to the decay of antient discipline, and the great number of lay-impropriations [*AAA*]. Some time before his last sickness, he entertained thoughts of addressing a circular letter to all his clergy; and, after his death, there was found among his papers one drawn up to that purpose [*BBB*]. He had greatly impaired his health, by too intense and unseasonable an application to his studies, and, on the twenty-seventh of September 1709, was taken with a violent fit of coughing, which brought on a spitting of blood. About the beginning of February following, he was seized with a distemper, supposed to be an ulcer, or what they call the inward piles; of which he died the seventeenth of the same month, and was buried, about a week after his death, at Brecknock [*CCC*], leaving

(*d*) Ib. p. 412.

(*e*) Ib. p. 415—417.

(*f*) Ib. p. 437.

Tawstock in Devonshire. Upon the promotion of his father to the See of St David's, he was made Archdeacon of Landaff in his room. His death was the greater loss to the Bishop, as the assistance he expected from him in the discharge of the episcopal function, was what had a great influence upon him in determining him to accept it (86).

(86) Ib. p. 411, 12.

[*YY*] *He spoke in a debate, which happened upon that occasion.*] A certain noble Lord, it seems, moved in a speech, that, since the Parliament of Scotland had given a character of their Church, by extolling *the purity of it's worship*, their Lordships should not be behind-hand in giving a character of *the best constituted Church in the world.* 'For (said he, turning himself, 'towards the bench of Bishops) I have always been 'taught by my Lords the Bishops from my youth, that 'the Church of England was the best constituted 'Church in the world, and most agreeable to apostolical institution.' Whereupon Bishop Bull, who sat very near his Lordship, stood up, and said; *My Lords, I second what that noble Lord hath moved, and do think it highly reasonable, that, in this bill, a character should be given of our most excellent Church. For, my Lords, whoever is skilled in primitive antiquity, must allow it for a certain and evident truth, that the Church of England is, in her doctrine, discipline, and worship, most agreeable to primitive and apostolical institution.* Upon coming out of the house, Bishop Beveridge said to the Bishop of St David's; 'My Lord, if you and 'I had the penning of this bill, it should be in the 'manner your Lordship hath moved.' To which Bishop Bull made such a reply, as represented the necessity he lay under of thus discharging his duty, when so solemnly called upon in the greatest court of the nation (87).

(87) Ib. p. 415, 6.

[*ZZ*] *He carefully discharged all the episcopal functions.*] His first care was to acquaint himself with the state and condition of his diocese; in order to which, he proposed to visit it in person that summer, and actually began at Brecknock, where he delivered his charge to the clergy; but a severe illness putting a stop to his progress at that time, he appointed Commissioners, the chief of whom was Mr William Powel, Rector of Langastock, to visit in his name. Three years afterwards, his Lordship appointed a triennial visitation; but not being able, thro' weakness and continued indispositions, to bear the fatigue of travelling, he constituted his son-in-law Mr Stevens, Archdeacon of Brecknock, with Mr William Powel before-mentioned, to be his Commissioners, and to visit in his stead. Mr Stephens, in this visitation, delivered a charge prepared by the Bishop himself for that purpose (88). He frequently *confirmed* in the neighbourhood of such places where he resided, particularly at Brecknock, Caermarthen, Landeilo, and Abermarles (89). He was very strict in examining into the qualifications of candidates for Holy Orders, and never dismissed those whom he ordained, without the most earnest and affectionate exhortations, with respect to their future conduct (90). Among other irregularities, which he found to have prevailed in his diocese, he endeavoured to reform that of administring Baptism in private houses, excepting in cases of necessity (91). His conversation with his clergy, was, upon all occasions, grave and serious, and related chiefly to the condition of their parishes, and the discharge of their own duties (92).

(88) Ib. p. 417, 21.

(89) Ib. p. 422.

(90) Ib. p. 423, 28.

(91) Ib. p. 429.

[*AAA*] *He lamented the distressed state of the Church of England, owing to —— the great number of lay-impropriations.*] Several good men (he used to say) looked upon the alienation of tythes, as the scandal of the *Reformation*, and esteemed it the great blemish of the *Restoration*, that no care was taken, at that time, of the interest of the Church of England, with respect to it's revenues. When the Bishop talked upon this subject, he would often mention, with pleasure, the wisdom and goodness of Queen Anne, in her augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy. This design, he thought, would be more easily carried on, if some rich impropriators could be prevailed upon, to restore to the Church some part of her revenues, which they had too long enjoyed, to the great prejudice of the Church, and very often to the ruin of their families, by that secret curse, which is the usual attendant on sacrilegious possessions. He was able, he said, to give instances of this kind, in some families of his acquaintance; and in this point, he seemed to concur with the opinion of Sir Henry Spelman. Tho' he was always in his judgment against lay-impropriations, yet he was never so sensible of the great inconveniencies which attend them, as upon his coming into the diocese of St David's, where they are very numerous, and the salaries allowed the curates by the impropriators too mean and inconsiderable to furnish a tolerable maintenance. The Bishop applied himself to several of these impropriators, in hopes of prevailing with them to advance the stipends to a competent subsistence. But the little success he met with in these applications, put him upon inquiring, how far it was in his own power to remedy this grievance; and if he had lived to have seen London once more, he designed to have taken the advice and direction of his brethren, the Bishops, upon this momentous affair (93).

(92) Ib. p. 430.

(93) Ibid. p. 431, 432.

[*BBB*] *There was found among his papers, a* circular letter, *drawn up to that purpose.*] It had not received his last hand, and wants that perfection which usually attended whatever he composed. It is addressed *to the Reverend the Archdeacons, and the rest of the clergy of the diocese of St David's.* The first thing the good Bishop recommends, for the advancement of piety and virtue, is, *The establishing Family Devotion*; the next is, *The erecting of Charity-Schools*; the third is, *That they endeavour to dispose parents, to supply each of their children before they marry, or are otherwise settled in the world, with a small library* (*), *containing books of practical Divinity, to the value of three, four, or five pounds, fixed in a little press with shelves proper for that purpose.* Fourthly, the Bishop recommends the use of the *Welch Common-Prayer-Book*, lately printed in a small volume; and, in the last place, he earnestly exhorts them to use their interest with the Justices of the Peace, *to put in execution the laws against vice and immorality.* The reader may see the letter at length in Mr Nelson (94).

(*) There has been since printed a sheet of paper called, *The Young Christian's Library*; or a Collection of good and useful books proper to be given to young persons by their parents, &c. Printed by J. Downing in Bartholomew-Close.

(94) Ib. p. 442—452.

[*CCC*] *He was buried —— at Brecknock.*] He lies (if Mr Nelson's information be true) between two of his predecessors, Bishop Manwaring and Bishop Lucy. His funeral

leaving behind him but two children [*DDD*] of the eleven with which God had bleſſed him (g). What remains to be drawn of Biſhop Bull's character, and an account of his Sermons and Diſcourſes not hitherto taken notice of, ſhall be given in the remarks [*EEE*] and [*FFF*]. All his works have been publiſhed together ſince his death, in folio, by Mr Nelſon.

(g) Ib. p. 458—475.

funeral was attended by great numbers of the gentry and clergy, both of the county of Caermarthen and of Brecknock. He had given ſtrict charge, that the burthen of his debts ſhould not be increaſed, by beſtowing more expence on his interment, than what neceſſity and decency required. And upon this account, it is thought, when he was aſked where he would be buried, he replied, *Where the tree falleth, there let it lie.* But he was prevailed upon, by the deſire of his wife, to conſent to be buried at Brecknock, it being the place where ſhe deſigned to paſs her widowhood; and, as Mrs Bull was deſirous to be depoſited with her huſband after her death, his grave, by her direction, was walled on all ſides, and made large enough to receive two bodies (95). His grave was covered with a plain ſtone, and the ſhort inſcription upon it, which follows, was framed and ordered by his pious widow, who was ſo ſatisfied with it herſelf, that ſhe would not ſuffer it to be caſt into any other form.

(95) Mrs Bull died ſoon after Mr Nelſon undertook to write the Life of her huſband, and was accordingly buried in the ſame grave with the Biſhop.

HERE LIETH THE RIGHT REVEREND
FATHER IN GOD, DR GEORGE BULL,
LATE BISHOP OF THIS DIOCESS;
WHO WAS EXCELLENTLY LEARNED,
PIOUS AND CHARITABLE;
AND WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
FEBRUARY THE 17th, 1709. AGED 75 (95).

(95) Ib. p 473—475.

[*DDD*] *He left behind him two children.*] *Viz.* his ſon *Robert*, who became Rector of Tortworth in Glouceſterſhire, and Prebendary of Glouceſter, and who married Rachel, the daughter of Edward Stephens, of Cherington, in the county of Glouceſter, Eſq; and of Mary, the daughter of Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench: and his daughter *Bridget*, married, after his death, to Mr Edward Adderley, ſon of the aforeſaid Mary by a former huſband (96).

(96) Ib. p. 475.

[*EEE*] *His character.*] He was tall of ſtature, and in his younger years thin and pale, but fuller and more ſanguine in the middle and latter part of his age; his ſight quick and ſtrong, and his conſtitution firm and vigorous, 'till indefatigable reading, and nocturnal ſtudies, to which he was very much addicted, had firſt impaired, and at length quite extinguiſhed the one, and ſubjected the other to many infirmities; for his ſight failed him entirely, and his ſtrength to a great degree, ſome years before he died. But whatever other bodily indiſpoſitions he contracted, by intenſe thinking, and a ſedentary life, his head was always free, and remained unaffected to the laſt. As to the temperature and complexion of his body, that of melancholy ſeemed to prevail, but never ſo far as to indiſpoſe his mind for ſtudy and converſation. The vivacity of his natural temper expoſed him to ſharp and ſudden fits of anger, which were of but ſhort continuance, and ſufficiently atoned for by the goodneſs and tenderneſs of his nature towards all his domeſticks. He had a firmneſs and conſtancy of mind, which made him not eaſily moved, when he had once fixed his purpoſes and reſolutions. He had early a true ſenſe of religion; and tho' he made a ſhort excurſion into the paths of vanity, yet he was entirely recovered a conſiderable time before he entered into Holy Orders. His great learning was tempered with that modeſt and humble opinion of it, that it thereby ſhone with greater luſtre. His actions were no leſs inſtructive than his converſation; for his exact knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and of the writings of the primitive fathers of the Church, had ſo effectual an influence upon his practice, that it was indeed a fair, entire, and beautiful image of the prudence and probity, ſimplicity and benignity, humility and charity, purity and piety, of the primitive Chriſtians. During his ſickneſs, his admirable patience under exquiſite pains, and his continual prayers, made it evident, that his mind was much fuller of God than of his illneſs; and he entertained thoſe that attended him with ſuch beautiful and lively deſcriptions of religion and another world, as if had a much clearer view than ordinary of what he believed (97).

(97) Ib. p. 476—479.

[*FFF*] *Some account of his* ſermons *and* diſcourſes.] His ſon, *Mr Robert Bull*, had not only the Biſhop's leave, but his order, to print his *ſermons* after his death; ſo that we may from thence conclude, they had received his laſt hand, and conſequently that perfection, which belonged to his compoſitions. The ſubjects are reduced to no dependance upon one another, in the method of ranging them; neither was it neceſſary, ſince it does not appear, that they were framed with any ſuch proſpect (98). Theſe ſermons are of great uſe in two reſpects. In the firſt place, ſeveral of them are written upon the moſt curious points of antiquity, and may ſerve as a touch-ſtone, to diſtinguiſh primitive doctrines from modern errors which have been built upon them. Secondly, they are a very proper model, both as to ſtyle and method, for the teaching any ſubject of Divinity. Dr Lupton, in a letter to Mr Nelſon (99), has given us the following character of Biſhop Bull's ſermons. 'He abhorred 'affectation of wit, trains of fulſom metaphors, and 'nice words wrought up into tuneful, pointed, ſen-'tences, without any ſubſtantial meaning at the bottom 'of them. He looked upon ſermons, conſiſting of 'theſe ingredients, which ſhould be our averſion, and 'not our aim, as empty and frothy, and trifling, as 'inconſiſtent with the dignity of ſerious and ſacred 'ſubjects, and as an indication of a weak judgment.' After cenſuring the abuſe of *wit* in ſermons, the Biſhop goes on: 'The proper uſe even of true wit, doth re-'quire the very beſt judgment. And in both did this 'learned Prelate excel, tho' he uſed the firſt very 'ſparingly in his ſermons; but the ſecond was abun-'dantly demonſtrated in every one of them. For every 'one comprized the principal truths which belonged 'to the ſubject, and thoſe were ranged into the moſt 'natural and eaſy order, illuſtrated with the utmoſt 'clearneſs, confirmed with the utmoſt ſtrength of rea-'ſoning, and expreſſed in the moſt plain and ſignifi-'cant words. And ſuch a rich vein of piety did run 'thro' the whole, as would have rendered it acceptable 'and delightful to any man, who is ſincerely religious, 'tho' it were not attended with thoſe ſhadows of 'beauty and ornament, which are too often thought 'to be the beſt parts of a ſermon.' Dr Lupton concludes thus: *Thoſe therefore who are cenſorious enough to reflect with ſeverity upon the pious ſtrains, which are to be found in* St Chryſoſtom, *Biſhop* Beveridge, *or Biſhop* Bull, *may poſſibly be good judges of an* ode *or an* eſſay, *but do not ſeem to criticize juſtly upon* ſermons, *or to expreſs a juſt value for* ſpiritual *things.* As to thoſe *diſcourſes*, which accompany the Biſhop's *ſermons*, the *firſt* relating to *The Doctrine of the Catholick Church for the firſt three Ages of Chriſtianity, concerning the Bleſſed Trinity, in oppoſition to Sabellianiſm and Tritheiſm*, was drawn up at the requeſt of a perſon of quality (*), who, having ſeriouſly conſidered the controverſy, then carried on between Dr Sherlock and Dr South, found himſelf not clear, as to the ſenſe of the firſt and pureſt ages of the Church, in reference to that great myſtery. The method his Lordſhip pitched upon to ſatisfy his doubts, was, to apply to Dr Bull, that great maſter of Primitive Antiquity; but having no acquaintace with the Doctor, he communicated his thoughts to his worthy friend Mr Archdeacon Parſons, Rector of Odington in Glouceſterſhire, who being a neighbour, and intimately known to Dr Bull, engaged him to comply with his Lordſhip's requeſt, and to draw up the diſcourſe in queſtion, which he incloſed in a letter to the Archdeacon, in order to be communicated to his Lordſhip. This diſcourſe was received with much ſatisfaction by the noble Lord, as appears by a letter addreſſed by him to Mr Parſons (100). The next *Diſcourſe*, concerning which the reader may be apt to require ſome information, is the *fourth*, containing *Some Animadverſions on a Treatiſe of Mr* Gilbert Clerke, *intituled*, Ante-Niceniſmus, *ſo far as the ſaid author pretends to anſwer Dr* George Bull's *Defence of the Nicene Faith.* The manuſcript of theſe Animadverſions was found among Dr Grabe's papers, but appears unqueſtionably to have been written by Dr Bull. The book, which gave occaſion to theſe *Animadverſions*, was printed in 1695, under the title of *Ante-Niceniſmus*; or, *The Teſtimonies of the Fathers, who wrote before the Council*

(98) Ib. p. 48

(99) See Life, p. 490.

(*) Lord Arund

(100) Ib. p. 49—496.

Council of Nice, *whence may be collected the Senſe of the Catholick Church touching the Trinity* At the ſame time came out an Anſwer in Latin to Dr Bull's *Defenſio Fidei*, &c. both written by Mr Gilbert Clerke, who publiſhed his name with them. Theſe two treatiſes were accompanied by a third, without the author's name, intituled, *The true and ancient Faith, concerning the Divinity of Chriſt, aſſerted, againſt Dr George Bull's* Judgment of the Catholick Church, &c (101). The *fifth* and laſt *Diſcourſe*, intituled, *Concerning the firſt Covenant, and the State of Man before the Fall, according to Scripture, and the Senſe of the Primitive Doctors of the Catholick Church*, ſeems to have been drawn up by the learned author about the time that he was engaged in the controverſy relating to *Juſtification*. It plainly appears, that it coſt him a great deal of labour and ſtudy, and he ſeemed, upon ſome occaſions, to expreſs himſelf favourably concerning it. For having lent it to a certain perſon, whoſe name he had forgot, it was loſt for many years, and recovered by the following accident. A neighbouring clergyman dying, Mr Stephens, the Biſhop's ſon in-law, bought part of his books, and among his pamphlets found this treatiſe, which he immediately brought to the author, who could not forbear declaring his ſatisfaction for the recovery of that, upon which he had beſtowed no ſmall pains. It was afterwards read by ſome conſiderable clergymen in the neighbourhood, and at laſt communicated to his particular friend Dr Fowler, afterwards Biſhop of Glouceſter, in whoſe hands it had lain ſo long, that his Lordſhip, when Mr Nelſon (publiſher of the Biſhop's works) applied to him upon that account, had loſt all remembrance of it. However, at this editor's requeſt, Biſhop Fowler ſearched among his papers, and in a few days ſent him the manuſcript (102).

(101) Ib. p. 497—511.

(102) Ib. p. 511, ad finem.

T

BULLEYN (WILLIAM), a learned Phyſician and Botaniſt in the reigns of King Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. He was born in the former part of King Henry the VIIIth's reign, and, as himſelf informs us, in the Iſle of Ely (*a*). He was nearly related, as he alſo ſays, to the principal family, or chief houſe, at Blaxhall in Suffolk (*b*). Whether any ways a-kin to Sir William Bulleyn who was Sheriff of that county and Norfolk, the fifteenth of Henry VII, and grandfather to Queen Anne Bullen, we might better reſolve, if we could find that his arms agreed with theirs; which were, *Argent, a Chevron Gules, inter Three Bulls Heads couped Sable, armed Gules* (*c*). He was bred up, it ſeems, at the Univerſity of Cambridge, however, he might lay ſome foundation of learning in arts at Oxford, as Anthony Wood ſays; though he knew not, through the imperfection of their records in thoſe times, whether he took any degree in that univerſity; but adds, that applying his mind to the ſtudy of Phyſick, he took his degrees in this ſcience elſewhere, became famous therein, and was a member of the College of Phyſicians at London. Thus much, with the titles of his books, is all the perſonal hiſtory which that author has recorded of him, except, what is erroneous, that he flouriſhed, or was alive, above ten years after his death (*d*). But this ſhort and unſatisfactory account, might have been much enlarged and improved by the inſpection only of our author's works. For therein it appears, that he had been a traveller over ſeveral parts of Germany, Scotland, and eſpecially England; throughout which he was well acquainted with the natures of the people, and the products of the ſoil, eſpecially vegetables; which qualified him to deſcribe their virtues ſo well, and to employ them ſo ſucceſsfully as he did, in the reſtoration of health. In or before Queen Mary's reign, he ſeems to have been much converſant about the city of Norwich, where he made ſome remarks upon ſeveral natural productions of that place. He appears likewiſe to have reſided a longer time at Blaxhall in Suffolk, where he alſo made ſeveral of the like obſervations. But he removed afterwards into the North: and where he is ſpeaking of the ſalt that is made in England, he mentions, among other places, the Shiles by Tinmouth-caſtle; where he had a property in the ſalt pans which were upon that Water; as, at Blith in Northumberland, alſo had Sir John Delaval; a patron, whom he deſcribes to have been of great worſhip and hoſpitality there, for many years; a patron, who was far from making any ill uſe of his ſalt; who never powdered his neighbours, tenants, or others dependent upon him, with extortion, or oppreſſion; but, on the contrary, ſo extenſively ſprinkled his generous virtues among them, that the kindly ſeaſoning would preſerve his good name freſh and ſweet in remembrance, as our author promiſes, when his book, by which even it is preſerved, or tranſmitted to poſterity, would, as he fancied, though too humbly of it, be rotten (*e*). But afterwards, he appears to have been more permanently ſettled at Durham; and here he made alſo other obſervations, as he had done in the counties beforementioned, upon ſome of the products he treats of, which were either remarkable for their plenty, excellency, or other qualities; a few whereof may not be unacceptable in a note apart [*A*], as what may contribute to illuſtrate, in ſome particulars, the

(*a*) Dr Bulleyn's Book of Simples, fol. 21. b.

(*b*) His Government of Health, 8vo, p. 126.

(*c*) Fuller's Worthies, in Norfolk, &c.

(*d*) Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col 235.

(*e*) See his book of Simples, fol. 75. b.

[*A*] *A few whereof may not be unacceptable in a note apart.*] Among thoſe natural products, whereon Dr Bulleyn made ſuch obſervations in the counties aforeſaid, it may not be unuſeful to repeat what he has noted in his chapter of Milk; where after having diſtinguiſhed, in what caſes and diſtempers, that ſoft and nutritious liquor, ſo natural to the conſtitutions of man and beaſt, may be improperly and with evil effects uſed; he adds, that nevertheleſs we ſee what a goodly ſupport milk is in a commonwealth, and the feeders thereon, to be people of a good temperament and complexion; as in Wales, Suffolk, Eſſex, and eſpecially about Alſton Moor, among the mountains in the Biſhoprick, where there is little tillage, and ſo much bringing up of cattle, that in this country, ſome time belonging to Sir Thomas, the Baron of Hilton, the people are all chiefly nouriſhed with milk, and uſe little of any other drink (1). In the ſame work, our author makes an obſervation out of other counties, upon the preſervation of their flocks, by the virtues of the herb Tormentile, where he aſſerts, that the ſheep which feed thereon, ſhall never die of the rot; that he has ſeen it proved in ſundry places in Norfolk; and at Blaxhall in Suffolk, upon a ſheep walk in the ſaid town, where they lived many years without rotting, through the virtues of this herb; and ſays, that the ſhepherds alſo had obſerved the ſame (2). There are likewiſe diſperſed up and down his works, ſome little remarks on the plenty and perfection, of ſome native fruits, and other vegetable products of our country in his time, which being before planting and gardening, lent their more artful hands to the improvement of them,

(1) Dr Bulleyn's Book of Simples, fol. 84.

(2) Ibid. fol. 36. b.

the Natural Hiſtories of thoſe places. There, in that city, he practiſed with great reputation,

them, might contribute to illuſtrate the natural fertility of our ſoil and climate, and be very materially inſtanced, not only to remove ſome diſparaging reflexions which have been made upon them, but excite our ſolemn gratitude for the ſame, and alſo our induſtry to multiply and meliorate this national bleſſing. 'Tis not unlikely indeed, that commerce may have increaſed the variety of thoſe vegetables, which are of great convenience to us; as it has alſo introduced a variety of ſuperfluities, and even things we might be contented with of our own growth. But for a late ingenious author to ſay, that, *Without the benefit of commerce, What a barren, uncomfortable ſpot of earth falls to our ſhare!* looks more like the ſophiſtry of ſome French merchant, or other mercenary ſtranger; at leaſt as if it proceeded more from the dictates of a private domeſtick intereſt in foreign importations, than the publick ſpirit of an ingenuous countryman, who was any thing of an hortulan antiquary, and well read in our Natural Hiſtorians, Herbaliſts, and Writers of huſbandry and gardening, or in common experience itſelf. The circulation of money, the profits of exchange, the conſumption of our own manufactures, and indeed, the gratification of our luxury and extravagance, with our thirſt after variety and novelty, and to adopt or naturalize things in faſhion or requeſt in other countries, might yield juſter motives for the ſupport of commerce, than the defects of *our ſun and ſoil* (3). But this author found it alſo neceſſary to imply, that by the aſſiſtance of art and the planter, our fruits (all truly of foreign extraction) may be kept from degenerating into *the traſh of our country*. And yet, when very little art in that planting was uſed among us, at leaſt that is deſcended to our knowledge, we had ſurely better fruits of our own growth, than *hips* and *haws*, *acorns* and *pignuts*, at all times; or Julius Cæſar would never have ſaid of our iſland, apparently with regard to our vegetable varieties, and the perfection they were in, that except the beech and the firr tree; in other things, that is, in it's natural furniture or productions it was like France (4). And this is again well ſupported by the frequent mention in William of Malmſbury, and others of our moſt antient Hiſtorians, of the many vineyards we had in greater number and excellence, ſo many hundred years ſince, than we have now over many parts of the kingdom; in ſome whereof the tythe of wine was a very conſiderable article, as Camden has collected out of thoſe writers; and it is affirmed, we have ſtill upon record ſome treaty of peace between France and England, in which it is ſtipulated, that we ſhould root up our vineyards, and be their cuſtomers for all our wine. If ſuch extirpation of the Engliſh vineyards was not owing to this, it might be to the falling of Gaſcony into the hands of the Engliſh, whence wine was imported cheaper and better than we could make it. So might the improvement of our vintages be diſcouraged, for the employment of our navigation; and the name of vineyards remain in many places, which produce none of their fruit; yet were there very good grapes kept growing in many parts, as Dr Bulleyn has particularly noted in Suffolk (5), though indeed our great neglect of planting and gardening, at ſeveral times and places in general; and of early publiſhing our experiments, obſervations, and improvements therein, are to be cenſured more than any inclemencies of our climate, which is ſo willing to maintain what our ſoil produces, that it has, in ſome places, worn the ſame youthful face of fertility for ages together, without any other art than that of nature herſelf; and the camomile, that has flouriſhed for two hundred years upon Brentford-Green (†), without any planter's care, may ſufficiently evidence how little the vigor of vegetation degenerates, or that of our ſun and ſoil decays. But after all, the confeſſed want of induſtry aforeſaid, will appear to have, among other cauſes, as foreign wars, civil wars, &c. been greatly promoted, even by commerce itſelf; which, for it's own intereſt, has taken the advantage to ſupply us, with what we needed not, for the ſake of our money; and to diſcourage us, by ſuch arguments, from ſupplying ourſelves with what we wanted, only at the expence of our labour. Hence came our own vegetables to be ſo much neglected; hence ſo many ſhip-loads of fruits from abroad; and Billingſgate our beſt orchard for even thoſe fruits, which then grew in our gardens, fields, and hedges; as the caſe is, in ſome meaſure, to this day: and hence, that we had no *Engliſh Herbal* publiſhed, 'till near the middle of King Henry VIIIth's reign, and that but a tranſlation, full of faults and miſtakes (‡). Nay, the firſt publiſher of an original Herbal, in our tongue, Dr William Turner, informs us, that Botany, or the knowledge of ſimpling, was fallen into ſuch neglect, that about the ſame time in that King's reign, or but few years after, he found not a Phyſician in the Univerſity of Cambridge, who could inform him of the Greek, Latin, or Engliſh names of any plants he produced (*), as he gathered them to compile his firſt Latin ſkeleton of the ſaid Engliſh Herbal; and yet this was not owing to the ſcarcity of our plants and fruits, but rather to the variety of them, and the little regard that was paid to them. Foreigners might well take advantage of ſuch neglect, and conſequently ſuch ignorance; tho' this indolence of ours, and their ſeductions to it, were never ſo univerſally prevalent, but that we have had ſpirits, which in many parts of the kingdom for ages paſt, have, by their ſkill and expence in the enrichment of their country, demonſtrated the generous fertility of their lands, in the returns they made them for their labour. It might be excuſable enough in a Frenchman to diſſuade our countrymen from planting of Hops, with an air of friendly concern, that our country would not produce them; but thoſe who have read in our author, Dr Bulleyn, and others, in what perfection they flouriſhed here before that Frenchman was born, will look upon his concern as a kind of farcical friendſhip; and it might have juſtified the title of his book (6), if he could thereby have abridged our planters and our revenue of the great benefit they receive from them. It was above fifty years ſince affirmed by a Staffordſhire Phyſician, that they have advanced land to the profit of ſometimes an hundred pounds an acre (7). It has alſo been of late publickly ſet forth, that but four years laſt paſt, the produce of the duty on hops, was no leſs than ſixty-five thouſand, two hundred eighteen pounds, twelve ſhillings and five pence: and that the laſt year, in which the Duke of Cumberland ſhone like another ſun in Great Britain, our hop-countries produced no leſs than 120000 bags; yet we muſt have foreign commerce for their hops too, though the importation of the great quantities that have been damaged, rotten, dry'd to, and mingled with, duſt, ſand, and other ſoil, which made two parts in three of foreign hops formerly imported, has been long ſince complained of (8): and ſeeing alſo, we ſo often want not ſufficient of our own growth; which, as Dr Bulleyn obſerves, was in his time as good as any in the world (9). It might be for that reaſon of ſuch damaged importations, perhaps, that there was a petition preſented in Parliament againſt them, as a wicked weed, ſo long ago as in the reign of King Henry VI (10); or if it was for any pernicious property conceived in them, or the injudicious uſe of them, they have ſince been ſo ſucceſsfully propagated and uſed, as we have had ſo much better improvement of their culture from the ingenious author, who firſt wrote thereof among us (11), and from the Botaniſts, who have diſtinguiſhed their virtues, that they have out-grown all their accuſations, and been adjudged wholeſome. That petition will ſhew, that the uſe of them came in long before the Reformation, let that comical author, Dr William King, ſay what he will about hops not being to be put into an Engliſhman's drink before hereſy came in (12). Wherein he might be miſled by an erroneous, or miſquoted rhyme in the addition made to Stow's Chronicle by his editor, Edward Howes, where he ſays,

> Turkies, carps, hops, pick'rel, and beer,
> Came into England all in a year (13).

Every one of which particulars, even not excepting perhaps, that of hops and beer, might be conſuted, if it were here expedient to enlarge upon thoſe topicks. The like conceit ſeems to have been too ſtrictly entertained of our Cherries; that we had none tolerable among us, 'till Richard Harris, fruiterer to King Henry VIII. brought over from Flanders about that part

(3) See the *Spectator*, edit. 8vo, 1747, No. 69.

(4) Comment. lib. v.

(5) His Government of Health, p. 162.

(†) As may be computed from Dr Turner's New Herbal, fol. 1551, where he ſays, this herb then alſo grew on Richmond Green, and in greateſt plenty on Hounſlow Heath.

(‡) The Great Herbal, &c. fol. 1525.

(*) See Dr Turner's Herbal, the laſt edit. printed fol. at Collen, 1568, in Pref.

(6) Le Treſore Politique, &c.

(7) W. Weſtmacott's Scripture Herbal, 12mo, 1654.

(8) See Statute primo Jacobi, cap. xviii.

(9) Government of Health, p. 210.

(10) Fuller's Worthies in Eſſex.

(11) Reginalde Scot's Perfect Platform of a Hoppe-Garden, and neceſſarie Inſtructions for the making and Mayntenaunce thereof, &c. Lond. 4to, 1578.

(12) The Art of Cookery, in imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry, &c. 8vo, no date, p 17.

(13) Stow's Chron. edit. fol. 1615, p. 948.

putation, and among others of the moſt eminent inhabitants, was in great favour with Sir

part of his Majeſty's reign before-mentioned, the ſhoots or grafts of a better kind, and planted them here alſo at Tenham in Kent; from which plantation they are called Kentiſh cherries (14): but we may compute from our author, Dr Bulleyn, again, that there grew great plenty of good cherries at Ketreinham, near Norwich, about the ſame time theſe Flemiſh cherries came to ſuch perfection in Kent. The ſame fruiterer brought over ſome different ſpecies of other fruits, as alſo did Mr Maſcall of Plumſted, in Suſſex, as we are informed by a name-ſake of his (15). Whence came our firſt Kentiſh pippins, and other plantations of thoſe pippins elſewhere, as alſo ſome pears belike; but we ought not to infer from thence, that we had no good apples and pears 'till that time, ſince we have it again from Dr Bulleyn, that we had a pear of our own growth, in and about the city of Norwich, called the Black-Friars pear, that was very delicious, pleaſant, and profitable to hot ſtomachs; and he produces the judgment of a right worſhipful Phyſician of the ſame city, Dr Manfield, that thoſe pears without all compariſon, were the beſt that grew in any place of England (16). But as a proof of the great propenſity there is in the moſt barren, ſtoney, and unpromiſing parts of our ſoil, to the vegetation of plants, and their bringing forth fruit in great plenty and perfection, even without care or culture, there is an extraordinary inſtance in the Orford peaſe; and Dr Bulleyn ſeems to have been the firſt author who obſerved and recorded it, at leaſt who deſcribed this remarkable example of fertility, from his own ſight and knowledge of it. He ſays, that in the year 1555, at that town in Suffolk, between the haven and the main ſea, where never plough came, nor natural earth was, but ſtones only, infinite thouſands of ſhip-loads; there did peaſe grow, whoſe roots were more than two fathom long; and the peſcods grew in cluſters, like the chats or keys of aſh trees; bigger than fitches, and leſs than field peaſon; very ſweet to eat of, and ſatisfied many of the poor dwelling thereabouts, who would otherwiſe have periſhed for hunger; the ſcarcity of bread being that year ſo great, that many were driven to make much of acorns; and they laboured under the ſickneſs of a ſtranger fever beſides, than was ever heard of there. Now, ſays the Doctor, whether theſe peaſe and providence of God, came thro' ſhipwreck, with much miſery, or elſe by much miracle, I am not able to determine; but ſown they were not by man's hands, nor like other peaſe (17). This ſtrange event is repeated in ſeveral authors; and among the writers of our chronicles, John Stow confirms the fame. He ſays, it happened in Auguſt that year, and that the place by the ſea-ſide, all of hard ſtones and pebbles, was called a ſhelf, lying between Orford and Aldborough, where never graſs grew, nor any earth was ſeen. He computes the crop that was gathered, to have been above an hundred quarters, and yet there remained, ſome ripe, and ſome bloſſoming, as many more. Further, that the Biſhop of Norwich, the Lord Willoughby, and great numbers beſide, went to behold this fruitful harveſt of the hard rocky ſtones, which lay for the ſpace of three yards under their roots; which were alſo ſweet (18), as we read before their fruit was. Dr Bulleyn in another part of the treatiſe aforeſaid, ſpeaks again of peaſe at Orford, that *grow* on the ſtones without ſowing (19), as if they grew oftener than once, or every year in ſuch manner; and indeed ſo it has been explained to me, by ſome inhabitants of that neighbourhood, that ſome remains of that great crop, are ſtill produced there annually in their ſeaſon; however true the tradition may be, of ſome rigorous Lord, who endeavoured to deſtroy, and thereby deprive the poor of them. In this caſe they might ſow themſelves, as many fruits do; and ſo the peaſe on the Shelf at Orford, may almoſt contend for antiquity, with the camomile on the Green at Brentford. But as for their firſt appearance there, in the year aforeſaid, if we are to look no higher than reaſon for the cauſe, that which it might moſt probably ſpring from, as Dr Bulleyn has hinted, may be a ſhipwreck. Their being unlike other peaſe, ſtrengthens this ſuggeſtion: as that they might be of ſome foreign kind, unſeen in theſe parts before: but then this might have been remembered by the neighbours, and the Doctor might have told us more expreſsly, there lately had been ſuch a wreck upon that ſhore. As for the length of the ſtalks, that might be owing to the diſtance of the owzy bottom, or other lodging and rooting places, down between the pebbles and cliffs of the ragged ſhelves, thro' which ſome ſand and ſoil, that had been thrown up by the tides, were waſhed and ſunk; which ſtones, beſides other benefits, ſupplying the chief uſe of earth, ſupported the ſtems for that length, up thro' the ſpaces and cavities between them, into the air; to which they muſt aſpire, as well by their own diſpoſition to germinate and fructify, as by the attractive power of the ſun, whoſe kindly and natural warmth, thoſe looſe ſtones were more aptly diſpoſed to receive and communicate, than ſtove-walls may be to forward and fertilize by their artificial heat, the more chilly and tender plants that are raiſed againſt them: as in ſeveral parts of France, and other foreign countries, the vines will grow ſo fruitfully out of ſuch ſloaping banks of ſtones as ſhall appear more conducive to their fertility, than the ſhallow and hungry ſoil they are rooted in. Not only the more hardy and common vegetables of our own growth, have thus ſometimes flouriſhed in the moſt rude and uncultivated places, without any human labour of ſowing or planting; but, it is certain, that in our ſoil, however our weather may ſometimes be inconſtant and unfavourable, many more profitable exoticks might, with ordinary care, be naturalized, than have been, and to better purpoſe; to the enrichment as well as ornament of our country, and as well in greater plenty as variety, if the ſpirit of importing and propagating them had been continued with the ſame vigour at it was begun. For when, after it's long ſleep in the bed of ignorance, Botany began to revive, ſhoot forth it's flouriſhing leaves, and diſplay it's fruitful products in the Works of the Learned; when it came to inſtruct us in the vegetable treaſures of foreign nations as well as our own; when navigation invited our adventurous *Argonauts* to make diſcoveries in the New World, and eſtabliſh a communication between it and the Old, to the enlargement of the Britiſh glory as well as it's dominions; and when our great men at home began to delight in more elegant buildings, and to adorn them around with the neweſt improvements of planting and gardening, which is recorded to have been in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign; then were the ſaid Diſcoveries of remote regions, as alſo our Embaſſadors in foreign courts, beſides Phyſicians, Botaniſts, and other ingenious men ſkilled in this branch of Natural Philoſophy, induced, for the emolument of their country, as well as merchants and others, for their own, to import ſuch ſeeds, roots, fruits, and plants, as would furniſh thoſe curious perſons who encouraged them thereto, with various opportunities and occaſions of enlarging their experience in the fertility of this land: among whom, none of thoſe who ſollicited the ſaid importations, were more laudably aſſiduous, or more happily gratified, than the great Lord Burghley; tho' many others, our worthy navigators, travellers, and learned men, ſhould alſo be remembered, for their own honour, and that of this kingdom, who firſt embelliſhed the fame with ſuch vegetable improvements, as well as thoſe patriots who excited them to the ſame, if it were proper in this place to carry this argument to it's deſerved extent. By this means, and the arts of Huſbandry and Gardening, our vegetable productions were multiplied, many rare plants became natives of our ſoil which are of ſovereign virtue in Phyſick, many roots, greens, and pulſe, increaſed the variety of our food, and many trees no leſs diverſified our groves and gardens. Some, beneficial for the celerity of their growth; ſome, for the value of their timber; ſome, for the beauty of their flowers; ſome, for the magnificence of their ſhade; and others, for the excellence of their fruit; inſomuch, that we had then, in that Queen's time, of our indigenous flores and importations together, beſides apricots, peaches, and others of the more elegant flavour, as we have elſewhere obſerved, no leſs than fourteen or fifteen different kinds of cherries; no leſs than three-ſcore different kinds of plums, as many ſorts of pears, exceeding good; and apples of ſuch various kinds, as it was then thought impoſſible to deſcribe them all. So favourable was our

4) The Kentiſh herry Garden or atural Hiſtory the Cherry ree, &c. 4to, S. p. 11.

5) See a Book Fiſhing with ook and Line, c. by L. M. c. Leonard Maſll, printed in o by J. Wolfe, out 1590, p. 7.

6) His Government of Health, 156.

7) His Book of mples, fol. 30.

8) Stowe's ron. fol. 627.

9) Book of mples, fol. 8. b.

Sir Thomas Hilton, Knight, Baron of Hilton, who was Captain of Tinmouth-caſtle under King Philip and Queen Mary. We gather further from his printed works, that he performed ſome notable cures in that family, particularly on the Baron's lady, whom he recovered of a dangerous tympany, with a bread which he directed to be made of anniſeeds and ſome other herbs (*f*). He alſo proved the virtues of dittany in curing the ſame diſeaſe at Tinmouth-caſtle, where plenty thereof grew on the rocks (*g*): probably upon the ſame Lady, at leaſt ſome other perſon in her family. And many other medicines he mentions, which, by his own knowledge and experience, proved ſucceſsful in the relief of human maladies [*B*]. To that Knight aforeſaid, he, in the Epiſtle prefixed, dedicates his book above made uſe of, intituled, *The Government of Health*, in the laſt year of Queen Mary's reign. In which Epiſtle, he ingenuouſly ſets forth the honour of Phyſicians, and the praiſe of health; and in the book he refers to another of his writing, upon *Healthfull Medicines* (*h*), which he finiſhed the year after the former; but

(*f*) His Book of Simples, fol. 2. b.

(*g*) Idem. fol. 62. b.

(*h*) The Government of Health, 12*mo*, edit. 1595, p. 23.

our ſun and ſoil in thoſe days, how indifferently ſoever they have been thought of in ours, when all thoſe, and many other fruits, with their different ſpecies, flouriſh in much greater variety. Mr John Gerard, the famous Botaniſt, whoſe indefatigable labour is no leſs to be commended, for increaſing the vegetable riches of this iſland, by rearing and naturalizing whatever plants were wanting in it, and he could procure from abroad, that would be beneficial to his countrymen, than for deſcribing them and their virtues ſo excellently as he has done in his Herbal (20), under the patronage and encouragement of the Lord Burghley aforeſaid: this man, moſt famous in his time for the knowledge and love of plants, had a large Phyſick-Garden near his houſe in Holbourn, wherein he raiſed near eleven hundred different herbs, ſhrubs, and trees, of foreign as well as domeſtick growth; as may be ſeen in the catalogue he publiſhed of them two years after the Herbal aforeſaid, which he dedicated in Latin to another of his patrons, Sir Walter Raleigh (21). Therein it may appear, that our ground would produce other fruits beſides *hips and haws, acorns and pignuts*. Yet commerce was ſtill ſo very obliging, that it condeſcended, at that time, to carry on a traffick even of potherbs, for the ſupply of our anceſtors tables, and would bring them home to their markets and doors, rather than give them the trouble of raiſing them in their gardens. For we are told, by a perſon of good knowledge in Huſbandry, that in Queen Elizabeth's reign, we had not only our garden wares from Holland (ſuch as cabbages, cauliflowers, *&c.*) but alſo cherries from Flanders, Apples from France, ſaffron and licoriſh from Spain, and hops from the Low-Countries; whereas now, ſays he, it is known, that licoriſh, ſaffron, cherries, apples, pears, hops, and cabbages of England, are the beſt in the world (22). And a little farther imputes it to our ill huſbandry, that we have quinces from Flanders, ſmall nuts from Spain, prunes and walnuts from France, almonds from Italy, and cheſnuts from Portugal (23). Nay, we may gather from the ſame author, that, but twenty years before his writing theſe particulars, a famous town, which he names in the margin Graveſend, had not ſo much as a meſs of peaſe but what they were forced to ſend twenty miles for, even to London; though perhaps they ought to have been at the pains, ſince they would uſe none at home in raiſing them, to have gone as far as Orford for them.

(20) Printed in folio, 1597.

(21) Intituled, Catalogus Arborum. Fruticum, ac Plantarum, tamIndigenarum, quam Exoticarum, in Horto Johannis Gerardi, Civis ac Chirurgi Londinenſis Naſcentium. Fol. Lond. Impenſ. Joan. Norton. 1599.

(22) Robert Child's Letter on the Defects and Remedies of Engliſh Huſbandry, edit. 1651, in Samuel Hartlib's Legacy of Huſbandry, 4*to*, 1655. p. 9.

(23) Idem. p 18.

[*B*] *Which, by his own knowledge and experience, proved ſucceſsful in the relief of human maladies.*] Beſides thoſe medicines he uſed to cure the Lady Hilton, and probably others, of a tympany, as before mentioned, our Doctor has ingenuouſly communicated ſeveral others, wherewith he no leſs effectually reſtored many patients; among which, ſome of the moſt remarkable, we ſhall briefly point at. And theſe are, his clyſter to ſtop the bloody-flux; with which, he ſays, under the perſon or character of Health, 'Aſſure your-'ſelf I have helped many, and hindered none that have 'uſed it; for I myſelf have oftentimes proved it, even 'ſo do you.' The particulars of the herbs, and other ingredients uſed therein, being too long to receite here, we muſt refer to, as alſo, Dr Manfield's clyſter for the cholick, mentioned in the ſame leaf (24). In his diſcourſe of eye-waters, he recommends ſome, which in the ſame character, he ſays alſo, he had proved himſelf to have helped many; eſpecially one, which he tranſcribes from Euonimus; whom, he ſays, was equal to any who ever practiſed diſtillation (25). In his treatiſe of the French diſeaſe, he fairly diſcloſes his own regimen, wherewith he cured many thereof by his guaiacum-drink, and the diet here preſcribed; for the knowledge and management of which, he ſays, few men were to be compared to Thomas Glandfield, a ſkilful Surgeon of London (26). With this diſcourſe ſhould be read, what he has ſaid in another of his books, as well upon the miſuſage, as the beſt manner of uſing the wood or raſpings of *Guaiacum*, in that diſeaſe (27), which, in thoſe days, was more common than is generally apprehended, as the antiquity of the ſaid diſeaſe has ſince been found more remote, than the learned in our author's days apprehended (28); and it never was more rife among the Indians or Neapolitans, nor in France or Spain, than it was in the Doctor's time, or ſoon after, in England. An eminent Surgeon publiſhed a tract not long after our author's death, wherein he affirms, that in the Hoſpital of St Bartholomew in London, alone, there had been cured of this diſeaſe by himſelf, and three others, within five years, to the number at leaſt of one thouſand or more; and a little further he ſays, 'It 'ſeldom happened, in that ſingle Hoſpital, while I 'ſerved there, for the ſpace of nine or ten years, but 'that among every twenty diſeaſed perſons who were 'taken in, ten of them had the pox (29).' But to return to our author; who, deſcribing a *tabes*, or corruption of humours, which begins with a continual rheum, and apoſthumates or putrifies the lungs, 'till it deſtroys the patient by a conſumption, he preſcribes an excellent pill, made of the ſeeds and juice of ſage, with ſpicknard, ginger, long pepper, and old aſter, taking every morning and evening an ounce; drinking ſage water after it: and adds, 'This is the beſt pill 'that ever I did know, and it helped me in a great 'ſickneſs (of that kind) in Suffolk, where ſome time I 'dwelled (30).' In another place he ſays, he has often proved, that the roots of *calamus aromaticus* ſodden in wine, and drank, has cured the white morphew (31). And ſomewhat farther, ſpeaking of the dazie, and it's virtues, called in Latin *bellis*, he more particularly informs us, how he cured R. Belliſis, before ſpoken of, therewith, among other medicines, of a palſey and a quartan, who yet ſought afterwards divers ways to murder him; moſt ungratefully joining with ruffians for that bloody purpoſe (32). In the next leaf he relates how he recovered Sir Richard Alie, a Knight famous for his ſkill in military architecture, and eſpecially the impregnable walls of Berwick, and other eminent buildings; to whom the Doctor adminiſtered relief, when other purgations would not work, and eaſed him of that choler aduſt, or melancholy humour, which annoyed him, with a decoction of ſena, white ginger, and flowers of bugloſs, in the whey of goats milk (33). Further, where he is treating of the quality of creſſes, he informs us of a Suffolk gentleman, who was an officer in the army, that was cured of a weakneſs in the ſeminal veſſels, or involuntary waſting of nature, by an infuſion of that herb in wine (34). Under his chapter of ſpurge, we have an account how the Lord Wharton was near being poiſoned by *quid pro quo*, an ignorant ſervant, in the abſence of the cook, procuring mercury ſublimated at the Apothecary's ſhop, inſtead of the herb mercury, and put it into the broth which his Lordſhip eat, and would have loſt his life by it, if the poiſon had not been ſpeedily diſcharged by proper emeticks (35). And in his chapter of gums, *&c.* he ſays, that with a tent of bacon dipped in tar, he had oftentimes healed the fiſtula (36).

(24) His Book of Compounds, fol. 38.

(25) Ibid. fol. 42.

(26) Idem. fol. 47.

(27) His Book of Simples, fol. 60. *&c.*

(28) Monardus, Montanus, and Johannis de Vigo *&c.* affirm, it firſt appeared in 1494, when the French King went to recover Naples; but a late Surgeon of our own, Mr W. Beckett, has traced it up among us ſome centuries higher; and a French Phyſician Monſieur Pattin in his Letters, as high as it could go, even to Adam and Eve.

(29) W. Clowes De Morbo Gallico, 4*to*, 1585 and ſin.

(30) His Book of Simples, fol. 5.

(31) Idem. fol. 11

(32) Ibid. fol. 39. b.

(33) Id. fol. 40

(34) Ib. fol. 42.

(35) Id. fol. 4

(36) Ibid. fol. 6

[*C*] *Of*

but the manuſcript copy of it, with many others of his books, &c. which made a good part of his library, periſhed unfortunately by ſhipwreck. The author thereupon came patiently to London, with intention to have re-compiled the ſaid work; but was very injuriouſly, for a conſiderable time, obſtructed therein: for it was not long after he arrived at that city, in the year 1560, before he found himſelf, to his great ſurprize and affliction, moſt falſely and wrongfully charged, by Mr William Hilton of Bidick, with having murdered his brother, our author's worthy patron, the Baron aforeſaid; who really died, among his own friends, of a malignant fever. Yet the innocent Doctor was publickly arraigned for the ſame before the Duke of Norfolk, and the moſt diligent injuſtice was uſed to bring him to a ſhameful death, that his adverſary might, with the covetous Ahab, through falſe witneſs and perjury, have obtained, by the counſel of Jezabel, a vineyard with the price of blood. But all the ſhame and ſcandal fell upon the proſecutor's own head: his malice and cruelty, were by juſtice expoſed and rejected; and the Doctor was, though not without much vexation and expence, very honourably acquitted. Yet did not that wicked enemy of his give over his bloody perſecution; but baſely hired ſome ruffians to aſſaſſinate him, with whom alſo others were drawn in as accomplices, who were of genteel extraction; and particularly one R. Belliſes of Yarrow, in the aforeſaid Biſhoprick, did moſt ungratefully attempt the life of this learned man, whoſe ſkill had, not long before, preſerved his. But this alſo proving ineffectual, the ſaid William Hilton arreſted Dr Bulleyn in an action for debt, and confined him in priſon for a long time (*i*), where he wrote a great part of thoſe *Medicinal Treatiſes*, which are to this day extant. Herein he frequently complains, that the vigilant moleſtations of his implacable enemies, both hindered him from publiſhing more of his writings, and from compleating thoſe he had already publiſhed for the good of his country. But theſe indignities grieved him the leſs, coming from him who was a ſtranger to him, ſeeing he had perſecuted the Lady Hilton, his own brother's wife, whoſe ſhame, loſs, and blood, he had alſo ſought, tho' ſhe had redeemed much of his lands from loſs, by the great ſums of money ſhe had lent him; 'and when this man, ſays the Doctor, ſhould have thankfully re-paid that Lady 'her money, then he gratified her as he did me (*k*).' Here the Doctor exclaims againſt the moſt odious and deforming vice of ingratitude, as he has elſewhere more copiouſly done, in other parts of his work (*l*); ſhewing how, in ſpite of great titles, long pedigrees, and coats of arms, it degrades, defaces, and defiles all gentility, with the blackeſt obloquy, ſcandal, and contempt. Thus, triumphant innocence having raiſed a monument of infamy over tyrannical guilt, he leaves his defeated and deſpiſed enemy, with the character of being profitable to few, and noiſome to himſelf; a lover of few, and flatterer of many; a veſſel of ignorance, full of ingratitude; and unnatural, even to his own children; by waſting that in law, which ſhould be reſerved for their relief: ſo concludes, with recommending this cataplaſm to his mortified conſcience. Notwithſtanding thoſe cruel interruptions, he did find means to ſet forth ſuch of his compoſitions, as gained him the character of a learned, experienced, and able, Phyſician. Throughout the ſame he alſo appears a man of piety and probity; and though he lived in the times of Popery, was no way tainted with it's principles. He was very intimate with the works of the antient Phyſicians and Naturaliſts, both Greek, Roman, and Arabian; yet is very fruitful in many modern examples of his own experience, of which we have given a little taſte in the laſt note; and, above all, was commendable, not only for the generous diſpoſition, very exemplary in our age, of commemorating ſo candidly, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who had done good among their friends and neighbours, with their private or family receipts, but alſo for celebrating many of thoſe contemporaries who were eminent in his own profeſſion; of both which, for their gratification who may be curious in hiſtorical enquiries after the promoters and practitioners of medicinal ſcience in thoſe times, a ſhort recital is here annexed [*C*]. Thus we have drawn together what Dr

(*i*) Dr Bulleyn's Preface to his Bulwark of Defence, &c.

(*k*) His book of Simples, fo'. 84. b.

(*l*) His Book of the uſe of Sick Men and Medicines, fol. 75, &c.

[*C*] *Of both which, &c. a ſhort recital is here annexed.*] Of the firſt, or thoſe gentlemen and ladies who thus humanely relieved the infirmities of their neighbours, Dr Bulleyn has theſe words: 'Many 'good men and women within this realm, have divers 'medicines for the cancre, and help their neighbours 'who are in peril, and are not only poor and needy, 'having no money to ſpend in chirurgery, but ſome 'dwell where no Chirurgeons be near at hand; 'In ſuch caſes, many good gentlemen and ladies have 'done no ſmall pleaſure to poor people; as that ex-'cellent Knight, and worthy learned man, Sir Tho-'mas Eliot, whoſe works be immortal; Sir Philip 'Parris of Cambridge, whoſe cures deſerve praiſe; 'Sir William Gaſcogne of Yorkſhire, that helped 'many ſore eyes; and the Lady Taylor of Hunting-'donſhire, and the Lady Dorrel of Kent, had many 'precious medi ines to comfort the ſight, and to heal 'wounds withal, and were well ſeen in herbs. The 'Commonwealth hath great want of them, and of 'their medicines; which, if they had come to my 'hands, they ſhould not have been written on the 'backſide of my book. Among all other, there was a 'Knight, a man of great worſhip, a godly, hurtleſs, 'gentleman, who is departed this life, his name was 'Sir Anthony Hevenyngham (37). This gentleman 'learned a water to kill a cancre, of his own mother, 'which he uſed all his life, to the great help of many 'men, women, and children. He had alſo a ſalve for 'ſundry green wounds, but becauſe I have not the copy 'thereof, I will make report but only of that water 'which I am ſure he uſed; and it is not much unlike 'a water for the cancre which Andreas Furnerius, the 'Frenchman, did make of great virtue, &c (38).' And of the modern Phyſicians, ſuch eſpecially who had advanced the worthy art of Chirurgery, among the worthy fraternity of Chirurgeons in London, by their lectures in Anatomy, he commends 'the learned Dr 'John Kaius his revealing to the ſaid fraternity, the 'hidden jewels and precious treaſures of Galen; 'ſhewing himſelf to be the ſecond Linacre, whoſe 'ſteps he followeth. Who ſhall forget, adds, he the moſt 'worthy Dr William Turner? whoſe learned acts I leave 'to the witty commendations, and immortal praiſe, 'of

(37) Of Hevenyngham in Suffolk.

(38) His Book of Compounds, fol. 46, 47.

Dr Bulleyn has written of others and of himſelf, as far as he thought fit to acquaint us with his own perſonal hiſtory; his further character as an author, beyond what we have here obſerved, might, if it were needful, be drawn from a more deliberate examination of his *Writings*; which, becauſe ſome account may be expected of them, we ſhall here remit to another note [*D*]; all but one tract, the laſt we have met with of our author's

'of Conrad Geſner: Yet his Book of Herbs will always 'grow green and never wither, as long as Dioſcorides is 'had in mind among us mortal wights (*). In the noble 'ſtate of Knights among the Engliſh or Britiſh nation, 'Which of them did ever in race give a trip, out-run, 'or win the victory of Sir Thomas Eliot, Knight? 'Who hath planted ſuch fruitful trees, &c. that his 'grafts do grow in each place in this our common-'wealth; and his *Caſtle of Health* cannot decay. 'Thomas Faire (or Phayer), Doctor of Phyſick, is not 'dead, but is transformed and changed into a new 'nature, immortal. He hath left a piece of dark 'earth behind him, and is gone over Lethe's flood, 'forgetting this world; and with pleaſure ſpendeth his 'time among the heavenly Muſes, under the two-topped 'Hill of Parnaſſus. Full well he knew Pliny, who 'taught the goodneſs of clean creatures, and alſo the 'peſtiferous venom of deadly melancholy ſerpents, and 'their preſent remedy by the virtue of herbs of ſundry 'kinds. Dr Andrew Borde, wrote alſo well of Phy-'ſick to profit the commonwealth withal. This man 'declared, how that he was in a great city where he had 'ſeen three helliſh tragedies; the one was *Nullus Ordo*, 'the ſecond was *Stridor Dentium*, the third was *Horror 'Inhabitans*; and yet this Borde was a bird of this 'neſt or cage, called Rome, whereof he maketh this 'report (39). I will not forget Maſter Thomas Pa-'guinellus, or Paynel, who hath played the good 'ſervant to the commonwealth, in tranſlating good 'books of Phyſick. Dr William Kunningham hath 'well travailed, like a good ſoldier, againſt the igno-'rant enemy; ſetting forth the commendation, praiſe, 'and profit, of Aſtronomy, Coſmography, and Geo-'graphy, &c. (40). How well was he ſeen in 'tongues, learned in arts and ſciences, natural and 'moral; a Father in Phyſick; whoſe learning gave 'liberty to the ignorant, with his *Whetſtone of Wit*, 'and *Caſtle of Knowledge?* and, finally, giving place 'to ſliding nature, died himſelf in bondage or priſon; 'by which death he was delivered and made free, 'and yet liveth in the happy land, among the laureat 'learned: his name was Dr Record; with many 'others, which I muſt give place to time: for their 'virtues be not unknown in Phyſick and Chirurgery, 'although I name them not. Yet if you do further 'delight, without diſdain, to know the names of them 'who have been excellent in the worthy arts of 'Chirurgery, Phyſick, &c. I will declare their names 'in order as I have noted and known.' So he gives us a liſt of above an hundred and twenty ancients and moderns, foreigners as well as natives, who profeſſed the ſaid arts; among which, there are about thirty Engliſhmen; the chief of whom, not already named, are, Bartholmæus, who wrote *De Proprietatibus Rerum*; Dr Barclay; Dr Butts; Dr Clemens; Dr Chambers; Dr Caldwell, of Oxford; Dr Edwards, of Cambridge; Mr Edmunds, Surgeon, of York; and Mr Gale, of London; Dr Hector, of Cambridge; Dr Robert Huyck, the Queen's Phyſician; Dr Freer, of Cambridge; John Porter, of Norwich; Dr Langton, and Dr Larkin, both of Cambridge; Dr Maſters; Robert Balthrop, Surgeon; Dr Simon Ludford, of Oxford; Thomas Colfe, Apothecary; Dr Wendy, of Cambridge; and Vicars, or Vicary, the Surgeon, of London (41).

(*) See more of Dr Turner's praiſe, in Bulleyn's Book of Simples, fol. 67, under the chapter of Tameriſk.

(40) See Dr Boorde's ſecond Booke of the Breviary of Health, named The Extravagantes, 4to, edit. 1587, fol. 5. b.

(40) See more of this Dr Cunningham and his ſaid Work, in The Britiſh Librarian, 8vo, 1738.

(41) Dr Bulleyn's Dialogue between Soreneſs and Chirurgery, fol. 4.

[*D*] *His writings —— we ſhall here remit to another note.*] Our author's book of *Healthful Medicines*, we have before ſpoken of, and obſerved, by what accident the publick was deprived of it: whether it was written in the form of a dialogue, as the reſt of his pieces are, which we have ſeen, is not now to be reſolved. To what has been above ſaid of his book, intituled, *The Government of Health*, we may add, that it was firſt printed in 8vo, 1548, according to Anthony Wood, with a wooden cut of the author prefixed, repreſenting his face in profile, with a long beard. I have by me an imperfect copy of one edition, which had been the property of the late Mr William Beckett, a Surgeon of note in London, who to qualify himſelf for the laudable labour he had undertaken of reviving our old Phyſicians, a work long neglected, and which he to the regret of the curious left unfiniſhed, had made himſelf the beſt acquainted with their lives and writings of any perſon, I ever knew, or heard of. By the dates he has written at the end of this book it appears, that the ſaid edition was printed in 1559. There was a later edition ſtill, after the author's death, part of which is bound up with this book, to complete it; in which, the title runs thus,—*The Government of Health; a Treatiſe written by William Bullein, for the eſpeciall good and healthful Preſervation of Man's Bodie from all noyſome Diſeaſes, proceeding from the Exceſs of evill Diet, and other Infirmities of Nature: Full of excellent Medicines and wiſe Counſels, for Conſervation of Health in Men, Women, and Children: both Pleaſant and profitable to the induſtrious Reader. London: printed by Valentine Sims, in Adling-ſtreet, at the White Swan, near Bainard's Caſtle*, 8vo, 1595. After the Dedication to Baron Hilton, as before obſerved, there are ſome Engliſh verſes of the author's in praiſe of temperance and ſobriety, and on the ill conſequences of gluttony and drunkenneſs. At the end of them are two rhiming lines in Latin, to the ſame purpoſe, as follow:

Eſſe cupis ſanus? ſit tibi parca manus;
Pone gulæ metas, ut ſit tibi longa ætas.

Which may be rendered thus:

If for health you are thinking, be not often drinking;
If you'd live long quiet, be ſparing in diet.

The work contains an account of the nature and properties of all ſimples uſed in food, and how to prevent or deſtroy thoſe diſtempers to which the body of man is incident. In the 43d page of the former, and the 17th leaf of the laſt edition, there is an anatomical figure of a man with the twelve cœleſtial ſigns, and ſeven planets about him, directed to the ſeveral parts of the body, over which they are conceived to preſide; which is copied from Jerom of Brunſwick's Anatomy, as Mr Beckett has in a note at bottom obſerved. The work is interſperſed here and there with ſome other ſpecimens of our author's poetry, and ſome wholeſome reflections, or admonitions for the conduct of life. Among which, thoſe that would perſuade mankind to a regard of that ſagacity and forecaſt, they are commonly moſt apt to neglect, and which many parts of the brute creation have more prudence to practiſe, cannot be too much inculcated, nor any exhortations be more ſeaſonably enforced at all times, than thoſe he makes to all men, while they are in the health and vigour of their younger days, to provide againſt the infirmities of age; where, ſpeaking of that luſty ſtate and flower of our lives, from the twenty-fifth to the thirty-fifth thereof, he ſays, 'It is the beſt time for 'mankind to travel in, with godly exerciſe in Science, 'Art, and profitable travels in his vocation; putting 'in practice, the virtues which he hath learned in 'youth; for this is the ſummer part of life, wherein 'all goodly fruits did flouriſh in every good occupa-'tion: this is the very harveſt, to gather precious 'corn, and fruit of their labours, againſt the cold 'ſtorms and cloudy days of their aged winter, where-'in the body ſhall be weak, and the eyes ſight decay, 'and the hands tremble; and therefore, it is not 'comely to ſee the ſtate of age, without reſt, which, 'in the time of youth, d'd honeſtly travel, for there 'is a grace given to many creatures, unreaſonable, 'both beaſts and fowls, to make proviſion before-hand, 'what is then to be required of men, reaſonable?' as he further inſtances, in certain verſes there added (42). But ſome former reader of them perceiving the good ſenſe in thoſe lines, and regretting the infirmities of old age in them, which they admoniſh us to provide

(42) The Government of Health, p. 30.

author's publiſhing; which, to do juſtice to it's contents, might ſwell that note too much, if it were involved in the catalogue of his other writings therein: for, as it contains many remarkable particulars, which, by reaſon of it's great ſcarcity, have been long buried and forgotten, we have been perſuaded to revive a particular extract of them; and as they comprehend a variety of intelligence, that may be uſeful or agreeable to the curious: theſe are the reaſons this tract is reſerved to appear laſt by itſelf; yet as, like an adjoining paragraph, it follows cloſe to, it ſhould not be thought to appear ſeparate from that catalogue; any more than the officer can be ſaid to be divided from his company, who marches ſingly at the end of it to bring up the rear [*E*]. All that we have met with further

vide againſt, has endeavoured to re-inveſt them in a more modern dreſs; and theſe are the words as they are written in the margin of the ſaid copy,

The *bird*, in ſpring, her artful neſt will build;
The *ant*, with grain, in autumn, ſtore her cell;
The *ſquirrel's dray*, with nuts, 'gainſt winter 's fill'd:
Theſe, tho' *irrational*, their wants foretel!
Then ſhould not *man*, with *reaſon* on his ſide,
E'er he grows old, for age infirm provide?

C. S.

No leſs regard has our author had to youth than old age; and as they could not be more ſeaſonable in his days than they are in ours, ſo of no leſs general importance are his judicious enforcements of that indiſpenſable duty in all parents, of reſtraining their children in time, by education, from all indirect or diſcreditable courſes, and training them in thoſe that will make them ſerviceable members of a common-wealth; to the neglect, whereof, is owing all the greateſt evils of a kingdom; for, ſays he, very emphatically, 'Parents 'have no ſmall charge committed unto them, that 'muſt give account to God how they have brought 'up their children; and they, who in theſe years do 'ſpare correction, truly be grievous enemies unto their 'children, and at laſt ſhall be recompenſed with ſhame, 'when they ſhall ſee misfortune and wretchedneſs fall 'upon the fruits of your own ſeed. For men have 'ſmall profit of their corn, that is choked and over-'come with thiſtles, bryers, and brakes, which were 'not weeded in time; much leſs of their children, who 'have received, neither correction nor honeſt learning 'in due ſeaſon. If the keepers of gardens be careful 'over their late ſown ſeeds, and tender herbs, which 'are in danger to be deſtroyed of every froſt; what 'ſhould good fathers and mothers do for their children, 'whoſe tender and youthful years be carried away and 'overcome of every fooliſh fantaſy (43)?' There is another treatiſe aſcribed to Dr Bulleyn, in the firſt printed catalogue of our old books (44), and out of that, by Anthony Wood, intituled, *A Regimen againſt the Pleuriſy*, 8*vo*. London, 1562 (45). But this, not having ſeen, we cannot ſee any thing more of it. It is much, that it was not involved, as *The Government of Health* in ſome part is, in the collection of his works which were publiſhed the ſame year. This is intituled, *Bulleyn's Bulwarke of Defence, againſt all Sicknes, Sorenes, and Woundes, that doe daily aſſaulte Mankinde; which Bulwarke is kept with* Hillarius *the Gardiner*, Health *the Phiſician, with their* Chyrurgian, *to help the wounded Soldiors. Gathered and practiſed from the moſte worthie Learned, bothe old and newe, to the great comforte of Mankinde. Doen by* Willyam Bulleyn, *and ended this Marche*, Anno Salutis, 1562, folio. *Imprinted at London* by John Kyngſton. On the back of the title page are the arms of Henry Cary, Baron of Hunſdon, Knight of the Garter, printed from a wooden cut; to which Lord our author dedicates the volume, and calls it his Bulwark, or little Fort, againſt the bodily Evils of Soreneſs and Sickneſs; 'And tho' 'there may be many, *ſays he* malicious enough and 'cankered of mind, who with ſlander and diſdain 'may lay their batteries againſt this fort, I ſhall be 'ever able to repulſe them, through your Lordſhip's 'aid; for it neither wants ſtrength of ordnance, pro-'viſion of victuals, nor policy of the moſt worthy, 'Captains and good Soldiers, as Hypocrates, Galen, 'Dioſcorides, &c (46).' This volume conſiſts of, 1. *The Book of Compounds*, with a table of their names, and the Apothecaries rules, or terms. 2. *The Book of the Uſe of ſick Men and Medicines*; before which is prefixed a wooden print of an old man, in a fur gown, and a flat bonnet, his purſe or ſcrip by his ſide, ſupporting himſelf on his ſtaff, and a death's head at his feet, with four verſes at bottom. Theſe are both compoſed in dialogues, between Sickneſs and Health; with an Index at the end. Then follows, 3. *The Book of Simples*, being an herbal, in the form of a dialogue, between Marcellus and Hillarius; at the end of which are the wooden cuts of ſome plants, and of ſome limbecks or ſtills; and after theſe, an index to this part. The laſt treatiſe in the book is, 4. *A Dialogue between Soreneſs and Surgery*; concerning Apoſthumations, and Wounds, with their Cauſes and Cures. This tract has three wooden cuts in it, one repreſenting a man's body on the forepart, full of ſores and ſwellings; the other, in like manner, behind: the third, is alſo a human figure, in which the veins are ſeen, directed to, and named, which are to be opened in Phlebotomy; and at the end, is an index alſo, as to the reſt. Seventeen years after theſe pieces were thus publiſhed, or three years after the author's death, there was a ſecond impreſſion of them, with ſome few corrections and improvements (47), but no addition of the author's tracts before-mentioned, or that treatiſe of his, which is the ſubject of the next note, and was publiſhed, in two or three editions, between the firſt publication and the laſt, of that collection. But there is prefixed to the ſaid laſt edition thereof, a copy of commendatory verſes, by Thomas Newton, an eminent Phyſician, and author of *Cheſter*; in which, it plainly appears, that Dr Bulleyn was then dead, and therefore confirms us in what we before obſerved, as a miſtake in Anthony Wood. In the library of a Phyſician lately deceaſed, there was a copy of this volume, in a blank leaf whereof were ſome other commendatory verſes upon it, written with a pen; which, becauſe they ſeem not to have been publiſhed, we ſhall here, as the greater rarity, preſent to our reader.

So old a writer, and withal ſo good!
Believe me, Bulleyn, thou had'ſt ne'er withſtood
The teeth of Time, with ſuch a youthful look,
Had not good med'cines thus preſerv'd thy book.

Here, we have cypreſs-wood, and cedar-oil,
To chaſe the worms and moths that might it ſpoil:
Then learning of each ſimple, compound makes,
To purge the Criticks, and confound the Quacks.

Thus *Bulleyn's* BULWARK well deſerves the name,
Both for the reader's health, and writer's fame.

All we have here more to obſerve is, that the Doctor's brother, Richard Bulleyn the Divine, above in the text mentioned, who died on the 16th of October 1563, was alſo well ſkilled in ſome branches of Phyſick; having left behind him a treatiſe called *The whole Regimen of the Stone*, as the Doctor informs us, where he has given a ſpecimen of his brother's practice in that diſeaſe (*), with the ſyrup, electuary, pills, plaiſter, and clyſter, he preſcribed in the ſame; and alſo promiſed to oblige the publick with the work complete; but that he did ſo, is not as yet come to our knowledge.

[*E*] *Marches ſingly at the end of it, to bring up the rear.*] This long neglected and unknown treatiſe, is intituled, *A Dialogue both Pleaſaunte and Pietifull; wherein is a goodlie Regiment againſt the Fever Peſtilence; with a Conſolation and Comfort againſt Death: by William Bulleyn*, printed octavo, 1564. It was again newly corrected by the author, and imprinted at London, by John Kyngſton, 8*vo*. 1569 (48).

(47) Lond. folio, 1579.

(*) Dr Bulleyn's Dialogue between Soreneſs and Chirurgery, fol. 48.

(48) A. Wood mentions alſo an edition in 1578.

43) Dr Bulleyn's Government of Health, p. 28.

44) A Catalogue of Engliſh printed Book, &c. compiled by Andrew Maunſell, Bookſeller, ſol. 1595.

45) Ath. Oxon. he firſt edit.

46) Dr Bulleyn's Epiſt. Dedic. to he Lord Hunſdon.

further of Dr Bulleyn, is, that he died on the seventh day of January, 1576 (*m*), and that

(*m*) John Stow's Survey of London, fol. edit. 1633, p. 314, where, in the foregoing page on the same leaf, the death of W. Bolene is dated 1575, and in the next line W. Bolene, Physician, 1587, which last must be false, for the reason given in the note [*D*]; however, it might be the ground of A. Wood's error, as we observed in the beginning.

This dialogue is dedicated by the author, to his friend Edward Barret, of Belhouse in Essex, Esq; at whose said seat part of it was written, and the Epistle Dedicatory to him is dated the twelfth of March 1564. There are twelve interlocutors in the whole discourse, which consists of much variety. Their names specified in Latin, according to their characters, which are, the Poor Beggar; the Citizen and his Wife; the Rich Man Antonio, and his Servant; the Physician and Apothecary; the Miser, Double Dealer, Lying Traveller, Death, and the Divine. From these we learn in general, the dispositions and demeanour of various conditions in life, when any adversity draws near a city, especially that of the pestilence; wherein the author has briefly described, in the person of the beggar, our needy brother's poverty, calling upon the merciless rich, who are wholly entrenched in the thorny embraces of their treasures, and entangled in sweet briers of the world: shewing with all, how the sickness of the wealthy, is the health of the poor; how the loss of the one, is the luck of the other; who, when they themselves become naked, are clothed against their wills; death only being able to render those possessions of the covetous beneficial by dispersion, which monopoly had made a nuisance; like the muckhills that are a burthen to the land, and offensive to the inhabitants thereof, 'till their heaps are cast abroad to the profit of many; which is a comparison, by the way, that with a little variation of words, has been admired in succeeding authors; but Dr Bulleyn never quoted for it. So much, by neglecting our old writers, we are led to the injustice of conferring that respect which is due to their sentiments, upon those who are more modern (49). As the drift of this dialogue, is to run out of one remarkable character, description, or story, into another, they cannot all be equally interesting at this distance of time, to require a coherent and proportionable epitome; therefore, we shall only point at the most capital or considerable of them, and such as are most entertaining in themselves, or most applicable, and likely to illustrate others; above all, such as will best display the knowledge and genius of the author. Among these, one of the most conspicuous objects is, that fine column, which one of the correspondents takes notice of, in the delightful garden of Antonio the rich nobleman, which was eighteen feet high, and eight square, adorned with compartments of curious masonry; in which, the Muses were represented sitting under Parnassus, and not only several of the ancient Poets, under green trees, with laurel garlands beset with roses on their heads, and golden pens in their hands; but, near them, the most famous also of our English Poets; who were, to range them here more correspondent with the order of time, than they were carved on these entablatures, first of all, 'witty CHAUCER, who sat in a 'chair of gold, covered with roses, writiog prose and 'rhyme; accompanied with the spirits of many Kings, 'Knights, and fair Ladies, whom he pleasantly be-'sprinkled with the sweet water of the well, conse-'crated to the Muses, named Aganippe. And as his 'heavenly spirit commended his dear Brigham (50), 'for the worthy intombing of his bones, in the long 'sleeping chamber of most famous Kings: so in tra-'gedy, he bewailed the sudden resurrection of many a 'nobleman before their time, in the spoiling of epi-'taphs, whereby many have lost their inheritance, &c.' To which description is annexed some verses of that Poet's, lamenting the fame. 'Near also sat old moral 'GOWER, with pleasant pen in hand, commending 'honest love, without lust; and pleasure, without 'pride; holiness in the Clergy, without hypocrisy; no 'tyranny in rulers, no falshood in Lawyers, no usury in 'Merchants, no rebellion in the commons; and unity 'among kingdoms, &c. There appeared also, la-'menting LIDGATE, lurking among the lillies, with 'his bald sconce, and a garland of willows about it. 'Booted he was, after St Bennet's guise, and a black 'stammel robe, with a monstrous hood hanging back-'ward; his body stooping forward, bewailing every 'state, with the spirit of providence, foreseeing the falls 'of wicked men, and the slippery seats of princes; the 'ebbing and flowing, the rising and falling of men 'in authority; how virtue advances the simple, and 'vice overthrows the most noble of the world. 'SKELTON sat in the corner of a pillar, with a frosty 'bitten face, frowning; and scarcely yet cooled of 'the hot burning choler, kindled against the cankred 'Cardinal Wolsey; writing many a sharp distich, 'with bloody pen against him; which he sent, through 'the infernal rivers, Styx, Phlegeton, and Acheron, 'by the ferryman of Hell, called Charon, to the said 'Cardinal. Then BARCLAY, in a hooping russet long 'coat, with a pretty hood in his neck, and fine knots 'upon his girdle, after *Francis's* tricks. He was *born 'beyond the cold river of Tweed.* He lodged upon a 'sweet bed of camomile, under the cinnamon tree: 'about him, many shepherds and sheep, with pleasant 'pipes; greatly abhorring the life of courtiers, citi-'zens, usurers, and bankrupts, &c. whose old days 'are miserable; and the state of shepherds and country 'people, he accounted most happy and sure (51).' There are verses suitable to these characters, cited at the end of every one, as of the first; which for their good sense deserve to be recited; therefore are not omitted here, so much for any little roughness in their cadence, which might appear to meer modern readers, or a few antiquated words in them; as that, our account of Dr Bulleyn's work, may not be thought too much amplified with digression. But before we proceed to some few other observable passages in this book of his, we must here observe, of the last mentioned poet, Alexander Barclay, that there is an expression in this character of him, which very luckily reconciles the dispute in many Historians about his birth-place; who must no longer entitle Devonshire (52), or Somerset-shire (53) to the same, seeing our author, a contemporary, who lived in, and long upon, the borders of Scotland, says, as above, he was born in that kingdom: and as much indeed might have been, in great measure, gathered, from an attentive perusal of this Poet himself; among other places, where he makes a digression in praise of James the fourth of that kingdom, and a preference of him, before all other Christian Princes, to be the leader of an holy war; not doubting of peace to Christianity, and conquest of the Turk's dominions, if the English lion would come to a firm and faithful union of his wisdom and riches, with the Scotch unicorne's might and hardiness (54). Before we leave this poet, we shall only admonish our reader, that he is not to be taken for either of the Alexander Barclays, grandfather or grandson, of Mathers in Scotland, who both lived near enough in time, to be mistaken by an unwary reader, or one superficially versed in the chronology of his story, for him; and the rather in that the former of them was a man of a poetical genius; as may appear in a scarce tract, which, commemorating that line of the Barclay's, was written by a descendant thereof, though but few copies were printed of it, for the private satisfaction of the said family, and none ever published (55). But to go on with the contents of our book, and that part more expressly promised in the title, *A Regimen in the Plague*; which we are here led to, by the conference of Antonius the Rich Man, and his Physician; and here we have the causes and signs thereof, with directions as to air, diet, physick, &c. in many prescriptions from the most learned authors, for about sixteen leaves; which yet, is not above a seventh part of the whole book Throughout the same, though that regimen does not appear to have been written upon any particular occasion, in other parts of the Dialogue it does; and there is a letter at the end, written by the author to Mr Francis Barlow, who then lay expiring under this sickness, past all hopes of recovery. Therefore he prescribes to him, and to another of his acquaintance, Mr Ambrose Barnes, rather like a Divine than a Physician; recommending a contented resignation of this frail being, to that perfect and omnipotent Being, who did but lend it; who offers no wrong in resuming his own; nor any new hardship in that change of life, to which all our forefathers have before passed; and to which, in this pilgrimage, tho' our plagues may be great, they are not so great as our deserts of them; all our sorrows, and all our sufferings, not so great as our sins: concluding in these words, 'If the time had not been so much spent, and the 'venom so dangerous, and the parts so weak and 'feeble, I would have caused you to have been let 'blood, and given you pills *contra pestem*, with cor-'dials

(49) See Bacon's Essays, in the chap. of Riches.

(50) Nicholas Brigham, Esq; at whose expence Chaucer's Monument in Westminster Abbey was built, *anno* 1555.

(51) Bulleyn's Dialogue, &c. fol. 10—12.

(52) Vide Pits, p. 745; also The Antiquities of the English Franciscans; 4to, 1726. p. 248.

(53) Wood's Ath. Vol. I. col. 86.

(54) Alex. Barclay's Proem to his Translation of The Ship of Fools, fol. 1509.

(55) Intituled, *A Genealogical Account of the Barclay's of Urie, formerly of Mathers*: extracted from ancient Registers, and authentick Documents: together with Memoirs of the late Colonel David Barclay of Urie, and of his eldest son the late Robert Barclay of Urie. Collected for the information and use of their posterity. Printed, Aberdeen, by James Chalmers, 8vo, 1740.

that he was buried in the same grave, and under the same tomb, with his brother Richard the

'dials accordingly, by God's grace, if that would have 'done you any good; but take this cordial in good 'part, &c (56).' Hence, being directed to the History of those times, we may conclude this instance of those patients, and indeed our author's book itself, were the effect of that great plague which was brought into this realm by the English army, who were called home from Newhaven in France, of which they had been in possession near a twelvemonth, under Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick; having been more unmercifully besieged there by this disease, than by the enemy; and with this contagious pestilence, at their return in 1563, but a year before our author first published this book above, they so infected their own country, that, as our best Historians have recorded, above twenty-one thousand, five hundred persons died thereof in London only (57). And so epidemically that infection raged in this city, that there was but one street therein which escaped it; the name of which, with the reason of it's said happy exemption, having been transmitted to us by another Physician, who lived at that time, and being worthy of observation, we shall give it in his own words, as follow: 'Here a great question ariseth: Whether sweet 'smells correct the pestilent air, or rather be as a 'guide to bring it the sooner into our hearts? to determine which question, I call all the dwellers in 'Bucklersbury in London, to give their sentence: 'which only street, by reason that it is wholly replenished with Physick, drugs, and spicery; and was 'daily perfumed in the time of the plague, with 'pounding of spices, melting of gums, and making 'perfumes for others, escaped that great plague 'brought from Newhaven, whereof there died so 'many, that scarce any house was left unvisited (58).' But now to pursue our Dialogue, there follows a long confabulation between the citizen and his wife; who with Roger their servant, like multitudes of others, are all flying the city upon the melancholy and dreadful prospects of that destructive visitation every where about it; and as they travel along, they entertain one another with great diversity of topicks. When they come to Barnet, which was Roger's birth-place, the Heath reminds him of a story he had received from his parents, concerning his grandfather, who was a leader of a band of tall men, under the Earl of Warwick, against King Edward IV, in that bloody battle which was fought there on Palm-Sunday 1471; when many thousands were slain on that spot of ground (59), and the said Earl among them. But conscience or fear prevailing upon the grandfather of this Roger (60), the night before the battle, he stole from the Earl's camp, and hid himself in a great hollow oak; where he lived for a month, upon the acorns and nuts which had been laid up in store there by the squirrels; and in his sallet, or head-piece, preserved the rain-water for his drink, 'till at length he escaped without danger; in memory whereof, or his more martial atchievements, his harness was worn upon St George's back, in their church, many a cold winter after: and 'tis here noted, that this piece of secret History was not to be found in the Chronicles (61). A little further, on occasion of some discourse they have, upon the ungenerous and ungrateful treatment which the open-hearted and needy so often meet with in the world, from the crafty and more covetous part thereof, Roger relates them a fable in a very humourous and diverting manner. It is called *Jack Drake's Medicine*, being a cure for treacherous ingratitude. It is too long to repeat here with all it's circumstances, and would lose much of it's beauty without them. The subject of it sets forth, the peril which the water-fowls led the land-fowls into, by decoying them to a voyage, and the revenge of the land-fowls upon their aquatick deceivers (62). The title seems not to be derived so much from the name of those birds which are parly concerned in the action, as from some man, who was famous for setting the story forth in all it's agreeable colours: if so, it might be denominated from that very John Drake, the shoe-maker of Norwich in the time of King Henry VIII, and in Dr Bulleyn's time, whose humour to be of the gentleman's cut in his cloaths, was well purged by Sir Philip Calthrop; as Camden has pleasantly rehearsed (63). Our author, a little further, puts a story into Roger's mouth, which one would believe he must have lived in our age to have so much as dream'd of. But as it has been always a well known practice of the Papists, to raise themselves profit by forging of miracles; and they never fail of finding objects fit for their purpose; so they then procured one that answered their ends, in the person of a bold young queen, born at Harborough, the daughter of one Booker, who was a Butcher in that town; and this woman, to the great alarm or astonishment of the world, at the sudden inconstancy or inconsistency of human nature, was delivered of a cat; not of a kitten, as other cats are; but without any space of time which it must need in the world to grow such, a full grown, old cat, at this it's first pretended birth, that had bacon found in the belly of it (64). Might we not here be apt to fancy, that the tutors of Mary Toft of Godalmin in Surrey, had been reading this story, and made improvements of it upon her; who, at that town, was in the year 1726, brought to bed of seventeen rabbets, with great fame and success. But she must needs keep kindling on, for the continuance of that livelihood she was thereby promised, without any other labour; and we know not what a fruitful warren she might have proved, through the careful assistance of her Surgeon, Mr Howard of Guildford, and Monf. St Andre the King's Anatomist; with the rest of the body learned in the profound art of Midwifry, Sir Richard Manningham, Dr Douglas; Dr Mowbray, Mr Limborch, &c. if she had not, by secretly purchasing a rabbet at London, when she was removed to Lacy's bagnio in Leicester-Fields, and obstinately denying it before the Justice, procured herself such closer commitment to custody there, and more vigilant attendance, as quite smothered the project: That Justice, I say, Sir Thomas Clarges, by his seasonable severity proved the best Doctor of them all, as one of them confessed; for he delivered her, even of the imposture; drove away her unnatural births, and restored the woman to a due consistence with, or consideration of, herself: so that after her confessions, Mary Toft was a rabbet-breeder no more, but the renown of her anomalous productions will remain, as long as the Works (65) of her Historians, Poets, and Engravers, shall endure. As for the remainder of our Dialogue, there is still much variety in it; among which we shall only observe, that the entertainment which our author found for his travellers aforesaid, when they got to their inn at *Barnet*, while their dinner was dressing, was, in all probability, more elegant than that which was served up at their table. For there they were diverted, in the parlour with some curious and significant Mottos or Inscriptions; not such as are usually written upon the windows and walls of such pulick-houses in our times, but, as the mode then was, in great mens houses, consisting of noble maxims, and instructive precepts or admonitions, for the amendment of the heart, and the prudent conduct of life; such as might be called golden sentences, as well for the lustre of their ingenuity, and weight of their sense, as that they were here written in letters of gold. Among them, the Citizen explains to his wife, for they are written in Latin, one which alludes with great propriety not only to any particular inn, but to all the passengers and pilgrims thro' this universal inn; therefore it may not be improperly here remembered: *Melius est claudus in via, quam cursor præter viam* (66). Which may be englished thus;

Better a cripple, halting the right way;
Than a swift courier be, that runs astray.

But the pictures wherewith, not only the pannels of that room, but the very borders of them were, by our author's ingenuity adorned, being more numerous, attracted a greater share of their attention. And here again there is great scope to admire the delicacy and fertility of his fancy in the choice of them. For they were not such as some of our modern connoisseurs have thought the most ornamental: and in the purchase whereof, to manifest the fulness of their purses, they have exposed the emptiness of their heads, by surrounding themselves with the most boorish, butcherly, and barbarous objects, even the most vulgar and obscene; yet such as have no invention

(56) Dr Bulleyn's Letter to Fran. Barlow, at the end of his Dialogue aforesaid, p. 112.

(57) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, *anno* 1563.

(58) Dr Thomas Muffet's Health's Improvement, or Rules of Food, &c. 4to. 1655, p. 26. Reprinted 12mo, 1746.

(59) There was, about six years since, an Obelisk erected by Sir Jeremy Vanacker Sambroke, Bart. near where this battle was fought; as by the inscription thereon appears. It stands in the high road, between *Hadley* Windmill and *Kitts-end*; at the end of that road which turns off to *Hatfield*; giving directions to each road, with the distance to each place, and is twelve miles northward from London.

(60) His surname is not here mentioned, but ten leaves further, this Roger calls James Penington the Apothecary in Wood-street, his brother.

(61) Dr Bulleyn's Dialogue, fol. 44.

(62) Idem. fol. 48.

(63) Camden's Remains, edit. 4to, 1614 p. 236.

(64) Dr Bulleyn's Dialogue, fol. 54.

(65) See Brathwait's Remarks on M St Andre, &c. 8vo. 1726. L. Gulliver's Conduct of M. St Andre, &c. 8vo, 1726. Sir Richard Manningham's Diary of his close attendance upon Mary Toft, &c. 8vo, 1726. Mr John Howard's Narrative of the Delivery of Rabbets, &c. 8vo, 1727. Dr Ahler's Observations on the Woman of Godalmin, 8vo. 1727, &c. &c.

(66) Dr Bulleyn's Dialogue, fol. 60.

the Divine, who died thirteen years before, and wherein John Fox, the Martyrologiſt, was alſo interred eleven years after him, in the pariſh church of St Giles, Cripplegate. There is an inſcription on the ſaid tomb, with ſome Latin verſes, in praiſe of them, wherein they are expreſſed to be men famous for their learning and piety; and particularly of Dr Bulleyn it is ſaid, that he was always ready to accommodate the poor, as well as the rich, with medicines for the relief of their diſtempers.

invention to atone for the time and money that was miſ-ſpent upon them; no deſign deeper than the deſignations, no meaning beyond the bare figures. His pictures improve the art, and extend the uſe of painting; they are rhetorical in their very ſilence; have ſome ſoul, as well as body, in them: They all contain ſome ſcheme, ſome moral or political concluſion; they are emblematical pictures, alluſive to ſomething more important than what is outwardly repreſented; and are paintings to direct the underſtanding, as well as divert the eyes, ſetting before them devices of perpetual precaution. Thus in his covetous Shepherd, who is ſheering his ſheep 'till he wounds them, and cannot be content with their fleeces, but muſt have their fleſh and blood; he has ſignificantly painted forth the griping landlord, that ruins his tenants, and, in effect, himſelf. Thus, in his attendant upon another wounded body, from which he bruſhes off, with his branch of roſemary, the full-fed flies, and only thereby makes room for a ſwarm of freſh, hungry ones; he diſplays, in no leſs lively manner, what kind of œconomy it often is, in a government, to be ſhifting and changing of officers in places of profit: And thus in his figure of the fool mounted up in a tree, who is lopping off the very arm of it which ſupports him, is judiciouſly decyphered the condition of all traitors againſt their country, children againſt their parents and relations, ſervants againſt their maſters, poor againſt the rich, tenants againſt their lords, and all others againſt thoſe on whom they have their dependance in this world, and will yet ſeek their detriment, tho' at the price of their own deſtruction. There are but two pictures, in the whole number, mentioned, that are particularly perſonal: One is, the firſt among them, of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Eſſex, whom our author compares to a Wood-cutter, who, had he not been prevented by death, would have utterly eradicated Popery in the Foreſt of Antichriſt: And the laſt is, a repreſentation of many perſons walking, as it were, in one path and one pace, two by two, in portraiture, who were divided, and at variance, in life; expreſſing the great power that is in painting, like death itſelf, to level high and low, good and bad, without diſtinction, in that amicable contraſt; being able, by it's art, to reconcile antipathies, and couple in peace together perſons, as well as things, which nature had made disjunctives. For here, in this workmanly and well-handled piece, as our author calls it, of which he names even the artiſt, William Roſwell, living in Paternoſter-row, were very oppoſitely paired Chriſt and Satan; St Peter, and Simon Magus; Paul, and Alexander the Copper-ſmith; Becket, and Tracy; Martin Luther, and the Pope; OEcolampadius, and Biſhop Fiſher; Sir Thomas More, and John Frith; Biſhop Cranmer, and Gardiner; Bonner, and Bartlet Green; Galen, and Gregory Wiſdom; Avicen, and George Salthouſe; Solomon, and Will. Somers; the Cock, and the Lion; the Wolf, and the Lamb (67); and ſo he makes an end. After this entertainment, the citizen and his wife are diverted at dinner with the ſurprizing adventures and rodomontades of a correſpondent mentioned in this dialogue, named Mendax, or the Lying Traveller; ſatirically expoſing the impoſitions wherewith men of that character are wont to deceive their countrymen; a vice then in faſhion, when ſo many voyagers returned from the new diſcoveries in America. But his encomiums on many parts of the government, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, of this great city of London, which he diſguiſes by the metonomy of ſpelling the word only backwards, as ſome other words muſt be read in this book, with his reflections on the vices and vanities, manners and faſhions of the nation in general, are, from beginning to the end, totally ironical, and highly conſiſtent with the character that diſplays them (68). After they parted from this companion, the citizen and his wife proceed on their journey, ſtill further from the infection in the ſaid metropolis, as they think, but they approached nearer to it. For, after a terrible tempeſt of thunder, lightning, and rain, Death appears armed with his three fatal darts, Famine, War, and Peſtilence; and, after a ſerious parley with the citizen, who could by no means avert him with bribery, ſtruck him mortally with the laſt of thoſe weapons. Upon this, he bewails his condition with great lamentation, and makes his beſt way to the houſe of *Theologus* the Divine, from whom having received the beſt ſpiritual adminiſtrations, he parts with his life in peace, and the parſon ends with a prayer ſuitable to the occaſion. G

(67) Idem, fol. 73. b.

(68) Ibidem, from fol. 83—87, &c.

(a) See the remark [F].

BUNYAN (John), the celebrated author of the *Pilgrim's Progreſs* (a), was born at Elſtow, within a mile of Bedford, in the year 1628. His extraction was very mean, his father being a tinker. His parents gave him an education ſuitable to their condition, bringing him up to write and read; but his natural diſpoſition led him to all manner of wickedneſs, particularly curſing and ſwearing; in which courſe of iniquity he continued, not without ſome extraordinary checks [A], 'till thro' a gradual progreſs in the reformation of his life [B], he arrived at an high degree of that ſaintſhip, which prevailed in thoſe times

[A] *He met with ſome extraordinary checks in the courſe of his iniquity.*] Particularly, one day he was at play with his companions, we are told (1), he heard a ſudden voice from Heaven, ſaying, *Wilt thou leave thy ſins, and go to Heaven; or have thy ſins, and go to hell?* which put him into ſuch a conſternation, that he immediately left his ſport; and, looking up to Heaven, he thought he ſaw the Lord Jeſus looking down upon him, and threatening him with ſome grievous puniſhment for his ungodly practices. Another time, as he was in a vehement fit of curſing and ſwearing, a woman, who was herſelf a notorious ſinner, reproved him ſeverely, telling him, he was able to ſpoil all the youth in the town, if they came but into his company. This reproof, from ſuch a perſon, filled him with a ſecret ſhame, and made him reſolve to refrain from that abominable practice (2).

(1) Account of the Life of Mr J. Bunyan, prefixed to his Works in folio, London, 1736, p. 9. See alſo Bunyan's Account of his own Life, intituled, Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners, &c. in the ſecond Volume of his Works, p. 5.

(2) Account, &c. ib. p. 10. And Grace abounding, &c. ib. p. 6.

[B] *A gradual progreſs in the reformation of his life.*] He was induced to ſet about reading the Scriptures by the accidental converſation of a poor man, with whom he diſcourſed about religion. But, it ſeems, he was yet unacquainted with the corruption and depravity of his own nature, and the neceſſity of the merits of Chriſt to ſave him, 'till, by chance, he met with four poor women at Bedford, who were diſcourſing about the *things of God*, particularly the *New Birth*. Bunyan was ſo mightily affected with the diſcourſe of theſe good women, that he took all opportunities of converſing with them, 'till at length he became as knowing in thoſe matters as his inſtructers. But the devil, not willing ſo eaſily to quit his hold, ſtrove, by divers temptations, to extinguiſh the grace of God in his heart, ſuggeſting to him particularly, that he wanted faith, and never could have any, as not being of the Elect. This put him upon conſidering how to make trial of this matter; and he reſolved to attempt the working a miracle, as the ſureſt teſt of his faith. Accordingly, as he was one day going between Elſtow and Bedford, he was about to ſay to ſome puddles that were in the horſe-path, *Be dry:* but, juſt as he was going to ſpeak, ſome ſecret impulſe prevailed with him not to put his faith upon that trial. After much perplexity, all his doubts were at laſt ſatisfied by that paſſage of St Luke, chap. xiv. ver. 22, 23. *Compel them to come in, that my houſe may be full* ——— And yet there is room (3).

(3) Account, &c. ib. p. 10, 11. And Grace abounding, &c. p. 6—10.

[C] *He*

See an Account of the Life of Mr J. Bunyan, prefixed to his Works in folio, Lond. 1736, p. 1-11. Also Bunyan's Account of his own Life, intitled, Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners, &c. in the second Volume of his Works, p. 3—10.

times of enthusiasm (*b*). He became a soldier in the Parliament's army, and, in 1645, was present at the siege of Leicester; where being drawn out to stand centinel, and another soldier of his company desiring to take his place, he consented, and thereby probably escaped being shot through the head with a musket-ball, which took off his comrade: About the year 1655, he was admitted a member of a Baptist congregation at Bedford; and being soon after convicted at the sessions of holding unlawful assemblies and conventicles, he was sentenced to perpetual banishment, and committed to prison [*C*]; where, though that sentence was never executed upon him, he was confined twelve years and a half (*c*). In the last year of his imprisonment, the Pastor of the congregation at Bedford dying, he was unanimously chosen to supply his place, the twelfth of December 1671 (*d*). He was indebted to the compassion and interest of Dr Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, for his enlargement (*e*); after which he travelled into several parts of England, to visit and confirm the brethren, which procured him the epithet of Bishop Bunyan. In King James IId's reign, when that Prince's declaration for liberty of conscience came abroad, Mr Bunyan, by the voluntary contributions of his followers, built a publick meeting-house at Bedford, and preached constantly to large congregations. He likewise frequently came to London, and visited the congregations of Nonconformists there (*f*). He died in London of a fever [*D*], the thirty-first of August 1688, aged 60 (*g*), and was buried in the new bury-ing-place, near the Artillery-Ground. He had, by his wife Elizabeth, four children; one of whom, named Mary, was blind; his wife did not long survive him, but died in 1692 (*h*). We shall give his character in the words of the Continuator of his Life [*E*]. His works are collected together in two volumes in folio, London 1736, 1737.

Account, &c. supra, p. 10. 12. And Grace abounding, &c. ubi supra, 11, &c.

(*c*) Account, &c. ib. d. And Grace abounding, &c. ibid.

Continuation Mr Bunyan's &c. in his Works, Vol. II. 44.

(*f*) Continuation, &c. ib. p. 44, 45.

(*g*) See his Print at the head of his Works.

(*b*) Continuation, &c. ib. p. 47.

[*C*] *He was committed to prison.*] There were, besides, in the prison, above sixty dissenters, taken at a religious Meeting at Kaistoe in Bedfordshire; among whom were two eminent teachers, Mr Wheeler and Mr Dun. Mr Bunyan employed part of his time in preaching to, and praying with, his fellow-prisoners; and part in making tagged laces (a trade he had learned since his confinement) for the support of himself and his family (4).

Account, &c. p. 12. And Grace abounding, &c. p. 40.

[*D*] *He died in London of a fever.*] He was sent for, from thence, by a young gentleman, a neighbour of his in the country, to be the instrument of making up a breach between him and his father. Mr Bunyan, having happily effected that charitable work, on his return to London, was overtaken by excessive rains; and coming to his lodgings on Snow-hill, very wet, he fell sick of a fever, which put a period to his life (5).

Account, &c. ib.

[*E*] *His character in the words of the* Continuator *of his* Life.] 'He appeared in countenance to be 'of a stern and rough temper; but in his conversation 'mild and affable; not given to loquacity, or much 'discourse in company, unless some urgent occasion 'required it; observing never to boast of himself or his 'parts; but rather seem low in his own eyes, and 'submit himself to the judgment of others; abhorring 'lying and swearing; being just in all that lay in his 'power to his word; not seeming to revenge injuries, 'loving to reconcile differences, and making friendship 'with all: he had a sharp quick eye; accomplished 'with an excellent discerning of persons, being of good 'judgment, and quick wit. As for his person, he was 'tall of stature; strong-boned, tho' not corpulent; 'somewhat of a ruddy face, with sparkling eyes; 'wearing his hair on his upper lip, after the old British 'fashion; his hair reddish, but in his latter days time 'had sprinkled it with grey; his nose well set, but 'not declining or bending, and his mouth moderate 'large; his forehead something high, and his habit 'always plain and modest (6).' T

(6) Continuation of Mr Bunyan's Life, in his Works, Vol. II. p. 47.

BURNET (Thomas) in Latin *Burnetius*, Doctor of Laws, an eminent Divine, and very learned writer at the latter end of the last century, was by birth a Scotchman (*a*), and was admitted of Clare-Hall in Cambridge in June 1651, under the tuition of Mr John Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1654, upon the removal of the learned Dr Cudworth, from the Mastership of Clare-Hall, to that of Christ-College, Mr Burnet transplanted himself to the same college, and, in 1657, was chosen Fellow of that house. The year following, he took the degree of Master of Arts, and, in 1661, was chosen Senior Proctor of the University (*b*). In 1685, he was elected into the Master-ship of the Charter-House in London (*c*), and soon after entered into Holy Orders (*d*). In this station he boldly withstood an attempt of King James II, to impose one Andrew Popham, a Papist, as a pensioner upon the foundation of that house. In 1680, he first published his *Telluris Theoria Sacra* [*A*]. After the Revolution, he was appointed Chaplain

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 868.

(*b*) The Life of Dr Thomas Burnet, prefixed to the translation of his Archeologiæ, Lond. 1736, 8*vo*.

(*c*) In the room of Mr Cresset, and not of William Erskyne, Esq; as Wood pretends.

(*d*) Wood, ubi supra.

[*A*] *His* Telluris Theoria Sacra.] The whole title is; *Telluris Theoria Sacra, Orbis Nostri Originem et Mutationes Generales, Quas aut jam subiit, aut olim subiturus est, complectens.* It was published in *quarto*, and consisted at first of but two books, *viz. Lib.* I. *De Diluvio et Dissolutione Terræ. Lib.* II. *De Tellure Primigenia et De Paradiso.* In 1689, the author published the two remaining books in 4*to. viz. Lib.* III. *De Conflagratione Mundi. Lib.* IV. *De Novis Cœlis et Nova Terra, ac De Beato Seculo, sive De Mundo Renovato, et Rerum omnium Consummatione.* And at the same time, a second edition was published of the two first books. The first volume of the *Theoria* is dedicated to the Earl of Wiltshire, and we learn from the dedication, that a considerable part of it was written by our author, during his travels abroad, in company with that nobleman. *Cum hujus Tractatus partem non exiguam peregrè agens conscripserim, tibi comes et socius itineris, Vir nobilissime,* &c. (1) The two last books are dedicated to his Grace James Duke of Ormond. In the preface to the first volume, the author briefly unfolds his design; which is, he tells us, 'To draw up 'a sacred theory of the earth, in which, beginning 'from the primæval chaos and origin of all things, he 'will follow nature in all her motions and changes, 'to the consummation of all things.' *Telluris Theoriam Sacram instruere decrevimus, in quâ à primævo Chao, teneriscque rerum principiis sumpto exordio, omnes Naturæ motus et renovationes ad earundem rerum supremum exitum prosequemur.* 'This theory, *the author* 'adds, may be called *sacred*, because it does not re-'spect the common Physiology of the earth, but the 'greater changes, and the revolutions of our na-'tural world; such as are taken notice of in the Sa-'cred Writings, and are truly the hinges, upon which 'the dispensations of providence, with respect to this 'earth, turn.' *Hanc Theoriam* Sacram *appello, cum Telluris Physiologiam communem non respiciat; sed majores mundi nostri vicissitudines, quarum meminit Sacra Scriptura, et quæ Providentiæ Divinæ circa Terram sunt*

This circumstance is omitted in the accounts of Burnet's Life.

lain in ordinary to King William, and, through the intereſt of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, Clerk of

ſunt veluti cardines. This performance was ſo univerſally admired, that, upon it's great ſucceſs in *Latin*, and the encouragement of King Charles II, the author publiſhed an edition in *Engliſh*, intituled, *The Sacred Theory of the Earth, containing an account of the Original of the Earth, and of all the General Changes, which it hath already undergone, or is to undergo, 'till the Conſummation of all things. In two Volumes. The two firſt Books concerning the Deluge, and concerning Paradiſe: The two laſt Books concerning the burning of the World, and concerning the New Heavens and new Earth. With a Review of the Theory, and of it's Proofs; eſpecially in reference to Scripture.* The ſixth edition is of the year 1726: to which is added, *The Author's Defence of the Work, from the Exceptions of Mr Warren, and the Examination of Mr Keil.* Dr Burnet dedicated the firſt volume of the *Engliſh Theory* to King Charles II, and the ſecond to Queen Mary. As to this Engliſh edition, he tells us, in the preface to the firſt volume, 'it is the ſame in ſubſtance 'with the Latin,' tho' he confeſſes, 'it is not ſo proper a tranſlation, as a new compoſition upon the 'ſame ground, there being ſeveral additional chapters 'in it, and ſeveral new-moulded.' The author of *The Spectator*, No. 146, ſpeaks in raptures of Dr Burnet's *Theory*, and quotes a very ſhining paſſage out of it. I will tranſcribe what he ſays, together with the citation, and will ſubjoin to it the *Latin*, that the reader may have at once a ſpecimen of the ſublimity of our author's genius, and of his ſtyle in both languages. 'Oh, how glorious, *ſays Mr Spectator*, is 'the old age of that great man, who has ſpent his time 'in ſuch contemplations, as have made this Being, what 'only it ſhould be, an education for Heaven! He has, 'according to the lights of reaſon and revelation, which 'ſeemed to him cleareſt, traced the ſteps of Omnipotence: He has, with a celeſtial ambition, as far as 'is conſiſtent with humility and devotion, examined 'the ways of Providence, from the Creation to the 'Diſſolution of the world. How pleaſing muſt have 'been the ſpeculation, to obſerve nature and providence move together; the phyſical and moral world, 'march the ſame pace; to obſerve Paradiſe and eternal 'ſpring, the ſeat of innocence; troubled ſeaſons and 'angry ſkies, the portion of wickedneſs and vice. 'When this admirable author has reviewed all that is 'paſſed, or is to come, which relates to the habitable 'world, and run through the whole fate of it; how 'could a guardian angel, that had attended it through 'all it's courſes or changes, ſpeak more emphatically 'at the end of his charge, than does our author, when 'he makes, as it were, a funeral oration over this 'globe, looking to the point where it ſtood?'

"Let us, if you pleaſe, to take leave of this ſub-
"ject, reflect, upon this occaſion, on the vanity and
"tranſient glory of this habitable world; how, by the
"force of one element breaking looſe upon the reſt,
"all the varieties of nature, all the works of art, all
"the labours of men, are reduced to nothing; all
"that we admired and adored before, as great and
"magnificent, is obliterated and vaniſhed; and an-
"other form and face of things, plain, ſimple, and
"every where the ſame, overſpreads the whole earth.
"Where are now the great empires of the earth, and
"their great imperial cities? Their pillars, trophies,
"and monuments of glory? Shew me where they
"ſtood; read the inſcription; tell me the victor's
"name. What remains, what impreſſions, what dif-
"ference or diſtinction do you ſee in this maſs of fire?
"*Rome* itſelf, eternal *Rome*, the great city, the em-
"preſs of the world, whoſe domination and ſuper-
"ſtition, antient and modern, make a great part of
"the hiſtory of this earth; What is become of her
"now? She laid her foundations deep, and her
"palaces were ſtrong and ſumptuous: *She glorified*
"*herſelf, and lived deliciouſly, and ſaid in her heart,*
"*I ſit a Queen, and ſhall ſee no ſorrow.* But her
"hour is come; ſhe is wiped away from the face of
"the earth, and buried in perpetual oblivion. But
"'tis not cities only, and the works of mens hands;
"but the everlaſting hills, the mountains, and rocks
"of the earth, are melted as wax before the ſun, and
"*their place is no where to be found.* Here ſtood the
"*Alps*, a prodigious range of ſtone, the load of the
"earth, that covered many countries, and reached
"their arms from the *Ocean* to the *Black-Sea*; this
"huge maſs of ſtone is ſoftened and diſſolved, as a
"tender cloud into rain. Here ſtood the *African*
"mountains, and *Atlas* with his top above the clouds.
"There was frozen *Caucaſus* and *Taurus*, and *Imaus*,
"and the mountains of *Aſia:* and yonder, towards
"the north, ſtood the *Riphæan* hills, cloathed in ice
"and ſnow. All theſe are vaniſhed, dropt away as
"the ſnow upon their heads, and ſwallowed up in a
"red ſea of fire. *Great and marvellous are thy*
"*works, Lord God Almighty; juſt and true are thy*
"*ways, thou King of Saints.* Hallelujah. *Rev.*
"xv. 3. (2)"

(2) Burnet's Theory, edit. 1726, Vol. II. p. 159, 160.

The Latin.

Hic Rerum Status, cum ſimpliciſſimus ſit, nulla indiget ulteriori deſcriptione. Omnia ſibi ſubegit Ignis, omnia abſumpſit; Saxum, Ferrum, Montes, Mare: Orbemque habitabilem non devaſtavit modo, ſed in ſeipſum hauſit, et ad unum omnia Elementa reduxit. Nec tantum Elementa, ſed tota Naturæ Varietas, omneſque Formæ, ad indiſcretam unitatem rediguntur. Quocunque reſpicis, eadem eſt ubique rerum facies. Hîc non ita pridem ſteterunt *Alpes*, et porrexerunt brachia ab Oceano ad Pontum: Hîc maximus *Atlas*, et Africani Montes: Hîc denique *Taurus*, et *Caucaſus*, et *Riphæa* Juga. Sed tantorum corporum quæ vides nunc veſtigia? Quas reliquias, quæ fruſtra monſtras? Quò abierunt immania Saxa? Inſtar teneræ Nivis, quæ ſæpe obtexit eorum cacumina, liquata ſunt *ante faciem Domini* (*). Si *Inſulas* quæramus, aufugerunt inſulæ unà cum montibus, neque *alterutrius inventus eſt locus.* Vis quæramus *Urbes* Terræ; Sanctas *Hieroſolymas*, aut veterum Imperiorum capita: ſed quo duce, quibus indiciis? Dic ſaltem, ubi ſteterit *Roma*; multis nominibus memoranda *Roma*: Sicubi rubere videas hoc mare ignitum, quaſi cruore tinctum, aut vehementius, quam in cæteris locis, efferveſcere, illic ſepultam quære *Romam.* Denique temperare mihi non poſſum, cum hunc rerum vultum intueor, hanc ultimam incendii faciem, quo minus credam, hoc eſſe illud *Mare vitreum, igni mixtum*, in *Apocalypſi Johannis* (†); at quod ſteterunt Sancti, Canticum *Moſis* et *Agni* cantantes, et de *Beſtia* et *Beſtianis* triumphantes. *Magna et mirabilia ſunt Opera tua, Domine Deus Omnipotens: Juſtæ et veræ ſunt viæ tuæ, Rex Sanctorum. Halleluia* Amen (3).

(*) Apoc. xvi. 20

(†) Apoc. xv. 2, 3

(3) Ejuſd. Telluris Theoria Sacra Vol. II. edit. 1689, 4to, p. 121, 122.

Mr Addiſon addreſſed the following beautiful Latin Ode to Dr Burnet, on occaſion of his *Theory* (4).

(4) See his Miscellaneous Works Lond. 1726, 12mo, Vol. II. p. 165.

Ad Inſigniſſimum Virum D. Tho. Burnettum, Sacræ Theoriæ Telluris *Autorem.*

Non uſitatum carminis alitem,
Burnette, poſcis, non humiles modos:
Vulgare Plectrum, languidæque
Reſpuis officium Camænæ.
Tu mixta rerum ſemina conſcius,
Molemque cernis diſſociabilem,
Terramque concretam, et latentem
Oceanum gremio capaci:
Dum veritatem quærere pertinax
Ignota pandis, ſolicitus parum
Utcunque ſtet commune vulgi
Arbitrium et popularis error.
Auditur ingens continuò fragor,
Illapſa Tellus lubrica deſerit
Fundamina, et compage fracta
Suppoſitas gravis urget undas.
Impulſus erumpit medius liquor,
Terras aquarum effuſa licentia
Claudit viciſſim; has inter orbis
Reliquiæ fluitant prioris.
Nunc et recluſo carcere lucidam
Balæna ſpectat ſolis imaginem,
Stellaſque miratur natantes,
Et tremulæ ſimulacra Lunæ.

Quæ

of the Closet to that Prince. In 1692, he published his *Archæologiæ Philosophicæ* [B]: which giving offence to the Clergy, it is said, he was removed from being Clerk of the Closet upon that account (e). If a late writer is to be believed, Dr Burnet was talked of to succeed Dr Tillotson, in the See of Canterbury; but, upon a representation from some of the Bishops, that his writings were too sceptical, the design of his promotion was laid aside (f). He died September the twenty-seventh 1715, and was buried, the third of October following, in the Charter-House Chapel (g). After his death, came out two posthumous pieces of his, intituled, *De Fide et Officiis Christianorum* [C], and *De Statu Mortuorum*

(e) Life, &c.

(f) Mr Oldmixon's Hist. of England during the reigns of King William and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, and King George I, p. 95.

(g) Life, &c.

Quæ pompa vocum non imitabilis!
Qualis calescit Spiritus ingeni!
Ut tollis undas! ut frementem
Diluvii reprimis tumultum!
Quis tam valenti pectore ferreus,
Ut non tremiscens et timido pede
Incedat, orbis dum dolosi
Detegis instabiles ruinas?
Quin hæc cadentûm fragmina montium
Natura vultum sumere simplicem
Coget refingens, in priorem
Mox iterum reditura formam.
Nimbis rubentem Sulphureis Jovem
Cernas; ut udis sævit atrox hyems
Incendiis, commune mundo
Et populis meditata bustum!
Nudus liquentes plorat Athos nives,
Et mox liquescens ipse adamantinum
Fundit cacumen, dum per imas
Saxa fluunt resoluta valles.
Jamque alta cœli mœnia corruunt,
Et vestra tandem Pagina (proh nefas!)
BURNETTE, vestra augebit igues,
Heu socio peritura mundo.
Mox æqua Tellus, mox subitus viror
Ubique rident: En teretem Globum!
En læta vernantis Favoni
Flamina, perpetuosque flores!
O pectus ingens! O animum gravem,
Mundi capacem! Si bonus auguror,
Te, nostra quo tellus superbit,
Accipiet renovata civem.

Coll. Magd. Oxon. 1699.

But Dr Burnet's Theory, ingenious as it is, was attacked by some writers as *unphilosophical*; among whom the principal were, Mr Erasmus Warren, Rector of Worlington in Suffolk; and Mr John Keil, of Baliol College in Oxford. The former of these published at London, in 1690, *Geologia, or a Discourse concerning the earth before the Deluge; wherein the form and properties ascribed to it, in a book intituled,* The Theory of the Earth, *are excepted against, and it is made appear, that the Dissolution of the Earth was not the Cause of the Universal Flood. Also a new Explication of that Flood is attempted.* Dr Burnet wrote a reply to this, intituled *An Answer to the Exceptions made by Mr Erasmus Warren, against The Sacred Theory of the Earth. London,* 1690, in folio, in which he follows the *Excepter* chapter by chapter. Mr Warren rejoined, and Dr Burnet replied, in *A Short Consideration of Mr Erasmus Warren's Defence of his Exceptions against the Theory of the Earth. In a Letter to a Friend.* Mr Keil published, in 1698, *An Examination of Dr Burnet's Theory of the Earth,* dedicated to Dr Mander, Master of Baliol College. To which Dr Burnet replied, in some *Reflections upon the Theory of the Earth, occasioned by a late Examination of it. In a Letter to a Friend* (5). There were some other pieces written against the *Theory*; particularly, *Some Animadversions upon a book, intituled,* The Theory of the Earth, *by Herbert* (Crosts) *Lord Bishop of Hereford.* London, 1685, 8vo. Dr Burnet reflects with great severity upon this piece, in the conclusion of his *Answer to the Exceptions,* &c. (6), where he says: 'Some inconsiderate minds make 'every departure from the *Letter*, let the matter or 'cause be what it will, to be an affront to *Scripture:* 'and there, where we have the greatest liberty, 'I mean in things that relate to the *natural* world, 'they have no more indulgence or moderation, than 'if it was an intrenchment upon the Articles of *Faith:* 'In this particular, I cannot excuse the present Ani-'madverter: yet I must needs say, he is a very *Saint,* 'in comparison of *another Animadverter,* who hath 'wrote upon the same subject, but neither like a 'gentleman, nor like a Christian. And such writings 'answer themselves.' *Considerations on the Theory of the Earth, by* John Beaumont, jun. a pamphlet in 4to. *London,* 1693. *A. Lovell's Summary of Heads in answer to Dr Burnet. London,* 1696, in 4to. *The Abyssinian Philosophy confuted; or,* Telluris Theoria, *neither Sacred nor agreeable to Reason, by* Robert St Clair, London, 1697, in 12mo. In which the author pretends, that Dr Burnet's hypothesis is not a new one, but was formerly received among the Abyssinian Philosophers. The late Mr Flamstead, the King's Astronomer, speaking to our author with great warmth on the subject of his theory, said he would prove, and make him know, that *there went more to the making the world, than a fine turned period* (7). And the same Astronomer declared, that he was able to overthrow Dr Burnet's *Theory,* in one sheet of paper (8).

(5) These Defences of the Theory are printed at the end of the sixth edition.

(6) Theory, &c. Vol. II. p. 480.

(7) Sir Hans Sloane's Voyage to the Islands of Madeira, &c. Vol. II. Lond. 1725, in fol.

(8) New Memoirs of Literature for Febr. 1726, art. 4.

[B] *His Archæologiæ Philosophicæ.*] The title is: *Archæologiæ Philosophicæ; sive Doctrina Antiqua de rerum Originibus.* i. e. 'An enquiry into the Doctrine 'of the ancient Philosophers concerning the original of 'the World.' In two books. The second edition is in 8vo. London 1733. It is dedicated to King William. In the Preface the author tells us, 'His design is to 'enquire into the opinions of the Ancients concerning 'the nature of things, in order to vindicate and give 'antiquity it's due praise, and to shew, that neither 'were our ancestors dunces, nor was wisdom or true 'Philosophy born with us.' *Sententias veterum de rerum natura potissimum inquirimus: idque in laudem et vindicias Antiquitatis; ut neque fungos fuisse majores nostros, neque nobiscum natam esse sapientiam, ostendamus.* At the end of the Preface, Dr Burnet acquaints us, he had designed to draw up a *Theory of the visible Creation,* both animate and inanimate, cœlestial and terrestrial, but was diverted from his purpose by the consideration of his advanced age, and the approach of death. To the second edition are added two letters, intituled; *Ad virum clarissimum, A. B. circa nuper editum de Archæologiis Philosophicis Libellum, Authoris Epistolæ Duæ.* Mr Keil, in his *Examination of Dr Burnet's Reflections upon the Theory of the Earth;* and Frederic Spanheim, in his *Controversiarum de religione,* &c. *Elenchus Historico-Theologicus,* have animadverted upon the *Archæologiæ.*

[C] *His De Fide et Officiis Christianorum*] The second edition is in 8vo. London 1733. In the Preface, the Editor gives us a little history of this, and the other posthumous Tract (9). It seems, it was usual with Dr Burnet, before he published any thing in Latin, to have two or three copies, and no more, printed off; which he kept by him for some time, in order to revise at leisure what he had written *currente calamo,* and sometimes, when he thought proper, to be communicated to his particular friends for their opinions. These copies were always interleaved for the convenience of writing any observations or improvements in the opposite page. One of these *proof-copies* (as they may be called) of the Tract, *De Fide et Officiis,* &c. having been clandestinely obtained during the author's life-time, there appeared a surreptitious edition, in which the Editor had thrown the Doctor's manuscript remarks into the text, very injudiciously, and sometimes in very improper places. Which Dr Burnet hearing, he ordered his Bookseller to buy up the whole impression at any price. Much the same fate attended the Tract, *De Statu Mortuorum,* &c. a *proof-copy* of which, having privately got into other hands, was, after the author's death, publickly sold, among other books,

(9) De Statu, &c.

at

(*b*) The first in June, the other in October, 1727.

Mortuorum et Resurgentium [*D*]; both published (*b*) by his friend, and supervisor of his will, Francis Wilkinson, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq;

at an auction. The purchaser, a very learned gentleman (the Editor does not say, who) having perused it, was so highly pleased with it, that he procured a few copies of it to be printed at his own expence: but the greatest care was taken to prevent the publication of it, and those, who had the liberty of perusing the book, were obliged in honour not to suffer it to be transcribed, or committed to the press. But, notwithstanding all this caution, a surreptitious edition of this book was printed in Holland: and thus the publick being in possession of both treatises, Mr Wilkinson, in whose hand the original manuscripts were, was persuaded to publish correct editions of both. As to the Tract, *De Fide et Officiis Christianorum*, it is but a part of a larger design: for the whole work was by the author intituled, *Tractatus de claris et obscuris in Doctrina Christiana:* then follows, *Pars Prior, in qua agitur de iis quæ spectant ad vitam hodiernam, sive, De Fide et Officiis Christianorum.* i. e. 'A Treatise 'of what is plain, and what is obscure, in the Christian 'Doctrine: Part the first, treating of those things, 'which respect this life, or, of the Faith and Practice 'of Christians.' There was found among our author's manuscripts a Preface, intended probably for this work, consisting of no less than twenty-nine *folio* pages; an extract of which the Editor has given us. There were likewise found three additional chapters, numbered thus, Xmum, XImum, and XIImum; with the following titles: 10. *De Religione Romano Pontificia; imprimis, De dogmate Transubstantiationis.* i. e. 'Of the Roman Catholick Religion, and first, of the 'Doctrine of Transubstantiation.' 11. *De Inquisitione Romana.* i. e. 'Of the Romish Inquisition.' 12. *De aliis dogmatis Ecclesiæ Romano Pontificiæ, et de celebrata Infallibilitate.* i. e. 'Of other Doctrines of 'the Romish Church, and of it's boasted Infallibili-'ty.' To all which are added, *Duo Dialogi de rebus Judaicis.* i. e. 'Two Dialogues concerning the Jewish 'Affairs.' But though, in the opinion of the Editor, these pieces are by no means unworthy of Dr Burnet's pen, yet, the present book having received it's FINIS from the author's own hand, he thought it best to proceed no farther.

[*D*] *His De Statu Mortuorum et Resurgentium.*] That is, *Of the State and Condition of departed Souls before, at, and after the Resurrection.* The history of the publication of this piece is already given. The second edition is in 8*vo.* London 1733. There is added to it an Appendix, *De futura Judæorum Restauratione:* i. e. 'Of the future Restauration of the Jews.' It had been separately printed by the author himself, and thence escaped piratical hands. But it being evident from the beginning of this little Tract, that it was designed by the author as a part of, or rather Appendix to, this book, the Editor thought fit to publish it, from the author's own manuscript, together with this book. T

BURNET (GILBERT) Bishop of Salisbury, and an eminent writer in the reigns of King William, Queen Anne, and the beginning of King George I; was born at Edinburgh, the eighteenth of September 1643 (*a*). He received the first rudiments of his education from his father [*A*]; under whose care he made so quick a progress, that, at ten years of age, he perfectly understood the Latin tongue; at which time he was sent to the college of Aberdeen; where he acquired the Greek, and went thro' the usual course of Aristotelian Logick and Philosophy, with uncommon applause. He was scarce fourteen, when he commenced Master of Arts; and then applied himself to the study of the Civil Law; but, after a year's diligent application to that science, he changed his resolution, and turned his thoughts wholly to the study of Divinity (*b*) [*B*]. At eighteen years of age, he was put upon his trial as a Probationer or Expectant Preacher [*C*]; and, at the same time,

(*a*) Life of the Author, by his son Thomas Burnet, Esq; subjoined to the Bishop's Hist. of his own Time, in two Volumes, fol. Lond. 1724 and 1734, Vol. II. p. 672.

(*b*) Ib. p. 673.

[*A*] *His father.*] He was the younger brother of a family, very considerable for it's antiquity as well as interest, in the Shire of Aberdeen; and was bred to the Civil Law, which he studied for seven years in France. His excessive modesty so far depressed his abilities, that he never made a shining figure at the bar, tho' he was universally esteemed to be a man of judgment and knowledge in his profession. He was remarkably generous in his practice, never taking a fee from the poor, nor from a clergyman, when he sued in the right of his church; and bestowing great part of his profits in acts of charity and friendship. In the year 1637, when the troubles in Scotland were breaking out, he was so disgusted at the conduct of the governing Bishops there, whom he censured with great freedom, and was, at the same time, so remarkable for his strict and exemplary life, that he was generally called a Puritan. But when he saw, that, instead of reforming abuses in the Episcopal Order, the order itself was struck at, he adhered to it with great zeal and constancy; as he did to the rights of the Crown, not once complying with that party, which afterwards prevailed in both nations. For tho' he agreed with Barclay and Grotius (with the latter of whom he had been intimately acquainted) as to their notions of resistance where the laws are broke through by a limited Sovereign, yet he did not think that was then the case in Scotland. He married the sister of the famous Sir Archibald Johnstoun, called Lord Warristoun; who, during the Civil Wars, was at the head of the Presbyterian party, and so zealously attached to that interest, that neither friendship nor alliance, could dispose him to shew favour to those, who refused the Solemn League and Covenant. Our author's father persisting in this refusal, was obliged, at three several times, to quit the kingdom: and when his return was afterwards connived at, as his principles would not permit him to renew the practice of the Law, much less to accept the preferments in it offered him by Oliver Cromwell, he retired to his own estate in the country; where he lived 'till the Restoration, when he was made one of the Lords of the Session. His wife, our author's mother, was very eminent for her piety and virtue; and a warm zealot for the Presbyterian discipline, in which way she had been very strictly educated (1).

[*B*] *He turned his thoughts wholly to the study of Divinity.*] He went through the Old and New Testament, with the best commentators on both: he read the most noted controversial writers in Divinity, particularly Bellarmine and Chamier, in opposition to each other; and he perused some of the most received systems of School Divinity; but was soon disgusted at the subtlety and jargon of those writers. In his hours of amusement, he ran through many volumes of History; and his daily application to these studies seldom fell short of fourteen hours in a day (2).

[*C*] *He was put upon his trial, as a Probationer, or Expectant Preacher.*] A Probationer, we are told (3), is one, who, after having passed examination, is at liberty to preach wheresoever he is desired, but has no particular church, to which he is attendant. This is the first step, in Scotland, towards admission into orders, and was practised both under the Presbyterian and Episcopal Government. The Probationers are first appointed to preach practically on a text assigned them; next, critically upon another, the sense of which is controverted; and then, a mixed sermon, of criticism upon the text, and practical inferences from it. After this, the examiners allot to each a head of Divinity, on which they are to make a Latin oration, and give out theses upon it, which they undertake to defend in publick. Then an Hebrew psalm, and a portion of the Greek Testament, are given them, to render into English *extempore*. Last of all comes the questionary trial, in which every minister of

(1) Life of the Author, by his son Thomas Burnet, Esq; subjoined to the second Volume of the Bishop's Hist. of his own Times, Lond. 1734, p. 672, 673.

(2) Ib. p. 673.

(3) Ib. p. 674.

time, was offered the preſentation to a very good benefice, by his couſin-german Sir Alexander Burnet; but, thinking himſelf too young for the cure of ſouls (*), he modeſtly declined that offer (*c*). His education thus happily begun, was finiſhed by the converſation and advice of the moſt eminent Scotch Divines (*d*) [*D*]. In 1663, about two years after his father's death, he came into England, where he firſt viſited the two Univerſities [*E*]; and, after a ſhort ſtay of about ſix months, he returned to Scotland, where he declined accepting the living of Saltoun, offered him by Sir Robert Fletcher of that place, reſolving to travel for ſome months beyond ſea (*e*). In 1664, our author went over into Holland; where after he had ſeen what was remarkable in the Seven Provinces, he reſided for ſome time at Amſterdam; from whence paſſing thro' the Netherlands into France, he made ſome ſtay at Paris [*F*]. Towards the end of the year he returned into Scotland, taking London in the way; where he was introduced, by the Preſident Sir Robert Murray, to be a member of the Royal Society (*f*). In 1665, he was ordained a Prieſt by the Biſhop of Edinburgh, and preſented by Sir Robert Fletcher to the living of Saltoun, which had been kept vacant during his abſence. He ſoon gained the affections of his whole pariſh [*G*], not excepting the Preſbyterians, tho' he was the only clergyman in Scotland, that made uſe of the prayers in the Liturgy of the Church of England (*g*). The ſame year, he drew up a memorial of the abuſes of the Scotch Biſhops [*H*]; which expoſed him to the reſentments

(*) There is no Law in Scotland which limits the age a miniſter muſt be of.

(*c*) Ib. p. 674.

(*d*) Ib. p. 675.

(*e*) Ib p. 676.

(*f*) Ib. & p. 677.

(*g*) Ib. p. 678.

of the diſtrict is at liberty to put ſuch queſtions to the perſon under examination, as occur to him, out of the Scripture, or body of Divinity. Before any one can be admitted to this, he muſt produce a teſtimonial of his good life from the miniſter of the pariſh where he lives; and if, during his trial, which laſts three months, any ſcandal can be proved upon him, he is laid aſide as unfit for the Church.

[*D*] *His education was finiſhed by the converſation and advice of the moſt eminent Scotch Divines.*] Among theſe was Mr Nairn, miniſter of the Abbey church at Edinburgh; an admired Preacher of that country, remarkable for accuracy of ſtyle, as well as ſtrength of reaſoning, and ſublimity of thought. This gentleman led our author into a new courſe of reading, by recommending to his peruſal *Smith's Select Diſcourſes*, *Dr More's works*, and the writings of *Plato* and his followers; but eſpecially *Hooker's Eccleſiaſtical Polity*. Another of his intimates was Biſhop Leightoun, one of thoſe, who, in 1662, had been conſecrated at Weſtminſter; by whoſe advice he became converſant with all the primitive writers, going through the *Apologies*, and other treatiſes of the Fathers of the three firſt centuries; and Binnius's *Collection of Councils*, down to the ſecond Council of Nice. A third eminent Divine, with whom our author contracted an intimacy, was Mr Charteris, a man of great learning, not only in his own profeſſion, but in Hiſtory, Geography, and the Mathematical Sciences (4).

(4) Ib. p. 675, 676.

[*E*] *He came into England, where he firſt viſited the two Univerſities.*] At Cambridge, he had an opportunity of ſeeing, and converſing with, men of the greateſt abilities, and particularly Dr Cudworth, Dr Pearſon, Dr Burnet, author of the *Sacred Theory*, and Dr Henry More, one of whoſe ſayings, in relation to rites and ceremonies, then made a great impreſſion on him: *None of theſe*, ſaid he, *are bad enough to make men bad; and I am ſure, none of them are good enough to make men good*. At Oxford, our author was much careſſed, on account of his ready knowledge of the Councils and Fathers, eſpecially by Dr Fell, and Dr Pocock, that great maſter of Oriental Learning. He was much improved there, in his Mathematicks and Natural Philoſophy, by the inſtructions of Dr Wallis, who likewiſe gave him a letter of recommendation to the learned and pious Mr Boyle at London. Upon his arrival there, he was introduced to all the moſt noted Divines, as Tillotſon, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Lloyd, Whitchcot, and Wilkins; and, among others of the laity, to Sir Robert Murray (5).

(5) Ib. p. 676.

[*F*] *He reſided at Amſterdam, and afterwards at Paris.*] At the former of theſe places, by the help of a learned Rabbi, he perfected himſelf in the Hebrew language: he likewiſe became acquainted with the leading men of the different perſuaſions tolerated in that country; as the Arminians, the Lutherans, the Unitarians, the Browniſts, the Anabaptiſts, and the Papiſts: amongſt each of whom he uſed frequently to declare, he had met with men of ſuch real piety and virtue, that there he became fixed in a ſtrong principle of univerſal charity, and an invincible abhorrence of all ſeverities on account of religious diſſenſions. At Paris, he converſed with the two famous miniſters of Charenton, Daillé and Morns, the former renowned for his learning and judgment, the other for his bright parts and eloquence. His ſtay in France was the longer, on account of the great freedom and kindneſs, with which he was treated by the Lord Holles, then Ambaſſador at the French Court (6).

(6) Ib. p. 677.

[*G*] *He ſoon gained the affections of the whole pariſh.*] During the five years he remained at Saltoun, he preached twice every Sunday, and once more on one of the week days: he catechized three times a week, ſo as to examine every pariſhioner, old or young, three times in the compaſs of a year: he went round the pariſh from houſe to houſe, inſtructing, reproving, or comforting them, as occaſion required: the ſick he viſited twice a day: he adminiſtered the Sacrament four times a year, and perſonally inſtructed all ſuch as gave notice of their intention to receive it. All that remained above his own neceſſary ſubſiſtence (in which he was very frugal) he gave away in charity. A particular inſtance of his generoſity that way, a perſon (*) (who then lived with him, and afterwards was in his ſervice at Saliſbury) uſed to recount: one of his pariſhioners had been in execution for debt, and applied to our author for ſome ſmall relief; who enquired of him, how much would again ſet him up in his trade: the man named the ſum, and he as readily called to his ſervant to pay it him: 'Sir, ſaid he, it is all we 'have in the houſe; Well, well, ſaid our author, 'pay it this poor man; you do not know the plea-'ſure there is in making a man glad (7).' This may be a proper place to mention our author's practice of preaching *extempore*, which he learned from the celebrated Mr Nairn, miniſter of the Abbey church at Edinburgh. He attained to an eaſe in it, chiefly by allotting many hours of the day to meditation upon all ſorts of ſubjects, and by accuſtoming himſelf, at thoſe times, to ſpeak his thoughts aloud, ſtudying always to render his expreſſions correct. The life-writer gives us here two remarkable inſtances, in relation to his preaching without book. In 1691, when the Sees, vacant by the deprivation of the Nonjuring Biſhops, were filled up, Biſhop Williams was appointed to preach one of the Conſecration ſermons at Bow-Church. But being detained by ſome accident, the Clerk had twice ſet the pſalm, and ſtill the Preacher did not appear. Whereupon, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury deſired our author, then Biſhop of Sarum, to ſupply his place; which he readily did, to the general ſatisfaction of all preſent. In 1705, he was appointed to preach the Thankſgiving ſermon before the Queen at St Paul's; and as it was the only diſcourſe he had ever wrote before-hand, it was the only time that he was ever at a pauſe in preaching, which on that occaſion laſted above a minute (8).

(*) This was a ſtory commonly well known at Saliſbury, and which the life-writer learned from one Mr Waſtefield of that place.

(7) Ib. p. 678.

(8) Ib. p. 675, 676.

[*H*] *He drew up a memorial of the abuſes of the Scotch Biſhops.*] We ſhall give the reader the hiſtory of this affair in Biſhop Burnet's own words. 'I obſerved, *ſays he* (9), the deportment of our Biſhops 'was in all points ſo different from what became 'their function, that I had a more than ordinary 'zeal kindled within me upon it. They were not 'only furious againſt all that ſtood out againſt them, 'but were very remiſs in all the parts of their function. 'Some did not live within their dioceſe: and thoſe 'who did, ſeemed to take no care of them. They 'ſhewed

(9) See the Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 216.

resentments of that order; whereupon, resolving to confine himself to study and the duties of his function, he fell into such a retired and abstemious course of life, as greatly impaired his health (*b*). About 1668, the government of Scotland being in the hands of moderate men, of whom the principal was Sir Robert Murray, our author was frequently sent for and consulted by them (*i*); and it was through his advice, that some of the more moderate Presbyterians were put into the vacant churches; a step, which he himself has since condemned, as indiscrete (*k*). In 1669, our author was made Professor of Divinity at Glasgow [*I*]; in which station he continued four years and a half, exposed, through his principles of moderation, to the ill-will both of the Episcopal and Presbyterian parties (*l*). The same year, he published his *Modest and Free Conference between a Conformist and a Nonconformist* [*K*]. About this time, he was intrusted, by the Duchess of Hamilton, with the perusal of, and putting in order, all the papers relating to her father's and uncle's ministry; which put him upon compiling *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* (*m*), and occasioned his being invited to London, to receive farther information, concerning the transactions of those times, by the Earl of Lauderdale; between whom and Duke Hamilton, he managed and concluded a reconciliation (*n*.) During his stay in London, he was offered a Scotch bishoprick, which he refused (*o*). Soon after his return to Glasgow, he married the Lady Margaret Kennedy [*L*], daughter of the Earl of Cassiles. In 1672, he published his *Vindication*

(*b*) Ib. & p. 679. See also the Bishop's Hist of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 217.

(*i*) Life, &c. ib.

(*k*) History, &c. ib. p. 280, 281.

(*l*) Life, &c. ubi supra. And History, &c. ib. p. 287.

(*m*) See the reference (*w*).

(*n*) History, &c. ib. p. 299.

(*o*) Life, &c. p. 681, 682. And History, &c. ib.

'shewed no zeal against vice: the most eminently 'wicked in the country were their particular confi- 'dents. They took no pains to keep their clergy 'strictly to rules, and to their duty. On the contrary, 'there was a levity, and a carnal way of living, about 'them, that very much scandalized me.——Upon all 'this, I took up a resolution of drawing up a me- 'morial of the grievances we lay under by the ill 'conduct of our Bishops. I resolved, that no other 'person besides myself, should have a share in any 'trouble it might bring on me: so I communicated 'it to none. This made it not to be in all the parts 'of it so well digested, as it otherwise might have 'been: and I was then but three and twenty. I laid 'my foundation in the constitution of the Primitive 'Church; and shewed how they had departed from 'it, by their neglecting their dioceses, meddling so 'much in fecular affairs, raising their families out of 'the revenues of the Church, and above all by their 'violent prosecuting of those who differed from them. 'Of this, I writ out some copies, and signed them, 'and sent them to all the Bishops of my acquaintance. 'Sharp (*) was much alarmed at it, and fancied I was 'set on to it by some of the Lord Lauderdale's friends. 'I was called before the Bishops, and treated with 'great severity. Sharp called it a libel. I said, I had 'set my name to it, so it could not be a libel. He 'charged me with the presumption of offering to teach 'my superiors. I said, such things had been not only 'done, but justified in all ages. He charged me for 'reflecting on the King's putting them on his councils. 'I said, I found no fault with the King for calling 'them to his councils; but with them for going out 'of that which was their proper province, and for 'giving ill counsel. Then he charged me for reflect- 'ing on some severities, which, he said, was a re- 'proaching publick courts, and a censuring the laws. 'I said, laws might be made *in terrorem*, not always 'fit to be executed: but I only complained of clergy- 'men's pressing the rigorous execution of them, and 'going often beyond what the law dictated. He broke 'out into a great vehemence; and proposed to the 'Bishops, that I should be summarily deprived, and 'excommunicated: but none of them would agree to 'that. By this management of his the thing grew 'publick. What I had ventured on was variously cen- 'sured. But the greater part approved of it. Lord 'Lauderdale and all his friends were delighted with 'it: and he gave the King an account of it, who 'was not ill pleased at it. Great pains was taken to 'make me ask pardon, but to no purpose. So Sharp 'let the thing fall.'

(*) Archbishop of St Andrew's.

[*I*] *He was made Professor of Divinity at Glasgow.*] This was owing to a casual acquaintance with the Regent of that university, at Hamilton, the seat of the Duchess of Hamilton, who had invited our author thither. He was, at first, in suspense what resolution to take; his friends earnestly persuaded him to accept the offer, and his parishioners at Saltoun, for whom he had a most tender regard, being no less anxious to retain him. At length the authority of Archbishop Leighton prevailed, and he accepted the Divinity Chair. As his principal care, in this new station, was to form just and true notions in the Students of Divinity, he laid down a plan for that purpose. On Mondays, he made each of the Students, in their turn, explain a head of Divinity in Latin, and propound such theses from it, as he was to defend against the rest of the Scholars; and this exercise concluded with our Professor's decision of the point in a Latin Oration. On Tuesdays, he gave them a *Prelection* in the same language, wherein he proposed, in the course of eight years, to have gone through a compleat System of Divinity. On Wednesdays, he read them a Lecture, for above an hour, by way of a Critical Commentary on St Matthew's Gospel; which he finished before he quitted the chair. On Thursdays, the exercise was alternate: one Thursday, he expounded a Hebrew Psalm, comparing it with the Septuagint, the Vulgar, and the English version; and the next Thursday, he explained some portion of the Ritual and Constitution of the Primitive Church, making the Apostolical Canons his text, and reducing every article of practice under the head of one or other of those Canons. On Fridays, he made each of his Scholars, in course, preach a short Sermon upon some text he assigned; and, when it was ended, he observed upon any thing that was defective or amiss in the handling of the subject. This was the labour of the mornings: in the evenings, after prayer, he every day read them some parcel of Scripture, on which he made a short discourse; and, when that was over, he examined into the progress of their several studies. All this he performed during the whole time the schools were open; and, in order to acquit himself with credit, he was obliged to study hard from four 'till ten in the morning; the rest of the day being of necessity allotted, either to the care of his pupils, or to hearing the complaints of the Clergy, who, finding he had an interest with men in power, were not sparing in their applications to him (10).

(10) Life, &c. p. 679, 680.

[*K*] *His modest and free Conference between a Conformist and a Nonconformist.*] It consists of seven Dialogues; and was generally applauded by all, but the zealots of either party, who were very angry with the performance. It met with no answer in Scotland: but one from abroad was sent over, which our author's enemies received with great acclamations; though it was judiciously observed, that *no more pains were needful for refuting the Answer, but the reading over the Dialogues* (11).

(11) See the Preface to Dr Burnet's Vindication of the Authority, &c. of the Church and State of Scotland, Glasgow, 1673, 8vo.

[*L*] *He married the Lady Margaret Kennedy.*] She was a lady of distinguished piety and knowledge: her own sentiments indeed inclined strongly towards the Presbyterians, with whom she was in high credit and esteem; yet was she far from entering into the rigid and narrow zeal of some of their leaders. As there was some disparity in their ages, that it might remain past dispute, that this match was wholly owing to inclination, not to avarice or ambition, the day before their marriage, our author delivered the Lady a deed, whereby he renounced all pretension to her fortune, which was very considerable, and must otherwise have fallen into his hands, she herself having no intention to secure it (12).

(12) Life, &c. p. 681.

[*M*] *His*

dication of the Authority, Conſtitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland [M]; which was thought, at that juncture, ſuch a publick ſervice, that he was again courted to accept of a biſhoprick, with a promiſe of the next vacant archbiſhoprick; but he perſiſted in his refuſal of that dignity (p). In 1673, he took another journey to London [N], where, at the expreſs nomination of the King, after hearing him preach, he was ſworn one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in ordinary. He became likewiſe in high favour with His Majeſty and the Duke of York (q) [O]. At his return to Edinburgh, finding the animoſities between the Dukes of Hamilton and Lauderdale revived, he retired to his ſtation at Glaſgow; but was obliged the next year to return to Court, to juſtify himſelf againſt the accuſations of Duke Lauderdale, who had repreſented him as the cauſe and inſtrument of all the oppoſition the meaſures of the Court had met with in the Scotch Parliament. Thus he loſt the favour of the Court [P]; and, to avoid putting himſelf into the hands of his enemies, he reſigned the Profeſſor's chair at Glaſgow, and reſolved to ſettle in London, being now about thirty years of age (r). Soon after he was offered the living of St Giles's Cripplegate, which he declined accepting [Q]. In 1675, our author at

(p) Life, &c. ib. and p. 682. See alſo Hiſtory, &c. ib. p. 339.

(q) Life, &c. ib. and Hiſt. ib. p. 354, 355.

(r) Life, &c. p. 683, 684.

[M] *His Vindication of the Authority, Conſtitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland.*] This piece is a defence of the royal prerogatives of the crown of Scotland, and the eſtabliſhment of Epiſcopacy in that kingdom, againſt the principles of Buchanan and his followers. It is dedicated to the Duke of Lauderdale. The author being afterwards reproached for repreſenting the character of Duke Lauderdale very differently from what he had done in that dedication (13), replied (14), 'that the book was wrote 'when the Duke was the King's Commiſſioner in 'Scotland, and dedicated to him at his own requeſt; 'and that if what happened a year and a half after 'that, had given him other thoughts of that Miniſter 'of State, it was no proof that he wrote diſingenuouſly at that time.'

(13) Dr Hickes's Diſcourſes upon Dr Burnet and Dr Tillotſon, &c. p. 18, 19.

(14) Reflections on Some Diſcourſes, &c. p. 66, 67.

[N] *He took another journey to London.*] The avowed deſign of this journey was, in order to procure a licence for publiſhing his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton:* but, it ſeems, he had farther views; for, we are told (15), he went with a full reſolution of withdrawing himſelf from farther meddling in matters of State. He ſaw that Popery was, at bottom, the prevailing intereſt at Court, and that the Sacramental Teſt, whereby the Duke of York, the Lord Clifford, and other Papiſts in employment, had been excluded, was a meer artifice of King Charles, to obtain money for carrying on the war that ſummer with Holland. He ſuſpected, that the deſigns of the Court were both corrupt and deſperate. He therefore uſed all the freedom, he decently could, with the Duke and Duchеſs of Lauderdale: he pointed out to them the errors of their management in Scotland, and the ill effects it would have, both upon themſelves and the whole nation: but he found no diſpoſition in them to rectify their meaſures.

(15) Life, &c. p. 682. And Hiſtory, &c. ib. p. 354, 355, 356.

[O] *He was in high favour with the King and the Duke of York.*] Duke Lauderdale introduced him to the King, and propoſed the licencing his *Memoirs*, &c. The King read ſome parts of them himſelf, and expreſſed his approbation of them; and ordered they ſhould be licenſed by the Secretary Coventry. He had, afterwards, a long private audience of the King, in which he took all the freedom with him, that he thought became his profeſſion. 'He run me into a 'long diſcourſe, *ſays he* (16), about the authority of 'the Church, which he thought we made much of in 'our diſputes with the Diſſenters, and then took it all 'away when we dealt with the Papiſts. I ſaw plainly 'what he aimed at in this; and I quickly convinced 'him, that there was a great difference, between an 'authority of government in things indifferent, and a 'pretence to infallibility. He complained heavily of 'the Biſhops, for neglecting the true concerns of the 'Church, and following Courts ſo much, and being 'engaged in parties. I went thro' ſome other things 'with relation to his courſe of life, and entered into 'many particulars with much freedom. He bore all 'very well, and thanked me for it: ſome things he 'freely condemned, ſuch as living with another man's 'wife: other things he excuſed, and thought God 'would not damn a man for a little irregular pleaſure. 'He ſeemed to take all I had ſaid very kindly; and 'during my ſtay at Court, he uſed me in ſo particular 'a manner, that I was conſidered as a man growing 'into a high degree of favour.' Our author was introduced to the Duke of York, by the Earl of Ancram, who had a mind to engage him to give his Highneſs an account of the affairs of Scotland. 'But I avoided 'that, *ſays he* (17), and very bluntly entered into 'much diſcourſe with him about matters of religion. 'He ſaid ſome of the common things, of the neceſſity 'of having but one Church; otherwiſe we ſaw what 'ſwarms of ſects did riſe up on our revolt from Rome, 'and theſe had raiſed many rebellions, and the ſhedding much blood: and he named both his father's 'death, and his great-grandmother's, Mary Queen of 'Scots. He alſo turned to ſome paſſages in Heylyn's 'Hiſtory of the Reformation, which he had lying by 'him: and the paſſages were marked, to ſhew upon 'what motives and principles, men were led into the 'changes that were then made. I enlarged upon all 'theſe particulars, and ſhewed him the progreſs, that 'ignorance and ſuperſtition had made in many dark 'ages, and how much bloodſhed was occaſioned by 'the Papal pretenſions, for all which, the opinion of 'infallibility was a ſource never to be exhauſted.—— 'The Duke, upon this converſation, expreſſed ſuch a 'liking to me, that he ordered me to come often to him.' Afterwards our author ſays (18): 'I told him (*the* 'Duke) it was a thing he could never anſwer to God 'nor the world, that, being born and baptized in our 'Church, and having his father's laſt orders to con'tinue ſtedfaſt in it, he had ſuffered himſelf to be ſe'duced, and as it were ſtolen out of it, hearing only 'one ſide, without offering his ſcruples to our Divines, 'or hearing what they had to ſay in anſwer to them.' Our author made no other uſe of the high favour ſhewn him by the Duke, than the introducing to him Dr Stillingfleet, and afterwards propoſing a conference, to be held in his Royal Highneſs's preſence, between them two, and the chief of the Romiſh Prieſts: to which the Duke of York would not conſent (19).

(16) Hiſtory, &c. ib. p. 356, 357.

(17) Ibid.

(18) Ib. p. 358.

(19) Ibid. and Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

[P] *He loſt the favour of the Court.*] On his arrival at London, the King received him very coldly, and ordered his name to be ſtruck out of the liſt of Chaplains: yet, at the Duke of York's entreaty, His Majeſty admitted him to offer what he thought proper in his juſtification. He thereupon gave His Majeſty ſuch a clear and ſatisfactory account of his conduct, appealing for the truth of all his aſſertions to Duke Hamilton, that in the end the King ſeemed convinced of his innocence, and ordered him home to Glaſgow. But the Duke of York diſſuaded him from returning thither, 'till his peace ſhould be entirely made; aſſuring him, that otherwiſe he would be clapped up in priſon, and perhaps detained there as long as the ſame intereſt laſted at Court. His Royal Highneſs likewiſe uſed his utmoſt endeavours to have reconciled him with Duke Lauderdale; but found it impracticable, the latter inſiſting that our author ſhould abandon his beſt friends, and diſcover all the ſecrets he had hitherto been in; and the other as firmly perſiſting in his adherence to thoſe, who had ſhewn him friendſhip, or repoſed a confidence in him (20).

(20) Life, &c. p. 683. And Hiſtory, &c. ib. p. 371, 372.

[Q] *He declined to accept of the living of St Giles's Cripplegate.*] It was in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's, who had expreſſed ſome inclination to beſtow it upon Dr Fowler, afterwards Biſhop of Glouceſter; but being made acquainted with the circumſtances of our author, and the hardſhips he had undergone, they ſent him an offer of the benefice: he thanked them for the favour, but ſaid, that, as he had been informed of their intention of conferring it upon ſo worthy a Divine, he did not think himſelf at liberty to take it (21).

(21) Life, &c. p. 684.

[R] *He*

at the recommendation of Lord Hollis, and notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the Court againſt him, was appointed preacher at the Rolls Chapel, by Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, Maſter of the Rolls (*s*). The ſame year, he was examined before the Houſe of Commons, in relation to Duke Lauderdale [*R*], whoſe conduct the Parliament was then enquiring into (*t*). He was ſoon after choſen Lecturer of St Clement's, and became a very popular preacher (*u*). In 1676, he publiſhed his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* (*w*); and the ſame year, *An Account of a Conference between himſelf*, Dr Stillingfleet, *and* Coleman [*S*]. About this time, the apprehenſions of Popery increaſing daily, our author undertook to write *The Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England* [*T*]; which he executed with great

(s) Ibid.

(t) Hiſtory, &c. ib. p. 379, 380.

(u) Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

(w) In folio.

[*R*] *He was examined before the Houſe of Commons, in relation to Duke Lauderdale.*] Let us hear his own account of this affair. 'The Houſe of Commons, *ſays he* (22), fell upon Duke Lauderdale. And thoſe, who knew what had paſſed between him and me, moved that I ſhould be examined before a committee. I was brought before them. —— I was examined concerning his deſign of arming the Iriſh Papiſts. I ſaid, I, as well as others, had heard him ſay, he wiſhed the Preſbyterians in Scotland would rebel, that he might bring over the Iriſh Papiſts to cut their throats I was next examined concerning the deſign of bringing a Scottiſh army into England. I deſired to be excuſed, as to what had paſſed in private diſcourſe, to which I thought I was not bound to anſwer, unleſs it were high-treaſon. They preſſed me long; and I would give them no other anſwer. So they all concluded, that I knew great matters; and reported this ſpecially to the Houſe. Upon that, I was ſent for, and brought before the Houſe. I ſtood upon it, as I had done at the Committee, that I was not bound to anſwer; that nothing had paſſed that was high-treaſon; and, as to all other things, I did not think myſelf bound to diſcover them. I ſaid farther, I knew Duke Lauderdale was apt to ſay things in a heat, which he did not intend to do. —— I was brought four times to the bar. At laſt I was told, the Houſe thought they had a right to examine into every thing that concerned the ſafety of the nation, as well as into matters of treaſon, and they looked on me as bound to ſatisfy them; otherwiſe they would make me feel the weight of their heavy diſpleaſure, as one that concealed what they thought was neceſſary to be known.' Upon this I yielded, and gave an account of the diſcourſe formerly mentioned, &c. 'I was much blamed, *adds the Biſhop* (23), for what I had done. Some, to make it look the worſe, added, that I had been his Chaplain, which was falſe; and that I had been much obliged to him, tho' I had never received any real obligation from him, but had done him great ſervices, for which I had been very unworthily requited. Yet the thing had an ill appearance, as the diſcloſing of what had paſſed in confidence; tho' I make it a great queſtion, how far even that ought to bind a man, when the deſigns are very wicked, and the perſon continued ſtill in the ſame poſt, and capacity of executing them.'

(22) Hiſt. &c. ib. p. 379.

(23) Ib. p. 380.

[*S*] *His Account of a Conference between himſelf, Dr Stillingfleet, and Coleman.*] This Coleman had been bred among the Jeſuits, was Secretary to the Ducheſs of York, and very active in making Proſelytes to the Church of Rome (24). Sir Philip Terwhit, a Papiſt, had married a zealous Proteſtant, who, ſuſpecting his religion, charged him with it: But he denied it before marriage, and carried the matter ſo far, that he received the Sacrament with her in her own church. After they were married, ſhe found that he had deceived her; and they lived untowardly together. Some time after, ſhe had ſcruples ſuggeſted to her; with which ſhe acquainted our author, and ſeemed fully ſatisfied with the anſwers he gave her. She afterwards came to him, and deſired he would come to her houſe, and talk of thoſe matters with ſome perſons that her huſband would bring to meet him. He told her, he would not decline the thing, if deſired, tho' he ſeldom knew any good come of ſuch conferences. She made the ſame propoſition to Dr Stillingfleet, and he gave the ſame anſwer. So a day was ſet, and they went thither, where they found Coleman, who took the whole debate upon him. Our author wrote down a particular account of all that paſſed, and printed it. Soon after that, the Lady, who continued firm upon the conference, was poſſeſſed with new ſcruples about the validity of the Engliſh ordinations. Our author got from her a paper that had been put into her hand, and anſwered it; and with that ſhe ſeemed likewiſe ſatisfied. But afterwards, the uneaſineſs of her life prevailed more with her, than her ſcruples; and ſhe changed her religion (25).

(24) Hiſt. &c. ib. p. 368.

[*T*] *His Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England.*] His own account of the riſe and progreſs of this work is as follows. 'Some time after I had printed the *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, which were favourably received, the reading of theſe got me the acquaintance and friendſhip of Sir William Jones, then Attorney General. —— My way of writing Hiſtory pleaſed him: and ſo he preſſed me to undertake the Hiſtory of England. But Sanders's book, that was then tranſlated into French, and cried up much in France, made all my friends preſs me to anſwer it, by writing the Hiſtory of the Reformation. So now all my thoughts were turned that way. I laid out for manuſcripts, and ſearched into all offices. I got for ſome days into the Cotton Library. But Duke Lauderdale hearing of my deſign, and apprehending it might ſucceed in my hands, got Dolben, Biſhop of Rocheſter, to divert Sir John Cotton from ſuffering me to ſearch into his library. He told him, I was a great enemy to the Prerogative, to which Cotton was devoted, even to ſlavery. So he ſaid, I would certainly make an ill uſe of all I had found. This wrought ſo much on him, that I was no more admitted, 'till my firſt volume was publiſhed. And then, when he ſaw how I had compoſed it, he gave me free acceſs to it (26).' The firſt volume of this work lay near a year after it was finiſhed, for the peruſal and correction of friends; ſo that it was not publiſhed 'till the year 1679, when the affair of the Popiſh plot was in agitation. This book procured our author an honour, never before or ſince paid to any writer; he had the thanks of both Houſes of Parliament, with a deſire, that he would proſecute the undertaking, and compleat that valuable work. Accordingly in leſs than two years after (*), he printed the ſecond volume, which met with the ſame general approbation as the firſt: and ſuch was his readineſs in compoſing, that he wrote the hiſtorical part in the compaſs of ſix weeks, after all his materials were laid in order (27). The third volume, containing a *Supplement* to the two former, was publiſhed in 1715. 'The defects of Peter Heylyn's *Hiſtory of the Reformation*,' as Biſhop Nicholſon obſerves (28), 'are abundantly ſupplied in our author's more compleat hiſtory. He gives a punctual account of all the affairs of the Reformation, from it's beginning in the reign of Henry VIII, to it's final eſtabliſhment under Queen Elizabeth, *A. D.* 1559. And the whole is penned in a maſculine ſtyle, ſuch as becomes an Hiſtorian, and is the property of this author in all his writings. The collection of *records*, which he gives at the end of each volume, are good vouchers of the truth of what he delivers in the body of the hiſtory, and are much more perfect, than could reaſonably be expected, after the pains taken, in Queen Mary's days, to ſuppreſs every thing that carried the marks of the Reformation upon it.' Our Author's performance met with a very favourable reception abroad, and was tranſlated into moſt of the European languages; inſomuch that the keeneſt of his enemies (29) allows it to have *a reputation firmly and deſervedly eſtabliſhed*. Indeed ſome of the French writers have cavilled at it; the moſt eminent of whom, M. Varillas and M. Le Grand, have received due correction from the author himſelf (30). Nor did it entirely eſcape cenſure at home For, firſt, it was attacked by Mr S. Lowth (31), who pretended only to oppoſe the *Eraſtian* tenets in Mr Hobbes's *Leviathan*; but took occaſion, in the concluſion of his book, to cenſure

(25) Ib. p. 395.

(26) Ib. p. 395, 396.

(*) In 1681.

(27) Life, &c. p. 685.

(28) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, fol. Lond. 1736. p. 119.

(29) Ant. Harmer, in Præfat. ubi ſupra.

(30) See his Reflections on Varillas. Amſt. 1686, 12mo. Defence of thoſe Reflections. Ibid. 1687. Continuation of the ſame Reflections, ib. 1687. And Anſwer to J. Le Grand's Defence of Sanders, &c. 4to, ib. 1688.

(31) Of the Subject of Church Power, 8vo, 1685.

great ſucceſs and univerſal applauſe. In 1680, he publiſhed *An Account of the Life and Death of the Earl of Rocheſter* [U], with whom he became accidently acquainted (x). During the affair of the Popiſh plot, Dr Burnet was often ſent for by King Charles, and conſulted upon the ſtate of the nation; and about the ſame time, refuſed the vacant biſhoprick of Chicheſter, which his Majeſty offered him, *provided he would entirely come into his intereſt* (y). But tho' his free acceſs to that Monarch did not procure him preferment, it gave him an opportunity of ſending his Majeſty a moſt remarkable letter [W], in which, with great freedom, he reprehends the vices and errors, both of his private life and his government (z). The unprejudiced part he acted during the time the nation was inflamed with the diſcovery of the Popiſh plot; his candid endeavours to ſave the lives of Staley and the Lord Stafford, both zealous Papiſts; his temperate conduct, in regard to the excluſion of the Duke of York; and the ſcheme of a Prince-Regent, propoſed by him, in lieu of that excluſion; are ſufficiently related in his *Hiſtory of his own Time* (a). In 1682, when the adminiſtration was wholly changed in favour of the Duke of York, he continued ſteady in his adherence to his friends, and choſe to ſacrifice all his views at Court, particularly a promiſe of the Maſterſhip of the Temple, rather than break off his correſpondence with them (b). This year, our author publiſhed his *Life of Sir Mathew Hale* (c), and his *Hiſtory of the Rights of Princes, in diſpoſing of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices and Church Lands*; which being attacked by an anonymous writer, Dr Burnet publiſhed, the ſame year, *An Anſwer to the Animadverſions on the Hiſtory of the Rights of Princes*. As he was, about this time, much reſorted to by perſons of all ranks and parties, in order for a pretence to avoid the returning ſo many viſits, he built a laboratory, and for above a year, went thro' a courſe of chemical experiments (d). Upon the execution of the Lord Ruſſel, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, he was examined before the Houſe of Commons, in relation to that Lord's ſpeech upon the ſcaffold, in the penning of which he was ſuſpected to have had a hand (e). Not long after, he refuſed the offer of a living of three hundred pounds a year, in the gift of the Earl of Halifax, who would have preſented him, on condition of reſiding ſtill of London (f). In 1683, he went over to Paris, where he was well received by the Court, and became acquainted with the moſt eminent perſons, both Popiſh and Proteſtant (g). This year came out, his *Tranſlation, and Examination, of a Letter, writ by the laſt General Aſſembly of the Clergy of France, to the Proteſtants*,

(x) Life, &c. p. 685.
(y) Ibid.
(z) Ib. p. 686 & Hiſt. ib. p. 507.
(a) Vol. I. p. 427—496.
(b) Life, &c. p. 689.
(c) Tranſlated into French, and publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1688.
(d) Life, &c. p. 690.
(e) Hiſt. ib. p. 561, 562.
(f) Life, &c. p. 691.
(g) Hiſt. ib. p. 564—567.

cenſure the account Dr Burnet had given of ſome of Archbiſhop Cranmer's ſingular opinions. This author had the confidence to aſſert, that both our Hiſtorian and Dr Stillingfleet had impoſed upon the world in that particular, and had *unfaithfully joined together*, in their endeavours to leſſen Epiſcopal Ordination. Our author replied to Mr Lowth, in ſome *letters in anſwer to* his book. The next aſſailant was a gentleman, who, under the name of Anthony Harmer, publiſhed *A Specimen of ſome Errors and Defects in the Hiſtory of the Reformation* (32). It is a virulent and uncharitable performance; to which, however, our Hiſtorian vouchſafed a ſhort anſwer, in a *Letter to the Biſhop of Litchfield* (33). A third attack on this Hiſtory was made by the author of ſome *Diſcourſes on Dr Burnet and Dr Tillotſon* (34); in which the whole charge amounts to no more than this, that *In a matter of no great conſequence, there was too little care had in copying or examining a letter writ in a very bad hand*, and that there was ſome probability, that Dr Burnet *was miſtaken in one of his conjectures*. Our author anſwered this piece, in a *Vindication* of his Hiſtory (35). The two firſt parts were tranſlated into French by M. de Roſemond, and into Latin by Melchior Mittelhorzer. There is likewiſe an High-Dutch tranſlation of it. In 1682, our author publiſhed an *Abridgment of his Hiſtory of the Reformation* (36), in which he tells us, he had wholly waved every thing that belonged to the *records*, and the proof of what he relates, or to the confutation of the falſhoods that run thro' the Popiſh Hiſtorians; all which is to be found in the Hiſtory at large. And therefore, in this *Abridgment*, he ſays, every thing is to be taken upon truſt; and thoſe, who deſire a fuller ſatisfaction, are referred to the volumes be had before publiſhed.

(32) 8vo, 1693, the author Mr Henry Wharton.
(33) 4to, 1694.
(34) 4to, 1695, the author Dr Hickes.
(35) 8vo, 1696.
(36) In 8vo.

[U] *His Account of the Life and Death of the Earl of Rocheſter.*] As our author, tho' he had at this time no parochial cure, refuſed not his attendance to any ſick perſon, who deſired it; he was ſent for, amongſt others, to one, who had been engaged in a criminal amour with Wilmot Earl of Rocheſter. The manner he treated her in, during her illneſs, gave that Lord a great curioſity of being acquainted with him Whereupon, for a whole winter, in a converſation of at leaſt one evening in a week, he went over all theſe topics with him, upon which Scepticks and men of looſe morals are wont to attack the Chriſtian Religion (37). The effect of theſe conferences, in convincing the Earl's judgment, and leading him to a ſincere repentance, is the ſubject of this narrative.

(37) Life, &c. p. 685.

[W] *He ſent King Charles* II. *a moſt remarkable letter.*] The original is in the hands of the life-writer, wrote by the Biſhop, with a memorandum, how it was delivered, and when; and how it was received. It is printed at length in the *Life* (38); to which the reader is referred. Let us hear what the Biſhop himſelf ſays of it. 'Mrs Roberts, whom he (the King) had kept 'for ſome time, ſent for me when ſhe was dying: I 'ſaw her often for ſome weeks, and among other 'things, I deſired her to write a letter to the King, 'expreſſing the ſenſe ſhe had of her paſt life: and at 'her deſire, I drew ſuch a letter as might be fit for her 'to write. But ſhe never had ſtrength enough to write 'it: ſo upon that I reſolved to write a very plain 'letter to the King. I ſet before him his paſt life, 'and the effects it had upon the nation, with the 'judgments of God that lay on him, which was but a 'ſmall part of the puniſhment that he might look for. 'I preſſed him upon that earneſtly to change the whole 'courſe of his life. I carried this letter to Chiffinch's, 'on the twenty-ninth of January; and told the King 'in the letter, that I hoped the reflections on what had 'befallen his father on the thirtieth of January, might 'move him to conſider theſe things more carefully. 'Lord Arran happened to be then in waiting; and 'he came to me next day, and told me, he was ſure 'the King had a long letter from me; for he held the 'candle to him while he read it; he knew at that 'diſtance that it was my hand. The King read it 'twice over, and then threw it into the fire: and not 'long after, Lord Arran took occaſion to name me; 'and the King ſpoke of me with great ſharpneſs: ſo he 'perceived he was not pleaſed with my letter (39).' This part of our author's conduct may perhaps offend the delicacy of ſome, and be cenſured as too great a liberty, for any ſubject, eſpecially in Burnet's then ſtation, to take with his Sovereign. But, however that be, it conveys to the reader a much ſtronger idea of his character, than any deſcription can give; and it will ſcarce be thought a ſtep, which any Clergyman would have taken, who aimed more at preferment, than the ſtrict diſcharge of his duty.

(38) Ib. p. 686.
(39) Hiſt. ib. p. 507.

teſtants, inviting them to return to their Communion, &c. alſo his *Tranſlation of Sir Thomas More's Utopia*, with a *Preface concerning the Nature of Tranſlations*. The year following, the reſentment of the Court againſt our author was ſo great, that he was diſcharged from his lecture at St Clement's, by virtue of the King's mandate to Dr Haſcard, Rector of that pariſh; and, in December the ſame year, by an order from the Lord-Keeper North, to Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, he was forbid preaching any more at the Rolls Chapel (*b*) [*X*]. In 1685, came out our author's *Life of Dr William Bedell, Biſhop of Kilmore in Ireland* (*i*). Upon the death of King Charles, and acceſſion of King James, having obtained leave to go out of the Kingdom, he went firſt to Paris [*Y*]; where he lived in great retirement, to avoid being involved in the conſpiracies then forming in favour of the Duke of Monmouth. But, having contracted an acquaintance with Bragadier Stouppe, a Proteſtant officer in the French ſervice, he was prevailed upon to take a journey with him into Italy, and met with an agreeable reception at Rome [*Z*], and Geneva (*k*) [*AA*]. After a tour thro' the ſouthern parts of France, Italy, Switzerland, and many places of Germany, of which he has given an account, with reflections on their ſeveral governments, &c. in his *Travels*, publiſhed in 1687; he came to Utrecht, and intended to have ſettled in ſome quiet retreat within the Seven Provinces; but, being invited to the Hague, by the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, he repaired thither, and had a great ſhare in the counſels then carrying on, in relation to the affairs of England (*l*) [*BB*]. In 1687, our author publiſhed a *Tranſlation of Lactantius, concerning the death of the Perſecutors*. The high favour ſhewn him at the Hague, diſguſting the Engliſh Court, King James wrote two ſevere letters againſt him to the Princeſs of Orange, and inſiſted, by his Embaſſador, on his being forbid the Court; which,

(*b*) Life, &c. p. 692. And Hiſt. ib. p. 596.

(*i*) In 8vo.

(*k*) Life, &c. ib. And Hiſt. ib. p. 860.

(*l*) Life, &c. p. 693. And Hiſt. ib. p. 688 —692.

[*X*] *He was forbid preaching any more at the Rolls Chapel.*] 'I continued, *ſays the Biſhop* (40), at the 'Rolls avoiding very cautiouſly every thing that re- 'lated to the publick: for I abhorred the making the 'pulpit a ſtage for venting of paſſion, or for the ſerving 'of intereſts. There was a pariſh in London vacant, 'where the election lay in the inhabitants: and it was 'probable it would have fallen on me; tho' London 'was in ſo divided a ſtate, that every thing was 'managed by the ſtrength of parties. Yet the King, 'apprehending the choice might have fallen on me, 'ſent a meſſage to them, to let them know, he would 'take it amiſs if they choſe me. Old Sir Harbottle 'Grimſtone lived ſtill, to the great indignation of the 'Court. When the fifth of November, being gun- 'powder-treaſon day, came, in which we had always 'ſermons at the Chapel of the Rolls; I begged the 'Maſter of the Rolls to excuſe me then from preach- 'ing; for that day led one to preach againſt Popery, 'and it was indecent not to do it. He ſaid, he would 'end his life as he had led it all along, in an open de- 'teſtation of Popery. So, ſince I ſaw this could not 'be avoided, tho' I had not meddled with any point 'of Popery for above a year together, I reſolved, 'ſince I did it ſo ſeldom, to do it to purpoſe. I choſe 'for my text theſe words: *Save me from the lion's 'mouth; thou haſt heard me from the horns of the 'unicorns.* I made no reflection in my thoughts on the 'lion and unicorn, as being the two ſupporters of the 'King's ſcutcheon: (for I ever hated all points of that 'ſort, as a profanation of ſcriptures) but I ſhewed, 'how well Popery might be compared to the lion's 'mouth, then open to devour us; and I compared 'our former deliverance from the extremities of dan- 'ger, to the being on the horn of a rhinoceros. And 'this leading me to the ſubject of the day, I mention- 'ed that wiſh of King James I. againſt any of his 'poſterity that ſhould endeavour to bring that religion 'in among us. This was immediately carried to the 'Court. But it only raiſed more anger againſt me; 'for nothing could be made of it. They talked moſt 'of the choice of the text, as levelled againſt the 'King's coat of arms. That had never been once in 'my thoughts. Lord Keeper North diverted the 'King from doing any thing on the account of my 'ſermon. And ſo the matter ſlept 'till the end of the 'term: and then North writ to the Maſter of the 'Rolls, that the King conſidered the Chapel of the 'Rolls as one of his own chapels; and, ſince he looked 'on me as a perſon diſaffected to his government, and 'had for that reaſon diſmiſſed me from his own ſer- 'vice, he therefore required him not to ſuffer me to 'ſerve any longer in that chapel.'

(40) Ib. p. 596.

[*Y*] *He went to Paris.*] Before he left England, he enquired of the French Embaſſador, whether he might be ſafe in France: and being aſſured he might, he came to Paris; where there being many, whom he had reaſon to look on as ſpies, he took a little houſe, and lived as privately as he could (41).

(41) Hiſt. ib. p. 655.

[*Z*] *He met with an agreeable reception at Rome.*] Pope Innocent II. hearing of our author's arrival, ſent the Captain of the Swiſs guards to acquaint him, he would give him a private audience in bed, to avoid the ceremony of kiſſing his Holineſs's ſlipper. But our author excuſed himſelf as well as he could. He was treated with great familiarity, by the Cardinals Howard and D'Eſtrees; the former ſhewed him all his letters from England, expreſſing the high expectations of the Popiſh Party. One evening, upon viſiting Cardinal Howard, he found him diſtributing ſome relicks to two French gentlemen: whereupon he whiſpered to him in Engliſh, that it was ſomewhat odd, that a Prieſt of the Church of England ſhould be at Rome helping them off with the ware of Babylon. The Cardinal ſmiled at the remark, and, repeating it in French to the gentlemen, bid them tell their countrymen, how bold the Hereticks, and how mild the Cardinals were at Rome. Some diſputes, which our author had at Rome, concerning religion, beginning to be taken notice of, made it proper for him to quit that city; which he accordingly did, upon an intimation given him by Prince Borghe e (42).

(42) Ib. p. 6[illegible] —663.

[*AA*] —— *and at Geneva.*] Here, perceiving, how ſtrongly they inſiſted upon their *conſent of doctrine* (43), which they required all thoſe to ſubſcribe, who where admitted into orders, he employed all the eloquence he was maſter of, and all the credit he had acquired among them, to obtain an alteration in this practice. He repreſented to them the folly and ill conſequence of ſuch ſubſcriptions; whereby the honeſteſt and worthieſt men were frequently reduced to the neceſſity of quitting their native country, and ſeeking a ſubſiſtence elſewhere; whilſt others of leſs virtue were induced to ſubmit and comply againſt their conſcience, and even begin their miniſtry with mental equivocations. The warmth, with which he expreſſed himſelf on this head, was ſuch, and ſuch the opinion they had of him, that the clergy of Geneva were afterwards releaſed from the ſubſcriptions, and only left ſubject to puniſhment or cenſure, in caſe of writing or preaching againſt the eſtabliſhed doctrine (44).

(43) A Formulary, commonly known by the name of the *Conſenſus*.

(44) Life, &c. p. 692, 693.

[*BB*] *He had a great ſhare in the counſels carrying on in relation to the affairs of England.*] He adviſed the putting the fleet of Holland immediately into ſuch order, as might give courage to their friends in Great Britain, in caſe matters there ſhould come to extremities: he prevailed upon the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, to write a letter to King James, in favour of the Biſhop of London, who was then under ſuſpenſion: he ventured to propoſe to the Princeſs, the explaining herſelf upon the nice but neceſſary point, of the ſhare the Prince was to expect in the government, in caſe the Britiſh crown ſhould devolve on her; and when it was determined, to ſend over Mr Dyckvelt, as Embaſſador to England, our author was employed to draw his ſecret inſtructions (45).

(45) Ibid. And Hiſt. ib. p. 691, 692.

which, at the King's importunity, was done; tho' our author continued to be employed and trusted as before. Soon after, a prosecution for high-treason was set on foot against him, both in Scotland and England: but the States refusing, at the demand of the English Court, to deliver him up [*CC*], designs were laid of seizing his person, and even destroying him, if he could be taken (*m*) [*DD*]. About this time, Dr Burnet married Mrs Mary Scott [*EE*], a Dutch Lady, of large fortune, and noble extraction (*n*). He had a very important share in the whole conduct of the Revolution in 1688; the project of which he gave early notice of to the Court of Hanover, intimating, that the success of this enterprize must naturally end in an entail of the British crown upon that illustrious House (*o*). He wrote also several pamphlets (*p*), in support of the Prince of Orange's designs; and, when his Highness undertook the expedition to England, our author accompanied him as his Chaplain, notwithstanding the particular circumstances of danger, to which he was thereby

(*m*) Life, &c. 694. And Hist. ib. p. 726, &c.

(*n*) Life, &c. 695.

(*o*) Hist. ib. 757.

(*p*) They were re-printed at London in 1689, in 8vo, under the title of *A Collection of 18 Papers relating to the Affairs of Church and State during the Reign of King James II.* &c.

[*CC*] *A prosecution for high-treason was set on foot against him —— but the States refused to deliver him up.*] Take an account of this affair in the Bishop's own words (46): 'After I had stayed a year in Holland, I heard from many hands, that the King seemed 'to forget his own greatness, when he spoke of me, 'which he took occasion to do very often. I had 'published some account of the tour I had made in 'several letters in which my chief design was to 'expose both Popery and tyranny. The book was 'well received, and was much read; and it raised 'the King's displeasure very high. My continuing at 'the Hague, made him conclude, that I was managing designs against him. And some papers in 'single sheets came out, reflecting on the proceedings 'of England, which seemed to have a considerable 'effect on those who read them. These were printed 'in Holland; and many copies of them were sent 'into all the parts of England. All which inflamed 'the King the more against me; for he believed they 'were writ by me, as indeed most of them were. But 'that which gave the crisis to the King's anger was, that 'he heard I was to be married to a considerable for'tune at the Hague. So a project was formed to 'break this, by charging me with high treason, for 'corresponding with Lord Argyle, and for conversing 'with some that were outlawed for high treason. 'The King ordered a letter to be writ in his name 'to his Advocate in Scotland, to prosecute me for 'some probable thing or other; which was intended 'only to make a noise, not doubting but this would 'break the intended marriage. A ship coming from 'Scotland the day in which this prosecution was order'ed, that had a quick passage, brought me the first 'news of it, long before it was sent to D'Albeville. 'So I petitioned the States, who were then sitting, to 'be naturalized, in order to my intended marriage. 'And this past in course, without the least difficulty; 'which perhaps might have been made, if this pro'secution, now begun in Scotland, had been known. 'Now I was legally under the protection of the States 'of Holland. Yet I writ a full justification of my'self, as to all particulars laid to my charge, in some 'letters that I sent to the Earl of Middleton, But in 'one of these I said, that, being now naturalized in 'Holland, my allegiance was, during my stay in these 'parts, transferred from his Majesty to the States. I 'also said in another letter, that, if, upon my non'appearance, a sentence should pass against me, I 'might be perhaps forced to justify myself, and to 'give an account of the share that I had in affairs 'these twenty years past: in which I might be led to 'mention some things, that I was afraid would dis'please the King: and therefore I should be sorry, if 'I were driven to it. Now the Court thought they 'had somewhat against me: for they knew they 'had nothing before. So the first citation was let 'fall, and a new one was ordered on these two ac'counts. It was pretended to be high-treason, to say, 'my allegiance was now transferred. And it was set 'forth as a high indignity to the King, to threaten him 'with writing a history of the transactions past these last 'twenty years. The first of these struck at a great 'point, which was a part of the law of nations. 'Every man that was naturalized took an oath of 'allegiance to the Prince or State that naturalized 'him. And since no man can serve two masters, or 'be under a double allegiance, it is certain, that there 'must be a transfer of allegiance, at least, during the 'stay in the country, where one is so naturalized. 'This matter was kept up against me for some time, 'the Court delaying proceeding to sentence for several months. At last a sentence of outlawry was 'given: and upon that Albeville said, that, if the 'States would not deliver me up, he would find such 'instruments, as should seize on me, and carry me 'away forcibly. The methods he named of doing 'this were very ridiculous; and he spoke of it to so 'many persons, that I believe his design was rather 'to frighten me, than that he could think to effect 'them. Many overtures were made to some of my 'friends in London, not only to let this prosecution 'fall, but to promote me, if I would make myself 'capable of it. I entertained none of these I had 'many stories brought me of the discourses among 'some of the brutal Irish, then in the Dutch service. 'But, I thank God, I was not moved with them. I 'resolved to go on, and to do my duty, and to do 'what service I could to the publick, and to my 'country; and resigned myself up entirely to that 'providence, that had watched over me at that time 'with an indulgent care, and had made all the de'signs of my enemies against me turn to my great ad'vantage.' The Bishop goes on (47) to inform us, that A beville presented a memorial to the States, complaining of his (Dr Burnet's) conduct, and insisting upon his being banished the Provinces: whereupon he was called before Deputies of the States, who were so satisfied with his answers to the Embassador's memorial, that they ordered a memorial to be drawn up agreeable thereto; and instructed their Embassador in England to represent to the King, how sacred a thing naturalization was, and, if his Majesty had any thing to lay to Dr Burnet's charge, justice should be done in their Courts. This produced another memorial against our author, but with no better success than the former.

(16) Hist. ib. p. 726, 727.

(47) Ib. p. 728, 729.

[*DD*] *Designs were laid of seizing his person, and even destroying him, if he could be taken.*] Somebody, it seems, had suggested to King James, that, since a sentence had passed against Dr Burnet for non-appearance, and the States refused to deliver him up, he (the King) might order private persons to execute the sentence as they could. Our author received positive assurances, that five thousand pounds would be given to any one that should murder him: and a gentleman of an unblemished reputation, he tells us, writ him word, that he himself by accident saw an order, drawn in the Secretary's Office, but not yet signed, for three thousand pounds to a blank person, who was to seize, and destroy him (48).

(48) Ib. p. 730. And Life, &c. p. 694, 695.

[*EE*] *He married Mrs Mary Scott.*] This Lady's ancestor, on the father's side, was a younger brother of the family of Buccleugh, who, upon a quarrel in Scotland, went over to Holland: his son was a Brigadier-General at the siege of Middleburgh, in the year 1574, and afterwards Deputy for the province of Zealand in the Assembly of the States General: his grandson, Apollonius Scott, who was the Lady's grandfather, was President of the High Court of Justice at the Hague, and by marriage allied to the noblest houses in Zealand. On the mother's side, who was a *de Ruyter*, she was related to the principal families in Guelderland. With these advantages of birth, she had those of a fine person; was well skilled in Musick, Drawing, and Painting; and spoke Dutch, English, and French, equally well. Her knowledge in matters of Divinity was such, as might rather be expected from a Student, than from a Lady. She had a fine understanding, and sweetness of temper; and excelled in all the qualifications of a dutiful wife, a prudent mistress of a family, and a tender mother of children (49).

(49) Life, &c. ib.

[*FF*] *He*

thereby expoſed (*q*). At Exeter, after the Prince's landing, he drew up the Aſſociation for purſuing the ends of his Highneſs's Declaration (*r*). During theſe tranſactions, Dr Crew, Biſhop of Durham, who had rendered himſelf obnoxious, by the part he had acted in the High Commiſſion Court, having propoſed to the Prince of Orange, to reſign his biſhopric in favour of Dr Burnet, on condition of an allowance of 1000*l. per annum* out of the revenue; our author refuſed to accept it on thoſe terms (*s*). But King William had not been many days on the throne, before Dr Burnet found the due recompence of this ſelf-denial, being advanced to the See of Saliſbury [*FF*], in the room of Dr Seth Ward deceaſed (*t*); and conſecrated March 31, 1689. Our Prelate had ſcarce taken his ſeat in the Houſe of Lords, when he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by declaring for moderate meaſures, with regard to the clergy who ſcrupled to take the oaths, and for a toleration of the Proteſtant Diſſenters from the Church of England (*u*); and, when the bill for declaring the rights and privileges of the ſubject, and ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown, was brought into Parliament, he was the perſon appointed by King William, to propoſe naming the Ducheſs (afterwards Electreſs) of Brunſwick, next in ſucceſſion after the Princeſs of Denmark and her iſſue (*w*); and, when this ſucceſſion afterwards (*x*) took place, he had the honour of being Chairman of the Committee, to whom the bill was referred (*y*). This made him conſidered by the Houſe of Hanover, as one firmly attached to their intereſts, and engaged him in an epiſtolary correſpondence with the Princeſs Sophia (*z*), which laſted to her death (*a*). This year, Biſhop Burnet addreſſed a *Paſtoral Letter* to the clergy of his dioceſe, concerning the the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to King William and Queen Mary; in which having grounded their Majeſties title to the crown upon the right *of Conqueſt* [*GG*], ſome Members of both Houſes took ſuch offence thereat, that they procured an order for burning the book by the hands of the common executioner (*b*). After the ſeſſion of Parliament was over, the Biſhop went down to his dioceſe, where, by his pious, prudent, and vigilant diſcharge of the epiſcopal functions [*HH*], he gained an univerſal love and eſteem.

(*q*) Ib. p. 776.

(*r*) Ib. p. 793.

(*s*) Life, &c. p. 696.

(*t*) Ib. and Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 8.

(*u*) Ib. and p. 9, 10.

(*w*) Ib. p. 15. and Life, &c. p. 687.

(*x*) In 1701.

(*y*) Life, &c. ib.

(*z*) Above 50 of that Princeſs's Letters to Dr Burnet, are extant in the hand of the Life-Writer; two of which he has given us.

(*a*) Life, &c. p. 697.

(*b*) Kennet's Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 587, 650.

[*FF*] *He was advanced to the See of Saliſbury.*] The writer of his life tells us (50). 'He was ſo little 'anxious after his own preferment, that, when the 'Biſhoprick of Saliſbury became void, as it did ſoon 'after King William and Queen Mary were eſtabliſhed 'on the throne, he ſollicited for it in favour of his old 'friend Dr Lloyd, then Biſhop of St Aſaph:' and that 'the King anſwered him in a cold way, *That he 'had another perſon in view*; and the next day he 'himſelf was nominated to that See.' The Biſhop himſelf tells us (51), the King named him to that See in terms more obliging than uſually fell from him: and that, when he waited on the Queen, ſhe ſaid, ſhe hoped he would now put in practice thoſe notions, with which he had taken the liberty often to entertain her. The Biſhop informs us farther, that Archbiſhop Sancroft refuſed to conſecrate him, and for ſome days ſeemed determined to venture incurring a *Præmunire*, rather than obey the Mandate for Conſecration: but at laſt he granted a commiſſion to all the Biſhops of his province, or to any three of them, in conjunction with the Biſhop of London, to exerciſe his metropolitical authority during pleaſure.

(50) Ib. p. 696.

(51) Hiſt. &c. Vol. II. p. 8.

[*GG*] *He grounded their Majeſties title to the crown upon the right of Conqueſt.*] Having ſet forth the motives, upon which the Prince of Orange acted, in making war upon King James, and ſhewed them to be juſtifiable, he goes on: 'So then here was a war be-'gun upon juſt and lawful grounds; and a war being ſo 'begun, it is the uncontroverted opinion of all Lawyers, 'that *the ſucceſs of a juſt war gives a lawful title to 'that, which is acquired in the progreſs of it.* There-'fore, King James having ſo far ſunk in the war, 'that he both abandoned his people, and deſerted the 'government, all his right and title did accrue to the 'King, in a right of a Conqueſt over him; ſo that, 'if he had then aſſumed the crown, the opinion of 'all Lawyers muſt have been on his ſide. But he 'choſe rather to leave the matter to the determina-'tion of the Peers and people of England, &c (52).' It was not 'till about three years after, that this piece of the Biſhop's was publickly burnt, together with another on the ſame argument, written by Charles Blount, Eſq; and intituled, *King William and Queen Mary Conquerors* (53).

(52) Paſtoral Letter, &c. p. 19, 20, 21.

(53) Kennet's Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 587, 650.

[*HH*] *His pious, prudent, and vigilant diſcharge of the epiſcopal functions.*] We ſhall juſt touch upon the principal parts of his conduct as a Biſhop, which are deſcribed at large by the author of his Life (54) As he had always looked upon Confirmation, as the likelieſt means of reviving a ſpirit of Chriſtianity, if men could be brought to entertain juſt notions concerning it, he wrote a ſhort *Directory*, containing proper rules for preparing the youth upon ſuch occaſions; this he printed, and ſent copies of it, ſome months before-hand, to the miniſter of every pariſh, where he intended to confirm. Every ſummer, he made a tour, for ſix weeks or two months, through ſome diſtrict of his biſhoprick, daily preaching and confirming from church to church, ſo as, in the compaſs of three years (beſides his triennial viſitation) to go through all the principal livings of his dioceſe. In theſe circuits, he entertained all the clergy, that attended upon him, at his own expence, and held conferences with them upon the chief heads of Divinity (55). During his reſidence at Saliſbury, he conſtantly preached a Thurſday's lecture, founded at St Thomas's church: he likewiſe preached and confirmed, every Sunday morning, in ſome church of that city, or of the neighbourhood round about it; and, in the evening, he had a lecture in his own chapel, wherein he explained ſome portion of Scripture. Every week, during the ſeaſon of Lent, he catechized the youth of the two great ſchools in the Cathedral Church, and inſtructed them in order for Confirmation. He endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to reform the abuſes of the Biſhop's Conſiſtorial Court. No part of the epiſcopal office was more ſtrictly attended to by him, than the examination of candidates for holy orders. He examined them himſelf, as to the proofs of the Chriſtian Religion, the authority of the Scriptures, and the nature of the Goſpel-Covenant; and, a day or two before Ordination, he ſubmitted all thoſe, whom he had accepted, to the examination of the Dean and Prebendaries. As the qualification of clergymen for the paſtoral care was always uppermoſt in his thoughts, he inſtituted at Saliſbury a little nurſery of ſtudents in Divinity, being ten in number, to each of whom he allowed a ſalary of thirty pounds a year. Once every day, he examined their progreſs in learning, and gave them a lecture on ſome ſpeculative or practical point of Divinity, or ſome part of the paſtoral function. But this foundation being exclaimed at, as a deſigned affront upon the method of education at the Univerſities, he was prevailed upon, after ſome years, to lay it wholly aſide. He was a warm and conſtant enemy to Pluralities, where non reſidence was the conſequence of them, and in ſome caſes hazarded a ſuſpenſion, rather than give inſtitution. In the point of reſidence, he was ſo ſtrict, that he immediately diſmiſſed his own Chaplains, upon their preferment to a cure of ſouls. He exerted the principle of Toleration, which was deeply rooted in him, in favour of a Nonjuring Meeting-houſe at Saliſbury, which he obtained the Royal permiſſion to connive at; and this ſpirit of moderation brought over ſeveral Diſſenting families of his dioceſe to the Communion of the Church.

(54) Ubi ſupra, p. 705—712.

(55) See the next remark.

[*II*] *His*

eſteem (*c*). In 1692, he publiſhed a treatiſe, intituled *The Paſtoral Care* (*d*), in which the duties of the Clergy are laid down with great ſtrictneſs, and enforced with no leſs zeal and warmth. The next year, came out his *Four Diſcourſes to the Clergy of his Dioceſe* [*II*]. In 1694, our author preached the *Funeral Sermon* of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, with whom he had long kept up an intimate acquaintance and friendſhip (*e*), and whoſe memory he vindicated (*f*), againſt the virulent attacks made upon it. The death of Queen Mary, which happened the year following, drew from our author's pen that *Eſſay on* her *character* (*g*), which her uncommon talents, and ſhining qualities, merited at the hands of a perſon, who enjoyed ſo high a degree of her favour and confidence (*h*). After the deceaſe of that Princeſs, thro' whoſe hands the affairs and promotions of the Church had wholly paſſed, our Prelate was one of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, appointed by the King, to recommend to all biſhopricks, deanries, and other vacant benefices in His Majeſty's gift. In 1698, the Biſhop loſt his wife by the ſmall-pox; but the conſideration of the tender age of his children, and his own avocations, ſoon induced him to ſupply that loſs by a marriage with Mrs Berkley [*KK*]. This year, he was appointed Preceptor to his Highneſs the Duke of Gloceſter [*LL*], and employed great care in the education of that young Prince [*MM*]. In 1699, our author publiſhed his *Expoſition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England.*

(*c*) Life, &c. p. 705—710.

(*d*) In 4*to*. It was re-printed in 1713, with a Preface and an additional Chapter.

(*e*) Hiſt. ib. p. 135.

(*f*) In a piece intitled, A Vindication of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, Lond. 1696.

(*g*) It was tranſlated into French by D. Mezel, and publiſhed at the Hague in 1695; and into High-Dutch, by J. G. Pritius, and printed at Leipſick.

(*b*) Life, &c. p. 715.

[*II*] *His four Diſcourſes to the Clergy of his Dioceſe.*] The firſt is, on *The Truth of the Chriſtian Religion*; the ſecond, on *The Divinity and Death of Chriſt*; the third, on *The Infallibility and Authority of the Church*; and the fourth, on *The Obligation to continue in the Communion of the Church.* Theſe diſcourſes are the ſubſtance of ſo many conferences, held by the Biſhop with his clergy, at his annual viſitations (56). The ſecond of theſe diſcourſes was animadverted upon by an anonymous Unitarian writer, in a pamphlet printed in 1694, in 4*to*, intituled, *Conſiderations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, &c. *In a Letter to H H.* Our author made ſome remarks on this piece, in a letter to Dr John Williams, afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter, dated Feb. 2, 1694-5, and ſubjoined to Dr William's *Vindication of the Sermons of his Grace John Archbiſhop of Canterbury, concerning the Divinity and Incarnation of our bleſſed Saviour* (57).

(56) See the preceding remark.

(57) Lond. 1695, 4*to*.

[*KK*] *He married Mrs Berkley.*] This Lady was the eldeſt daughter of Sir Richard Blake, Knight, the fifth ſon of Thomas Blake, of Earantoun, in the county of Southampton, Eſq; of an eminent family, and of Elizabeth, the daughter of Dr Bathurſt, an eminent Phyſician in London. She was born the 8th of November 1661. At a little more than ſeventeen years of age, ſhe was married to Robert Berkley of Spetchly, in the county of Worceſter. Eſq; grandſon of Sir Robert Berkley, who was a Judge in King Charles the firſt's time. Mr Berkley's mother was a Papiſt, but Mr Berkley himſelf a Proteſtant; which put Mrs Berkley upon ſtudying her own religion more fully, and obliged her to a more than ordinary ſtrictneſs in her whole conduct. In King James's time, when the fears of Popery began greatly to increaſe, ſhe prevailed with her huſband to go to Holland, and travelled with him over the ſeventeen provinces; after which, they ſettled at the Hague, 'till the Revolution, when they returned to England, and their country-ſeat at Spetchly. In 1693, ſhe loſt her huſband Mr Berkley, who was buried with his anceſtors at Spetchly. After his death, ſhe perfected the Hoſpital at Worceſter, for the erecting of which he had bequeathed a large ſum of money. During her widowhood, ſhe made the firſt draught of that pious treatiſe, which ſhe afterwards finiſhed and publiſhed, intituled, *A Method of Devotion: or, Rules for holy and devout Living; with Prayers on ſeveral Occaſions, and Advices, and Devotions, for the holy Sacrament*, in octavo. This piece has been ſo well received, as to run through three editions. After continuing a widow near ſeven years, ſhe was married to the Biſhop of Saliſbury, who was ſo ſenſible of her worth and goodneſs, that he committed the care of his children entirely to her, and left her abſolute miſtreſs of her own fortune. In 1707, ſhe took a journey to Spaw, for her health, and, after her return, ſeemed to be much recovered: but, the winter following, upon the breaking of the froſt in January, ſhe was taken with a pleuritick fever, of which ſhe died in a few days, and was buried at Spetchly, by her former huſband, according to a promiſe ſhe had made him, as appears by a clauſe in her will. She was a Lady, in every reſpect, of moſt exemplary life and converſation (58).

(58) See an Account of Mrs Burnet's Life and Character, preſixed to her Method of Devotion, &c. Lond 1713, by Dr T. Goodyn, Archdeacon of Oxford, afterwards Archbiſhop of Cashel.

[*LL*] *He was appointed Preceptor to his Highneſs the Duke of Gloceſter.*] The Biſhop was, at this time, retired to his dioceſe, upon the death of his Lady; and took that opportunity to wave the offer of this important charge, though he was aſſured, the Princeſs of Denmark had teſtified her approbation of the King's choice. He wrote to the Earl of Sunderland, to uſe his intereſt, that he might be excuſed; and to his friend Archbiſhop Tenniſon, deſiring him to wait on the King in his name, and intreat his Majeſty to allow him to decline this employment. But all his friends concurring to preſs him earneſtly, not to refuſe a ſtation, in which he might do his country ſuch ſignal ſervice, as in the right education of the Duke of Gloceſter, he thought it might be conſtrued obſtinacy not to ſubmit. He therefore ſignified his compliance in a letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and waited on the King at Windſor, where he aſſured his Majeſty, it was no longer his intention to decline ſo honourable an employment, as the educating a Prince ſo nearly related to the crown, ſince his Royal Maſter thought him worthy of that truſt; but, as the diſcharge of his duty in this ſtation muſt confine him conſtantly to Court, which was inconſiſtent with his Epiſcopal Function, he deſired leave to reſign his Biſhoprick. The King was much ſurprized at the propoſal, to which he would by no means conſent. However, he was at length prevailed on to agree, that the Duke ſhould reſide all the ſummer at Windſor (which is in the dioceſe of Saliſbury) and that the Biſhop ſhould have ten weeks allowed him every year, to viſit the other parts of his dioceſe (59). An attempt was made in Parliament, the year following, to turn the Biſhop of Saliſbury out from the truſt of educating the Duke of Gloceſter, ſome objecting to his being a Scotchman, and others alledging the book (*) which had been ordered to be burnt. But when an addreſs to the King for that purpoſe was moved for, it was rejected by a great majority (60).

(59) Life, &c. p. 716—718. And Hiſt. ib. p. 210, 211.

(*) His Paſtoral Letter. See the remark [*GG*].

(60) Hiſt. ib. p. 237.

[*MM*] *He employed great care in the education of that young Prince.*] 'I took to my own province, 'ſays the *Biſhop* (61), the reading and explaining the 'Scriptures to him, the inſtructing him in the principles 'of religion and the rules of virtue, and the giving 'him a view of Hiſtory, Geography, Politicks, and 'Government. I reſolved alſo to look very exactly to 'all the maſters, that were appointed to teach him 'other things.' In another place, ſpeaking of the Duke of Gloceſter's death, he ſays (62): 'I had been 'truſted with his education now for two years, and 'he had made an amazing progreſs: I had read over 'the *Pſalms*, *Proverbs*, and the *Goſpels*, with him, and 'had explained things, that fell in my way, very 'copiouſly. —— I went through *Geography* ſo often 'with him, that he knew all the maps very particularly: I explained to him the forms of *Government* 'in every country, with the intereſts and trade of 'that country, and what was both good and bad in it: 'I acquainted him with all the great revolutions that 'had been in the world, and gave him a copious 'account of the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtories, and of '*Plutarch's Lives*: the laſt thing I explained to him 'was the *Gothick* Conſtitution, and the Beneficiary and 'Feudal Laws: I talked of theſe things, at different 'times, near three hours a day.'

(61) Ib. p. 211.

(62) Ib. p. 245, 246.

England [*NN*]. In 1704, the scheme for the augmentation of poor livings, first projected by Bishop Burnet [*OO*], took place, and passed into an Act of Parliament (*i*). In 1706, he published a collection of *Sermons* and *Pamphlets*, in three volumes, 4*to*; in 1710, an *Exposition of the Church Catechism*; and, in 1713, *Sermons on several Occasions*, with an *Essay towards a new Book of Homilies*. We shall mention some other pieces of Bishop Burnet's in the remark [*PP*]. This learned and eminent Prelate died [*QQ*] the seventeenth of March 1714-15, in the seventy-second year of his age (*k*), and was interred in the parish church of St James's Clerkenwell, in London. Since his death, his *History of his*

(*i*) Life, &c. p. 712—715. And Hist. ib. p. 370.

(*k*) Life, &c. p. 724, 725.

[*NN*] *His Exposition of the thirty nine Articles of the Church of England.*] This excellent performance was censured by the Lower House of Convocation, in 1701, first, as allowing a diversity of opinions, which the articles were framed to prevent; 2dly, as containing many passages contrary to the true meaning of the articles, and to other received Doctrines of our Church; and 3dly, as containing some things of pernicious consequence to the Church, and derogatory from the honour of the Reformation: but that House refusing to enter into particulars, unless they might, at the same time, offer some other matters to the Upper House, which the Bishops would not admit of, the affair was dropped (63). The *Exposition* was attacked in a piece (64), intituled, *A Prefatory Discourse to an Examination of a late Book, intituled,* An Exposition, &c. London, 1702, in 4*to*. An answer to this discourse (65) came out the year following. Dr Jonathan Edwards, likewise attacked our author in a piece, intituled, *The Exposition given by my Lord Bishop of Sarum of the second Article of our Religion examined.* London 1702, in 4*to*. In answer to which, there appeared *Remarks on the Examinist of the Exposition*, &c. London, 1702. At the same time, Mr Robert Burscough, published, *A Vindication of the twenty-third Article of Religion, from a late Exposition, ascribed to my Lord Bishop of Sarum.* Mr Edmund Elys, likewise published, in 1704, *Reflections on a late Exposition of the thirty-nine Articles*, &c. in 4*to*. There were two editions of the *Exposition*, in folio, the same year.

(63) Ib. p. 285, 286.

(64) Supposed to be written by Dr William Binckes.

(65) Supposed to be written by Dr John Hoadley, Primate of Ireland.

[*OO*] *He projected the scheme for the augmentation of poor livings.*] The reader will be pleased to find here a particular account of this affair, as it is given us by the Bishop himself (66). On the 6th of February, 1704, Queen Anne sent a message to the House of Commons, signifying her purpose to apply that branch of the revenue, which was raised out of the first-fruits and tenths, paid by the Clergy, to the increase of all the small benefices in the nation. This branch was an imposition, begun by the Popes, in the time of the Holy Wars, and raised as a fund to support those expeditions. But when taxes are once raised by such an arbitrary power, as the Popes then assumed, and after there has been a submission, and payments have been settled into a custom, they are generally continued, even after the pretence, upon which they were at first raised, subsists no more. So this became a standing branch of the Papal revenue, 'till Henry VIII. seemed resolved to take it away. It was first abolished for a year, probably to draw in the Clergy to consent the more willingly to a change that delivered them from such heavy impositions. But, in the succeeding session of Parliament, this revenue was again settled as part of the income of the crown for ever. The whole amounted to between sixteen and seventeen thousand pounds a year. This was not brought into the Treasury, as the other branches of the revenue; but the Bishops, who had been the Pope's collectors, were now the King's: so persons in favour obtained assignations on it, for life, or a term of years. In Charles II's time, it went chiefly among his women and his natural children. 'When I wrote the History of the Reformation, *says the Bishop*, I considered this matter so particularly, that I saw here was a proper fund for providing better subsistence to the poor Clergy; we having among us some hundreds of cures, that have not of certain provision twenty pounds a year; and some thousands that have not fifty.—— I had possessed the late Queen (*) with this, so that she was fully resolved, if ever she had lived to see peace and settlement, to have cleared this branch of the revenue of all the assignations that were upon it, and to have applied it to the augmentation of small benefices. I laid the matter before the late King (‖), when there was a prospect of peace, as a proper expression, both of his thankfulness to Almighty God, and of his care of the Church (67) — He entertained this so well, that he ordered me to speak to his Ministers about it. They all approved it; the Lord Somers did it in a most particular manner. But the Earl of Sunderland obtained an assignation, upon two dioceses, for two thousand pounds a year, for two lives: so nothing was to be hoped for after that. I laid this matter very fully before the present Queen (†), in the King's time, and had spoken often of it to the Lord Godolphin.' — Upon the Queen's message, a bill was brought in, enabling her to alienate this branch of the revenue, and to create a corporation by a charter, for applying it to the use, for which she now gave it. They added to this, a repeal of the statute of *Mortmain*, so far as that it might be free to all men, either by deed or by their last wills, to give what they thought fit towards the augmenting of benefices. Thus are the Clergy in a great measure indebted to Bishop Burnet, for the advantage they derive from this establishment of the first-fruits and tenths.

(*) Queen Mary.

(‖) King William.

(66) Hist. ib. p. 369—371.

(67) See the Bishop's two Memorials on this Subject, presented to the King in January 1696, and in December 1697. Life, &c. p. 713, 714.

(†) Queen Anne.

[*PP*] *Some other pieces of Bishop Burnet's.*] I. *Dr Gilbert Burnet's Resolution of two important Cases of Conscience:* the first; *Is a Woman's Barrenness a just ground for Divorce, or for Polygamy?* the second: *Is Polygamy in any Case lawful under the Gospel?* The author resolves both these cases in the affirmative (68). The occasion of his writing this paper, as he himself informs us (69), was this: about the year 1670 or 1671, Duke Lauderdale, having discovered to our author the secret of the Duke of York's Religion, and perceiving him struck with great apprehensions thereupon, hinted to him a project of King Charles's divorce, in order, by an heir to the crown, to set aside the Duke of York. Our author then was but seven and twenty years of age; and, being pretty full of the Civil Law, which had been his first study, he mentioned to the Earl several passages out of the Digests, Code, and Novels, upon that head. The Earl thereupon desired the Doctor to state that matter in writing; which the latter did, telling the Earl at the same time, that he spoke of the sudden, but that, when he went home among his books, he would consider the matter more severely. Accordingly, the winter following, he wrote to the Earl, retracting the whole paper, and answering all the material things in it. II. *Mystery of Iniquity unveiled.* London, 1673, 8*vo*. III. *An Account given by T. K. a Jesuit, of the Truth of Religion examined.* London, 1674, 8*vo*. IV. *A Rational Method for proving the Truth of the Christian Religion, as it is professed in the Church of England,* London, 1675, 8*vo*. V. *A Modest Survey of the most considerable Things, in a Discourse lately published, intituled,* The Naked Truth. London, 1676, 4*to*. We set down this piece on the authority of Anthony Wood, who ascribes it (70) to the Bishop, because he had seen it reckoned as his, in a catalogue of the Bishop's works, at the end of some other book. VI. *A Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England, in Answer to a Paper, written by one of the Church of Rome, to prove the Nullity of our Orders.* London, 1677, 8*vo*. VII. *Preface to a Book, intituled, The Life of God in the Soul of Man*, &c. London, 1691, 8*vo*.

(68) See Dr Hickes's Discourses upon Dr Burnet and Dr Tillotson, p. 20. Bevil Higgons's Historical and Critical Remarks, &c. second edit. p. 159, &c. And Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq; &c. Lond. 1733. in Append.

(69) Reflections on Dr Hickes's Discourses, &c. p. 76.

(70) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 866.

[*QQ*] *His Death.*] He was taken ill of a violent cold, which turned to a pleuretick fever: he was attended in it by his friend and relation, Dr Cheyne, who, finding the distemper grow to an height, called in the assistance of Sir Hans Sloane and Dr Mead. He bore the notice of his danger with calmness and resignation; and, as he preserved his senses to the last, he employed the short remainder of his life in continual acts of devotion, and giving the best advice to his family, of whom he took leave with the utmost tenderness and firmest constancy of mind (71).

(71) Life, &c. p. 714, 725.

his own Time [*RR*], with an *Account* of his *Life* annexed, has been publiſhed, in two volumes in folio, by his ſon Thomas Burnet, Eſq; (*l*). Our author's publick character, and conduct as a Biſhop, have been already ſet forth: it remains only to take a ſhort view of him in his domeſtick life [*SS*]; to which we ſhall ſubjoin his general character, as drawn by

(*l*) One of the Judges of the Common Pleas.

[*RR*] *His Hiſtory of his own Time*] The Biſhop, by his laſt will and teſtament, ordered, that this Hiſtory ſhould not be printed 'till ſix years after his death, and then faithfully, without adding, ſuppreſſing, or altering it in any particular. Accordingly the firſt volume was printed at London in 1724, and the ſecond in 1734, in folio. To the firſt volume is prefixed an advertiſement, acquainting the reader, that 'the Editors intended, for the ſatisfaction of the publick, to 'depoſit the copy, from which this Hiſtory is printed '(corrected, and interlined in many places with the 'author's own hand) in ſome publick library, as ſoon 'as the ſecond volume ſhould be publiſhed.' The firſt part of this Hiſtory was written ſome time before the year 1705, but how long, is uncertain; only it appears it was then finiſhed, becauſe, in the beginning of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, the author dates the continuation of it on the firſt day of May 1705. What led him at firſt to look into the ſecret conduct of publick affairs, as he himſelf tells us (72), was the manner of his education, which being ſolely in the hands of his father, who had been engaged in great friendſhips with all parties, and took a pleaſure in relating to him the ſeries of publick tranſactions, he had, while very young, a greater knowledge of thoſe matters, than is uſual at that age. Beſides which, he himſelf fell into great acquaintance and friendſhips with ſeveral perſons, who either were, or had been, Miniſters of State, from whom, when the ſecret of affairs was over, he ſtudied to know as many particulars as he could draw from them. He ſaw likewiſe a great deal more among the papers of the Dukes of Hamilton, than was properly a part of their *Memoirs*, or fit to be told at that time. Add to this, his intimacy, for above thirty years, with all who had the chief conduct of affairs, and his own ſhare in many of them, which enabled him to penetrate far into the true ſecret of counſels and deſigns. 'This, (73) Ibid. 'our author goes on (73), made me, twenty years ago, 'write down a relation of all that I had known to 'that time. Where I was in the dark, I paſſed over 'all, and only opened thoſe tranſactions that I had 'particular occaſions to know. My chief deſign in 'writing, was to give a true view of men and of 'counſels, leaving publick tranſactions to Gazettes, 'and the publick Hiſtorians of the times. I writ with 'a deſign to make both myſelf and my readers wiſer 'and better, and to lay open the good and bad of all 'ſides and parties, as clearly and impartially as I myſelf underſtood it; concealing nothing that I thought 'fit to be known, and repreſenting things in their natural colours, without art or diſguiſe, without any 'regard to kindred or friends, to parties or intereſts: 'for I do ſolemnly ſay this to the world, and make 'my humble appeal upon it to the great God of truth, 'that I tell the truth on all occaſions, as fully and 'freely, as, upon my beſt enquiry, I have been able to 'find it out. Where things appear doubtful, I deliver (74) Ib. p. 2, 3. 'them with the ſame incertainty to the world (74).' Our author, then, apologizes for the ſeverity, with which he has treated thoſe of his own profeſſion, his dwelling ſo long on the affairs of Scotland, and his inclination to think generally the worſt, both of men and of parties. Laſtly, as to the ſtyle of the Hiſtory, he (75) Ibid. p. 4. tells us (75), he purpoſely avoided all laboured periods and artificial ſtrains, and that he writ it in as clear and plain a ſtyle as was poſſible, chuſing rather a copious enlargement, than a dark conciſeneſs. He concludes the Preface with a ſolemn Dedication of his work to God. There are two French tranſlations of the firſt volume of this Hiſtory; the one by M de la Pilloniere, the other by an anonymous tranſlator: the firſt was printed at the Hague, in three volumes 12*mo*, 1725; the other, with cuts, at the ſame place, in the ſame year, in two volumes 4*to*. This laſt verſion was reprinted at Trevoux in four volumes 12*mo*. Biſhop Burnet's *Hiſtory of his own Time* has been ſeverely attacked by ſeveral writers; particularly, I. By John Cockburn, D. D. in a piece, in 8*vo*, intituled, *A Specimen of ſome free and impartial Remarks on publick Affairs and particular perſons, eſpecially relating to Scotland, occaſioned by Dr Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times.* A *vindication* of our author againſt this writer was publiſhed in 1724; to which a reply was made under the title of *A Defence of Dr Cockburn, againſt the Vindication of Biſhop Burnet.* A IId Antagoniſt was an anonymous writer, in a piece, intituled, *A Review of Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, particularly his Characters and ſecret Memoirs; with Critical Remarks, ſhewing the Partiality, Inconſiſtency, and Defects of that Political Hiſtory*, 8*vo*. III. In 1725, appeared a book, intituled, *Biſhop Burnet's late Hiſtory charged with great Partiality and Miſrepreſentation, to make the preſent and future Ages believe, that Arthur, Earl of Eſſex, in* 1683, *murdered himſelf*, &c. *By Mr Braddon*, 8*vo*. IV. The ſame year, Mr Bevil Higgons publiſhed, in 8*vo*, *Hiſtorical and Critical Remarks on Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time.* This author writes with a peculiar vehemence and ſharpneſs of ſtyle. He tells us, in his Preface, 'It is very evi'dent, that revenge has abſolutely guided him, (*the* '*Biſhop*) through this Hiſtory, and ſo darkened his 'underſtanding, as ſometimes to make him fall into 'the groſſeſt abſurdities.' The ſecond edition of this book is of the year 1727, with *Additional Remarks*, and a *Poſtſcript, in Anſwer to the London Journal of January* 30*th and February* 6*th*, 1725. V. The late Lord Landſdowne attacked our author's Hiſtory, in a *Letter to the Author* (Mr Oldmixon) *of the Reflections Hiſtorical and Political*, &c. to which the Biſhop's ſon Thomas Burnet, Eſq; replied, in ſome *Remarks* upon that *Letter*, London, 1732, 4*to*. Biſhop Burnet's *Hiſtory of his own Time* concludes with a warm and affectionate addreſs to all ranks and degrees of perſons; the Clergy, the Commonalty, the Gentry, the Traders, the Nobility, the Houſes of Parliament, and our Monarchs themſelves; cenſuring the faults and errors of their conduct, giving them ſuitable advice, and earneſtly exhorting them to the practice of virtue and religion.

[*SS*] *A ſhort view of him in his domeſtick life.*] His time was employed in one regular and uniform manner. He was a very early riſer, ſeldom in bed later than five, or ſix, o'clock in the morning. Private meditation took up the two firſt hours, and the laſt half hour, of the day. His firſt and laſt appearance to his family was at the morning and evening prayers, which he always read himſelf, tho' his Chaplains were preſent. He took the opportunity of the tea-table to inſtruct his children in religion, and in giving them his own comment upon ſome portion of Scripture. He ſeldom ſpent leſs than ſix, often eight hours a day in his ſtudy. He kept an open table, in which there was plenty without luxury: his equipage was decent and plain; and all his expences generous, but not profuſe. He was a moſt affectionate huſband to his wives; and his love to his children expreſſed itſelf, not ſo much in hoarding up wealth for them, as in giving them the beſt education. After his ſons had perfected themſelves in the learned languages, under private tutors, he ſent them to the Univerſity, and afterwards abroad, to finiſh their ſtudies at Leyden. In his friendſhips, he was warm, open-hearted, and conſtant; and though his ſtation and principles raiſed him many enemies, he always endeavoured, by the kindeſt good offices, to repay all their injuries, and overcome them by returning good for evil. He was a kind and bountiful maſter to his ſervants, and obliging to all in employment under him. His charities were a principal article of his expence. He gave an hundred pounds at a time for the augmentation of ſmall livings: he beſtowed conſtant penſions on poor clergymen, and their widows, on ſtudents for their education at the Univerſities, and on induſtrious, but unfortunate families: he contributed frequent ſums towards the repairs or building of churches and parſonage houſes, to all publick collections, to the ſupport of charity ſchools (one of which for fifty children at Saliſbury was wholly maintained by him) and to the putting out apprentices to trades. Nor were his alms confined to one nation, ſect, or party; but want, and merit, in the object, were the only meaſures of his liberality. He looked upon himſelf, with regard to his epiſcopal revenue, as a meer truſtee for

(72) Preface, p. 42.

by the Marquis of Halifax [*TT*].

for the Church, bound to expend the whole in a decent maintenance of his ſtation, and in acts of hoſpitality and charity; and he had ſo faithfully balanced this account, that, at his death, no more of the income of his biſhoprick remained to his family, than was barely ſufficient to pay his debts (76).

(76) Life, &c. p. 721—724.

[*TT*] *His character, as drawn by the Marquis of Halifax.*] 'Dr Burnet is like all men, who are above 'the ordinary level, ſeldom ſpoke of in a mean; he 'muſt either be railed at, or admired. He has a 'ſwiftneſs of imagination, that no other comes up to; 'and as our nature hardly allows us to have enough 'of any thing, without having too much, he cannot 'at all times ſo hold in his thoughts, but that at ſome 'time they may run away with him; as it is hard for 'a veſſel that is brimful, when in motion, not to run 'over; and therefore the variety of matter, that he 'ever carries about him, may throw out more, than 'an unkind Critick would allow of. His firſt thoughts 'may ſometimes require more digeſtion, not from a 'defect in his judgment, but from the abundance of 'his fancy, which furniſhes too faſt for him. His 'friends love him too well, to ſee ſmall faults; or if 'they do, think that his greater talents give him a privilege of ſtraying from the ſtrict rules of caution, and 'exempt him from the ordinary rules of cenſure. He 'produces ſo faſt, that what is well in his writings calls 'for admiration, and what is incorrect deſerves an excuſe; he may, in ſome things, require grains of allowance, which thoſe only can deny him, who are 'unknown or unjuſt to him. He is not quicker in diſcerning other men's faults, than he is in forgiving 'them; ſo ready, or rather glad, to acknowledge his 'own, that from blemiſhes they become ornaments. 'All the repeated provocations of his indecent adverſaries, have had no other effect, than the ſetting his 'good nature in ſo much a better light, ſince his anger 'never yet went farther than to pity them. That 'heat, which in moſt other men raiſes ſharpneſs and ſatire, in him glows into warmth for his friends, and 'compaſſion for thoſe in want and miſery. As dull men 'have quick eyes, in diſcerning the ſmaller faults of 'thoſe, that nature has made ſuperior to them, they 'do not miſs one blot he makes; and being beholden only to their barrenneſs for their diſcretion, 'they fall upon the errors, which ariſe out of his abundance; and, by a miſtake, into which their malice betrays them, they think, that, by finding a mote in his 'eye, they hide the beams, that are in their own. His 'quickneſs makes writing ſo eaſy a thing to him, that 'his ſpirits are neither waſted nor ſowered by it: The 'ſoil is not forced; every thing grows, and brings 'forth, without pangs; which diſtinguiſhes as much 'what he does, from that which ſmells of the lamp, 'as a good palate will diſcern between fruit, which 'comes from a rich mould, and that which taſtes of the 'uncleanly pains, that have been beſtowed upon 'it. He makes many enemies, by ſetting an ill-natured example of living, which they are not inclined 'to follow. His indifference for preferment, his contempt, not only of ſplendor, but of all unneceſſary 'plenty; his degrading himſelf into the loweſt and moſt 'painful duties of his calling; are ſuch unprelatical 'qualities, that, let him be never ſo orthodox in other 'things, in theſe he muſt be a Diſſenter. Virtues of 'ſuch a ſtamp are ſo many hereſies, in the opinion of 'thoſe Divines, who have ſoftened the primitive injunctions, ſo as to make them ſuit better with the 'preſent frailty of mankind. No wonder then, if they 'are angry, ſince it is in their own defence; or that, 'from a principle of ſelf-preſervation, they ſhould endeavour to ſuppreſs a man, whoſe parts are a ſhame, 'and whoſe life is a ſcandal to them.' The copy, from which this is printed, in the Biſhop's *Life* (77), was taken from one given to the Biſhop, in the Marquis of Halifax's own hand-writing.

(77) Ib. p. 725, 726.

T

BURTON (WILLIAM), a very ſkilful Topographer, and author of the *Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire*, was born Auguſt 24, 1575, being deſcended from a very ancient family [*A*], ſeated at Lindley in this county, and Falde in Staffordſhire (*a*). After having been educated in grammar-learning at Sutton-Colfield in Warwickſhire, he was admitted, in Michaelmas-term 1591, in Braſen-noſe College in Oxford; where, by the benefit of a careful tutor, he got a tolerable ſtock of Logick and Philoſophy. On the twentieth of May 1593, he became a member of the Inner-Temple, London (*b*): and on the twenty-ſecond of June 1594, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*c*). But, without compleating it, he went and ſettled in the Temple; and after having ſpent a due time in the ſtudy of the Law, was made a Barriſter (*d*). However, 'the weak conſtitution of his body, not permitting him 'to practiſe in that laborious profeſſion,' he 'retyred to a private countrie life,' and gave himſelf up to the 'ſtudie of Antiquities, to which he was drawn by a natural genius (*e*).' Wanting neither leiſure nor opportunities of improvement (as he had a conſiderable fortune) he became, with due diligence and application, one of the moſt eminent perſons in the kingdom, for the knowledge of Heraldry, Genealogies, and Antiquities (*f*). Of which he gave an excellent ſpecimen in his *Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire* [*B*], and other works

(a) See the Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire, by our author. Lond. 1622, fol. 177—179. And Wood's Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 178.

(b) Deſcript. of Leiceſt. p. 68. And Wood, ubi ſupra.

(c) Wood, Faſti.

(d) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(e) Preface to his Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire, p. 1, 2.

(f) Wood, Ath. ibid. And Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 222.

[*A*] *Deſcended from a very ancient family.*] It appears from the pedigree, inſerted by our author in his *Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire* (1). That, *James de Burton* was Squire of the body to King Richard I. and attended him to the Holy Land. His great-great-grandſon *Nicolas de Burton*, who lived in the 14th of Edward II. married Agnes, ſiſter and heir of John Curzun of *Falde*, by whom that eſtate came into the Burton-family. *William Burton*, Standard-bearer to King Henry VI. died in the 39th of that King. His grandſon, *James Burton*, married, in 1511, *Elizabeth*, daughter and co-heir of *John Hardwick* of *Lindley* in Leiceſterſhire; which Elizabeth had, for her portion, the third part of the manor of Lindley, with the capital ſeat. Our author's father, grandſon of James laſt mentioned, was *Ralph Burton* of Lindley; born in 1547, who died the 17th of March 1619, and was buried at Higham. His wife was *Dorothy*, daughter of William Faunt of Foſton in Leiceſterſhire, born in 1550, and married in 1571.

(1) Page 177, &c.

[*B*] *His* Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire.] This deſcription was publiſhed in 1622 at London, in a ſmall folio. The Author made afterwards very large Additions to it (which were formerly in the hands of Walter Chetwynd, of Ingeſtre near Stafford, Eſq;) as appears by the following original letter of his.

'Good Sir,

'UPON the firſt edition of my booke, I was 'challenged by your Ladye for that I had nothing to ſaye for Thedingworth; and nowe being 'almoſt ready for the ſecond, having gotten ſome Roman, Saxon and other antiquities of good note, as 'will almoſt make the worke as bigg againe, to prevent that cenſure, I have made bould to intreate 'your helpe for the illuſtration of that towne, as alſo 'what other notes it ſhall (*) you to beſtowe upon me, 'or what, in the wholl, you ſhall obſerve worthy to be 'corrected, of which I ſhall be readye to make performance. At my laſt being with you, you ſhewed 'me an old Knighton, which (as I remember) you 'ſaid you had double: my deſire is, that if the ſame 'be with you ſtill, that it would pleaſe you to lett me, 'upon reaſonable termes, to have the ſame, not doubting but that it will aford me ſomething worthy the 'obſervance; I ſawe not long ſynce a genealogy, 'wherein was a match of one of your lineall auncеſtors (a Cotton) that married the daughter of Sir 'Willin de Fovile; which, for that I never did ſee 'in any before, I would intreate your aſcerteinment of 'the truth thereof: and if it ſhall pleaſe you, that your 'genealogy ſhall be inſerted in my booke, it ſhall be

(*) The word *pleaſe* is omitted in the original.

'performed

works [C]. Having suffered much during the civil wars, he died at his seat of Falde in Staffordshire, on the sixth of April 1645, aged 70; and was buried in the parish church of Handbury (g). By his wife, Jane, daughter of Humphrey Adderly, of Weddington in Warwickshire, he had a son named Cassibilan, born 19 November 1609 (h), who translated Martial's epigrams into English verse; and, like a true poet, consumed most part of the estate left him by father He died February 28, 1681 (i). As for our author; he was one of the most laborious and understanding Antiquarians of his time: and, as one stiles him (k), was 'the diligence, and the great ornament of his country.' He gave to the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, *Leland's Collections*, and his *Itinerary*, which were come into his hands (l).

(k) W. Burton, Comment. on Antoninus, edit. 1658, fol. p. 214.

(l) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 84.

'performed accordingly. I have moved my brother 'in lawe, Mr Grey, dwelling at the Black Boye upon 'London Bridge, neere Southwerke, to be the bearer 'hereof, that, by your appointment, he may attend 'whensoever it shall please you to send answere; in- 'treating at this tyme pardon for this overbouldnesse 'of him that resteth

'Ready'

Lindley 9: June: 1627:

'at your service,

William Burton.

[C] *And other works.*] He left behind him, I. Several Collections of Arms and Monuments, of Genealogies, and other matters of Antiquity, which he had gathered from Churches and Gentlemens houses. II. He left likewise, A Common place book of English Antiquities, in manuscript fol. collected chiefly from Leland's *Itinerary*; but it being written, not with his own hand, but by an illiterate person, there are innumerable faults in it (2). III. There is in the Cottonian Library, 'The foundation of several reli- 'gious houses in England,' collected by our author (3).

(2) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(3) Cotton. Libr. Julius C. vi. 19.

C

BURTON (HENRY) was born at Birdsall in Yorkshire, in the year 1579 (a), and educated at St John's College in Cambridge, where he took the degrees in Arts (b). In 1612, July the 14th he was incorporated Master of Arts, at Oxford (c). He took afterwards his degree of Bachelor of Divinity. The first employment he had, was that of tutor to the sons of Robert Lord Carey of Lepington, created, in 1625, Earl of Monmouth, whose Lady (d) was governess to Prince Charles, in his infancy (e). Through this Lord's interest, probably, he was made Clerk of the Closet to Prince Henry; and, after his death, to Prince Charles (f). In 1623, he was appointed to attend that Prince into Spain; but, for what reason is unknown, was set aside, when part of his goods were shipped (g). Upon King Charles Ist's accession to the crown, he expected no less than to be continued Clerk of the Closet to him: but His Majesty giving that place to Dr Neile, Bishop of Durham, who had in that quality served his father King James I. Mr Burton was highly disgusted at this, and the forementioned affront, and expressed his resentment upon all occasions, particularly by railing against the Bishops (h). The twenty third of April 1625, he presented a letter to King Charles, wherein he remonstrated to him, how popishly affected were Dr Neile and Dr Laud his continual attendants (i); for which, and some other indiscretions, he was forbid the Court (k). About the year 1625, he was presented to the Rectory of St Matthew's in Friday-street, London (l). But, what rendered him most considerable, and caused him to be much taken notice of, was his severe prosecution in the Star-Chamber (m). For having on the fifth of November 1636, preached in his own church of St Matthew's, two sermons, published afterwards under the title of, *For God and the King* [A]; he was, in December following, summoned to appear before Dr Duck, one of the Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, who tendered to him the oath *ex officio*, to answer to certain articles presented to him. But Burton refused to take that oath; and instead of answering, appealed to the King. However, notwithstanding his appeal, a Special High-Commission-Court being called soon after at Doctor's-Commons, he was suspended by them in his absence, both from his office and benefice, Upon that, he thought fit to conceal himself in his own house; and in that time published his two sermons, with an Apology to justify his appeal. But on the first of February, a Serjeant at Arms, with several Pursuivants and other armed officers, by virtue of a warrant from the Star-Chamber, broke open his doors, searched his study, and carried him to prison; whence the next day (February the second) he was, by an order from the Privy-Council, conveyed to the Fleet, and there kept several weeks close prisoner. During his confinement in this place, he wrote *An Epistle to His Majesty*; another *to the Judges:* and *a Letter to the true hearted Nobility* (n): For which, as well as for his two sermons above-mentioned, he was proceeded against in the Star-Chamber, on March the eleventh, as a seditious

(a) He was 67 years of age in 1646, and consequently must have been born in 1579. See A. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I Fasti, col. 192.

(b) Wood, ibid.

(c) Ibid. He was incorporated there again M. A. July 14, 1617, ibid. col. 207.

(d) Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hugh Trevanion, of Corriheigh in Cornwall, Knt. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 398.

(e) Wood, ibid. and T. Fuller's Church History, Book xi. p. 152.

(f) Wood, ubi supra.

(g) Fuller, ibid.

(h) Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, 6 Vols 8vo, Lond. 1733, Vol. I. p. 200.

(i) Wood, ubi supra.

(k) Clarendon, ubi supra.

(l) Wood, ubi supra. Newcourt could not find when he was instituted.

(m) See Rushworth's Histor. Collect. Vol. I. Part iii. edit. 1692, p. 78. and A new Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny, &c. Lond. 1641, 4to, by W. Prynne.

(n) Rushworth, ibid. It was printed Lond. 1636, 4to. See also New Discovery, &c. as above, p. 14, 15, 16, 29.

[A] *Two sermons, published afterwards*, &c.] The text they were preached upon, was, *Proverbs* xxiv. 21, 22. In these two sermons, and his *Apology* mentioned afterwards, he charged the Bishops (†) with 'dangerous plots to change the orthodox Religion esta- 'blished in England; and to bring in Romish super- 'stition in the roome of it:' And blamed them for introducing several innovations into divine worship. The chief he mentioned, were (1) — 'That in the 'Epistle the Sunday before Easter, they have put out '*In*, and made it, *At the name of Jesus*, which alte- 'ration is directly against the Act of Parliament.—That 'two places are changed in the praiers set forth for 'the 5th of November; namely, *Root out that Baby- 'lonish and Antichristian Sect, which say*, &c. is thus 'altered, Root out that Babylonish and Antichristian 'Sect *of them* which say. Next, *Cut off those workers 'of iniquity whose religion is rebellion*, &c. was, in the book printed in 1635, thus altered, Cut off those 'workers of iniquity, *who turne religion into rebel- 'lion*.—That the Prayer for the Navy is left out of 'the late booke for the fast.—That the placing the 'communion-table altar wise, at the upper-end of the 'chancel, is done to advance and usher in Popery — 'That the second service, as dainties, is said there.— 'That bowing towards the altar, is worshipping the 'table, or God knows what.'

(†) Page 5.

(1) Apologie, &c. p. 2, 3, 4, 5, 105.

ſeditious libeller. In the mean time, Mr Prynne, who was proſecuted with him, fearing they ſhould not be permitted to make a full anſwer to their information, draws up a croſſe-bill againſt the Archbiſhop, and others; wherein he charged them, 'which uſurping upon 'His Majeſties Prerogative-Royal; with innovations in religion; licenſing of Popiſh and 'Arminian books, &c.' Having ſigned it, they tendred it to the Lord Keeper; who refuſed to admit it: and accordingly it was ſuppreſſed (†). But it is to be obſerved, that the Court had a great deſire of making their crime amount, if poſſible, to high-treaſon. For, June 6, 1637, all the Judges, and the King's Counſel, met at Serjeants-Inn (*o*), about ſeditious books written and diſperſed by Mr Burton, and Dr Baſtwick. But, nothing being found in Burton's books, whereon to ground an indictment for treaſon, he was proceeded againſt, as I obſerved above, in the Star-Chamber. The ſcope of the information againſt him, was (*p*), for writing and publiſhing ſeditious, ſchiſmatical, and libellous books, againſt the Hierarchy of the Church, and to the ſcandal of the government. To this information, he (and Baſtwick and Prynne, who were indicted with him) prepared anſwers. But their counſel refuſed to ſign them, for fear of offending the Court of Star-Chamber. Whereupon, the defendants petitioned the Court, that, according to antient precedents, they might ſign their anſwers with their own hands; declaring, they would abide by the cenſure of the Court, if they did not make good what was contained therein. But this was refuſed by the Court, unleſs they brought their anſwers ſigned by counſel. Mr Burton's anſwer was at length ſigned by Mr Holt, a Bencher of Gray's-Inn; who afterwards withdrew his hand, becauſe the other counſel out of fear, would not ſubſcribe it. However, Mr Burton tendred it to the Court, deſiring it might be accepted, or Mr Holt ordered to new ſign it. Whereupon, the Court ordered, that it might be received under the hand of Mr Holt alone; which was accordingly done. After it had lain in Court near three weeks, upon the Attorney-General's ſuggeſtion to the Court, on the nineteenth of May, that it was ſcandalous; it was referred to the two Chief-Juſtices, Sir John Bramſton and Sir John Finch, to conſider of, and to expunge what was contained therein as unfit to be brought into Court, or otherwiſe impertinent and ſcandalous (†). They expunged ſixty-four whole ſheets, that is the whole anſwer, except ſix lines at the beginning, and about twenty-four at the latter end. Soon after a perſon came to the Fleet, to examine Mr Burton upon interrogatories grounded on his anſwer. But hearing how much had been expunged out of it, he refuſed to be examined, unleſs his anſwer might be admitted as it was put in; or he permitted to put in a new anſwer. Which not being allowed of, it was ordered by the Court, on the ſecond of June, that if he would not anſwer to interrogatories framed upon his anſwer, he ſhould be proceeded againſt *pro confeſſo*; his obſtinacy being looked upon as a ſelf-conviction. On the day of the ſentence, which was June 14, 1637, Burton and the two other defendants ſtanding at the bar, the Court cauſed the information to be read; and no legal anſwer being put in in time, nor filed on record, the Court began for this *contempt*, to proceed to ſentence. But the defendants, before the Court ſpake, cried out for juſtice——that their anſwers might be read, and that they might not be condemned unheard. Nevertheleſs, becauſe their anſwers were not filed on record, the Court proceed to give this ſentence (*q*); namely, to fine Burton and the others, five thouſand pounds a-piece, and to order, that He in particular, ſhould be deprived of his eccleſiaſtical benefice, degraded from his miniſterial function, and degrees in the Univerſity; ſhould be ſet on the pillory, and both his ears cut off there; confined to perpetual cloſe impriſonment in Lancaſhire-caſtle; debarred the acceſs of his wife, or any other, except his keeper, and denied the uſe of pen, ink, and paper. All which (except the fine) was executed accordingly. For, June the twenty-ſeventh, he was degraded by Sir John Lamb, in St Paul's; and, the thirtieth of the ſame month, was ſet in the pillory (*r*) in the Palace-yard Weſtminſter [*B*], where his ears were cut off in a barbarous manner. For they were pared ſo cloſe, that the temporal artery was cut, which made the blood ſtream in great abundance upon the ſcaffold, and yet he never ſhrunk at the pain (*s*).

After

(†) New Diſcovery, &c. p. 19, 20.

(*o*) 13 Carol. I. See Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collect. Vol. I. Part. ii. p. 324.

(*p*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. I. Part ii. p. 380. See the article BASTWICK (JOHN).

(†) New Diſcovery, &c. as above, p. 27, 28, 41.

(*q*) Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra; and Part iii. Vol. I. p. 79. and Prynne's New Diſcovery, &c. p. 43. And The Cenſure, ibid. p. 25, &c.

(*r*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Book xi. p. 153.

(*s*) Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 154. Prynne, ubi ſupra, p. 57.

[*B*] *He was ſet in the pillory in the Palace-yard, Weſtminſter.*] Where he made a long ſpeech, not entire and continued, but interrupted with occaſional expreſſions. The main deſign of it was, to parallel his ſufferings with our Saviour's. For, at the firſt ſight of the pillory, 'Methinks, ſaid he, I ſee Mount Calvary 'where the three croſſes were pitched.' [For there were three pillories, one for himſelf, and a double one for Baſtwick and Prynne] 'If Chriſt was numbered 'among thieves, ſhall a Chriſtian think much, for his 'ſake, to be numbered amongſt rogues (†), ſuch as we 'are condemned to be? Surely if I be a rogue, I am 'Chriſt's rogue, and no man's.'——Shortly after he ſaid to his wife, 'See thou be not ſad, for I would not 'have thee to diſhonour the day, or to darken the glory 'of it, by ſhedding one tear, or fetching one ſigh; 'for behold there, for thy comfort, my triumphant 'chariot, on the which I muſt ride for the honour of 'my lord and maſter: And never was my wedding-'day ſo well-come, and ſo joyful a day, as this day 'is.'——When he was put in the pillory, he ſaid,—'Good people, I am brought hither to be a ſpectacle 'to the world, to angels, and to men; and howſo-'ever I ſtand here to undergo the puniſhment of a 'rogue, yet except to be a faithful ſervant to Chriſt, 'and a loyal ſubject to the King, be the property of a 'rogue, I am no rogue. But yet, if to be Chriſt's 'faithful ſervant, and the King's loyal ſubject, deſerve 'the puniſhment of a rogue, I glory in it, and, I 'bleſs God, my conſcience is clear.'——Some aſking him, 'If the pillory were not uneaſy, for his neck and 'ſhoulders?' He anſwered, 'How can Chriſt's yoke 'be uneaſy? This is Chriſt's yoke, and he bears the 'heavier end of it, and I the lighter; and if mine 'were too heavy, he would bear that too.'——One of the guards having an old ruſty halberd, the iron whereof was tacked to the ſtaff with an old crooked nail; one ſaid, 'What an old ruſty halberd is that?' To which Burton replied, 'This ſeems to me to be one of 'thoſe halberts, which accompanied Judas when he 'went to betray and apprehend his maſter.'——A friend aſking him, 'If he would have been without this 'particular ſuffering?' To whom he ſaid, 'No, not 'for a world (*z*).'

(†) This was no great compliment to his fellow-ſufferers Prynne and Baſtwick.

(*z*) Prynne's New Diſcovery and Cenſure, &c. p 46—56.

[*C*] *And*

After that, he was sent to Lancaster-Castle, in August, and imprisoned there in the common goal (*t*). But great crowds, who pitied his misfortunes, resorting to him there; and he finding means to have some of his virulent papers dispersed in London (*u*): he was, after a twelve weeks confinement in that place, removed, by an order of council, to Cornet-Castle in the isle of Guernsey, in October 1637, where he remained a close prisoner almost three years. But on November 7, 1640, his wife, Sarah Burton, presented a petition to the House of Commons (*x*), complaining, of the severe sentence of the Court of Star-Chamber, inflicted upon her husband in the pillory; and that, by a particular order, she was not to be permitted to come and visit him. Whereupon the House ordered on the tenth (*x*), that her husband should be forthwith sent for to the Parliament, in safe custody, by warrant of the House, directed to the Governor of the isle where he was prisoner, and to the Captain of the castle there; and that the cause of his detainer, might be certified also to the House (*y*). Accordingly, a warrant was signed by the Speaker, to the Governor and Captain of the castle of Guernsey; which was sent with all possible expedition (*z*). Mr Burton, and Mr Prynne, (who was now released from his confinement in Montorgueil-Castle in Jersey) landed at the same time at Dartmouth, on the twenty-second of November, where they were received and entertained with extraordinary demonstrations of affection and esteem; attended by a marvellous conflux of company; and their charges not only borne with great magnificence, but liberal presents given to them. And this method and ceremony, kept them company all their journey, great numbers of people meeting them at their entrance into all towns, and waiting upon them out, with wonderful acclamations of joy. When they came near London, multitudes of people of several conditions, some on horseback, others on foot, met them some miles from the town; very many having been a day's journey; and they were brought, about two of the clock in the afternoon, in at Charing-Cross, and carried into the city by above ten thousand persons, with boughs and flowers in their hands (*a*); the common people strewing flowers and herbs in the ways as they passed, making great noise, and expressions of joy for their deliverance and return; and in those acclamations, mingling loud and virulent exclamations against the Bishops (*b*). On the fifth of December, Mr Burton presented a petition to the House of Commons, wherein he set forth his sufferings (*c*). In consequence of which, the House resolved on the twelfth of March following (*d*), that the suspending of him, the breaking open his house, and arresting him without any cause shown, and his imprisonment thereupon; and the searching and seizing of his books and papers, was against law, and the liberty of the subject; and that he ought to have reparation and recompence, for the damages sustained by those proceedings [*C*]. The twenty-fourth of the same month, they further resolved (*e*), that the sentence against him was illegal, and ought to be reversed; that he be freed from the fine of five thousand pounds, and from imprisonment, and restored to his degrees in the University, orders in the Ministry, and to his ecclesiastical benefice in Friday-street London. And also have recompence for his imprisonment, and for the loss of his ears: which, on the twentieth of April, they voted should be six thousand pounds (*f*). But the ensuing confusions in the kingdom, prevented his receiving that sum (*g*). However in October 1642, he was restored to his living of St Matthew's; Mr Cheshlin, the then incumbent, being worried out of it (*h*). Burton after this, declared himself an Independent, and complied with all the alterations that ensued. But we are told by A. Wood (*i*), that when he saw what strange courses the Parliament took, he grew more moderate. He was buried January 7, 1647-8 (*k*). And therefore A. Wood is mistaken, when he says (*l*), that he lived 'till after the beheading of his old master, King Charles I. Besides the books abovementioned, for which he was so severely punished, he writ many other things; of which there is an account in the note [*D*].

[*C*] *And that he ought to have reparation and recompence for the damages sustained by those proceedings*] It was at the same time resolved upon the question, 'That the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of 'London, the Earl of Arundell and Surrey, the Earl 'of Pembroke and Montgomery, Sir Henry Vane, and 'Sir John Cooke, and Sir Francis Windebanke,' (who had signed the warrant at the council-board for his close imprisonment) 'should make reparation to Mr 'Burton for his damages susteyned by his imprison-'ment (3).'

[*D*] *He writ many other things.*] They are as follow: 'I. A Censure of Simony. Lond. 1624. II. A 'Plea to an Appeal, traversed Dialogue-wise. Lond. '1626. III. The baiting of the Pope's Bull. Lond. '1627. IV. A Tryal of private Devotions, or a Dyal 'for the hours of Prayer. Lond. 1628. V. Israel's 'Fast; or Meditations on the 7th Chap. of Joshua. 'Lond. 1628. VI Seven Vials, or an Exposition on 'the 15th and 16th Chapters of the Revelations. Lond. '1628. VII. Babel no Bethel; i. e. The Church of 'Rome no true visible Church of Christ, being an an-'swer to Hugh Cholmeley's Challenge, and Robert 'Butterfield's Maschil. VIII. Truth's Triumph over 'Error, or the great Gulph between Sion and Baby-'lon, &c. The irreconcileable opposition between the 'Apostolick Church of Christ and the apostate Syna-'gogue of Antichrist, in the main and fundamental 'Doctrine of Justification. Lond. 1629. IX. The 'Law and the Gospel reconciled against the Antinomi-'ans. Lond. 1631. 4to. X. Christian's Bulwark, or 'the Doctrine of Justification. Lond. 1632. 4to. 'XI. Exceptions against a passage in Dr Jackson's Trea-'tise of the Divine Essence and Attributes. XII. The 'sounding of the two last Trumpets; or Meditations 'on the 9th, 10th, and 11th Chapters of the Revela-'tions. Lond. 1641. 4to. XIII. The Protestation 'protested, or a short Remonstrance, shewing what 'is principally required of all those that have, or 'do take the last parliamentary protestation. Lond. '1641. 4to. XIV. Relation of Mr Chillingworth. 'XV. A Narration of his own Life. Lond. 1643. 4to. 'XVI. A vindication of Independent Churches, in an-'swer to Mr Prynne's two books of Church-Govern-'ment, and of Independency. Lond. 1645. 4to. 'XVII. Parliament's Power for Laws in Religion. '1645. 4to. XVIII. *Vindiciæ Veritatis:* Truth vin-'dicated against calumny. In a brief answer to Dr 'Bastwick's two late Books, entitled, *Independency 'not God's Ordinance.* Lond. 1645. 4to. XIX. Truth 'shut out of doors: or a brief Narrative of the occa-'sion and manner of proceeding of Aldermanbury-pa-'rish, in shutting their Church-Door against him. 'Lond. 1645. 4to. XX. Conformity's deformity, in 'a Dialogue between Conformity and Conscience. 'Lond. 1646. 4to. (4).'

(*t*) Rushworth's Histor. Collect. part iii. Vol. I. 79.

(*u*) Lord Clarendon. Vol. I. 8vo, Edit. Oxford, 1733, p. 200.

(*x*) Rushworth's Histor. Collect. part iii. Vol. I. 120.

(*x*) Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament, Lond. 1641, 4to, p. 2.

(*y*) Rushworth, ibid.

(*z*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. I. 201.

(*a*) There could be but very few flowers, in the latter end of November, when this happened.

(*b*) Lord Clarendon, ubi supra 201, 202. Fuller's Church Hist. Book xi. 172. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. II. edit. 1733, 8vo, p. 385. And Prynne, p. 13.

(*c*) Rushworth, ibi supra, p. 78.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 207. And Prynne, ubi supra, p. 139.

(*e*) Rushworth, ibid. p. 213.

(*f*) Diurnal Occurrences, or Daily Proceedings of both Houses, &c. Lond. 1641, 4to, p. 83.

(*g*) Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. II. Lond. 1733, 8vo, p. 385.

(*h*) Mercurius Rusticus, 1646. 12mo, p. 146, &c.

(*i*) Fasti, Vol. I. col. 192.

(*k*) R. Smith's Obituary in Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. II. Book xiv. p. 22.

(*l*) Ibid.

(3) Prynne, ubi supra, p. 142.

(4) This account is taken from the Catalogue in Bodley's Library, and from Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col 635, and Fasti, col. 192.

BUSBY (RICHARD) the moſt eminent Schoolmaſter in his time, was the ſecond ſon of Richard Buſby, of the City of Weſtminſter, Gent. but born at Lutton in Lincolnſhire, September 22, 1606 (a). He received his education at Weſtminſter-ſchool, as a King's Scholar; and in 1624, was elected ſtudent of Chriſt-Church (b). The twenty-firſt of October 1628, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (c); and that of Maſter June 18, 1631 (d); at which time he was eſteemed a great Maſter of the Greek and Latin tongues, and a compleat Orator [A]. On the firſt of July 1639, he was admitted to the Prebend and Rectory of Cudworth, with the chapel of Knowle annexed, in the church of Wells; of which he loſt the profits during the civil wars; but found means to keep his Student's place, and other preferment (e). He was appointed Maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool, December 13, 1640 (f); in which laborious ſtation he continued above fifty-five years, and bred up the greateſt number of learned ſcholars, that ever adorned any age or nation. But he met with great uneaſineſs from the ſecond Maſter, Edward Bagſhaw; who being a buſy and pragmatical man, endeavoured to ſupplant him, but was himſelf removed out of his place for his inſolence [B], in May 1658 (g). After the Reſtoration of King Charles II. Mr Buſby's merit and reputation being taken notice of, his Majeſty conferred on him a Prebend of Weſtminſter, into which he was inſtalled July 5, 1660 (h); and the eleventh of Auguſt following, he was made Treaſurer and Canon-Reſidentiary of the church of Wells (i). The nineteenth of October 1660, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (k). At the coronation of King Charles II. on the twenty-third of April 1661, he carried the *Ampulla* (l). In the Convocation which met June the twenty-fourth, the ſame year, he was Proctor for the Chapter of Bath and Wells; and one of thoſe who approved and ſubſcribed the Common-Prayer-Book (m). He gave two hundred and fifty pounds, towards repairing and beautifying Chriſt-Church College and Cathedral (n): and founded and endowed two Lectures in the ſame College, one for the Oriental Languages, and another for the Mathematicks; giving moreover a hundred pounds, to repair the room in which they were to be read. He contributed alſo to the repair of Lichfield-church (o). As for his many other benefactions, they are not upon record, becauſe they were done in a private manner. This great man, after a long, healthy, and laborious life, died April 6, 1695, aged 89 (p); and was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey, where there is a curious monument erected to him [C]. He compoſed ſeveral books for the uſe of his ſchool [D]. With regard to his character, we are told, that he was very well acquainted with all parts of learning, eſpecially Philology; which he had chiefly acquired by his own diligence and induſtry. Of his ſingular ſkill in Grammar, his works in that kind are undeniable and ſufficient proofs. Notwithſtanding his being the greateſt maſter of it, he was the freeſt man in the world from that pedantick humour and carriage, which makes moſt of that profeſſion ridiculous to the more ſenſible

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 923. And his epitaph in Weſtminſter-Abbey.

(b) Wood, Ibid.

(c) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 240.

(d) Ibid. col. 252.

(e) Wood's Athen ubi ſupra. See Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. edit. 1714, fol. Part ii. p. 74.

(f) From his epitaph.

(g) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra. *Arcana Dogmatum Anti-Remonſtrantium*, Lond. 1659, 12mo, by L. Womock.

(h) J. le Neve's Faſti, &c. edit. 1716, fol. p. 372.

(i) Ibid. p. 40.

(k) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 137.

(l) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond, 1728, fol. p. 412.

(m) Ibid. p. 480, 584.

(n) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 284.

(o) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 376.

(p) See his epitaph; and Wood's Athenæ, ubi ſup.

[A] *And a complete Orator.*] As alſo a very good actor, as appeared from the part he acted with great applauſe in the comedy called *The Royal Slave*, written by William Cartwright: which was acted before King Charles I. and his Queen, at Chriſt-church, by the Students of that houſe, on the 30th of Auguſt 1636 (1).

(1) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 35, 923. And Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 344, 345.

[B] *But was himſelf removed out of his place for his inſolence.*] Bagſhaw publiſhed an account of the quarrel between him and Dr Buſby, under this title: 'A 'true and perfect Narration of the Differences between 'Mr Buſby and Mr Bagſhaw, the firſt and ſecond Ma'ſters of Weſtminſter-ſchool.' Lond. 1659. in four ſheets, 4to (2).——One Owen Price, an Independent, endeavoured, likewiſe, to ſupplant Mr Buſby about the ſame time, and to come into his place (3).

(2) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 491.

(3) See Fr. Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, &c. Vol. II. edit. 1735, lib. xiii. p. 20, 21.

[C] *Where there is a curious monument erected to him.*] On which is the following inſcription. En infra poſitam, qualis hominum oculis verſabatur, Buſbeii imaginem. Si eam quæ in animis altius inſedit ultra deſideras, Academiæ utriuſque, & fori Lumina, Aulæ, fenatus, atque eccleſiæ, Principes viros contemplare: Cumque ſatam ab illo ingeniorum meſſem Tam variam tamque uberem luſtraveris, Quantus is eſſet qui ſeverit cognita. Is certe erat, Qui inſitam cuique a Natura indolem Et acute perſpexit, Et exercuit commode, Et feliciter promovit. Is erat, qui adoleſcentium animos Ita docendo finxit, aluitque, Ut tam ſapere diſcerent, quam fari; Dumque pueri inſtituebantur, Senſim ſuccreſcerent viri. Quotquot illius diſciplina penitus imbuti In publicum prodiere, Tot adepta eſt monarchia, Tot eccleſia Anglicana Propugnatores, Fidos omnes, pleroſque ſtrenuos. Quæcunque demum ſit fama Scholæ Weſtmonaſterienſis, quicquid inde ad homines fructûs redundarit, Buſbeio maxime debetur, Atque in omne porro ævum debebitur. Tam utilem patriæ civem Multis annis opibuſque voluit florere, Deus: Viciſſium ille Pietati promovendæ Se, & ſua alacris devovit: Pauperibus ſubvenire, Literatos fovere, Templa inſtaurare, Id illi erat divitiis frui; Et hos in uſus, Quicquid non erogarat vivus, Legavit moriens.

Richardus Buſby, Lincolnienſis S. T. P.
Natus eſt Lutoniæ —— —— 1606 Sept. 22.
Scholæ Weſtmonaſt. præfectus eſt 1640 Dec. 23.
Sedem in Eccleſ. { Weſtm. Præbend. } Obtinuit. { July 5.
{ Wellenſi Theſaur. } A. D. 1660 { Aug. 11.
Obiit —————— 1695. Apr. 5.

The ſubſtance of which is. 'You ſee below a repre'ſentation of Buſby's body (4), and outward appear'ance. If you would ſee his inward qualifications, 'behold the lights of both Univerſities. And of Weſt'minſter-hall, the chief men at Court, in the Parlia'ment, and in the Church. And when you perceive, 'how large and how plentiful a harveſt of ingenious 'men was ſown by him, conſider how great was the 'ſower. He was a perſon, very ſagacious in finding 'out every one's genius and diſpoſition, and no leſs 'induſtrious in employing them to advantage, and for'warding them ſucceſſively. He was a perſon, who 'ſo formed and trained up the minds of youth by his 'inſtructions, that they learned at the ſame time both 'to ſpeak and to be wiſe; and whilſt they were in'ſtructed by him as boys, they inſenſibly grew up to 'be men. As many ſcholars as he ſent out into the 'world, ſo many faithful, and in general brave, cham'pions, did Church and State obtain. Whatever re'putation Weſtminſter ſchool enjoys, whatever advan'tage has thence accrued, is chiefly due to Buſby, and 'will for ever be due to him. So uſeful a man God 'bleſſed with long life, and crowned with riches. 'And he, on his part, chearfully devoted himſelf, and 'his poſſeſſions, to the promoting of piety. To re'lieve the poor; to ſupport and encourage learned 'men; to repair churches; That, he thought, was 'truly enjoying his riches. And what he employed 'not upon thoſe good uſes in his life-time, he be'queathed to the ſame at his death.'——The reſt contains only an account of his birth and death, and of his ſeveral promotions, already mentioned above.

(4) There is, on his monument, his ſtatue in full proportion, and very like him.

[D] *He compoſed ſeveral books for the uſe of his ſchool.*] Namely theſe following, I. 'A ſhort Inſti'tution

ſenſible part of the world. No one ever trained up a greater number of eminent men, both in Church and State, than himſelf; which was a plain demonſtration, of his uncommon ſkill and diligence in his profeſſion. He extremely liked, and even applauded, and rewarded, wit in any of his ſcholars, though it reflected upon himſelf; of which many inſtances are ſtill remembred. We are further told, that there was an agreeable mixture of ſeverity and ſweetneſs in his manners; ſo that if his carriage was grave, it was at the ſame time civil, and full of good nature, as his converſation was always modeſt and learned; but in his ſchool he was extremely *ſevere*. His piety was unfeigned and without affectation, and his ſteadfaſt zeal to the Church, and loyalty to the Crown, were eminent, and not without tryals in the worſt of times. But his greateſt virtue was charity, in the diſcharge whereof none ever took more care, that his right-hand ſhould not know what his left did. As to his conſtitution of body; he was healthy to ſuch a degree, that his old age proved altogether free from thoſe diſeaſes and infirmities, which moſt commonly attend other perſons; and as this was the conſequence and reward of his chaſtity, ſobriety, and temperance, ſo he ſpent this bodily ſtrength, altogether upon his indefatigable labours, in the education of youth in Weſtminſter-ſchool; which he never remitted 'till he was releaſed of it by death, to which he ſubmitted with the utmoſt conſtancy and patience (*q*).

(*q*) J. Crull, M D. in his Antiquities of Weſtminſter-Abbey, edit. 1715, 8vo, p. 241, 242.

' tution of Grammar for the uſe of Weſtminſter-ſchool.' Cambr. 1647. 8vo. II. *Juvenalis et Perſii Satyræ.* Lond. 1656. purged of all obſcene paſſages. III. ' An ' Engliſh Introduction to the Latin tongue, for the uſe ' of the Lower Forms in Weſtminſter-ſchool.' Lond. 1659 &c. 8vo. IV. *Martialis Epigrammata ſelecta.* Lond. 1661 12mo. cleared of all obſcenities. V. *Græcæ Grammaticæ rudimenta in uſum Scholæ Weſtmonaſterienſis.* Lond. 1663. 8vo VI. *Nomenclatura brevis reformata, adjecto cum Syllabo Verborum & Adjectivorum.* At the end, is printed, *Duplex Centenarius Proverbiorum Anglo-Latino-Græcorum.* Lond 1667. &c. 8vo. VII. Ανθολογια : *ſive Græcorum Epigrammatum Florilegium novum. Cum aliis veterum Poematis,* &c. Lond. 1673. &c. 8vo. VIII. *Rudimentum Anglo Latinum, Grammatica literalis & numeralis, in uſum Scholæ regiæ Weſtmonaſt.* Lond. 1688. 8vo. IX. *Rudimentum Grammaticæ Græco-Latinæ metricum, in uſum nobilium puerorum in Schola regia Weſtmon.* Lond 1689. 8vo. Mr Wood ſuppoſes, that ſome of theſe pieces might be compoſed by his Uſhers (5).

(5) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

C

BUTLER or BOTELER, the name of a noble family, which, for the great ſervices they have done the Britiſh crown, have been raiſed to titles of honour in all the three kingdoms. The antiquity of this family is ſo great, that it appears to have ſurpaſſed the ſkill of our ableſt Antiquaries, to fix the origin of it with any degree of exactneſs (*a*). Indeed they have been ſo far from doing this, that ſome have ſuggeſted the original ſirname of the family was Walter, others again have inclined to think it Becket, and there want not thoſe who declare in favour of le Boutiller or Butler, againſt them all (*b*) [*A*]. But whatever obſcurity there may be in regard to the ſtate of the family in thoſe times, there is nothing more certain, than that Theobald, who was declared Butler of Ireland in the very beginning of the XIIIth century, eſtabliſhed in that kingdom a moſt honourable

(*a*) Monaſt. Ang. Vol. II. p. 1025. n. 11, 46. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 633, 634. Thynne's *alias* Lancaſter's Genealogical Account of the Botelers of Kent.

(*b*) Carte's Introduction to the Life of James Duke of Ormond, p. iii.

[*A*] *Who declare in favour of le Boutiller or Butler againſt them all.*] We are told, that Mr Roberts, Uſſher King of Arms in Ireland, took a great deal of pains in compiling a Genealogical Hiſtory of the family of Ormond, and therein he labours to prove, that the name of the family was originally Walter, or Water; and in ſupport of this, he brings a great number of inſtances, from which it appears, that Theobald, after he was Butler of Ireland, ſubſcribed Theobald Walter to charters of King John; and he likewiſe ſhews, that his deſcendants preſerved the ſurname of Walter, down to the time of James the firſt Earl of Ormond, who ſtyled himſelf, *Jacobus Walter Pincerna Hiberniæ* (1). We are likewiſe told in ſupport of this notion, that Walter is alſo a name of office, and that it ſignifies the ruler over any of the King's foreſts, and this upon the authority of Richard Verſtegan (2); but as that writer is not very correct, I am apt to think he is a little miſtaken here, and that the office he means, was ſtyled, not Walter, but Waldtgrave, and that Walter is a contraction or corruption of Waldtheer, *i. e.* the Lord or owner of a wood (3), anſwering to the word Sylveſter or Sylvius, ſo that taking all this together, it is not at all improbable, that the father of Theobald might uſe this ſurname. Sir Robert Rothe, who put the laſt hand to another very laborious account of the deſcent of this noble family, which was written by his father, a Barriſter at Law, and Counſel to Thomas, Earl of Ormond, in Queen Elizabeth's time, declares expreſsly for the ſurname of Becket, and will have Theobald, Butler of Ireland, to be the ſon of Walter Fitz Gilbert, *i. e.* ſon of Gilbert Becket, and many writers concur in deriving this family from Walter Becket, a younger brother of Thomas, Archbiſhop of Canterbury (4). That the Earls of Ormond were deſcended ſome way or other from the family of Becket, it aſſerted in an Act of Parliament, but this does not prove, that the ſurname of the family was Becket, ſince they might be deſcended as well by marriage, which notion may be ſupported from two pedigrees, wherein it is ſo laid down; but as theſe pedigrees are inconſiſtent with each other, ſo the Reverend Mr Carte has clearly ſhewn, that they are irreconcileable to truth (5). But the Reverend of Mr John Butler, a Clergyman in Northamptonſhire, being diſſatisfied with all the accounts he had met with, and even with that of the famous Sir William Dugdale's (6), who, to ſay the truth, ſpeaks very cautiouſly of this family, being ſenſible of the imperfections of his materials; reſolved to ſet this whole matter in a new light, and the ſtory he tells us, is this: That Richard I. Duke of Normandy had, beſides his ſon Richard II. by Gunora, another ſon by a Lady whom he does not mention, whoſe name was Geoffry Count of Brionis; who had iſſue Giſſlebert, who was guardian to William the Conqueror. He had alſo two ſons, Richard Earl of Clare, and Baldwin. This Richard Earl of Clare, was Cup-bearer in ordinary to William I. and had five ſons; Gilbert, Roger, Walter, Robert, and Richard; theſe two laſt-mentioned, often ſupplying their father's place, took from thence the ſirname of Bouteillers. Robert, after his father's death, became Cup-bearer to Henry I. and had iſſue Walter, and other ſons. Walter ſucceeded him as Cup-bearer, and was Baron of Baynard-caſtle; and the eldeſt ſon of this Walter was Herveus, who was the father of Theobald, the firſt Butler of Ireland (7). This Reverend Gentleman has taken a great deal of pains to ſhew, that the ſirname of Botiller was much ancienter than the grant of this office to Theobald, whence he would infer, that the ſirname of the family was not either Walter or Becket, but Botiller or Butler All this very evidently demonſtrates, that it is a fruitleſs thing to expect either exactneſs or certainty in matters of this nature; and, indeed, having looked into the pedigrees of ſeveral families of this name in England, I find different accounts of it's origin in almoſt every one of them.

(1) See an Account of this performance, and the arguments contained therein, in the Rev. Mr Carte's Introduction, p. xi.

(2) Reſtitution of decay'd Intelligence, Antwerp, 1606, p. 329.

(3) Gotheldt, Antiq. Germ. p. 359.

(4) Carte's Introduction, p. ix, x.

(5) Id. Ibid.

(6) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 305.

(7) Carte's Introduction, p cxi.

honourable and potent houſe, which by the great ſervices they rendered the crown; by their intermarriages with the nobleſt families in England and Ireland; and by being intruſted with the moſt honourable and profitable employments in the government; acquired to themſelves vaſt poſſeſſions (*c*); ſo that King Edward II, in the ninth year of his reign, was pleaſed to create, by patent under the great-ſeal, dated at Lincoln Sept. 1, 1315, Edmund le Botiller, Earl of Karryke or Carrick, who was afterwards raiſed to be chief governor of Ireland, under the title of Guardian or Lord Juſtice of that kingdom (*d*). His ſon James le Botiller, who married Eleanor, daughter of Humphry de Bohun Earl of Hereford and Eſſex, and Conſtable of England, by Elizabeth daughter of Edward I, was, in conſideration of that marriage, created, by Edward III, Earl of Ormond, which being a large territory, whereas Carrick was only a manor, the family bore this title; and, in ſucceeding times, ſeldom uſed that of their more antient honour (*e*). It was to the ſame perſon, and on account of the ſame marriage, that King Edward III. granted by patent, dated at Wallingford November 9, 1358, the regalities and liberties of Tipperary, and the rights of a palatine in that county (*f*). He died January 6, 1307-8, and was ſucceeded by his ſon James the ſecond, commonly called the *noble Earl*, on account of his being great-grandſon to King Edward I. In 1359, he was appointed Lord Juſtice of Ireland, and on July 24, 1376, he was again entruſted with that power, with an appointment of five hundred pounds a year, which was the uſual ſalary (*g*). He died Octob. 18, 1382, and was ſucceeded by his ſon James the third Earl of Ormond, who had alſo the honour to be appointed Lord Juſtice of Ireland by King Richard II, July 25, 1392. He was afterwards made Conſtable of Ireland by King Henry IV, who alſo entruſted him with the office of Lord Juſtice of that kingdom, in poſſeſſion of which he died, Sept. 7, 1405 (*h*). He left two ſons, James, the fourth Earl of Ormond, and Sir Richard le Botiller. This Earl of Ormond had a very remarkable honour done him, for he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland before he was of age, by commiſſion dated the eighteenth of December, in the ninth year of the reign of Henry IV. In 1420, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by King Henry V, and ſeveral times after enjoyed the ſame honour (*i*). He died Auguſt 23, 1452, and left behind him three ſons, James, John, and Thomas. The firſt of theſe, ſtiled James, the fifth Earl of Ormond, was, in 1449, created, by King Henry VI, Earl of Wiltſhire, two years after he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, and adhering ſteadily to King Henry VI, he was not only appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for ten years, but was twice made High-Treaſurer of England, and honoured with the Garter. He had a large ſhare in the battle of Wakefield, fought December 21, 1460, in which the Duke of York was killed, but being taken priſoner the year following at the bloody battle of Towton in Yorkſhire, he was beheaded on the firſt of May 1461, at Newcaſtle (*k*). His brother John, who was with him in that battle, was attainted, but, by the kindneſs of Edward IV, he was reſtored in blood, and ſucceeded to the earldom of Ormond. He was looked upon as one of the fineſt gentlemen of that age, and was ſent Ambaſſador to ſeveral Courts of Europe; but, in a fit of devotion, making a journey to Jeruſalem, he died in the Holy Land in 1478 (*l*). Thomas, his younger brother, being reſtored in blood, ſucceeded him as Earl of Ormond, who was of the Privy-Council in England to King Henry VII, and ſummoned to Parliament there by the ſtile of Lord Rochford. He died in 1515, and left iſſue two daughters, the youngeſt of which, Margaret, married Sir William Bullen, Knight of the Bath, by whom ſhe had Sir Thomas Bullen (*m*). Sir Pierce Butler, grandſon to Sir Richard Butler, ſecond ſon of James the third Earl of Ormond, ſucceeded to that title, and to all the eſtates of the family in Ireland, of which he was appointed Lord Deputy in 1521, and in 1524 he was made Lord Treaſurer of that kingdom. He had great diſputes there with the potent family of Fitzgerald, and finding himſelf oppreſſed by their intereſt at Court, he came over here to ſollicit for redreſs (*n*). At this time, King Henry VIII being much enamoured of the Lady Anne Bullen, prevailed upon Sir Pierce Butler to reſign his earldom of Ormond, that he might beſtow it upon her father, with which propoſition he complied, though probably very unwillingly, and becauſe he durſt not refuſe it (†) [*B*].

He

(*c*) Laurence's State of Ireland, p. 195.

(*d*) See the patent in Carte's Introduction. Cox's Hiſt. Ireland, Vol. I. p. 95.

(*e*) By which the Rev. Mr Carte ſuggeſts, the Kildare family gained precedency of that of Ormond. Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 639.

(*f*) Carte's Introduction, p. xxxiii.

(*g*) Lib. CCC. Lambeth. Hiſtoric. Account of the Government, of the Lordſhip and Kingdom of Ireland from Records, MS. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 125.

(*h*) Annal. Hibern. ad ann. 1405. Cox's Hiſtory, Vol. I. p. 145.

(*i*) Hiſtorical Account of the Governors of Ireland.

(*k*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 235.

(*l*) Carte's Introduction, p. xlii.

(*m*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 385.

(*n*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 220.

(†) Lib. G Lambeth, p. 121. Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 640.

[*B*] *Probably very unwillingly, and becauſe he durſt not refuſe it.*] It is ſtrange to ſee what lengths princes will go to gratify their paſſions. Sir Thomas Bullen was, indeed, the grandſon of Thomas Earl of Ormond, and the grand-nephew of James Earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond; but both his father and his uncle had been attainted for their adherence to the houſe of Lancaſter; yet now the King was fond of ſeeing the former title revived, and the latter added to it, in favour of a perſon whoſe daughter he thought fit to marry; and therefore, not ſatisfied with raiſing to him the title of Viſcount Rochford, and to the Order of the Garter, he, on the 8th of December, 1530, created him Earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond, limiting the former honour to the heirs male of his body, and the latter to his heirs general (8): and, on the 24th of January following, he was made Lord Privy-ſeal, which however did not hinder him from having the diſmal mortification of ſitting in judgment upon his daughter, when the King thought fit to proceed againſt her, in order to take away her life. With that unfortunate Princeſs, died her brother George Viſcount Rochford, who was alſo attainted, and left no iſſue; and, in 1539, Thomas Earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond departed this life (9), which renders it not eaſy to apprehend what is ſaid by the Hiſtorian of the Ormond family, as to Peter Earl of Oſſory's being reſtored to the title of Ormond, February the 22d, 1537-8, becauſe then Sir Thomas Bullen was living, or Sir William Dugdale is much miſtaken as to the time of his death. The Act of Parliament mentioned in the text, was made in the 35th year of the King, and ſeems to be intended to ſecure effectually the honour of Ormond to James, the then Earl, and his heirs male, with the like precedency as the ancient Earls of Ormond had. This was a point of juſtice certainly due to the family, and ſeems to be one

of

(8) 1. Pat. 21. Hen. VIII. p. 2, Decemb. 8.

(9) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 306.

He was thereupon created with great pomp at Windſor, Feb. 23, 1527-8, Earl of Oſſory, and, beſides other gratifications, he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, which he held for ſeveral years, and, in proceſs of time, on the death of Sir Thomas Bullen, he was reſtored to the title of Earl of Ormond, which was afterwards confirmed to his ſon by Act of Parliament (*o*). This Pierce or Peter, Earl of Ormond and Oſſory, died Aug. 26, 1539, leaving two ſons, James and Richard, the latter of whom was created, by King Edward VI. Viſcount Mountgarret, which honour continues in his poſterity. James, the eldeſt ſon, was, in his father's life-time, created Viſcount Thurles, and enjoyed moſt of the great offices of the kingdom, ſucceeded his father as Earl of Ormond and Oſſory, and was Lord Treaſurer of Ireland the greateſt part of his life. He made a very great figure in his country, and would very probably have made a much greater, if he had not been cut off by ſudden death; for coming over hither at the King's command, he was poiſoned at a feaſt at Ely-houſe, and died October 28, 1546 (*p*). He left behind him, by his wife the daughter and heireſs of the Earl of Deſmond, ſeven ſons, Thomas, Edmund, John, Walter, James, Edward, and Pierce. Thomas, Earl of Ormond and Oſſory, was bred up with King Edward VI. and was in great favour with him, as he appears to have been alſo with Queen Mary, and much more ſo with Queen Elizabeth, who conſidered him as her kinſman and near relation, and, in the firſt year of her reign, ſhe not only confirmed a grant of lands made to him by her ſiſter, and releaſed the reſerved rent, but alſo granted him the office of Lord Treaſurer of Ireland, which high poſt he held during all her reign, and afterwards during his life (*q*). She likewiſe confirmed to him the grant of the regalities of Tipperary, and ſo great a confidence ſhe had in his loyalty, that when two of his brothers, Edmund and Peter, took part with the rebels, ſhe ſent the Earl over to reduce them, which he did by fair means. He alſo managed a long war againſt the Earl of Deſmond, and contributed greatly to his defeat and deſtruction (*r*). He was afterwards General againſt the famous rebel Tyrone, and without involving himſelf in any of the factions that diſturbed the Government, contented himſelf with doing his duty, and this with great hazard to himſelf and his family; for, by the treachery of the Iriſh, he was taken priſoner at a conference, and very hardly treated, but at laſt he was ſet at liberty, from an apprehenſion that he might have died in their hands, which would not have anſwered their purpoſes (*s*). He was about ſeventy years of age when King James came to the throne, who renewed his commiſſion of Lieutenant-General of the army, and ſhewed him great reſpect. He was the firſt Proteſtant of his family, and very ſincere in his religion; he had the misfortune to be quite blind for about twelve years before his death, and had the mortification alſo to loſe his only ſon, which gave him much grief (*t*). He died in 1614, leaving behind him an only daughter, Elizabeth, whom he married firſt to Theobald, the youngeſt ſon of his ſecond brother Sir Edmund Butler, intending that young gentleman for his heir, whom he procured to be created Viſcount Tulleophelim, but he dying ſoon after, King James prevailed upon, or rather obliged him, to give his daughter in marriage to Sir Richard Preſton, a favourite of his, whom he created Baron Dingwall in the Kingdom of Scotland (*u*). But notwithſtanding this marriage, the Earl, both by a deed and by his Will, ſettled all his eſtates, except one manor, and ſix thouſand pounds portion which he aſſigned his daughter, upon his heirs at-law. Upon his death, Sir Walter Butler of Kilcaſhe, eldeſt ſon to Sir John Butler, who was the third ſon of James the ſixth Earl of Ormond, ſucceeded to that title, and ought to be ſucceeded to the eſtate, but that the ſuperior intereſt of the Lord Dingwall kept him from it, and ſo partial was King James in this affair, that he undertook to decide the cauſe himſelf, but making ſuch an award as the Earl of Ormond and Oſſory would not ſubmit to, he was, for his contempt, committed to the Fleet, where he remained a priſoner eight years (*w*) [*C*]. In 1625 he recovered his liberty, and going over ſoon after into Ireland, died at Carrick Feb. 24, 1632. He married Ellen daughter to Edmund Viſcount Mountgarret, by whom he had iſſue two ſons and nine daughters. His eldeſt ſon, Thomas Viſcount Thurles, married, againſt his conſent, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Poyntz of Acton (*x*), in the county of Glouceſter. He had the misfortune to be drowned near the Skerries, as he was going to England, December 15, 1619, leaving three ſons and four daughters (*y*). Of theſe ſons, James, the eldeſt, ſucceeded his grandfather in his

(*o*) See this Act in Carte's Introduction, p. xlvi.

(*p*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 280.

(*q*) Carte's Introduction, p. lviii.

(*r*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 422.

(*s*) Carte's Introduction, p. lxii.

(*t*) Short Hiſt. of the Ormond Family, p. 149.

(*u*) Ancient Peerage of Scotland, p. 133.

(*w*) Carte's Introduction, p. xviii.

(*x*) [illegible] Account of Ancient Families in Glouceſterſhire, *viz.* Pipard, Poyntz, &c.

(*y*) Short Hiſt. of the Ormond Family, p. 155.

(10) See the Act of Parliament, as referred to in the text.

of the worthieſt actions of that Prince's reign (10). We may, from hence, diſcern the reaſon why Queen Elizabeth had always ſo great a regard for Thomas Earl of Ormond, and ſupported him, notwithſtanding he had the misfortune to be upon very bad terms with her potent favourite Robert Earl of Leiceſter.

[*C*] *Where he remained a priſoner eight years.*] There was ſomething in this caſe exceſſively hard. Sir Richard Preſton was a gentleman who had been bred up with the King, and therefore it is no wonder that he had an affection for him; but this was no excuſe for his obliging the Earl of Ormond to marry his daughter to him, and much leſs could it be a reaſonable cauſe for his making uſe of ſuch violent methods, for depriving Walter Earl of Ormond of what had been ſettled upon him many years before by deed, and was again confirmed to him by will (11). But, notwithſtanding all this, that noble Earl continued always loyal, and attributed the wrongs done him to the King's miſ-informations, or miſ-conceptions. His Majeſty is ſaid to have relented at laſt, and, when preſſed by ſome of his Scotch-favourites to carry things farther, he anſwered, 'That they had been carried too far 'already, and that if ever he looked into this affair a-'gain, it ſhould be to unravel what he had done.' The Earl of Ormond, however, did not recover his liberty 'till King James's death; and if we conſider this tranſaction attentively, it will be found a moſt exorbitant, and moſt ungrateful ſtretch of prerogative againſt a family the moſt unſtained in it's honour, and the moſt affectionate to the Engliſh Intereſt, and the Crown, of any that had ſettled in Ireland, which had been remarkably

(11) Carte's Introduction, p. lxvii.

his titles, and his anceſtors in their eſtates (z), of whom, therefore, we ſhall ſpeak more particularly in the enſuing article.

(x) Carte's Introduction, p. lxvii.

markably diſtinguiſhed in former reigns, and for which King James pretended to have the higheſt eſteem and regard, while he was oppreſſing one branch of it, and offering violence to the inclinations of the other; for the Lady Dingwall adhered cloſely to her father's ſentiments, and was far from being in the leaſt inſtrumental to the wrongs done to her couſin, thought it was pretended they were done for her ſake. E

BUTLER (JAMES) Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Ormond; one of the ableſt Stateſmen, moſt accompliſhed Courtiers, and worthieſt perſons of the age in which he flouriſhed. He was the ſon of Thomas Butler, Eſq; eldeſt ſon and heir apparent of Sir Walter Butler of Kilcaſh, by Mrs Elizabeth Poyntz, and was born on the nineteenth of October 1610, in Newcaſtle Houſe at Clerkenwell, which was then inhabited by his grandfather Sir John Poyntz (a). The affairs of his family were at that time in ſuch diſorder, that ſcarce any man would have imagined he ſhould ſo ſoon have worked himſelf through them, and appeared with that luſtre and dignity he did [A]. He was ſent to Hatfield to a Carpenter's wife, by whom he was nurſed 'till he was about three years old, and he was then ſent for over to Ireland by his father and mother. He was frequently carried by them to Thomas Earl of Ormond, who lived about a year after he came over to Ireland, and having a great love to his mother's family, her grandfather having been his conſtant and faithful friend, as well as a reſpect for the nearneſs in blood between them, he was extreamly fond of the child, and delighted much in playing with him though he was then blind (b). Upon the deceaſe of the good old Earl, his grandfather, Sir Walter Butler of Kilcaſh, aſſumed that title, and his father was called by courteſy Viſcount Thurles, who coming over to England about the law-ſuits of the family, was unfortunately drowned near the Skerries, December 15, 1619, leaving behind him a widow and ſeven children, in very diſconſolate circumſtances (c) [B]. James Butler, now in the ninth year of his age, was by courteſy ſtiled Viſcount Thurles, and the next year was ſent over to England by his mother, and placed under the care of Mr Conyers, a Popiſh Schoolmaſter at Finchley near Barnet. But Sir William Parſons, having, by ſome artifice, entitled the Crown to the wardſhip of the young Lord Thurles, King James removed him from this ſchool, and ſent him to Lambeth, to be brought up under the care and inſpection of Dr George Abbot Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that he might be well fixed in the Proteſtant religion; and in this, as the King's intention was good and his care viſible, ſo it was indiſputably attended with ſucceſs, though ſome ſay no great regard was had to his education there, and that his circumſtances were very narrow, all which may poſſibly be very true, though there are authorities which may be urged in proof of a contrary opinion, in reſpect, at leaſt, to the Archbiſhop's attention (d) [C]. While Lord Thurles was

(a) Sir Richard Cox's Epiſtle to the Reader before the ſecond Volume of his Hiſt. of Ireland, from a M.S. containing many particulars relating to this noble perſon.

(b) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 4.

(c) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(d) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 5. Sir Richard Cox's Account.

[A] *And appeared with the luſtre and dignity he did.*] Beſides the diſputes that happened in this noble family from the partiality of King James, in favour of his countryman Sir Richard Preſton, there were others that took riſe from perſonal cauſes, particularly the high ſpirit of Sir Walter Butler, of Kilcaſh, who was extremely diſpleaſed that his ſon Thomas had married Mrs Elizabeth Poyntz. Whence this diſpleaſure aroſe, does not appear, for, in point of family, there was no fort of occaſion to complain, there being, as I take it, ſcarce a better in England; and as to the Lady's qualities, they were ſuch as intitled her to the eſteem of the moſt judicious perſons of that age (1). Add to this, that Thomas Earl of Ormond had the greateſt intimacy with Sir Nicholas Poyntz, this Lady's grandfather, as appears by his ſending him with a challenge to the great Earl of Leiceſter (2), which he carried, though againſt his will. It was, probably, this friendſhip between the two families, that brought Mr Thomas Butler, afterward Viſcount Thurles, to his firſt acquaintance with the young Lady he married; and it appears, that her family had a great affection for him, and his children; but this produced no alteration in Sir Walter's ſentiments, who, when his ſon and daughter came over to Ireland after the birth of this, their eldeſt ſon, did not ſuffer them to live in the ſame houſe with him (3); ſo that few perſons have been born, or bred, under more untoward circumſtances, than attended the coming into the world, the infancy, and even the youth, of this great man, who, notwithſtanding, gave early hopes of his becoming, in time, all that he afterwards was. So irreſiſtable are the efforts of a great genius, and ſo much ſuperior to the injuries of fortune.

(1) The Ancient and Preſent State of Glouceſterſhire, by Sir Robert Atkins, p. 202.

(2) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 95.

(3) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 3.

[B] *A widow and ſeven children, under very diſconſolate circumſtances.*] The affairs of the Lord Viſcount Thurles were in a very perplexed ſituation; his father was under the King's diſpleaſure, and a priſoner in the Fleet: he laboured himſelf under his father's diſpleaſure; the family-eſtate was under ſequeſtration; and the liberties of the County-palatine of Tipperary had been ſeized by a Quo Warranto; which misfortunes making his preſence neceſſary in England, he was going thither when he had the misfortune to be drowned (4). His iſſue by his Lady, were three ſons and four daughters, *viz.* James, who is the ſubject of this article; John, who died at Naples in his travels, unmarried, in 1636; and Richard Butler of Kilcaſh, Eſq; Of his daughters; the eldeſt, Ellen, married the Viſcount Muſkerry, afterwards Earl of Clancarty; Elizabeth, his ſecond, married, firſt, James Purcell, Eſq; and afterwards, Colonel John Fitzpatrick; Mary, the third, eſpouſed Sir George Hamilton, Knight, ſon to the then Earl of Abercorne, and anceſtor to the preſent Earl; the fourth, Eleanor, married Sir Andrew Aylmer, Bart (5).

(4) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(5) Carte's Introduction to the Life of the Duke of Ormond.

[C] *In reſpect, at leaſt, to the Archbiſhop's attention.*] We are told by Mr Carte, that whatever learning the Archbiſhop had himſelf, he ſhewed very little concern to encourage it in others; and that the young Lord Thurles had ſo little notice taken of him, that he was not taught ſo much as to underſtand Latin (6). 'He 'lived, however, continues he, in the Archbiſhop's 'family, and was maintained there, though but very 'indifferently, 'till after the death of King James. 'The reaſon of this neglect probably was, that the 'Archbiſhop conſidered him as a burden impoſed on 'him by the King, and which he could not, in decency, decline, for he received no allowance for the 'young Lord's ſubſiſtence either from the Court, or 'from the Ormond family, the whole eſtate whereof 'was under ſequeſtration by an extent from the 'Crown; and forty pounds a year was all that the 'young Lord had for his own, and his ſervant's, 'cloathing and expences.' But Sir Richard Cox gives ſomewhat a different account of this matter, and more eſpecially of the Archbiſhop's behaviour, which is the more remarkable, becauſe he tranſcribed it from a manuſcript

(6) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. P. 5.

was at Lambeth, his grandfather, Walter Earl of Ormond, was in great trouble and perplexity: King James had thrown him into the Fleet for contempt, in refuſing to acquieſce under his award, and ſequeſtred his eſtates, and left him nothing to ſubſiſt upon. In this ſituation things continued during the life-time of that Prince; but upon his deceaſe, the Earl recovered his liberty and part of his eſtate, and then took home his grandſon, who by his time was ſixteen. It does not appear, that by this change, there was any more care taken of the young Lord's education; on the contrary, his grandfather left him pretty much to himſelf, ſo that at eighteen, we find him attending the Duke of Buckingham at Portſmouth, though that favourite was the capital enemy of his family; but from the principles of loyalty, hereditary in his noble houſe, the young Lord never found any obſtacles, when his Sovereign or his country required his ſervice (*e*). On the Duke's being ſtabbed by Felton, Lord Thurles returned to London, and embarked in a new ſcene of life; for finding his couſin, the Lady Elizabeth Preſton, at Court, and a very agreeable young Lady, he began to entertain deſires of compromiſing the diſputes that had been ſo fatal to both their families, by marrying her. He met however with many and great difficulties in this affair, which might have exhauſted the patience, and been too hard for the prudence of an older man; but his conſtancy in his addreſſes, and his indefatigable attention to remove theſe obſtacles, by degrees got the better of them all at laſt, ſo that with the King's conſent, ſignified by his letters patents, dated September 8, 1629, he obtained leave to marry her (*f*) [*D*]. This marriage was ſolemnized the Chriſtmas following, and immediately after, he went down to Acton in Glouceſterſhire, the ſeat of his uncle, Sir Robert Poyntz, and there with the aſſiſtance of his uncle's chaplain, he applied himſelf to, and gained a competent knowledge of, the Latin tongue. About the cloſe of the enſuing year, he went over to Ireland, where ſoon after he purchaſed a troop of horſe, but his affairs requiring his preſence in England, he left his Lady behind him, and paſſing through the north of Ireland, croſſed over to Scotland, and having viſited his Lady's relations in that kingdom, came up to London, where he was at the time of his grandfather's deceaſe, February 24, 1632, by which he became Earl of Ormond (*g*). He returned to Ireland, in the beginning of the month of September in the enſuing year, at a very critical juncture, when the Lord Wentworth afterwards the great Earl of Strafford, entered upon the goverment of Ireland, with the title of Lord Deputy. He was very early and very advantagiouſly taken notice of by that wiſe Stateſman, who, amongſt his other ſhining qualities, was an excellent judge of men. He had ſent a meſſage to the Earl of Ormond, in relation to a ſubſcription for the ſupport of the army, which, however legal it might be, was a thing unqueſtionably neceſſary; and this induced the Earl to ſecond the Lord Deputy's deſires, in ſuch a manner, as procured him a very handſome letter of thanks (*h*). His Lordſhip ſoon after came up to Dublin, to pay his compliments to the Deputy, who obſerving him very attentively as he croſſed the Caſtle-yard, ſaw ſomething ſo extraordinary in his looks and in his mien, that he could not help ſaying to thoſe who ſtood near him, *That if his ſkill in Phyſiognomy did not fail him, that young nobleman would make the greateſt man of his family* (*i*). A prediction which did equal honour to the young Earl of Ormond, and to the Lord Deputy, whoſe ſkill in this inſtance moſt certainly did not deceive him. One of the firſt ſteps taken by the new Governor, was to call a Parliament, which, though a thing abſolutely neceſſary, he foreſaw would be attended both with danger and difficulty; but, notwithſtanding this, he ventured upon it, and the Houſes met July 14, 1634, to whom he went in great ſtate, the Earl of Kildare bearing the Cap of Maintenance, and the Earl of Ormond the Sword (*k*). In this Parliament, however, there happened a difference between the Earl and the Lord Deputy, of ſo extraordinary a nature, that conſidering the temper

(*e*) Narrative of the Expeditions in ſupport of the French Proteſtants in the reign of Charles I. p. 193.

(*f*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 9. Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(*g*) Memoirs of Ireland, p. 135.

(*h*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 58. This Letter, dated Sept. 14, 1633, is in the Appendix to the ſecond Volume, p. 56.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 58.

(*k*) See the manner of holding this Parliament in Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 282.

manuſcript for which he expreſſes great eſteem, ſpeaking of his mother's management of her eldeſt ſon after his father's unfortunate death, he ſays (7), 'ſhe put 'him to a *private ſchool* under a *Roman Catholick*, but, 'by order of King *James*, he was removed to the 'Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s, Dr *Abbot*, and by *him* 'he was *wholly maintained* for *five* or *ſix* years with'out any *penſion* from *Court*, or *poſſibility of help* from '*home*, where all was ſequeſtered and depreſt By *him* 'alſo he was firſt inſtructed in the *Proteſtant Religion*, 'and in the *doctrine* of the *Church of England*, unto 'which he ſtuck faſt to his death.'

(S) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

[*D*] *He obtained leave to marry her.*] The difficulties the Earl of Ormond had to ſtruggle with in this reſpect, are very well worth knowing That potent favourite the Duke of Buckingham, whoſe ruling paſſion was raiſing every branch of his family to titles of honour, and vaſt eſtates, caſt his eyes upon the Lady Elizabeth Preſton, while a very child, and engaged her father, Sir Richard, to beſtow her upon his nephew George Fielding, ſecond ſon to the Earl of Denbigh; and, with a view to this marriage, this young gentleman was created Lord Fielding of the Caghe in the kingdom of Ireland, and Sir Richard Preſton was created Viſcount Callan and Earl of Deſmond, with remainder to his intended ſon in-law George Lord Fielding, by which limitation thoſe honours are now in the Denbigh family (8). To ſecure all things more effectually for the favourite's purpoſe, King James was prevailed upon to grant the wardſhip and marriage of James Lord Thurles to the ſaid Earl of Deſmond, which was certainly a very ſtrange act in that Prince (9). But providence defeated all theſe ſchemes by the murder of the Duke of Bucks, and the death of the Earl of Deſmond, who was drowned in his paſſage between Dublin and Holyhead, October the 28th, 1628; his Counteſs, the daughter of Thomas Earl of Ormond, died eighteen days before him, and recommended it to her daughter, upon her death-bed, to marry her couſin, if poſſible, to put an end to the diſputes in the family (10). After the death of her parents, the Earl of Holland had the ward of this young Lady, and ſhewed, at firſt, a ſtrong inclination to make good the contract that had been entered into with the Denbigh-family, but was, at laſt, content to ſell his intereſt for fifteen thouſand pounds (which was more than he could have got by the other marriage) to my Lord of Ormond, and then the King's leave was eaſily obtained (11).

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 441.

(9) Hiſtory of King James I. p. 373.

(10) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 7.

(11) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

temper of the latter, it is a wonder that it was so easily made up (*l*) [*E*]. But after this they seem to have agreed perfectly well. The Deputy was indeed of a very high spirit, proceeded in his own way, and dealt roundly with people of all ranks; but the Earl of Ormond having nothing in view, but the service of his country, and the honour of the Crown, administred no ground of offence, but, on the contrary, did such eminent services, and in a way so open and free from particular views, that the Lord Wentworth esteemed and admired him, writing over highly in his favour to England, and without any application from him, procured him to be sworn of the Privy-Council in that kingdom, and when he was but twenty-four years of age (*m*) [*F*]. The same good understanding continued after the Lord Deputy was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and created Earl of Strafford, and in the next Parliament of Ireland which sat in 1640; the Earl of Ormond was very active, and by his behaviour gave such satisfaction, that when the troubles in Scotland made it necessary to raise an army in Ireland, his Lordship was made choice of to command it under the Lord Lieutenant, when by his zeal and diligence, the forces intended to be raised were levied in a short space of time; and in the month of August, the Lord Lieutenant being then in England,

(*l*) Memoirs of the Ormond Family, p. 93.

(*m*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 65. Sir Richard Cox's Account.

[*E*] *That it was so easily made up.*] We shall give the reader the story of this quarrel, from the manuscript quoted by Sir Richard Cox, and which it is not impossible, might be copied from some memoirs of this noble person, drawn up by Sir Robert Southwell; for it agrees perfectly with the account given from that gentleman's papers by Mr Carte, only it is shorter, and seems to be more plainly expressed (12). 'The Lord *Wentworth*, afterwards Earl of *Strafford*, went over *Lord Deputy* in 1633. In a while after he called a *Parliament*, which being appointed to meet within the *Castle* of *Dublin*, a *proclamation* was issued, *That none of the members, either Peers or Commons, should enter with their swords.* All obeyed the *order* save *this young Lord*, who told the *Black Rod* at the door, *he should have no sword of his except in his guts.* So being the *only Peer*, who sat that day in *defiance* of the *proclamation*, it fired the *Lord Deputy*, who was not wont to be *disobeyed.* The *Earl* was called upon in the *evening* to answer for it, who thereupon shewed *His Majesty's Writ*, calling him to *Parliament, cinctus cum gladio*; which sort of *answer* being not expected, and finding him like to prove an *untractable companion*, it was in deliberation *that night*, between the *Lord Deputy*, and his *two friends* Sir *George Radcliff* and Mr *Wandesford, whether to trample him quite under foot, or to oblige so daring a young man, who was now also grown very popular?* But Sir *George* being for the *more benign extreme*, he was taken into *favour, caressed*, and made one of the *Privy-Council*, and no *opportunities* were from that time forward omitted to *oblige* him, or set him forth in a *high character* to *His Majesty.*' Mr Carte's remark upon this translation, is equally pertinent and proper (13); he thinks that his Lordship's defence was founded on the investitude of the earldom *per cincturam gladii*, which was a necessary badge of that dignity, used in all ages as such, and worn by the Earls of England in the House of Lords; a practice to which the Irish Earls were by express law obliged to conform; so that in this respect he had a statute to support him, with which no order of the Lord Deputy could dispense; and I am entirely of his opinion, that the event in this case was very extraordinary, and so unlikely to follow from a dispute with a Lord Deputy, so impatient of contradiction, that it was no encouragement to any body to engage another. It is however possible, that Lord Wentworth, who was a man of great spirit, might be secretly pleased with this similitude of temper in another man of quality; and it is farther probable, that finding it impossible to censure his Lordship's conduct, he thought it more agreeable to good policy to approve it.

(12) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(13) Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 65.

[*F*] *Procured him to be sworn of the Privy-Council, when he was but twenty-four years of age.*] We cannot well have better lights upon any subject, than are derived to us on this, from the letters of the great Earl of Strafford, which being of a private nature, and written in confidence, most certainly show the real sentiments of his heart; who, besides, was not a man at all inclined to dissimulation. The first mention he makes of my Lord Ormond, is in a letter dated August 3, 1633, wherein, having taken notice of the manner in which he had provided for the pay of the army on his first coming over, he has this paragraph (14). 'My Lord of Ormond, being, by the Master of the Rolls, made acquainted with this day's resolution of this Council, came the next morning to me in a very noble way, to witness his full consent thereunto, as well for himself as for all his tenants and friends (15).' The only letter in that collection, directed to the Earl of Ormond, is dated from Dublin, June 2, 1634; it is as full and clear, in respect to his Lordship's conduct, and the Deputy's regard for him, as words can make it, but is too long to be inserted here. But in a dispatch, dated from Dublin Castle, December 16, 1634, directed to Mr Secretary Cook, intended as a general view of the state of Ireland at that time; and on the margin of which, his Majesty's sense of the Lord Deputy's representations, are written by the hand of the said Secretary; there is this very remarkable paragraph (16). 'In the higher House there is my Lord of Ormond, that hath as much advantage of the rest in judgment and parts, as he hath in estate and blood; and one who, upon my observation since I came hither, expresseth very good affections to the crown and government, so as I hold him a person of consequence, and fit to receive some mark of His Majesty's favour, and humbly offer it to His Majesty's Wisdom, Whether it were not seasonable to make him a Counsellor; he is young, but take it from me, a very staid head; so as I should think we had got much the better, by the exchange of the Earl of Ormond for Sir Piers Crosby. Besides, it will be impossible without his Lordship, to find a title for the crown to Ormond, so as without him no plantation neither, in which respect it were good to take him in But as in all others of this nature, I refer it clearly to the King's wisdom, as one who will have no other interests here but the service of my master, nor upon my faith, did I ever so much as mention this, or any such thing, to my Lord of Ormond.' The answer to this part of the Lord Deputy's letter runs thus. 'All these you mention shall find themselves remembered; and for the Earl of Ormond, your Lordship shall receive herewith his Majesty's warrant to swear him Counsellor according to your advice.' In other letters of his, he speaks of him to the King, and to his ministers, with all imaginable esteem and respect. After his troubles came on, and he was prisoner in the Tower, he looked upon the Earl as his sincere friend, and writes to him with all imaginable freedom and confidence. In a letter (17) dated from the Tower, December the 17th, 1640, he informs him, that he had mentioned him to the King for Lord Deputy of Ireland, and that he was hindered from that preferment by his own countrymen, and the Earl Marshal, that is, the then Earl of Arundel. When things bore harder upon him, and his great soul felt, though it never sunk under, his misfortunes, he writ, with some degree of passion, to the Earl of Ormond. His letter is dated from the Tower, February the 3d, 1640 (18). It begins thus: 'My noble Lord, there is so little rest given me, as I have not time scarce to eat my bread. I trust to have more quietness after a while. Your Lordship's favours towards me in these afflictions are such as have, and shall, level my heart at your foot so long as I live, or else let me be infamous to all men.' There is something so generous and so great in the friendship between these noblemen, that it ought to be transmitted with just praise to posterity.

(14) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 99.

(15) Ibid. p. 26.

(16) Ibid. p. 352, 353.

(17) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. III. p. 28, 29.

(18) Ibid. p. 29.

[*G*] *Might*

England, ſent over a deputation to the Earl of Ormond, conveying to him all the powers granted to him by his commiſſion, as Lieutenant-General (*n*). But the fair weather in Ireland did not laſt long, the ſame Parliament that had thanked the King in the moſt ſolemn manner, for ſending them ſo good a Lieutenant as the Lord Strafford; now in his abſence, and when they found he was like to be attacked in England, fell upon him firſt in Ireland, and the Houſe of Commons drew up a long and vehement remonſtrance, conſiſting of ſixteen articles, and endeavours were uſed to procure a like remonſtrance from the Houſe of Lords, but they were defeated by the ſtrenuous oppoſition of the Earl of Ormond and his friends, for which the King thanked him, by a letter dated the twenty-ſecond of November 1640 (*o*). It was His Majeſty's intentions at this time, to have declared the Earl, Deputy of Ireland; but this being oppoſed by the Committee of the Iriſh houſe of Commons, was laid aſide. The Earl was no leſs active and diligent in the enſuing Parliament, tho' with different ſucceſs; but his zeal and candour were ſo well known, and ſo thoroughly underſtood, that the laſt requeſt the Earl of Strafford made the King, when he knew that there was no hopes of ſaving his life, was, that his Blue Garter might be given to his friend the Earl of Ormond, with which His Majeſty would very readily have complied, but that the Earl upon the firſt notice of it declined it; modeſtly hinting, that his own loyalty ſtood in no need of rewards to confirm it, and that perhaps ſuch an honour might be employed more for His Majeſty's ſervice (*p*) [*G*]. When the great rebellion broke out in that kingdom, on the twenty-third of October 1641, the Earl was at his country-ſeat of Carrick, the government being then in Sir William Parſons and Sir John Borlace, who had the title of Lords Juſtices. As ſoon as the King was informed of it, he thought of the Earl of Ormond for Lieutenant-General, and though the Earl of Leiceſter, at the deſire of the Parliament, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; yet the Lords Juſtices, upon notice of His Majeſty's deſignation, ſigned a commiſſion to the Earl of Ormond, to be Lieutenant-General and Commander in Chief of the army, which conſiſted at that time of no more than three thouſand men (*q*). The Earl no ſooner received this commiſſion, than he propoſed acting vigorouſly againſt the rebels, with the ſmall force he had, and what additional troops could be immediately raiſed, that they might not have time to form or arm themſelves effectually; but from ſome fatal diſtaſte which the Lord Juſtices had to the Earl, grounded, as a certain writer tells us, on their apprehenſion that if he ſuppreſſed the rebellion, he would be rewarded with the government of Ireland, they oppoſed him in every thing; ſo that with the beſt intention in the world he was not able to do much, but what he could do he did (*r*). In the latter end of the month of January 1642, the rebels having advanced within ſeven miles of Dublin, the Earl marched out of that city, with 2000 foot, 300 horſe, and five ſmall field-pieces, and diſlodged them from the Naas, and would have proceeded farther if thoſe who had the ſupreme power would have permitted him. Soon after he made another excurſion, by which he obliged the rebels to raiſe the blockade of Drogheda, and would have purſued them vigorouſly if he had not been recalled. In the beginning of April he made a third expedition, and having beat the rebels from their ſeveral poſts, at laſt, on the fifteenth of that month (*s*), came up with and engaged them at Kilruſh; the forces under his command did not exceed three thouſand five hundred men, and thoſe of the rebels were above double his number; he attacked however, and routed them entirely, with the loſs only of twenty killed and forty wounded; whereas the rebels had ſeveral hundred killed upon the ſpot, and would have ſuffered more if they had not had a bog near them. This was a very glorious and important ſervice, and tho' the enemies of the Earl of Ormond, had raiſed many cruel calumnies againſt him in England, yet they were ſo ill put together, and ſo apparently falſe, that the Houſe of Commons ordered the Speaker to write him a letter of thanks for his ſervices; and it was propoſed to move the Houſe of Lords, to join with them in beſeeching His Majeſty to make the Earl of Ormond Knight of the Garter; they likewiſe ſent him a jewel of the value of ſix hundred and fifty pounds; and in the account of the victory, publiſhed by order of their Houſe, celebrated his conduct and courage very highly (*t*). The Earl made another expedition that year with great ſucceſs, and there is no doubt but the rebels had been purſued with much greater effect, if he had been more at liberty; but ſtanding very indifferently with the Lords Juſtices, and diſputes ariſing ſoon after with the Earl of Leiceſter, who was Lord Lieutenant, the ſervice in Ireland was much impeded (*u*). But the King being very ſenſible of the Earl's entire fidelity to him, releaſed him in ſome meaſure from the difficulties he was under, by appointing him Lieutenant-General, by an independent commiſſion from himſelf under the Great Seal, and ſoon after of his own motive,

(*n*) Memoirs of Ireland, p. 197.

(*o*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 115.

(*p*) See this explained in the note [*G*].

(*q*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 81.

(*r*) Memoirs of Ireland, p. 236.

(*s*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 106.

(*t*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 312—314. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 106. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 21.

(*u*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 319. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 22.

[*G*] *Might be employed more to his Majeſty's ſervice.*] One of the laſt acts of the Earl of Strafford's life, was to teſtify his kindneſs and regard to the Earl of Ormond, whom he recommended, the evening before he ſuffered, to his Majeſty, by the Lord Primate Uſher, and at that time it is moſt likely, that he deſired his Garter might be given to him; for amongſt the memoranda ſet down in the Primate's almanack, of the anſwers given him, by the King, to the Earl's requeſts, which were to be communicated to him the morning he ſuffered (the 7th) is this (19): 'Earl of Ormond ſhall be Knight of the Garter in his place.' We are indebted to Mr Carte for the account given us of the Earl's declining this honour (20), and of his reaſon for it. That he did decline it is certain, ſince he did not receive the Garter during this reign; and that he did it from the motive aſſigned in the text is highly probable, becauſe he could not well do it from any other; for, as things ſtood at that time, the Parliament would not have been diſpleaſed at his receiving that favour.

(19) Strafford's Letters, Vol. II. p. 428, 432. Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(20) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 139.

[*H*] *Such*

motive, created him Marquis of Ormond (*w*), as a farther mark of his favour. All this however did not contribute much to the profecution of the war, the Iriſh became daily more and more numerous, and the Engliſh weaker and weaker, and, which was ſtill worſe, they were ſo ill ſupplied, that the only method that could be found to enable the army once more to take the field, was by calling in and coining half the plate of thoſe that were ſo good ſubjects as to ſend it. At length, however, the Marquis of Ormond marched with two thouſand five hundred foot, and five hundred horſe, on the ſecond of March 1642-3, and after ſome ſmall advantages came before the town of Roſs, on the twelfth battered it in breach and made an aſſault, in which he was repulſed; this encouraged the Iriſh General Preſton, to advance with ſix thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe to it's relief, and being an officer of experience and judgment, he not only threw a ſupply into the place, but alſo forced the Marquis of Ormond to a battle, under various diſadvantages, excluſive of the ſuperiority in numbers of two to one (*x*). The horſe of the Marquis's army, or at leaſt the beſt part of them, were weak enough to fancy that they were betrayed by him, which made them give way, and thereby endangered his life and liberty; but having got with ſome difficulty to his foot, he charged the Iriſh ſo briſkly, that he broke them and gained a compleat victory, taking Lieutenant-General Cullen, and a great number of priſoners, with all the baggage (*y*). If this victory could have been improved, there is no doubt the conſequences of it would have been great; but the government in Ireland was ſo weak, and the people either ſo poor, or had ſo little confidence in their rulers, that no ſufficient ſupply was furniſhed for the uſe of the army, and this, together with the commands he received from Oxford, obliged the Marquis of Ormond to think ſeriouſly of a ceſſation which the rebels had propoſed. More eſpecially when by a reſolution of the Privy-Council at Dublin, dated the twenty-ſecond of June 1643, it was declared that the army could not be ſupplied with ten thouſand pounds, half in proviſion and half in money, in which caſe the Marquis offered to beſiege Wexford, diſcontinue the treaty, and proſecute the war (*z*). Being thus diſappointed on one ſide and preſſed on the other, he concluded, but not without the greateſt caution and with the beſt advice, ſuch a ceſſation on the fifteenth of September 1643 [*H*]. The news of this ceſſation was but very ill received in England, where the barbarities

(*w*) Carte's Life, of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. F. 337. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland.

(*x*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 1, 11. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 21, 22.

(*y*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 404.

(*z*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 23. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 128. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 437.

[*H*] *Such a ceſſation on the 15th of September, 1643.*] There was no action of this noble perſon's life that has been more cenſured, than his making this ceſſation, which, it muſt be allowed, had a bad effect upon his Majeſty's affairs in England, and muſt likewiſe be confeſſed, not to have done much good in Ireland (21). Yet, upon a fair and candid inquiry, it will not be found that the Earl of Ormond acted any other part than became a perſon of ſtrict honour, and ſteady principle. It has been very truly obſerved, that there were, at that time, no leſs than five parties in Ireland; the Proteſtants loyal to the King, at whoſe head was the Earl of Ormond; the Proteſtants inclined to the Parliament, who were countenanced, at leaſt, by one of the Lords Juſtices; the Papiſts that were well affected to the Conſtitution, whoſe chief was the Marquis of Clanrickard; the Papiſts that meant to adhere to the Pope, headed by the greateſt part of their Clergy; and the Scots who meant well to themſelves, who were reſolved to keep what they had got, and defired to get more if they could. As all theſe parties had different views, ſo they purſued different meaſures; the Earl of Ormond was for proſecuting the war againſt ſuch as were actually rebels, but not for driving all the Iriſh to deſpair, which he thought would ſtrengthen the rebels (22). The Lords Juſtices were for the continuance of the war, though cold in the proſecution of it; but, at the ſame time, violent in refuſing the ſubmiſſions, forfeiting the eſtates, and executing, by law, ſuch of the Iriſh Papiſts as fell into their hands, depending upon a force from England, ſooner or later, to ſupport their conduct. The wiſer part of the Iriſh were for obtaining a toleration of their religion, and returning to their duty; the wilder ſort who, by the way, were much the majority, aimed at throwing off, what they called, the Engliſh yoke, and ſetting up for themſelves. The Scotch were for the continuance of the war, as that by which they were like to get moſt. The Earl of Ormond laboured all he could to reduce all parties to one mind, and to the obedience that was due to the laws and to the King, while he had any hopes of accompliſhing this by drawing off ſuch as had unwillingly, or upon miſtaken notions, joined the rebels, and reducing thoſe who perſiſted in rebellion, by the ſword; he was for continuing the war, in which no man had acted more vigorouſly, or had more freely expoſed his perſon. But when he ſaw that, by a complication of untoward accidents, this was rendered very impracticable, if not abſolutely impoſſible, he then inclined, from the natural generoſity of his temper, his deſire to prevent unneceſſary effuſion of blood, and, above all, out of regard to his maſter's ſervice, and of preſerving, at leaſt, one kingdom in it's obedience, to give way to a ceſſation, with a view of coming at peace (23). That he was not alone in theſe ſentiments, but had the concurrence of the wiſeſt and beſt men of all ranks and profeſſions in that nation, will ſufficiently appear to the candid reader, from the following paper ſigned by thoſe with whom he adviſed, and containing the reaſons which induced them to give him ſuch advice (24), which may be looked upon as a full vindication of the rectitude of his intentions, and the uprightneſs of his conduct, from which we ought to judge of a man's character, and not from events.

(21) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 28. Sir John Temple's Hiſt. of the Iriſh Rebellion. Borlace's Hiſtory. Earl of Caſtlehaven's Memoirs. Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland.

(22) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 450.

(23) See Sir Philip Percival's large Vindication of the Ceſſation, in the Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 454—463.

(24) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 133.

'WHEREAS the Lord Marquis of Ormond hath demanded the opinions, as well of the members appointed from the Council board to aſſiſt his Lordſhip in the preſent treaty; as of other perſons of honour and command, that have, ſince the beginning thereof, repaired out of ſeveral parts of this kingdom to his Lordſhip. They therefore ſeriouſly conſidering how much his Majeſty's army here hath already ſuffered through want of relief out of *England*, tho' the ſame was often preſſed and importuned by his moſt gracious Majeſty, who hath left nothing unattempted, which might conduce to their ſupport and maintenance, and unto what common miſery, not only the officers and ſoldiers, but others alſo his Majeſty's good ſubjects within this kingdom, are reduced. And further, conſidering how many of his Majeſty's principal forts and places of ſtrength are, at this preſent, in great diſtreſs, and the imminent danger the kingdom is like to fall into; and finding no poſſibility of proſecuting this war without large ſupplies, whereof they can apprehend no hope or poſſibility in due time: They, for theſe cauſes, do conceive it neceſſary for his Majeſty's honour and ſervice, That the ſaid Lord Marquis aſſent to a ceſſation of arms, for one whole year, on the articles and conditions this day drawn up, and to be perfected by virtue of his Majeſty's commiſſion, for the preſervation of this kingdom of Ireland. Witneſs our hands, the 15th day of September, 1643.'

Clanrickards and St Albans,	James Ware,	John Gifford,
Roſcommon,	Michael Ernly,	Philip Percival,
Richd. Dungarvan,	Foulk Hunks,	Richard Gibſon,
Edward Brabazon,	John Poulet,	Henry Warren,
Inchiquin,	Maurice Euſtace,	Alanus Cooke,
Thomas Lucas,	Edward Povey,	*Advocatus Regis.*

[*I*] *Which*

barbarities committed by the Iriſh at the breaking out of the rebellion, made them juſtly conſidered as men who deſerved no regard, and indeed they met with none but what they derived from their own force, and the diviſions and weakneſs of the Engliſh, which had compelled the Marquis to act as he did (*a*). On the other hand, the Iriſh obſerved this ceſſation of theirs very indifferently, which put the Marquis under great hardſhips, notwithſtanding which, he ſent over forces to the aſſiſtance of his Royal Maſter, and the King was ſo fully ſatisfied of his fidelity one the one hand, and his capacity on the other, that he reſolved to make him Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in the room of the Earl of Leiceſter (*b*). The Marquis of Ormond had before declined that employment, but found himſelf now in ſuch circumſtances, or rather found the affairs of the King and of the nation in ſuch a ſituation, that he was obliged to accept it, and accordingly was ſworn into and entered upon his government in the beginning of 1644 (*c*) He found every day new difficulties to ſtruggle with, from the time of his accepting that great truſt. The power of the Iriſh was continually increaſing, the Scots in Ireland were very little inclined to obey his orders, and the Parliament had their Agents and Emiſſaries every where, which gave him great diſturbance. But what troubled him moſt, was the new treaty, into which he was obliged to enter with the Iriſh, who, on the one hand, dealt very inſincerely with him, had an independent intereſt at Oxford, where they ought to have had none; and, on the other, pretended on the ſcore of his tenderneſs for many miſguided, whom he therefore conſidered as honeſt, men amongſt them, and his relation to the moſt conſiderable perſons in their councils, to expect more from him than they could have pretended to from another in his place (*d*). All theſe conſiderations taken together, induced him to deſire leave to reſign, which the King would not hear of, but endeavoured to diſpel his apprehenſions, and to remove ſome at leaſt of the many difficulties he was under, by ſending him freſh powers (*e*) and farther inſtructions. Theſe, as they ſhewed his Majeſty's kindneſs towards him, prevailed upon him to continue in his poſt; yet neither theſe inſtructions, nor his care, could prevent many inconveniencies and misfortunes that fell out the enſuing year, when ſeveral attempts were made by the friends of the Parliament, to ſurprize the fortreſſes in Ireland, and even Dublin itſelf, which though by his vigilance the Lord-Lieutenant prevented, yet theſe and other accidents gave ſuch incouragement to the Iriſh, that they broke out again in ſeveral parts of the kingdom (*f*). But the worſt of all was their inſincerity and double dealing in the management of the peace, and their ſtrange negotiations with the Earl of Glamorgan, which have been the ſubject of ſo much diſpute, and which, though they remain ſtill not a little in the dark, ſufficiently demonſtrate the honour and integrity of the Lord-Lieutenant, who never had any thoughts of peace (*g*) but upon juſt principles. The more prudent and moderate men however, even amongſt the Iriſh, were equally ſenſible of the neceſſity of a peace, and of a peace concluded under the authority of the Lord-Lieutenant, which at laſt they brought very near taking effect, but the arrival of John Baptiſta Rinuncini, Archbiſhop and Prince of Firmo, the Pope's Nuncio, made a great change in affairs (*h*), and excited a new ſpirit of madneſs, among thoſe who were beginning to return to their reaſon and duty. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe diſtractions, and the ſtrange behaviour of the Iriſh, the peace was at laſt concluded at Dublin, on the thirtieth of July 1646, and actually proclaimed at Kilkenny, which had been the chief ſeat of the rebellion (*i*) [*I*]. But the Nuncio perſiſting in his bad deſigns, called an aſſembly of the Clergy at Waterford, by which he defeated all that might have been expected from that treaty, and had ſuch an influence over the Generals of the Iriſh rebels, as to gain them to a moſt perfidious attempt, for ſurprizing the Marquis of Ormond, who, upon the faith of the treaty, had marched with a ſmall body of forces to Kilkenny; ſo that with infinite difficulty and danger he retreated back to Dublin, and the rebels immediately took meaſures for beſieging that city (*k*). The King was now in the hands of his enemies, the affairs of the Proteſtants in Ireland in a very low condition (*l*), the city of Dublin in ſo weak a ſtate, that to excite the diligence of the ſoldiers and inhabitants to fortify it, the Marchioneſs of Ormond, and other

(*a*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 24. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 133.

(*b*) Borlace's Hiſt. p. 139. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 137. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 467, 475.

(*c*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 137.

(*d*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 27. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 508.

(*e*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 141, 142. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 519—521.

(*f*) Temple's Hiſt. of the Rebellion. Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 148. Earl of Caſtlehaven's Memoirs, p. 45. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 524.

(*g*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 153. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 550.

(*h*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 31. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 156.

(*i*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 32. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 166. See alſo the Articles themſelves, in his Appendix, p. 92.

(*k*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 33. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol II. p. 169. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 580.

(*l*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 123.

[*I*] *Which had been the chief ſeat of the rebellion.*] There never was any thing more baſe, more barbarous, or more inconſiſtent with any kind of principles of honour, morality, or religion, than the behavour of the Iriſh Catholicks to the Marquis of Ormond. He marched to Kilkenny in the latter end of Auguſt, with two hundred horſe and twelve hundred foot, and was received there with all the marks of affection, reſpect, and triumph, that it was poſſible for a nation to expreſs. But when he had heard what the Clergy were doing at Waterford, he ſuſpected the ſtorm that ſoon followed; and to prevent it, he offered, as the cleareſt mark of the ſincerity of his intentions, to give his Lady and children as hoſtages. But even then, he did not ſuſpect any deſign againſt his perſon, or the forces under his command; ſo that he marched to Carrick, and from thence to Clonmell, where he was denied entrance, notwithſtanding which, he moved on to Caſhell, where he was informed, that Owen O Neile, had threatned the city with deſtruction, if they received his Excellency; and ſoon after he had full information, that this blood-thirſty rebel was marching with a numerous army to intercept him; upon which he turned back to Calan, and marched from thence to Loghlinbridge, arriving there before O Neile could reach him, and ſo back to Dublin, where he was received with inexpreſſible tranſports of joy, friends and foes, having given him over for loſt (25). But the worſt part of this affair was, that General Preſton and his army, who were for the moſt part of Engliſh extraction, ſhould, againſt their own intereſt, ſo far concur in this meaſure, as to let O Neile march through their quarters, without giving the Marquis any notice; and afterwards he behaved ſtill worſe, and therefore the Lord Licutenant and Council in vindicating their next meaſure, wrote to the King in theſe terms (26), That the Iriſh having perfidiouſly violated the peace had begun a new war, to wreſt the kingdom from his Majeſty, and tranſfer it to the King of Spain or the Pope, to avoid which they were forced to apply themſelves to the Parliament.

(25) Clarendon's Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 37. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 169. Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 577—582.

(26) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 172.

other Ladies of the first quality, carried baskets of earth to the works with their own hands (*m*). Under these circumstances the Marquis entered into a treaty with the commissioners from the Parliament of England, but was far from being hasty therein, that the Irish might have time to consider cooly of their own interests, and the duty they owed to their Sovereign. This had in some measure it's effect, some overtures were made and received, but their fickleness and insincerity put it out of the Lord Lieutenant's power to deal with them (*n*), and he was at last compelled to sign a treaty with the Parliament's Commissioners, which he did on the nineteenth of June 1647, on the best terms (*o*) that he could possibly obtain [*K*]. In pursuance of this treaty, on the twenty-eighth of July, he left the Regalia to be delivered to the Commissioners, and embarking on board Captain Matthew Wood's frigate, was transported to England, and landed on the second of August at Bristol (*p*). He went from thence to Acton in Gloucestershire, the seat of his uncle Sir Robert Poyntz, and from thence. as soon as he could obtain Sir Thomas Fairfax's pass, to London. As soon as he had permission, from those who were then in power, he went to pay his duty to His Majesty at Hampton-Court, to whom he gave in writing a clear and distinct account of his proceedings in Ireland, which when His Majesty had considered at his leisure, he fully and in every part approved, and upon the Marquis's offering to resign his commission, refused it (*q*), adding, that if it could be ever employed with success in that kingdom, it must be by him. He gave His Majesty his advice upon the then state of his affairs, and attended him as long as he was so permitted; but finding publick concerns running daily more and more into confusion, his private circumstances much embarrassed, and his person in danger, he judged it necessary to provide for his own safety, and accordingly December 25, 1647 (*r*), embarked for France. On his arrival there, he applied his thoughts more immediately to Ireland, and finding that all had happened there which he foresaw, from the violence of the Nuncio, who had rendered himself odious even to all the discreet men of his own party; he set on foot new schemes for the bringing back that kingdom to it's duty, by engaging part of the army to declare for the King, and the better part of the Roman Catholicks to join with him, which design he managed with such secrecy and address, that the Lord Inchiquin offered to receive him in Munster, and the Catholicks, that they might be the better able to close with him, expelled the Nuncio (*s*). Having taken all the precautions he was able, for receiving assistance from France, he set out from Paris, went to see his family at Caen in Normandy, and from thence embarking on board a cyder-boat of Havre de Grace, very narrowly missed being drowned (*t*) by a ship-wreck, procured by his own impatience [*L*]. With much ado he got on board a Dutch man of war, attended by the Earls of Roscommon and Castlehaven, with many other persons of distinction, and arrived safely at Cork September 9, 1648. He wrote from thence to the General Assembly of the Catholicks at Kilkenny, and invited them to treat with him for a peace, to which they shewed themselves very sincerely inclined, and prevailed upon him to come to his own castle of Kilkenny, allowing him guards for his security;

(*m*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, p. 175. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 587.

(*n*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, p. 181, 182. Historical View of the affairs of Ireland, p. 53. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 590.

(*o*) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 68, 69, 71.

(*p*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 605.

(*q*) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 78. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 11—13.

(*r*) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 82. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II p. 15.

(*s*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, p. 202. Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 83. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 37.

(*t*) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 94. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 38.

[*K*] *On the best terms that he could possibly obtain.*] The reader may find these articles at large in the Appendix to Cox's History of Ireland, and upon reading them it must be readily owned, that they were such as none but the Marquis of Ormond could have procured from those who granted them (27). As this negotiation had taken up a great deal of time, and as the preservation of Dublin was, during all that time, chiefly owing to the supplies which the Lord-Lieutenant procured on his own credit, there was, amongst other articles, a very reasonable one for his being reimbursed; which, however, gave his enemies, of whom he had always enough, some handle for aspersing him. The Earl of Clarendon has cleared up this matter in very few words (28). 'Since upon 'the most strict and impartial examination of those 'proceedings, malice itself cannot fix a colourable imputation upon the Marquis, of the want of that 'fidelity and discretion which was requisite to preserve his Majesty's interest, or of any absence of a 'singular affection and compassion towards the people, 'who have the honour to be of the same nation with 'him, they endeavoured to get it believed by dark 'and obscure expressions, that in the articles he made 'before the delivery of Dublin, he intended his own 'particular benefit and advantage, and objected to him, 'that he consented to have thirteen thousand pounds 'paid to his own use and behoof, and that the same 'was paid by them, and received by him accordingly; 'and so they would persuade the world, that the person which frankly exposed the greatest fortune and 'estate that any subject had in either of the three 'kingdoms, and who, while he was possessed of any 'part of it, made all worthy men in want owners of it 'with him, could betray a trust for a vile sum of 'money, and could be so sottish as to make that infamous bargain, and insert it into the articles which 'were to be viewed and perused by all men; whereas 'he might as easily have driven that traffick with 'such secrecy, that it could never have been discovered 'if he had meant it should be secret.' His Lordship then proceeds to shew, in what manner the money, raised by the Marquis of Ormond, was applied in the support of Dublin, and other garrisons; how that account was audited by Sir James Ware; and how thoroughly satisfied the Parliament Commissioners were, that not one penny of this sum could be acquired by, or come into the pocket of, the Marquis of Ormond, who disposed of it immediately for the payment of debts he had contracted for those services.

(27) Appendix to the second Vol. p. 137.

(28) Clarendon's Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 71.

[*L*] *By a ship-wreck procured by his own impatience.*] When the Marquis left his family at Caen, he purposed to ride post down to the ferry opposite to Havre de Grace; but having rode the first stage to Dive, he there met the Master of an half-decked boat laden with cyder, who promised to convey him that evening to Havre; and the Marquis having with him a new book, which he was desirous of reading by the way, he and his servant, for all the rest of his company were gone before, went on board that small vessel. The wind turned, and sat so cross, that they were all night on the water. Towards morning the wind blew very high, and the Master being at a loss, asked the Marquis of Ormond what hour it was by his watch. The Marquis's impatience to be on shore, betrayed him into an error that had like to have proved fatal to him, and indeed occasioned the loss of the vessel; he told the Master, it was an hour later than, in fact, it was; this made the man so miscount his tide, that he ran upon the flats, the boat was split, and the Marquis, with some difficulty, escaped in the cock-boat, which brought him so near the shore, that men waded into the water, and carried him to land on their shoulders. This happening on a Sunday morning when all people were at church, those helps were wanting, which otherwise might have saved the cyder-boat (29).

(29) This Account is taken from Sir Robert Southwell's Narrative.

[*M*] *The*

Cox's Hist. of land, Vol. II. 4, 205. orical View the Affairs of and, p. 96, 97.

Historical w of the Af- s of Ireland, 104, 105. t's Hist. of and, Vol. II. ii. p. 3. e's Life of Duke of Or- nd, Vol. II. 57.

Memoirs of Affairs of land, p. 375.

) Carte's Life the Duke of mond, Vol. II. 58. x's Hist. of land, Vol. II. ii. p. 3. storical View the Affairs of land, p. 109.

security; and the peace being concluded, was presented to him by the hands of the Speaker of that Assembly, on the seventeenth of January following (*u*). There now seemed to be greater hopes than ever, of the revival and recovery of the Royal Authority in that kingdom. But that old intractable rebel, Owen O Neile, who had revived that fatal distinction amongst the Catholicks, of the Old English, and the Old Irish, refused to submit to the peace, and all the creatures of the Nuncio and the bigotted Irish adhered to him (*w*) About this time the new's of the King's murder reached Ireland, and was received with such universal abhorrence, that the Lord-Lieutenant saw plainly, the whole island might be brought to acknowledge King Charles II, whom he caused to be immediately proclaimed, if O Neile could be brought over in time (*x*). But his endeavours upon this head proved ineffectual, as did also another attempt of his to gain over Jones and Coot, and tho' to outward appearance the King's affairs in Ireland looked fair and promising, yet the Lord Lieutenant quickly found that it was impossible to shake the resolution of his open and declared enemies, and at the same time, there appeared but too many good reasons to doubt, whether he might safely rely upon the assurances of many of his pretended friends (*y*) [*M*]. Under all these perplexities, amongst which this was not the least, that a fair understanding was grown up between the Parliament party, and the Old Irish under Owen O Neile; he formed the great and generous design of attacking Dublin, in order to which, he had by continual skirmishes, whereby he ruined the English horse; and by the assistance of his friends, and his own personal credit in Ireland, raised money enough to keep together a very considerable body of forces, though, as he apprehended, scarce sufficient for the execution of so great a scheme (*z*). He came however before that city, with an army consisting of two thousand horse and five thousand foot, exclusive of the forces under the Lord Dillon of Costillo, which were on the north side, and consisted of two thousand foot and five hundred horse. But while they were thus employed, they could not hinder the coming in of a great supply from England, consisting of two thousand foot and six hundred horse, under the command of the Colonels Reynolds and Venables (*a*). The Lord-Lieutenant was extremely apprehensive of Jones's making a sally from the city, in which his forces were now become very near as numerous as those that formed the siege, and therefore he was inclined to retire; but the Irish troops having been hitherto very successful, since they were under his command, apprehended that nothing could oppose them, and therefore they desired that a body of forces might be sent to secure Baggatrath, in order to prevent any new succours from entering the place (*b*). But while they were busy in this, Jones, as the Lord-Lieutenant apprehended, sallied out of the city with four thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, and attacked the royal army, which was not in the best order, with such fury, that notwithstanding all the Lord-Lieutenant could do, in point both of courage or conduct,

(*z*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 5. Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 113. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 73.

(*a*) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 118. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 6. Memoirs of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 391.

(*b*) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 122, 123.

[*M*] *The assurances of many of his pretended friends.*] It is not easy to conceive or describe the situation of the Lord-Lieutenant at this juncture. He returned into the kingdom without either men or money; and though he found numbers convinced of their past mistakes, and making strong professions of obedience for the future, yet, at the same time, there were powerful enemies in different parts of the kingdom. The city of Dublin was in the hands of Colonel Michael Jones, who commanded the Parliament's forces; and besides that, and other neighbouring garrisons, Colonel Monck was in possession of Dundalk and other places, and the same party had also a strong garrison in Londonderry (30). Owen O Neile had an army of near six thousand men composed of the old Irish, which were wholly at his devotion; and though he always entertained some kind of correspondence with the Lord-Lieutenant, yet he was, at the same time, treating with Colonel Monck, and other officers of the Parliament party. In England, Oliver Cromwell had been appointed Commander in Chief for the reduction of Ireland, the very fame of which kept up the spirits of the rebels, and terrified many that were well affected At the same time, the Lord-Lieutenant was controuled by the Commissioners appointed by the Assembly at Kilkenny; the disputes about command in his own army, kept him in constant employment, and it was with great difficulty he found means to adjust them. Some also of Lord Inchiquin's officers were discontented, and this once rose so high as a mutiny at Cork, to appease which the Lord-Lieutenant was forced to go thither in person. But what is most surprizing, Prince Rupert, who with part of the fleet that had revolted from the Parliament, was all this time on the Irish coast; instead of giving the Marquis any assistance, as he might have done, created fresh uneasiness by his intrigues with all parties; attended with an apparent jealousy of, and dislike to, the Lord-Lieutenant, flowing from motives of ambition and self conceit. Against so many open and concealed enemies, it was a difficult thing to make provision; and yet, for some time, the Lord-Lieutenant did it with success. Owen O Neile, though he had a good army, wanted ammunition, and thereupon applied to Colonel Monck, who, upon his undertaking to make a diversion, by cutting off the Marquis of Ormond's subsistence, promised to supply him with powder, bullet, and match; to receive which, O Neile sent Lieutenant-General O Farrel with a detachment of five hundred horse; but Lord Inchiquin having intelligence of this, met O Farrel in his return, routed and destroyed his detachment, took the whole convoy, besieged Dundalk, and, in two days, obliged Monck to surrender, by which all the magazines in that place fell into the hands of the Royalists (31). This, tho' it put out of the power of O Neile to perform what he had promised, yet did not hinder him from making a new agreement for relieving Londonderry, for which he had two thousand pounds in money, a great quantity of ammunition, and two thousand cows, and this service he performed; so that when it was to serve their own turns, the Parliament made no scruple at all of deriving assistance from the most guilty of the Irish rebels, and the avowed enemies of the English name and nation. The jealousies in the Lord-Lieutenant's army still subsisted; Cromwell was continually sending over fresh emissaries to sow sedition and disaffection; all the parties in Ireland had their particular views, which they continued to pursue at the expence of the publick interest, which was the sole care of the Lord-Lieutenant, and it was the steadiness he shewed in adhering to it, beyond all other considerations, that raised him so many enemies, who were continually plotting and contriving to defeat all his designs, and, in order to it, scrupled not to make use of any measures. Upon this view, therefore, of the situation of his affairs, the reader will easily judge of the care and perplexity he must be in; and if he is inclined to enter into all the particulars of his conduct, and to receive full satisfaction as to the grounds of these assertions, he need only consult the Earl of Clarendon's elaborate work, in which he will find every step of the Lord-Lieutenant's management fully cleared, and effectually vindicated (32).

30) Carte's Life f the Duke of rmond, Vol. II. 39, 40.

(31) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 4, 5.

(32) Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 93—118.

[*N*] *Edmund*

conduct, and he gave very noble inſtances of both, yet they were totally routed with very great loſs of men, and all their baggage, tents, and artillery, fell into the enemies hand (*c*). This was the fatal battle of Rathmines, the loſs of which totally deſtroyed the hopes of the Lord-Lieutenant, and threw the affairs of Ireland into greater confuſion than ever, yet ſuch was his preſence of mind, that in his retreat he took the important fortreſs of Balyſonan, making the Governor believe that Dublin had ſurrendered, by which he covered Kilkenny, and ſoon after forced Jones to raiſe the ſiege of Drogheda (*d*). There wanted not ſome malicious people, who would have thrown the ſcandal of this great loſs upon the Lord-Lieutenant, but the honeſteſt and beſt informed amongſt the Iriſh Papiſts, have not only acquitted him on this head, but have fairly owned, that the chief cauſe of the defeat, was the army's being betrayed by Edmund Reily, afterwards the Popiſh Archbiſhop of Armagh (*e*) [*N*]. The Lord-Lieutenant, to repair in ſome meaſure this great misfortune, renewed his treaty with Owen O Neile, and have ſhewing him in a clear light his own danger, brought him to conclude it, and promiſe to join him with an army of ſix thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; but before he could execute this he was taken off by poiſon (*f*). In the mean time Oliver Cromwell landed with his army at Dublin, about the middle of Auguſt, having eight thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and two hundred thouſand pounds in ready money. He entered immediately after his arrival upon action, and advanced without delay to Drogheda, into which place the Lord-Lieutenant had thrown a garriſon of two thouſand three hundred men of his beſt troops, under the command of Sir Arthur Aſton, while himſelf endeavoured to collect an army ſufficient to relieve it. Cromwell came before the place on the third of September, and receiving his heavy cannon by ſea, began to batter it on the ninth, and having made a breach that was practicable by the eleventh, he cauſed it to be attacked, carried it that day by aſſault, and with infinite barbarity put to death all that he found therein, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Iriſh as could never be worn off (*g*). A little before this time, King Charles II. ſent him the Garter by Mr Seymour. The growth of the enemies power, and the diviſions that happened among his own forces, put it entirely out of his power to raiſe an army ſufficient to look Cromwell in the face; but notwithſtanding this and the deep diſtreſs he was in for want of money, he made a ſhift to force him to raiſe the ſiege of Duncannon, and kept him for ſome time from enlarging his conqueſts, but what he was not able to effect by force, he knew how to bring about by other means, and having debauched part of Lord Inchiquin's forces, he thereby weakened the Lord-Lieutenant's power extremly (*h*). The Biſhops and Clergy began now to revive their clamour, and to pretend that no good was to be expected ſo long as affairs were directed by Ormond; and their intrigues had ſuch an effect, that at laſt it was openly inſiſted upon, that the Lord-Lieutenant ſhould leave Ireland, which, except the concern he had for the intereſt of the King, and his ſubjects that were ſtill faithful, was agreeable enough to his inclination; and therefore when he found he could no longer be uſeful to either, he declared the Marquis of Clanrickard Lord-Deputy, and embarked December 5, 1650, for France, carrying with him the Lord Inchiquin, Colonel Wogan, and about forty officers (*i*). The Marquis landed very ſafely in France, and went the beginning of the year following to Paris, where he attended the Queen-Mother and the Duke of York, 'till the arrival of His Majeſty, after his unfortunate defeat at Worceſter. His finances being now in a very diſordered condition, the King in no condition to aſſiſt him, and the Parliament about to ſhare all the lands in Ireland, belonging to perſons who had fought againſt them, amongſt thoſe that were ſtiled Adventurers; it was found abſolutely neceſſary, to ſend the Marchioneſs over to try if ſhe could not obtain from the Parliament of England, an exemption of her own eſtate, that they might have ſomething to ſubſiſt upon (*k*). After her departure the Marquis fell into great ſtraits, and might have fallen into greater, if the nobility of France had not ſhowed him great civilities, and freely invited him to ſpend ſome time at their houſes, where he was treated with all poſſible kindneſs and reſpect. One of theſe invitations was attended

(*c*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 7. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 79. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 124—127.

(*d*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 128, 129.

(*e*) Peter Walſh's Hiſt. of the Remonſtrance, p. 583—609.

(*f*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 137. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 82.

(*g*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 8. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 84. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 131.

(*h*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 97. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 147. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 10.

(*i*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 257, 258. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 51, 52.

(*k*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 157.

[*N*] *Edmund Reily, afterwards the Popiſh Biſhop of Armagh.*] This Edmund Reily was, at this time, Vicar-General of Dublin, and had been engaged in a long ſeries of moſt iniquitous negotiations between Colonel Michael Jones, the Marquis of Antrim, and Owen O Neile (33). About four years after this, he was one of the chief authors of a moſt vile and deteſtable action, which was, the burning the black caſtle of Wicklow, and cauſing the people that were in it, to be murdered during the time of a ceſſation, for which inhuman barbarity he would infallibly have ſuffered death, had he not claimed the merit of this other infamous action, of betraying the Marquis of Ormond's army at this fatal action of Rathmines, which ſervice to the rebels he ſo fully made out, that he ſaved his life (34). Yet for all this, we have no very clear relation of the manner in which this act of treachery was committed; but from laying circumſtances together, it ſeems to have been thus: The poſt of Baggatrath was ſo ſituated, as to command a meadow under the walls of Dublin, in which the rebels grazed their horſes, and beſides lay ſo conveniently towards the river, that by drawing a line from thence, and fortifying it, all future ſupplies might have been cut off, as well as the horſes ſtarved. The Lord-Lieutenant detached fifteen hundred men for this ſervice, and they marched on the 1ſt of Auguſt at the fall of night; but though the place was not quite a mile off, yet their Popiſh guides ſo managed the matter, as that the detachment did not reach the ground they were to fortify, 'till an hour before day. It is therefore very likely, that Reily's treachery conſiſted in corrupting theſe guides, and giving notice to the enemy of the march of the detachment; for before they had time to fortify themſelves, they were attacked by the rebels. But notwithſtanding all this, and his future behaviour at Wicklow, this very man was made choice of, by the Pope, to be afterwards Archbiſhop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland; which is an inconteſtible proof of Popiſh perfidy, and of the ſmall concern the ſubjects of that religion had for the ſervice of their Sovereign.

(33) Peter Walſh's Hiſt. of the Remonſtrance, p. 583. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 7.

(34) Peter Walſh's Hiſt. of the Remonſtrance, p. 609.

attended with an adventure, the circumſtances of which were ſo entertaining, that I am perſuaded the reader will be pleaſed to ſee them in the notes (*l*) [*O*]. While he was thus in needy circumſtances abroad, the Marchioneſs ſtruggled through very great difficulties at home; ſhe did indeed, in the beginning of 1653, procure an order of Parliament for the ſettling upon her two thouſands pounds a year, together with Dunmore-houſe near Kilkenny, for the ſubſiſtence of herſelf and family; but ſhe found ſo many obſtructions in the carrying this order into execution, that it was about two years before ſhe got that matter fully ſettled, and then ſhe went over and reſided at Dunmore, after ſhe had ſent her two ſons to Holland, and never ſaw her huſband 'till after the King's reſtoration (*m*). It is certain, that the Marquis had as great a ſhare in the King's confidence as any man, and hardly ever quitted his attendance on his perſon, during the time of his exile. When Cardinal Mazarine, to oblige Cromwell, conſtrained His Majeſty to leave France, he went for Spaw, where meeting with his ſiſter the Princeſs of Orange, they went to Aix la Chapelle, and from thence to Cologne, where the King ſtaid for ſome time (*n*). It was here that His Majeſty had an account of the ill uſage his brother, the Duke of Glouceſter, met with from the Queen-Mother, in order to force him to change his religion, and this engaged the King to think of bringing him to Cologne, with the care of which the Marquis of Ormond was intruſted, and he performed it with great ſteadineſs and ſpirit. He went afterwards to the Hague to fetch the Princeſs of Orange, and on his return attended His Majeſty, Her Royal Highneſs, and the Duke of Glouceſter, to the fair of Franckfort, and on that occaſion was preſent at Koningſtein, at an interview between his Maſter and Queen Chriſtiana of Sweden, who, whatever reſpect ſhe might pay him, had been no friend to his family (*o*). The Marquis was afterwards intruſted with a negotiation, in which the King engaged with the Duke of Newburgh, by whoſe aſſiſtance it was hoped he might conclude an advantageous treaty with Spain. This however went on but ſlowly, 'till Don Juan of Auſtria was declared Governor of the Spaniſh Low-Countries, and even then His Majeſty procured but indifferent terms. Such as they were, however, it was thought requiſite to draw over the Iriſh regiments from the French ſervice to the Spaniſh, and this by the induſtry of the Marquis was effectually performed; they were formed into ſix regiments, and the Marquis had one of them, and by his intereſt alſo the town of St Ghiſlain, in which the French had a garriſon, was delivered up to the Spaniards in the beginning of the year 1657, a ſervice of great importance, conſidering the vicinity of that place to Bruſſels (*p*). But notwithſtanding all the ſervices the King's ſubjects rendered to the Spaniards, they were not very forward in making returns, which was chiefly owing to the accounts given by Cardenas, their Miniſter in England, which meeting with entire credit from Don Juan, he expreſſed ſome diffidence of the intereſt of the King's friends in England (*q*). To clear up this point, the Marquis of Ormond offered to go over and gain an exact account of the ſtate of things in that kingdom, which he performed with infinite hazard to himſelf, and returned ſafely after running through almoſt incredible dangers [*P*].

There

(*l*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 159.

(*m*) See her Letter to Oliver Cromwell, in the Collection publiſhed by Mr John Nicholl's, p. 86. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 160.

(*n*) See Sir Henry Bennet's Letters, p. 95. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond Vol. II. p. 162—169.

(*o*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 335. Bennet's Letters, p. 99.

(*p*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 306, 334, 349.

(*q*) Bennet's Letters, p. 133.

[*O*] *Will be pleaſed to ſee them in the notes.*] A French nobleman of great quality having invited the Marquis of Ormond to his houſe at St Germain en Laye (35), entertained him there for ſome time, in a manner perfectly ſuitable to his own rank, and that of his gueſt. At his coming away, the Marquis, in compliance with a very inconvenient Engliſh cuſtom, left with the Maître d'Hôtel ten piſtoles to be diſtributed among the ſervants. It was all the money he had, nor did he know how to get credit for more when he reached Paris. As he was upon the road, ruminating on this melancholy circumſtance, and contriving how to raiſe a ſmall ſupply for preſent uſe, he was ſurprized to be advertiſed by his ſervant, that the nobleman, at whoſe houſe he had been, was behind driving furiouſly, as if he was deſirous to overtake him. The Marquis had ſcarce left St Germain, when the diſtribution of the money he had given cauſed a great diſturbance among the ſervants, who exalting their own ſerviees and attendance, complained of the Maître de Hôtel's partiality. The nobleman hearing an unuſual noiſe in his family, and upon enquiry into the matter, finding what it was, took the ten piſtoles himſelf, and cauſing horſes to be put to his chariot, made all the haſte that was poſſible after the Marquis of Ormond. The Marquis, upon notice of his approach, got off his horſe, as the other quitted his chariot, and advanced to embrace him with great affection and reſpect; but was ſtrangely ſurpriſed to find a coldneſs in the nobleman which forbad all embraces, 'till he had received ſatisfaction in a point which had given him great offence. He aſked the Marquis, if he had reaſon to complain of any diſreſpect, or other defect, which he had met with in the too mean, but friendly, entertainment which his houſe afforded? And being anſwered by the Marquis, that his treatment had been full of civility; that he had never paſſed ſo many days more agreeably in his life; and could not but wonder why the other ſhould ſuſpect the contrary. The nobleman then told him, that the leaving ten piſtoles to be diſtributed among the ſervants, was treating his houſe as an inn, and was the greateſt affront that could be offered to a man of quality; that he paid his own ſervants well, and had hired them to wait on his friends as well as himſelf; that he conſidered him a ſtranger that might be unacquainted with the cuſtoms of France, and err through ſome practice deemed leſs diſhonourable in his own country, otherwiſe his reſentment ſhould have prevented any expoſtulation; but as the caſe ſtood, after having explained the nature of the affair, he muſt either redreſs the miſtake by receiving back the ten piſtoles, or give him the uſual ſatisfaction of men of honour for an avowed affront: The Marquis acknowledged his error, took back his money, and returned to Paris with leſs anxiety about his ſubſiſtence.

(35) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 159. From the relation of Dr Drelincourt, Dean of Armagh.

[*P*] *After running through almoſt incredible dangers.*] It is but reaſonable to explain the cauſe that induced the Marquis of Ormond to undertake this perilous journey, before we mention his narrow eſcapes therein. The Spaniards had promiſed to furniſh the King with ſix thouſand men, whenever he was maſter of a port in England to receive them; there were alſo many gentlemen in England of family and fortune, that had offered their ſervices to his Majeſty; whence it ſeemed to be no raſh or ill founded, ſcheme to hope, that an inſurrection might be raiſed, and ſuch a port ſecured (36). It was to look into the bottom of this buſineſs; and, if it was found practicable, to put things in motion, that the Marquis undertook this journey, which was covered by a pretence of his returning into Germany, to reſume his negotiations with the Duke of Newburgh, that his abſence from the King might be accounted for, and Cromwell's ſpies (37) abroad be the leſs capable

(36) Memoirs of the Reign of Charles II. p. 133.

(37) See Thurloe's Letters, Vol. VII. p. 322.

There was about this time ſome favourable hopes of the Dutch, and not without reaſon, ſince it is certain that John de Witt was well affected to His Majeſty, and inclined, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the ſecurity of his own country (*r*), to do him ſervice; ſo indeed the moſt conſiderable people in Holland were, and as for the populace they never diſſembled their good affections. To promote theſe, the Marquis of Ormond entered into a treaty of marriage for his ſon the Earl of Oſſory, with a daughter of the Sieur de Beverweert, natural ſon to Maurice Prince of Orange (*s*), which ſoon after took effect; and though this may ſeem entirely a family tranſaction, yet it was attended with circumſtances as pregnant with affection and loyalty to his maſter, as any tranſaction of his whole life (*t*). He was ſoon after engaged in ſeveral other ſchemes for His Majeſty's ſervice, and when it was thought requiſite that a right underſtanding ſhould be reſtored with the Queen-Mother, the Marquis of Ormond was diſpatched to Paris to bring it about, and had all the ſucceſs that could be deſired in his negotiation (*u*). He afterwards attended His Majeſty in his journey to Fontarabia, and had there a long conference with Cardinal Mazarine, who made it a point not to ſee the King, which however had no other conſequence, than confirming the Marquis in his notions of the inſincerity and bad principles of that Miniſter, whom he both diſliked and deſpiſed (*w*). On his return things began to change their face in England, and Monk beginning his march from the North, the Marquis of Ormond was one of the firſt that formed a true notion of his deſign, and not long after, Sir George Downing, who had been Cromwell's Miniſter to the States of Holland, deſired a conference with the Marquis, and therein gave him all the lights he could (*x*). When the General ſent over Sir John Grenvile to the King, the Marquis of Ormond was let into the ſecret, and had as great

(*r*) Hiſt. de Jean de Witt, p. 355.

(*s*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 182. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 478.

(*t*) See the article of BUTLER (THOMAS) Earl of Oſſory.

(*u*) Bennet's Letters, p. 135.

(*w*) Carte's Life, of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 189.

(*x*) See the article of DOWNING (Sir GEORGE).

of giving him any information. Inſtead of going to Germany, the Marquis went directly into Holland; and hiring a ſmall veſſel at Scheveling, paſſed over into England, where he landed, in the beginning of February 1657, at Weſtmarſh, ſeven miles from Colcheſter in Eſſex, from whence he travelled up to London. His firſt lodging was at a Popiſh Surgeon's in Drury-lane (38), where he had not been long, before he took the freedom of aſking his Landlord, if he had not a private place in his houſe to hide a Prieſt in? He anſwered in the negative; adding, that his houſe was the worſt in the world for ſuch a perſon to lodge in, becauſe it was often ſearched, as all the houſes were in two or three ſtreets thereabouts. He took the hint immediately, paid his landlord, and decamped without delay; and very luckily, for that very night the Surgeon's houſe, and ſeveral others in the neighbourhood, were very cloſely ſearched. He went next to a French Taylor's in Black-Friers, where he was once alarmed to ſuch a degree, that he was getting out of the garret-window; but finding it was only ſome workmen that ran haſtily up ſtairs late on the Saturday-night, to remove their tools before Sunday-morning, he returned to his bed, where he ſlept in his cloaths, that he might never be taken unprovided; and this precaution, and making himſelf well acquainted with all the back ways, he uſed all the time he continued in England. This, indeed, was no more than he found neceſſary; for he had not been a week in town, before Cromwell had notice of it (39), and mentioned it to the Earl of Orrery. He went next to lodge in Old Fiſh-ſtreet, where he was ſomewhat more at his eaſe; he took there the name of Pickering, and paſſed for a diſbanded officer. Finding a wig troubleſome, and but an indifferent diſguiſe, his friend Colonel Leg, to whom he complained of it, furniſhed him with a water to turn his own hair black; but either there was too much aquafortis in the mixture, or the Marquis applied it unſkilfully, for inſtead of having the intended effect, it changed his hair of ſeveral colours, and beſides, ſcalded his head to ſuch a degree, as gave him a great deal of trouble. The Marquis ventured his perſon very freely, during the time he ſtayed, and ſaw all ſorts of perſons, that had manifeſted any inclinations for his Majeſty's ſervice, more eſpecially in the city, where being introduced by Sir Philip Honeywood, to a company of ſome low, and all but middling ſort of people, as a perſon for whom he would anſwer, and who was going to the King, they abſolutely refuſed to ſay any thing, unleſs to ſome perſon of character and conſideration, upon whom they might depend, he to remove that difficulty, frankly diſcovered himſelf, but met with nothing in return, but general aſſurances, which might have been as well given, without his running that hazard (40). He afterwards met the *ſealed knot*, as they were called, or Sir Richard Willis's club, once, in Colonel Ruſſel's chambers, in Bedford-garden; and at another time, at Sir Richard Willis's chambers in Gray's-Inn, where, however, nothing paſſed of moment, moſt of thoſe gentlemen, being perſuaded, that any attempt to be made then, muſt be attended with inſuperable difficulties, which were largely ſet forth by Sir Richard, who was all this while betraying them to Cromwell (41). The Marquis entered alſo into all the particular and private engagements of gentlemen, who were well affected, but ſeeing nothing that could encourage him to hope any good conſequences from ſuch a general inſurrection, as had been meditated before his arrival, he adviſed laying all thoughts of it aſide, and having ſtayed a month on this ſide the water, was conducted by Dr Quatremaine, the King's Phyſician, into Suſſex, and embarking at Shoreham in a ſmall ſhallop, paſſed very ſafely over to Dieppe (42). It is very certain, that never any man ran through more dangers in ſo ſmall a ſpace than he did, for tho' at firſt his departure was miſtaken by Cromwell's emiſſaries abroad, who thought he had left the King, as they phraſed it, in a pet (43), yet they very ſoon penetrated the true deſign of his journey, and gave notice of it accordingly (44). Secretary Thurloe had ſeveral notices of his arrival and of his tranſactions, but tho' he was indefatigable in ſearching for him, it was without ſucceſs. On this occaſion, Sir Richard Willis acted with great dexterity in his dangerous employment of a double ſpy, for he gave the Marquis notice to ſhift his lodgings in the morning, and in the evening gave Cromwell notice where thoſe lodgings were. By this he at that time gained credit with both, for the Marquis finding his lodgings ſearched, gave him all the honour of his eſcape: and Cromwell finding the Marquis had been really there in the morning, looked upon Sir Richard's intelligence as well founded (45). Yet, by a compariſon of circumſtances, I cannot help thinking, that Cromwell, was neither diſpleaſed with his journey nor his eſcape, for it gave a large field to his ſpies, and afforded a colour for ſetting on foot a moſt violent perſecution, and erecting a new High Court of Juſtice, of which Liſle was the Preſident. Before this bloody tribunal numbers were brought, many were tried, and few eſcaped, Sir Henry Slingſby and Dr Hewitt were beheaded, four perſons of meaner quality were hanged, drawn, and quartered, and others were impriſoned (46) as long as Cromwell lived. The Marquis was not much ſafer at Paris than he had been at London, for Cromwell ſent notice to Cardinal Mazarine of his being there, and inſiſted on his cauſing him to be apprehended, which he would certainly have done, if he had not been deceived in his intelligence by which he was perſuaded, that the Marquis was gone to Scotland (47). One may gueſs at the Marquis's apprehenſion by the road he took to join the King again in Flanders, for he went in three days poſt to Lyons, from thence to Geneva, then paſſing through the Palatinate, and down the Rhine made the Duke of Newburgh a viſit at Duſſeldorp, and from thence about the middle of May, 1658, came to his Majeſty at Bruſſels (48).

(38) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 178.

(39) Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, p. 24.

(40) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 176.

(41) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 668, 669.

(42) Bates, Elenc. Motuum, P. 2. p. 225. Life of Lord Viſcount Mordaunt, p. 71. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 617.

(43) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VI. p. 822.

(44) Ibid. Vol. VII. p. 4, 17, 27, 28, 107.

(45) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 668. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 179.

(46) Heath's Chronicle, p. 404, 405.

(47) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 740.

(48) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond Vol. II. p. 180, 181. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 732, 733, 735, 737, 752.

[2] *Added*

great a share in the transactions, which immediately preceded the King's return, as any man about him, without exception. When all things were fixed for that purpose, as he had attended His Majesty during his long exile, he accompanied him also into England, where he was immediately sworn of the Privy-Council, and made Lord Steward of the Household (*y*). He was soon after appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Somersetshire, and High-Steward of Westminster, Kingston, and Bristol, and restored to his office of Chancellor of the University of Dublin; neither was it long before the King gave him farther marks of affection and esteem, by restoring and augmenting the County Palatine of Tipperary, which his family had never enjoyed from the time of it's being seized by King James (*z*). He was also created Baron of Lanthony and Earl of Brecknock (*a*), and very particular regard was shewn by the Parliament also in respect to his estates; to all which the King likewise added some grants that brought him both honour and advantage [*Q*]. A little before His Majesty's coronation, he was raised to the dignity of Duke of Ormond, and was created Lord High-Steward of England, on account of that solemnity at which he assisted in that high office (*b*). On the fourth of October 1662, he was declared Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, which was so satisfactory to that kingdom, that the Parliament made his Grace a present of thirty thousand pounds (*c*); and at the same time that his Grace sent a letter of acknowledgment to the House of Commons for this high and extraordinary favour, Secretary Nicholas acquainted the Lords Justices, that His Majesty considered that act of the Parliament as a mark of affection to himself. The King's marriage hindered the Duke's going over to Ireland so early as he intended, and did not arrive there 'till the twenty-seventh of July; yet he was so active and vigorous in the dispatch of business, that he passed the Act of Settlement, and some other necessary laws on the twenty-seventh of September, by which, order and good government in that kingdom were restored (*d*). His Grace had not been long in possession of his great employment, before he found himself involved in new troubles and dangers. The Exchequer was empty, the army had great arrears, the Act of Uniformity excited a very mutinous spirit among the fanaticks, which soon after produced a dangerous conspiracy for surprizing the castle of Dublin and seizing the Duke, but this was disappointed by his vigilance, assisted by the informations he received from his friends, as we have already had occasion to shew in another place (*e*). He had besides some other, and those too very considerable, discouragements, Sir Henry Bennet, lately made Secretary of State, grew upon that promotion very cool towards him; the Countess of Castlemain, the King's mistress, begged Phœnix-Park and

(*y*) Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 167.

(*z*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 218.

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 478.

(*b*) Bill. sig. de ann. 13 Car. II.

(*c*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 237.

(*d*) See the several Letters and Addresses, together with the Lord Lieutenant's excellent Speech, in the Appendix to Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 20—30.

(*e*) See the article of BLOOD (THOMAS), note [*B*]. State Letters of the Earl of Orrery, p. 69.

[*Q*] *Added some grants that brought him both honour and advantage.*] These grants were by letters patents under the great Seal, dated October 8, 1660, by which all the reserved rents of his estates and the prisage of wines which he enjoyed as Butler of Ireland, were put out of charge in the Exchequer, and all arrears which were due before April, were ordered to be paid to the Marquis, who had likewise granted to him all his debts by bills, bonds, statutes merchant, and of the staple, or otherwise due to persons, who had forfeited, all which being by such forfeiture devolved to the crown, were now ordered to be discharged (49). His Majesty likewise made him a grant of all the lands which had been formerly by the Marquis himself, or by any of his ancestors, Earls of Ormond and Ossory, mortgaged, granted, demised, leased, or to farm let, in fee, fee-farm, fee-tail, lives or years, and which were forfeited by the having an hand in the late rebellion, directing commissions to be issued for finding his Majesty's title to the premises; and upon return thereof, letters patents to be passed to the Marquis for the same (50). The King's letters were also sent for putting him in possession of the rest of his estate restored to him by the Parliament of England, with the following remarkable preamble, supposed to be drawn by Secretary Nicholas, which the reader cannot but judge worthy of his notice, as making a very material part of the personal history of this illustrious nobleman (51). 'It 'having pleased Almighty God, in so wonderful a 'manner, to restore us to our dominions and govern- 'ment, and thereby, into a power not only of pro- 'tecting our good subjects, but of repairing by de- 'grees the great damages and losses they have under- 'gone in the late ill times, by their signal fidelity and 'zeal for our service, which we hold ourselves obliged 'in honour and conscience to do as soon, and by such 'means, as we shall be able: no body can wonder or 'envy, that we should, as soon as is possible, enter 'upon the due consideration of the very faithful, con- 'stant, and eminent service performed to our Father 'of blessed memory, and ourself, upon the most ab- 'stracted considerations of honour, duty, and con- 'science, and without the least pause or hesitation, by 'our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin and 'counsellor, James, Marquis of Ormond, and Lord 'Steward of our household, who from the very begin- 'ning of the rebellion in Ireland frankly engaged 'himself in the hardest and most difficult parts of our 'service, and laying aside all considerations or thought 'of his own particular fortune and convenience, as 'freely engaged, that as his person in the prosecution 'and advancement of our interest; and when the power 'of our enemies grew so great, that he was no longer 'able to contend with it, he withdrew himself from 'that our kingdom, and from that time attended our 'person in the parts beyond the sea, with the same 'constancy and alacrity, having been never from us, 'but always supporting our hopes and our spirits in our 'greatest distresses with his presence and counsels, in 'many occasions and designs of importance, having 'been our sole counsellor and companion. And there- 'fore we say, all good men would wonder, if, being re- 'stored to any ease in our own fortune, we should 'not make haste to give him ease in his, that is so 'engaged and broken for us, and which his continual 'and most necessary attendance about us, must still keep 'him from attending himself with the care and dili- 'gence he might otherwise do. We knowing well, 'besides the arrears due to him during the time he 'commanded the army, and before he was Lord- 'Lieutenant of Ireland, that from that time he was 'by our Royal father put into the supreme command 'of that kingdom; and during the whole time that 'he had the administration thereof, he hath never re- 'ceived any of the profits, emoluments, or appoint- 'ments thereof, but wholly supported himself and our 'service upon his own fortune and inheritance, and 'over and above borrowed and supplied great sums of 'money upon the engagement or sale of his own 'lands, and disbursed the same upon carrying on the 'publick service, as well during the time of his first 'being there under our Royal Father, as since under 'us.' It must be a great satisfaction to the Marquis to be sensible, that this was not mere form or the overflowings of a venal eloquence, but bare matters of fact, plainly told by one who knew them to be such, and which, upon being either heard or read, would be so acknowledged by the most intelligent people in England and Ireland.

(49) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 218.

(50) See this explained at large in the place before cited.

(51) This agrees exactly in it's contents with the letter written by the same Secretary on the present made to the Marquis.

[*R*] *An*

and Houſe, but his Grace ſtopped the warrant, which drew upon him her diſpleaſure; and the Queen-Mother, having taken the Marquis of Antrim under her protection, took occaſion to differ with him upon that nobleman's account (*f*). Theſe things however made no alteration in his conduct, and by degrees he got over moſt of the obſtacles, to the reſettling the tranquillity of that iſland. A ſum of money was remitted him which quieted the army, a ſmall ſuccour of five hundred well-affected men ſtrengthened his ſecurity, which was farther augmented by making a conſiderable draught from the Iriſh army, for the ſervice of Portugal (*g*). All things being now in a ſtate of tolerable quietneſs, his Grace, with the King's permiſſion, appointed his ſon, the Earl of Oſſory, Lord-Deputy, and came over to England in May 1664 (*h*), and was received with great kindneſs by the King. He was far from being idle here, for as there were great complaints made of the Act of Settlement by different parties, the regulating theſe fell in a great meaſure to the ſhare of the Duke, and it was chiefly through his care and indefatigable labours, that the Act of Explanation was framed and ſettled, and as ſoon as this was done he thought of returning to Ireland, where he landed on the third of September 1665 (*i*). The Parliament met in October following, and the great buſineſs of that ſeſſion, was the paſſing the Act beforementioned, which was happily effected, though not without great difficulty. The diſcontents that prevailed among the army, which was but ill principled towards the government, were daily increaſed by want of pay; ſo that at length they ſhewed themſelves mutinous, to a degree that broke out at laſt in an open inſurrection at Carrickfergus, which however was ſuppreſſed by the Duke's diſpatching his ſon, the Earl of Arran, with four companies of guards by ſea the very night he received the news, and the flame hindered from extending itſelf by the Duke's marching thither in perſon (*k*). By the like care and activity, other deſigns of the Malecontents were defeated, and the kingdom kept tolerably quiet. He made uſe of all his intereſt in England, in order to prevent the paſſing an Act for prohibiting the importation of Iriſh cattle, but to no purpoſe, for the Duke of Buckingham's party made a point of it and carried it (*l*). He foreſaw all the ill conſequences that attended this law, and did what he could to prevent them, and to find out various methods to ballance them [*R*]. The cloſe friendſhip between his Grace and Lord Clarendon, drew upon him the hatred of all thoſe who ſtudied, and brought about the misfortune of that great man; and at the ſame time that they contrived this, they were endeavouring to find out pretences for impeaching the Duke of Ormond, in which however they were diſappointed (*m*). But the very rumour had bad effects, more eſpecially in Ireland, which was at that time in ſuch a ſituation, as made it but too eaſy for things of this nature to do miſchief. In the month of May 1668, his Grace came over to England, as well in obedience to the King's commands, as to take care of his concerns both publick and private; when

(*f*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 271—277.

(*g*) Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, p. 725. Heath's Chron. p. 510.

(*h*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 7.

(*i*) Hiſt. of the Reign of King Charles II. p. 391.

(*k*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol III. p. 263.

(*l*) The Intereſt of Ireland conſidered, p. 73.

(*m*) Modeſt Account of the preſent Poſture of Affairs in England, p. 23.

[*R*] *And to find methods to ballance them.*] This act for the prohibiting the importation of Iriſh cattle into England, was a matter of very great importance to both nations; and though the ſubject was handled by the beſt heads, and the beſt pens, on both ſides of the water, yet it does not appear, that the real conſequences of this law (52) were diſcerned on either ſide. It took up the attention of both Houſes, during two ſeſſions of Parliament, was puſhed with all imaginable vehemence, and ſupported with extraordinary clamour, on one ſide, and oppoſed with great vigour, with much ſhow of argument, and with many laboured computations, on the other. Yet, I think it very plainly appears from the event, that neither ſide was in the right. The truth of the matter ſeems to be, that the Duke of Buckingham and the reſt of the great patrons of this law were of opinion, that it would diſtreſs the Iriſh exceedingly, that it would increaſe the diſcontents, and augment the difficulties in adminiſtering affairs in that iſland which were already but too many, and conſequently perplex the Duke of Ormond, and his friends (53). There were alſo ſome particular advantages aimed at, by giving this trade to Scotland, which engaged the Earl of Lauderdale and Lord Aſhley to promote it, as well as private prejudices to be gratified, which drew in all the enemies to the Earl of Clarendon's adminiſtration; but the pretences uſed, were the preventing an immenſe loſs to the Engliſh nation, by the purchaſe of Iriſh cattle, which it was ſaid had ſunk the rents of England, two hundred thouſand pounds a year, though the higheſt computation of the amount of Iriſh cattle, annually ſold in England, fell ſhort of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. On the other hand, thoſe who oppoſed the bill, fixing their attention entirely on the preſent benefits, that accrued to Ireland (54) by this trade, which was almoſt the only one that kingdom then had, looked upon it as a meaſure as ruinous on one ſide, as it was cruel on the other. Such as had eſtates or intereſts in Ireland, looked upon themſelves as deeply concerned in the event; and all the friends of the court, who knew that the King was in his judgment againſt this law, laboured with the utmoſt diligence to hinder it from paſſing. But after all, when this law came to take effect, it's conſequences ſhowed them to be all miſtaken, for the pains and diligence employed by the Duke of Ormond, and all his friends, in ſupporting what they took to be Iriſh intereſt, endeared both him and them to that nation; ſo that deſign of the party abſolutely miſcarried in that reſpect (55). At to the intereſt of the two nations, the Engliſh certainly were far enough from being hurt by this traffick; and the Iriſh, by the paſſing of this law, being obliged to look out for foreign markets, to feed ſheep, and to fall into manufactures; were ſo far from being hurt by it, that they derived ſeveral advantages from it (56), which otherwiſe they could never have attained to, and of which, few or none were foreſeen by their friends. The bill paſſed through the Houſe of Commons in the firſt ſeſſion in five days; and in the laſt ſeſſion, the great queſtion was carried by one hundred and ſixty-five againſt one hundred ſixty-four; in the Houſe of Lords, the numbers were ſixty-three againſt forty-ſeven; and it was obſerved, that all the Biſhops were in the minority. The King had procured it to be once laid aſide, and had taken a reſolution never to paſs it, but was ſo much afraid of loſing his ſupplies, that he thought himſelf obliged to do it, tho' much againſt his will (57). As for the Duke of Ormond, he applied himſelf, on the one hand, to leſſen, as far as he was able, the great inconveniences that immediately enſued upon this law; and, on the other hand, to the promoting the ſtuff-manufactures and the linnen trade, which he did with ſuch vigour, that in leſs than two years time they became very conſiderable, which induced an excellent judge of the intereſt of Ireland to ſay (58), That poſterity would own their future affluence to be a bleſſing they derived from his Grace's great wiſdom and incomparable government.

(52) England's Intereſt with reſpect to Ireland truly ſtated, p. 91. Sir William Petty's Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 125.

(53) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 329—345.

(54) Paxton's Diſc. concerning the nature, advantages, and improvement of Trade, p. 48—59. Gee's Trade and Navigation of Great Britain conſidered, p. 27.

(55) The Secret Cauſes and Intrigues of the Romiſh Party in Ireland, p. 13.

(56) Sir William Petty's Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 91. Gee's Trade and Navigation of Great Britain conſidered, p. 28. Sir William Petty's Political Arithmetick, p. 252.

(57) Political Obſervations on the Reigns of Charles II. and James II. p. 75.

(58) Lawrence's Intereſt of Ireland, and it's Trade and Wealth ſtated, p. 189.

when he drew near London, he was met by abundance of perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank and fortune, who, from a rare principle of generoſity, thought it became them to ſhow this mark of reſpect for the Duke, merely on account of thoſe rumours (*n*). He was well received by the King, and upon a very ſevere and ſtrict enquiry into his conduct, there appeared no ground for cenſure. Notwithſtanding this, an opinion generally prevailed that he would not long continue Lord-Lieutenant, of which he ſpoke to the King in very pathetic terms, making uſe amongſt others of theſe, 'that though it would never trouble him to 'be undone for His Majeſty, yet it would be an inſupportable affliction to be undone by 'him (*o*).' The King gave him all the aſſurances in the world, and very probably meant as he ſpoke, but the Duke of Buckingham, who now governed all, made him ſo uneaſy that at length he reſolved to diſplace him, as he did in the ſpring of the year 1669 (*p*). John Lord Roberts of Truro, then Lord Privy-Seal, was appointed to ſucced him, who behaved towards his Grace with all imaginable decency, as the Duke alſo did to him. When this news reached Ireland it was very ill received, and thoſe who had ſhewn coolneſs enough towards the Duke's adminiſtration, appeared to be very warmly affected by his being removed, and the diſcontents which this occaſioned increaſed afterward very perceptibly (*q*). To balance the loſs of favour at Court, his Grace received a new and high office, meerly from reſpect to his reputation. Dr Gilbert Sheldon, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being very old and infirm, reſigned his poſt of Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, and that learned Body, as a mark of their eſteem, unanimouſly elected the Duke of Ormond Auguſt 4, 1669 (*r*). Thoſe who had been inſtrumental in removing his Grace, could not bear to ſee him ſo popular, and therefore they had recourſe to all the arts that could be deviſed for tarniſhing his adminiſtration, and to make the world believe that he had raiſed a prodigious fortune at the expence of the publick (*s*). His Grace took care to refute every thing of this kind in ſo full a manner, that little or no dirt ſtuck, and the world was particularly ſatisfied of the falſhood of what was ſuggeſted in reſpect to his private fortune [*S*]. His ſucceſſor, the Lord Roberts, was removed the year following, and having in the mean time loſt his poſt of Privy-Seal in England, this diſguſted him ſo much that he reſolved to retire, as for ſome time he did, but was afterwards made Lord Preſident of the Privy-Council (*t*). The Lord Berkeley of Stratton was ſent over Lord-Lieutenant in his room, and under his adminiſtration it was, that very extraordinary favours were granted to the worſt ſort of Iriſh Papiſts, which afterwards created much trouble in that

(*n*) Hiſtorical Remembrancer, p. 91.

(*o*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 372.

(*p*) Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 429.

(*q*) Impartial View of the Affairs of Ireland ſince the Reſtoration, p. 55.

(*r*) Hiſt. & Antiquitat. Univ. Oxon. p. 440.

(*s*) See the Sale and Settlement of Ireland, publiſhed in that year, and ſaid to be written by Peter Talbot, the Popiſh Archbiſhop of Dublin.

(*t*) Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 393.

[*S*] *The falſhood of what was ſuggeſted in reſpect to his private fortune.*] We have a very large account given us by Mr Carte, of the libels that were publiſhed about this time againſt his Grace, which repreſented him as one who had made immenſe advantages, under colour of paſt ſervices, by dint of his great popularity in England and Ireland, and by the high favour he ſtood in with the King his maſter; we are alſo furniſhed with all the anſwers that were given to theſe; but to take notice of either, would extend this article beyond it's due bounds, and therefore we will content ourſelves with giving the reader a ſuccinct and very curious ſtate of the account between the Duke of Ormond and the publick, which by that writer is thus repreſented (59).

(59) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 408, 409.

The Duke of Ormond creditor.

To loſs of nine years income of his eſtate in Ireland, from October 1641, to December 1650, at 20,000 *l.* a year	180,000	00	00
To waſte of timber, buildings, &c. on it	50,000	00	00
To 2½ years income from 1650 to 1653	50,000	00	00
To debts contracted by the ſervice of the crown during the troubles	130,000	00	00
To ſeven years rents of his eſtate from 1653 to 1660, recoverable from the adventurers and ſoldiers that poſſeſſed it	140,000	00	00
To the value of eſtates forfeited to him by breach of conditions, the remainders whereof were veſted in him, but given up by an Act of Explanation	319,061	05	00
To arrears of pay, as Lord-Lieutenant, commiſſioned officer, &c.	62,736	09	08
To ditto for fourteen months, from July 1647 to September 1648, at the rate of the allowance of 7893 *l.* a year to the Earl of Leiceſter, during his abſence from Ireland	9,208	10	00
To ditto for nine years and four months, from December 1650, to June 1660, at ditto	73,668	00	00
Total of loſſes and credits	1,014,674	04	08

The Duke of Ormond debtor.

By receipts on the 30,000 *l.* Act in Ireland	26,440	00	00
By ditto on the grant of 71916 *l.*	63,129	10	08
By ditto on the 50,000 *l.* granted by the Explanation Act	25,196	01	11
By ſavings on the grant of forfeited mortgages and incumbrances	5,655	12	10
By houſes, &c. on Kilkenny, Clonmel, &c. valued by Commiſſioners at 840 *l.* 12 *s.* a year, at ten years purchaſe	14,012	02	04
By lands allotted on account of his arrears, ſet at firſt for 1194 *l.* but afterwards improved, and ſet in 1681 at 1594 *l.* a year, but being ſubject to a quit rent of 449 *l.* a year, their improved yearly value is but 1165 *l.* at ten years purchaſe	11,650	00	02
Total of profit	146,083	07	11
Total of loſſes and dues to the Duke of Ormond	1,014,674	04	08
Deduct as by particular of profits	146,083	07	11
So that the Duke's loſſes by the troubles and ſettlement of Ireland, exceeded his profits	868,590	16	9

that kingdom. As this and other tranſactions created many complaints to the King, who examined them in Council; his Grace of Ormond had frequent opportunities of explaining things, and ſetting the affairs of Ireland in a right light. This heightened the reſentments of thoſe who were friends to Lord Berkeley, and who had ſent him to Ireland (*u*), more eſpecially the Duke of Bucks, by whoſe procurement as is generally believed, or at leaſt not without his participation, a moſt outrageous and deteſtable attempt was made upon the perſon of the Duke. The Prince of Orange, afterwards King William, being at this time in England, was invited December 6, 1670, to dine in the city, whither his Grace attended him, and in his return home he was attacked in St James's ſtreet, and forced out of his coach by Colonel Blood, who, it is believed, intended to have hanged him at Tyburn, if he had not happily been reſcued (*w*). The King expreſſed very high reſentment on the firſt news of this inſult, but was afterwards prevailed upon by it's author, to ſend the Earl of Arlington to the Duke, to deſire he would forgive Blood, for certain reaſons which he had orders to tell him. His Grace anſwered, 'if the King could 'forgive him ſtealing his crown, he might eaſily forgive his attempt upon his life; and if 'ſuch was his Majeſty's pleaſure, that was a ſufficient reaſon for him, and his Lordſhip 'might ſpare the reſt (*x*).' In the courſe of ſeven years, that his Grace was equally out of favour and employment, he never miſſed any opportunity of doing either his Sovereign or his country ſervice, or of paying his duty at Court, which he did in ſuch a manner, that notwithſtanding the great influence his enemies had over his maſter, which went ſo far as to hinder him from ſpeaking to the Duke for a whole year; yet they could never deceive him into a cenſure of any part of his Grace's management in Ireland, though they led him into ſeveral enquiries with that view, or prevail upon him to take from his Grace his White Staff as Lord Steward (*y*). It muſt be allowed that there were good reaſons why the Duke ſtood ill with this Miniſtry, ſince he had three capital faults. In the firſt place he was a hearty friend, as well as a ſincere ſon, of the Church, and therefore never courted either the Papiſts or the Fanaticks. He depended ſolely upon the King's ſentiments, and would never ſtoop ſo low as to make any intereſt with his miſtreſſes; and, which was not his leaſt crime, he was very cool towards France (*z*). At laſt, when His Majeſty ſeemed to have overlooked at leaſt, if not forgot, all his former ſervices, and ſaw him at Court with the utmoſt indifference; in the latter end of April 1677, he ſurprized the Duke, with a meſſage that he would come and ſup with him. He did ſo, and was entertained with all the freedom and mirth that the moſt dutiful and ſincere affection could ſuggeſt; ſo that before he went away, his Majeſty diſcloſed the buſineſs of his viſit, which was the reſolution he had taken to make his Grace once more Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (*a*) [*T*].

(*u*) A full and impartial Account of all the ſecret Conſults, Negociations, Stratagems, and Intrigues of the Romiſh Party in Ireland from the Reſtoration to the Revolution, p. 7. Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 11.

(*w*) London Gazette, Decemb. 8, 1670. See the article of BLOOD (THOMAS) note [*T*]. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 869.

(*x*) Sir Gilbert Talbot's Narrative of Blood's ſtealing the Crown, preſerved in Stow's Survey of London, by Strype, Vol. I. p. 92.

(*y*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 462.

(*z*) Memoirs of the Reign of Charles II. p. 391.

(*a*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 463. Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 14.

As

[*T*] *To make his Grace once more Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland*] In the whole reign of King Charles II, there was not a more extraordinary incident than this, of reſtoring the Duke of Ormond to the Lieutenancy of Ireland, not only beyond his own expectations, and againſt even the hopes of his friends, but without any ſeeking of his or aſſiſtance of theirs; in ſhort, by the iſſue of a court-intrigue, in which he had not the ſmalleſt concern (60), thus, then it was brought about. The Earl of Eſſex made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in 1672, was a nobleman of great integrity and honour, a true friend to the Engliſh and Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland, and yet at the time he was put into this government, and during the ſpace he continud in it, extremely well with the Duke of York. The party at court that had ruined and driven the Earl of Clarendon out of the kingdom, removed the Duke of Ormond from the Lieutenancy of Ireland, made the ſecond Dutch war, and themſelves infamous to poſterity by the title of the *Cabal*, were thoſe who ſecretly abetted the complaints againſt the Earl of Eſſex, and who at laſt determined the King to remove him (61): I ſay, that they ſecretly abetted the complaints againſt him, becauſe many of them profeſſed themſelves his friends, and had addreſs enough to deceive him, both then and afterwards. The ſcheme they had in view was to put the government for a ſmall time into the hands of Lords Juſtices, and then to procure the Lieutenancy for the Duke of Monmouth, in which, from the King's natural affection to his ſon (62), they judged, they ſhould meet with very little difficulty. But this deſign of theirs could not be carried on with ſuch ſecrecy as to eſcape the knowledge of the Duke of York, who, as it may be eaſily imagined, was not a little alarmed at it. His Royal Highneſs had no concern in the removal of the Earl of Eſſex, of whom he had then a very high opinion; but when once he had found out that the Duke of Monmouth was intended for his ſucceſſor, he reſolved to leave no ſtone unturned to prevent this ſcheme from taking effect; and therefore took occaſion to mention to his Majeſty the great ſervices of the Duke of Ormond, and to repreſent to him in the ſtrongeſt light the neceſſity he was under of putting the government of Ireland into the hands of a perſon in whom he could abſolutely confide, and whoſe reputation was effectually eſtabliſhed with all the well-meaning part of his ſubjects in both nations (63). It was no ſooner ſuggeſted to his Majeſty, than he ſaw it in that point of light, which tended moſt to his own ſecurity; there was no man he eſteemed more, and hardly any he could depend upon ſo much as this nobleman; and therefore he immediately reſolved, that he ſhould be the perſon. There were various attempts made to alter the King's ſentiments in this reſpect, but to no purpoſe, he very clearly perceived, that ſome dark and dangerous deſigns were brewing, and he was equally afraid of the violence of the Papiſts, and of the ſecret plots of the Republicans. He knew that both parties were ſtrong in Ireland; and he knew likewiſe, that the Duke of Ormond was, of all men living, the moſt capable of defending him againſt both, and therefore he was inflexible in his determination of putting that kingdom into his hands (64). How well his Majeſty judged upon this occaſion appeared, not only from the loud and general approbation this meaſure met with, both in England and Ireland, but alſo from the particular conduct of the Earl of Eſſex. That nobleman, well knowing his Majeſty's good-nature, was no ſooner acquainted, that his removal was a thing fixed, than he deſired and obtained leave to quit the ſword, when, and to whom he thought proper. But as ſoon as he was informed, that the Duke of Ormond was appointed Lord-Lieutenant, he changed his reſolution, for which he gave this reaſon in a letter '(65); Since his Majeſty has been pleaſed to pitch 'upon a perſon, who has ſo much experience in all 'affairs in this kingdom, and ſo eminent for his 'loyalty; I am reſolved to ſtay 'till his Grace ſhall 'arrive, that I may put the ſword myſelf into his 'hands.' He carried this ſtill further, by making a ſpecial order for receiving the Duke of Ormond with all the ſolemnity and pomp imaginable, too long to be inſerted; and to which therefore it is ſufficient to refer (66).

(60) Compl. Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 360.

(61) A full and impartial Account of all the ſecret Conſults, &c. p. 13.

(62) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 465, 466.

(63) Hiſt. of the Reign of King Charles II, p. 391.

(64) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 469.

(65) This Letter is dated from Dublin, Aug. 17, 1677.

(66) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 468.

[*U*] *In*

As unexpected as the King's choice was, it no sooner became publick, than it was extreamly well received in England, and with very unusual marks of joy in Ireland, though the Lord-Lieutenant they then had on the removal of Lord Berkeley, *viz.* the Earl of Essex, had taken much pains to make himself master of their affairs, and had managed them with great integrity and honour. It is certain, that this conduct of his, did not hinder him from having, perhaps might contribute to procure him, enemies, who had even the boldness to attack his behaviour at the Council-Board, where, from a mere principle of justice, he was very warmly and very effectually defended by the Duke of Ormond, before there was any probability of his succeeding him (*b*). This however had such an effect upon the Earl of Essex, that when his Grace came over, in August 1677, to take the sword, he surrendered it with very unusual and even unexampled marks of esteem. Almost as soon as he entered on his government, the Duke met with things to disturb him. A Popish regiment had been raised, under pretence of being intended for foreign service, but remained in the kingdom longer than there seemed to be any necessity, under pretence of their being disciplined, and for the same reason his Grace was desired to furnish them with arms; which he positively refused, adding that they might very well learn their exercise with sticks (*c*). The Protestant army he put into the best condition possible, gave orders for repairing all the forts, and caused a new one to be raised for protecting Kingsale Harbour, which he called Fort *Charles*. The very next year the Popish plot broke out, and an account was transmitted to the Lord-Lieutenant, of discoveries which had been made, of dangers to which Ireland was exposed; intimating also, some designs against his person. Upon this he caused Peter Talbot, the Popish Archbishop of Dublin, and every way worthy of that office, as having been the greatest incendiary in the kingdom, to be apprehended; and, by proclamation, ordered all the Dignitaries of the Church of Rome, to depart the kingdom by the twentieth of November: he took this opportunity also of disarming the Papists, and making such orders with respect to the army, that it was impossible either for officers or private men of that communion to shelter themselves therein (*d*). All these, and other wise precautions, he daily took; which however did not protect him from various calumnies in England; but these made no sort of impression upon him, for knowing that kingdom better than any other man, he went on his own way with great firmness; and the consequences of his regulations, fully answered all his expectations. Some attempts however were made to remove him, and a report of this prevailed so strongly, that the Earl of Arlington, who was now become his Grace's warm friend, took occasion to mention it to the King, whose temper was by this time very much changed, as appeared by the short answer he gave him, which was to this effect, 'that the new Mini-'sters he had got, were for jostling out his old friends, but they should never gain that 'point of him;' adding with an oath, *That while the Duke of* Ormond *lived he should never be put out of that goverment* (*e*). The Duke of York was also of the same opinion. All this however did not discourage his enemies in England from prosecuting their old designs, and even forming new ones, in order to procure his removal from the Lieutenancy [*U*].

(*b*) A full and impartial Account of all the secret Consults, &c. p. 13. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 14. Laurence's Interest of Ireland, p. 155.

(*c*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 14. Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 360.

(*d*) A full and impartial Account of all the secret Consults, &c. p. 15, 16. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 14.

(*e*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 492.

In

[*U*] *In order to procure his removal from the Lieutenancy.*] After the breaking out of the Popish plot, it was impossible for one of the Duke's rank, and in his station, to pass his days in peace. The very cares of his office at such a time, were more than sufficient to exercise all his diligence and attention; and there is no doubt, that they did. But how well soever he might perform what was incumbent upon him from his post, it was impossible, that he should give satisfaction to all parties, indeed, hardly possible, that he should give satisfaction to any; for whatever he did, the Papists thought too much (67), and the malecontents in England, whatever they thought, were ready enough to assert, he did too little. As his Grace wanted not information of all that passed, as well to his prejudice as his advantage; so no body knew better how to make a defence, than he did, as appears from the following extract of a letter of his to Sir Robert Southwell, which deserves a place for two reasons; first, because it fully clears the point now under our eye; and next, because it affords us a specimen of this nobleman's way of writing, which, if I mistake not, will satisfy every judicious peruser, that his Grace's character would have appeared, even in a light superior to what it now does, had he found leisure to be his own Historian (68). 'It hath been my fortune, upon several occasions, to be taken by the Papists, to be their 'greatest enemy, when it was thought that character 'would have done me hurt, and sometimes to be their 'greatest friend, when that would hurt me; and (which 'is unreasonable) the very same men have been believed, 'when they have made so different a description of me. 'A little indulgence towards one, will seem to conclude 'from thence, that I am in neither extreme, that is, neither transported with fury against them that are of 'that religion, because some of them, and perhaps too 'many, are traitors and murtherers, not trusting too 'much to them, because, I believe, some of them 'are good subjects and honest men. It may be perhaps unseasonable to profess such a temper; yet it 'may be as soon excused in me as in any man, for if 'there be truth in the information of Oates, I am to 'wait upon the King in the tragedy designed, tho' 'I really profess, I had rather go before him, even 'for my own sake, because I would not live to see 'the calamities and confusions that would follow, if 'such a villany should have success. —— It seems now 'to be the Papists turn, to endeavour to dispatch me; 'the other Non-conformists have had theirs, and may 'have again, when they shall be inspired from the 'same place, for different reasons, to attempt the same 'thing. I know the danger I am and may be in, is 'a perquisite belonging to the place I am in, and so 'much envied for being in; but I will not be frighted 'into a resignation, and will be found alive or dead 'in it, 'till the same hand that placed me, shall remove 'me. —— I know well, that I am born with some 'disadvantages, in relation to the present conjuncture, 'besides my natural weaknesses and infirmities, and such 'as I can no more free myself from, than I can from 'them. My father and mother lived and died Papists, 'and only I, by God's merciful providence was educated in the true Protestant Religion, from which 'I never swerved towards either extreme, not when 'it was most dangerous to profess it, and most advantageous to quit it. I reflect not upon any, 'who have held another course, but will charitably 'hope, that though their changes happened to be always to the prosperous side, yet they were made by 'the force of present conviction. My brothers and 'sisters, though they were not very many, were very 'fruitful and very obstinate (they will call it constant) in 'their

(*f*) A full and impartial Account of all the secret Consults, &c. p. 15.

(*g*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 489.

In the midſt of theſe publick difficulties, one of the greateſt that could reach him in his private capacity, exerciſed his patience, which was the death of the Earl of Oſſory his eldeſt ſon, whom he loved with the tenderneſs of a father and the affection of a friend (*f*). He bore this loſs however with great ſteadineſs, nor did he diſcover any marks of impatience, when within three weeks after ſo great a misfortune, he found himſelf obliged to anſwer a new liſt of objections, which his enemies had prepared againſt his adminiſtration, with a view perhaps of picking more out of his anſwers than they knew how to thruſt into their charge. In this he diſappointed them, for he kept cloſe to his defence, and contented himſelf with ſhowing that what they ſuggeſted was either fooliſh or falſe (*g*). By this he preſerved his power, but not the exerciſe of it in ſuch an extent as he wiſhed; for though the times required, and himſelf preſſed, for a Parliament in Ireland, yet he was not permitted to call one, for both the intereſts at Court were now united againſt him, and tho' they could not prevail upon the King to part with his Lord-Lieutenant, yet they kept the Lord-Lieutenant from calling a Parliament (*h*). At laſt His Majeſty conſidered the great proof the Duke had given of his abilities, in keeping all Ireland quiet during the time of the Popiſh plot, when England was in the utmoſt confuſion, reſolved to ſend for him over, which he did in the ſpring of the year 1682; and his Grace having ſettled affairs in Ireland, and left the ſword with his ſon Richard, Earl of Arran, landed at Cheſter on the ſecond of May (*i*). He was received by the King, with all the marks of affection and eſteem that his ſervices could deſerve, and, without doubt, his preſence and counſels were of great uſe to his Maſter in that critical juncture, which induced him to delay no longer a favour he had ſome time intended for his Grace, which was raiſing him to the title of Duke in England; and this was accordingly done by a patent, dated November the ninth, in the thirty-fourth year of His Majeſty's reign, by the title of Ormond (*k*). All this however did not give him ſufficient weight to procure the King's aſſent to the meaſure which he had moſt at heart, which was the holding a parliament in Ireland; on the contrary, the earneſtneſs with which he puſhed this was prejudicial to his intereſt, procured firſt an order for him to return to that kingdom, which he readily obeyed; and before he was well there, a reſolution to remove him from his government, which he received when he leaſt expected it (*l*). As diſagreeable as this news might be, it was followed by another piece of intelligence which gave him infinitely more diſquiet, and that was the King's death, an event which he had always apprehended, and for which in his private commerce with his friends, he expreſſed the moſt ſenſible concern. He cauſed King James II. to be proclaimed, as his duty required; but he was very ſoon made ſenſible, notwithſtanding all the ſervices he had rendered that Prince, at a ſeaſon when it was moſt dangerous to render him ſervice, of a wide difference between his Maſters; for whereas King Charles would never have obliged him to ſurrender the ſword in perſon; one of the firſt orders he received from his ſucceſſor, was to give it up to the Lord Primate and the Earl of Granard, which he did on the laſt of March 1685 (*m*). It may indeed be ſaid in excuſe of King James, that the Duke of Ormond having a great foreſight of the changes that were like to happen, employed all the time, from his laſt arrival in Ireland, in taking the beſt meaſures he was able, for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant and Engliſh intereſt in that iſland, which was reſented to a degree of fury by the Iriſh, tho' without it's having any effect upon him, who behaved with the ſame ſteadineſs from the time he received 'till he parted with the enſigns of his authority [*W*].

In

(*f*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1001.

(*g*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 509.

(*h*) A full and impartial Account of all the ſecret Conſults, &c. p. 17.

(*i*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 15, 16.

(*k*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 406.

(*l*) Carte's Life, of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 541. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 16.

(*m*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 449.

'their way, their fruitfulneſs, hath ſpread into a large 'alliance, and their obſtinacy hath made it altogether 'Popiſh. It would be no ſmall comfort to me, if 'it had pleaſed God it had been otherwiſe, that I 'might have enlarged my induſtry, to do them good, 'and ſerved them more effectually to them, and more 'ſafely to myſelf. But as it is, I am taught by nature, 'and alſo by inſtruction, that difference in opinion, 'concerning matters of religion, diſſolves not the ob'ligations of nature; and in conformity to this prin'ciple, I own, not only, that I have done, but that 'I will do my relations, of that, or any other per'ſwaſion, all the good I can. But I profeſs, at the 'ſame time, that if I find any of them, who are 'neareſt to me, acting or conſpiring rebellion, or 'plotting againſt the government and the religion 'eſtabliſhed amongſt us, I will endeavour to bring 'them to puniſhment, ſooner than the remoteſt ſtranger 'to my blood. I know profeſſions of this nature are 'eaſily made, and therefore ſometimes little credited, 'but I claim ſome belief from my known practice, 'having been ſo unfortunate, as to have had kinſmen 'in rebellion, and ſo fortunate, as to ſee ſome of 'them fall, when I commanded in chief. Thoſe that 'remain, have, I hope, changed their principles, as 'to rebellion; if they have not, I am ſure, they ſhall 'find, I have not changed mine.'

[*W*] *'Till he parted with the enſigns of his authority.*] We have often quoted in this article, a treatiſe intituled, 'A full and impartial Account of all 'the ſecret Conſults, Negotiations, and Stratagems; 'Intrigues of the Romiſh Party in Ireland, from the 'Reſtoration to the Revolution, for the Settlement of 'Popery in that Kingdom.' Printed frequently by itſelf, and ſince placed in the Appendix to the State-Tracts, in the reign of King William III. It is written with great ſpirit, and is one of the principal authorities which Mr Oldmixon conſulted in writing his Hiſtory, ſo that we may be ſure, that it contains nothing partial, in favour of the Duke of Ormond. The author of this piece, ſpeaking of his Grace's conduct, after the acceſſion of King James, deſcribes it thus, 'The 'Duke of Ormond foreſaw (69) what was now paſt 'remedy, and told a friend of his, that nothing 'could now preſerve the Engliſh, but a precipitateneſs 'of the *Iriſh*. *For*, ſaid he, *let my countrymen alone, 'and they will ſpoil their own buſineſs.* And ſo, in'deed, they had in any time but this, when it 'might be ſaid, according to our Saviour's prediction, '*That the time was come, when they that deſtroyed 'the Proteſtants, thought they did God ſervice.* King '*James*, and his former (but now more eſpecial) fa'vourites, the *Iriſh*, were become equally furious in 'their courſe, and ſeemed to contend, the one, in his 'commands, the other in their forward obedience, which 'ſhould exceed in their joint deſign, of extirpating 'hereſy. The Duke of Ormond was called over, 'but before his departure laboured with an indefa'tigable diligence, to eſtabliſh matters on ſuch a 'foundation, that it might not be eaſy for them to 'create a preſent change, without a manifeſt viola'tion and infringement of the laws and conſtitutions 'of

(69) A Collection of State Tracts publiſhed during the Reign of William III. Vol. III. p. 619.

In performing this, which could be no very agreeable act, his Grace was very much surprized by the Lord Primate's making a long speech, in which, with great plainness and perspicuity, he insisted upon the miseries which that kingdom had endured, and the deplorable condition it was in when his Grace was called to the government of it; he insisted also on the principal benefits derived from the Duke's gentle and wise administration; and concluded with observing, that as the effects of his prudence would be always felt, it was to be hoped they would produce perpetual gratitude towards the Ormond family in the whole Irish nation (*n*). On his arrival in England, his Grace was received with all possible marks of respect and affection, by all ranks of people, and with great civility by the King, at whose coronation he assisted, as at that of King Charles II. and had the honour to carry the crown. He wanted not however some very sensible mortifications, for his regiment of foot was without ceremony taken from him, and given to Col. Justin Mackarty, and it is thought that his troop of horse would have been likewise disposed of, but as his Grace bought it fifty years before, it was not thought proper to repay the price he gave, in the decline of life, when his great age promised a speedy vacancy (*o*). He still kept his post of Lord Steward, which he might have disposed of to advantage; but as it was given him freely by his late Royal Master, he scorned to sell it, yet he saw no reason to resign it; and no arguments could prevail upon King James to take it away. In August 1686, the King made a progress into the West, in which his Grace attended him as far as Bristol, and then His Majesty making longer stages than were proper for a person of his age, the Duke returned to London (*p*). His affection for the person of the King, as well as his steady loyalty, induced him to behave to that Monarch with all imaginable marks of duty and respect; but the violent counsels by which that unfortunate Prince was hurried to his ruin, forced the Duke of Ormond, as well as several others of his best subjects, to oppose his will in cases that were directly contrary to law, an extraordinary instance of which will be given in the notes (*q*) [*X*]. This did not hinder however King James's causing some attempts

(*n*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol II. p. 543.

(*o*) Succinct Account of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 107.

(*p*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 543.

(*q*) Memoirs of the Life of Dr Burnet, Master of the Charter-House.

'of the Kingdom. The new hospital, a stately fabrick, near Dublin, erected for poor Soldiers, would (he foresaw) be made a nest for hornets, which, to prevent, as well as possible, he sat several days with the Council and Judges, in private, in the castle, and there made all the provision, that could be for it, against the imminent storm. One remarkable passage, I must not omit to mention, which demonstrates the great spirit of that excellent person. As the aforesaid hospital, he appointed a dinner for all the officers of the hospital, and the officers of the army, then in Dublin, which being over, he took a large glass of wine in his hand, and bid them fill it up to the brim, then stood up and called to all the company, *Look here, gentlemen, they say at Court, I am now become an old doating fool; you see, my hand doth not shake, nor does my heart fail; nor doubt but I will make some of them see their mistake:* and so drank the King's health. But upon his arrival at court, he found, that King James's bigotted opinion would carry him to the most violent actions; a dismal apprehension whereof, as is believed, at length, broke his heart; for tho' he was of a great age, yet he was of such health of body and chearfulness of mind, that, in course of nature, he might have lived twenty years longer, as his mother did. It was plain, that the Irish could fasten no calumnies upon him, when the first thing they reproached him with, was cheating the army in building the hospital; and that Robinson, the Architect, had inriched himself by it; when indeed, not to lessen any thing of his due character, Robinson shewed the parts of an excellent artist in the contrivance, and of an honest man in the charge, as men of value and experience in building affirm.'

[*X*] *An extraordinary instance of which will be given in the notes.*] The first instance in which the King took upon him to exercise this prerogative was, with regard to Sutton's Hospital, called the Charter-house (70): and in the case of one Andrew Popham, a Roman Catholick, whom by a letter, dated December 20th, 1686, and directed to the Governors of that hospital, he required to be admitted into the first pensioner's place, that became vacant, and in his disposal, without tendering him any oath, or requiring of him any subscription in conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and notwithstanding any statute, order, or constitution of the said hospital, with which he was pleased to dispense. Dr Thomas Burnet, was at this time, Master of the Charter-house, having been chosen, not long before, by the interest of the Duke of Ormond, to whose grandson, the Earl of Ossory, he had been Governor. The Bishops, who were of the number of the electors, had made exceptions to him, that though he was a clergyman, he went always in a lay habit. But the Duke being satisfied that his conversation and manners were worthy of a clergyman in all respects; and thinking these to be much more valuable than the exterior habit, insisted so strongly in his favour, that he was at last chosen. Popham coming to him with his letter, demanded admission, but was told, that the letter must be delivered to the Governors, before any thing could be done upon it; and was dismissed without admission. On January 17th, there was a full assembly of the Governors, when Popham being present, the letter was read, and the Lord Chancellor Jefferys presently moved, that they should immediately, without any debate, proceed to vote, whether Popham should be accordingly admitted; Dr Burnet, as the junior Governor was to vote first, but instead thereof, he told them, he thought it his duty to acquaint their Lordships, that to admit a pensioner into that hospital, without taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, was not only contrary to the constitutions of the house, but also to an Act of Parliament, 3 *Car.* called *The Charter-house* Act. One of the Governors thereupon, saying, 'What is this to the purpose;' the Duke of Ormond replied, 'He thought it was very much to the 'purpose, for an Act of Parliament was not so slight a 'thing, but that it deserved consideration.' After some discourse, the question was put, whether Popham should be admitted; and was carried in the negative. The Governors intended to have returned immediately an answer to the King's letter, but as soon as the vote was passed, the Chancellor and some others hurried away; so that there was not a sufficient number left to act as an assembly, or to do any more business at that time. The Archbishop of Canterbury attempted several times afterwards to have another assembly, that the letter might be written to the King; but could not get a full number together, 'till the Midsummer following. In the mean time, one Cardonnel, a French Protestant, naturalized and qualified for the place, appeared with a nomination from the King, prior to Popham's His Majesty thereupon, sent another letter, dated March 21st, to exclude him, and to reinforce his former order for Popham, to whom was likewise granted a dispensation under the great seal. This second letter, and the letters patents, were read on Midsummer-day, in a stated assembly, where nine Governors were present. A letter was then drawn up in the name of the Governors, to one of the Secretaries of State, representing, that they could not admit Popham, nor comply with his Majesty's letters in his behalf, because the hospital was of a private foundation,

(70) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 546.

attempts to be made upon the Duke's religion, by the Lord Arundel of Wardour, then Privy-Seal, and the Duke's intimate friend; and by Peter Walsh, a very honest well meaning Priest, to whom the Duke had been very kind; but both ended in such repulses, as gave no encouragement to make new trials (*r*). His Majesty himself sollicited the Duke for his consent to abolish the Penal Laws; but met with such an answer as he did not expect; to which he made a very memorable reply, that as his Grace had distinguished himself from others, by his long and faithful service to the crown, so he would also distinguish him from others by his indulgence (*s*). When the Earl of Clarendon went to Ireland, he lent his country-seat at Cornbury in Oxfordshire, to the Duke of Ormond, at which place he spent some part of two summers, and the rest at other places. He intended to have followed his Majesty in his next progress, and had provided accordingly; but being seized with the gout at Badminton, he was forced to remain there for about a month, when His Majesty passing that way, in his road to and from Chester, made him a visit each time in his chamber (*t*). At the last of these visits, he gave him leave to reside where he pleased, without being tied to any attendance, as Lord Steward; and his Grace thereupon hired Kingston-Hall in Dorsetshire, whither he was carried from Badminton in a very ill state of health. In the summer he grew better; but a little before Midsummer was seized with a kind of ague, which held him to the last; he kept up his spirits however with great fortitude, and expressed much pleasure in seeing his great-grandson, the young Lord Thurles, then about two years old, play by his bed-side. As he had always lived, so he died, a member of the Church of England, July 21, 1688, in the seventy eighth year of his age; and his corps being removed to London, was on the fourth of August following interred in Westminster-Abbey (*u*). He was without doubt one of the best, as well as the greatest, men of his time; had all the virtues requisite to adorn a man of his rank, and very few foibles. In respect to his personal accomplishments, he was exceeded by none, and equalled but by few; he had the look and air of a man of Quality; a very graceful and easy behaviour, which at the same time was full of dignity, and created respect in all that saw him. He spoke extremely well, both in private conversation and upon publick occasions, in regard to which, he expressed himself with much facility and freedom (*w*). He had a very comprehensive genius, so that there were very few subjects that he was not master of; and, yet with all his parts and all his experience, he was extremely modest. His political principles were entirely agreeable to the constitution; he was loyal to his Prince in all circumstances, and without any regard to consequences. He understood the interest of the nation, and pursued it steadily. He thought that the law was to be the guide of Sovereigns as well as subjects, and therefore judged it his duty to assert it upon all occasions (*x*). He was descended from a very noble and fortunate family, and was himself the most fortunate of that family [*Y*]. He was extremely happy in domestick concerns, living with the Duchess in the most sincere friendship, as well as the most tender affection; regarding her death, which happened about four years before his own, as the greatest misfortune of his life (*y*). He was no less happy in his children, and in their numerous posterity, of which it will be necessary to give some account [*Z*]. To sum up all; he passed through a long life and variety of fortunes, with honour

(*r*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 545.

(*s*) Ibid.

(*t*) Hist. of King James II. p. 131.

(*u*) Complete Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 487. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 1074. Sir Richard Cox's Account of this noble Person, in his Preface to his second Volume of the History of Ireland.

(*w*) Burnet's Hist. of own Time, Vol. I. p. 95, 791. Life of Keeper North, p. 230.

(*x*) Memoirs of the Life of Dr Thomas Burnet, Master of the Charter-House.

(*y*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 549.

foundation, and the Governors obliged to act according to the constitutions of the same; and because, likewise the act, 3 *Car.* expressly enacted, That every person elected and admitted into it, should, before he received benefit of any such place, take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. This letter was signed by Archbishop Sancroft, the Duke of Ormond, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Craven, Danby, and Nottingham, the Bishop of London, and Dr Burnet. When is was read to the King, he gave it to the Lord Chancellor, with orders to find a way how he might have right done him in the case. But the persons concerned were of so great a character, so much considerd by the nation, and so well able to defend their cause, that it was thought better to let the matter alone, 'till the prerogative claimed was established by the submission of the two Universities, who were encouraged to assert their rights and the obligation of their statutes by this example of the Governors of the Charter-House.

[*Y*] *And was himself the most fortunate of that family.*] We have already in the preceding article, sufficiently justified what is asserted in the text, as to the honours and fortune of this family; and shall only add, that from the 31st of Henry III. when Theobald Butler was made one of the Lords-Justices, to the 1st of James II. when the Duke of Ormond quitted the government of Ireland, there had been in the space of four hundred and thirty-seven years, ten of this family, who had been twenty-seven times Lords-Justices, Lords-Deputies, or Lords-Lieutenants of that Kingdom (71). His Grace had seen three generations above him, his father, Thomas, Viscount Thurles; his grandfather, Walter, Earl of Ormond; and his great uncle, Thomas, Earl of Ormond; and he likewise saw three generations below him, his son, Thomas, Earl of Ossory; his grandson, James, who succeeded him as Duke of Ormond; and his great grandson, Thomas, Lord Thurles. He had been himself, at the time of his decease, fifty-seven years, in the service of the crown, under the reign of four Kings: and to three of them he had been Privy-Counsellor, and done most eminent services. He was four times Lord-Lieutenant, and in that space held the supreme government for twenty-two years, which was more than any other subject had done (72). He lived always with great magnificence, and had rather too little care of his fortune. He bred several eminent men in his family, who came afterwards to be very considerable in the state; and there were three at least of his Chaplains, that came to be distinguished highly in the Church; Dr Hough, the late excellent Bishop of Worcester, Dr Hartstonge, Bishop of Londonderry (73), and Dr Thomas Burnet, Master of the Charter-house: Indeed, he was always esteemed a great patron of the Clergy, as well as a true friend to the Church; following, therein, the maxim of his old friend, the Earl of Strafford, who was in nothing more commendable, than in his care of the ecclesiastical state of Ireland, by which he kept up the credit of the Protestant Religion, and filled the several Secs with men of such learning, virtue, and piety, as drew the esteem, even of the Papists, at least, of all such as were not bigots to such a degree, as hindered them from seeing the good qualities and exemplary behaviour of Christian Priests, that were not of their own Church.

(71) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(72) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 557.

(73) See the English Translation of Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. II. p. 431.

[*Z*] *Of which it will be necessary to give some account.*] The Duke of Ormond married but once, and that was his cousin, Lady Elizabeth Preston, the only daughter of the Earl of Desmond, by the only daughter

honour and reputation; was esteemed and beloved by the good men of all parties; and died as much regretted as it was possible for man to be (z); and this, without courting popular applause; or pursuing any other rule in his conduct, than doing what was, in his own judgment, right.

(z) Compleat Hist. of Ireland, Vol. III. p. 487.

daughter of Thomas, Earl of Ormond. This Lady was born in 1615, and consequently, was five years younger than the Duke. She married at the age of fourteen; and after living fifty-four years in great harmony with her Lord, departed this life, July 21, 1684 (74). By this Lady the Duke had ten children, *viz.* eight sons and two daughters. 1. Thomas, born in 1632; and died before he was a year old (75). 2. Thomas, Earl of Ossory, of whom in the next article. 3. James, born in 1635; but died within the year. 4. James, who died a little above a year old (76). 5. Richard, born July 15, 1639; he was educated with great care, and taught every thing suitable to his birth; and the great affection that his parents had for him. As he grew up, he distinguished himself by a brave and excellent disposition, which determined him to a military life. When the Duke was first made Lord-Lieutenant, after the Restoration, his Majesty was pleased, by his letter, dated April 23, 1662, to create Lord Richard, Baron Butler of Cloghgrenan, Viscount of Tullogh, in the county of Catherlogh, and Earl of Arran, with remainder to his brother (77). He was sworn of the Privy-Council in that kingdom, August 26, 1663. In the month of September, 1664, he married Lady Mary Stuart, only surviving daughter of James, Duke of Richmond and Lenox, by Mary, the only daughter of the great Duke of Buckingham, who died in July, 1667, at the age of eighteen, and was interred at Kilkenny. The Earl of Arran commanding the guards in Ireland, and having, as we have shewn, distinguished himself in reducing the mutineers at Carrick-Fergus, and behaving with great courage in the famous sea fight with the Dutch, in 1673, he was on the 27th of August, the same year created Baron Butler of Weston, in the county of Huntingdon (78). He married in the month of June preceding, Dorothy, daughter of John Ferrers, of Tamworth-Castle, in Warwickshire, Esq; In May, 1682, he was constituted Lord-Deputy of Ireland, upon his father's going over to England; and held that high office, 'till August, 1684 (79), when the Duke returned. In the beginning of the year 1686, he died at London, and was interred in the vault at the east end of Henry VIIth's chapel at Westminster; leaving an only daughter, Charlotte, who married to Charles, Lord Cornwallis (80). 6. Walter, born September 6, 1641, died at Dublin, in 1643, and was buried at Christ-Church (81). 7. John, born in 1643; he was Captain of the troop of Horse Guards in Ireland, and was created Baron of Aghrim, Viscount Clonmore, and Earl of Gowran, in that kingdom (82). He married in 1675, the Lady Anne Chichester, sole daughter and heiress of Arthur, Earl of Donnegal; and was a young nobleman of great parts and spirit, but too much given to his pleasures, by which he greatly impaired his health; and going for the recovery of it to Paris, died there, in August 1676, without issue (83). 8. James, born in 1645, who while an infant being carried to take the air in a coach, the horses running away down Phœnix-hill, near Dublin, the woman, who had the care of him, in her fright, threw him out of the window, and he was killed by the fall (84). 1. Lady Elizabeth, born June 29, 1640, who married Philip, Earl of Chesterfield, by whom she had one son, Henry, that died an infant, and a daughter, the Lady Elizabeth Stanhope, who married Patrick Lyon, Earl of Strathmore, in the kingdom of Scotland (85). 2. Lady Mary, born in 1646; married to William, Lord Cavendish, afterwards Earl and Duke of Devonshire (86), by whom she had three sons, William, afterwards Duke of Devonshire, Lord Henry, and Lord James, and a daughter, Lady Elizabeth, married to Sir John Wentworth, of Broadsworth, in the county of York, Baronet (87). His Grace had also a natural son by the Lady Isabella Rich, daughter of the Earl of Holland, begotten before his marriage, and bred up at Paris, where he died a little before the Restoration. The Duke held a friendly correspondence with this Lady, during his exile, which, as we have elsewhere shewn, had like to have been fatal to his own Lady (88), who, notwithstanding had so little of jealousy in her nature, that when Lady Isabella, was on this very account obliged to fly out of England, she received her very kindly at Caen, where she lived with her two or three years (89).

(80) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 181.

(81) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 551.

(82) Cathalogue of the Peers of Ireland, with the dates of their creation, and titles of their eldest sons, by R. L.

(83) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 450.

(84) Ibid. p. 551.

(85) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 269.

(86) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 85.

(87) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 156.

(88) See the article of BOYLE (Roger) Earl of Orrery, note [E].

(89) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 538.

E

BUTLER (Thomas) Earl of Ossory, whose shining qualities, great parts, and exemplary virtue, independent of his high birth and the honours to which he attained, rendered him the delight of the age in which he lived, and deserved that his memory should be transmitted with due praise to posterity. He was born when his father was Earl of Ormond and Ossory, in the Castle of Kilkenny, July 9, 1634 (*a*). He was educated in his father's house, with all imaginable care, and under the best masters, that, in those troublesome times, could be procured, 'till he was near thirteen; and then his father having signed a treaty with the Commissioners of the Parliament, for surrendering up Dublin, he came with him over into England (*b*). His stay was not long at that time, for the Marquis of Ormond, as we have shown in the foregoing article, being obliged to quit the kingdom in February 1648, took his son with him to France; and when, in September following, the Marquis went over again to Ireland, his Lordship and his brother Richard, were left at the house of a Protestant Minister, at Caen in Normandy, for about a year, and were then sent to a famous Academy at Paris, where the Earl distinguished himself by his dexterity in his exercises, and by a steady and manly behaviour much beyond his years (*c*). In December 1650, he came back to Caen, where the Marchioness of Ormond then was, and remained there 'till the summer of 1652, when he attended her Ladyship into England, from whence he went with her in the beginning of the next year to Ireland (*d*). He returned from thence in 1654, with his mother to London, and resided with her in Wild-House; but being now a man, and much courted and caressed by persons of all ranks, who were charmed with his easy and polite behaviour, and with the singular happiness of his temper, in which a boundless bravery was united with the greatest gentleness and modesty; he soon made a great figure, and his name was almost in every body's mouth. This excited the jealousy of Cromwell to a very high degree, and therefore he thought proper to secure him, which he accordingly did (*e*) in a very extraordinary manner [*A*]. He remained in the

(*a*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 502.

(*b*) Historian's Guide, p. 31.

(*c*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 502.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 629.

[*A*] *Which he accordingly did in a very extraordinary manner.*] It is certain, that at this time, Oliver Cromwell found himself in a very uneasy and perplexed situation, being surrounded on all sides with dangers and difficulties, and not knowing whom to trust (1). He had been obliged to dissolve his Parliament,

(1) Bates's Elenc. Motuum, p. 198, 199.

7 Peerage of gland, Vol I. 30. te's Life of Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. 536, 537, 538.

8) Ibid. Vol. p. 551.

9) Ibid. ubi ra.

0) Peerage of gland, Vol. I. 80.

1) Dugdale's onage, Vol. II. 478.

2) Cox's Hist. Ireland, Vol. P. iii. p. 16.

the Tower near eight months, and then falling ill of a fever which threatened his life, Cromwell, not without great difficulty, conſented to his diſcharge. He went firſt with the Marchioneſs, his mother, to Acton in Glouceſterſhire; but the Phyſicians having certified, that a farther change of air was requiſite to reſtore his conſtitution; a paſs was obtained for him, and he went over to Flanders, and took with him his brother Lord Richard, who paſſed for his ſervant (*f*). He durſt not remain long there, for fear Cromwell ſhould make it a pretence for ſeizing his mother's eſtate, and therefore retired into Holland, where he remained about four years, and behaved with ſo much prudence and diſcretion, that he was admired and eſteemed by the greateſt men in the Republick, more eſpecially by the Lord Beverweert, a nobleman of the firſt rank, and whoſe virtues were not at all inferior to his diſtinguiſhed birth. His intimacy with that nobleman, gave him an opportunity of converſing with the Lady Emilia Naſſau, his daughter, a Lady of very great beauty, and endowed with all the virtues of her ſex; ſo that his Lordſhip became very much in love with her, and a treaty of marriage being ſet on foot, the Marquis of Ormond came to Holland on purpoſe to conclude it, which he did, though it was attended with ſome difficulties (*g*) [*B*]. Upon the Reſtoration, he attended the King to England, and by patent, dated February 8, 1661, was appointed Colonel of foot in Ireland; on the thirteenth of June following, he was made Colonel and Captain of horſe; he was ſoon after appointed Lieutenant-General of horſe, and, in the beginning of the year 1662, he ſucceeded the Earl of Montrath in the command of a regiment of foot and troop of horſe (*b*). On the twenty-ſecond of June the ſame year, he was called by writ to the Houſe of Lords in Ireland, and had very extraordinary compliments paid him on that occaſion by both Houſes of Parliament [*C*]. On the ſixteenth of Auguſt, 1665, he was appointed Lieutenant-General of the army in that kingdom; but returning into England the year following, he was with his brother-in-law the Earl of Arlington at his ſeat at Euſton in Norfolk, where, in the beginning of June, hearing the guns from ſea, he, with Sir Thomas Clifford, found means, on the third of that month, to get from Harwich on-board the Engliſh fleet under the command of the Duke of Albemarle, to whom he brought the firſt news of Prince Rupert's coming to join him, and had his ſhare in that, and

(*f*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 502.

(*g*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 478.

(*b*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 503.

Parliament, when he moſt needed their aſſiſtance; he had diſcovered a deſign of the Royaliſts to riſe in different parts of the kingdom, which afterwards broke out; and in this ſtate of affairs, conſidering that Lord Oſſory was looked upon as one of the moſt promiſing young noblemen of the age, in all reſpects, he judged it requiſite, though he had no particular informations, to cauſe him to be ſecured (2). His Lordſhip then reſided with his mother, the Marchioneſs at Wild-Houſe, and thither an officer was ſent with a guard to take him into cuſtody. It happened that he was out at the time of their coming, but the Marchioneſs of Ormond told the officer who commanded, that he need not wait for his coming home ſince ſhe would pawn her word, that he ſhould wait upon the Protector the next morning (3). One Mr Stephen Ludlow, who had a reſpect for the family, gave his Lordſhip notice of what had happened, and offered to aſſiſt him in his eſcape, but the Marchioneſs was againſt that meaſure, and poſitively inſiſted, that he ſhould comply with what ſhe had undertaken on his behalf (4). He went therefore early the next morning to Whitehall, and deſired an audience of the Protector, but in vain, for, after he had waited ſome time, a perſon came out, and told his Lordſhip he had orders to carry him to the Tower, which he accordingly did. The Marchioneſs during his confinement applied often to Cromwell, who treated her with ſingular reſpect, made her many compliments, and gave her very civil anſwers, yet would not grant her ſon's diſcharge, 'till his confinement brought on a fit of ſickneſs. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that a little before his impriſonment, Lord Oſſory had procured a paſs from the Protector, allowing him to travel through Italy, and even as far as Jeruſalem; and having been very courteouſly treated at an audience of leave upon this occaſion, was the leſs apprehenſive of the uſage he afterwards met with (5).

[*B*] *Which he did, though it was attended with ſome difficulties.*] This Dutch nobleman was the ſon of the famous Maurice Prince of Orange, by Madame de Beverweert; he was a man of great virtue and integrity, and not only aſſiſted his country with his counſels, but had expoſed his life alſo in her ſervice, and might have ſucceeded Tromp in the chief command of the fleet, if, out of modeſty, he had not declined it (6). He had three ſons and five daughters, his eldeſt ſon, Maurice, was created Count of Naſſau, by the Emperor Leopold; his ſecond ſon, William Adrian, was ſo created likewiſe, but was commonly called, Lord Odike; Henry his third ſon, was Lord of Auverquerque, anceſtor to the Earls of Grantham (7). The eldeſt of his daughters was this Lady Emilia, with whom he offered to give a fortune of ten thouſand pounds, but inſiſted, that an eſtate of twelve hundred pounds a year ſhould be immediately put into the poſſeſſion of Lord Oſſory. It was no eaſy matter to fix this, conſidering how large a part it made of what was in his mother's poſſeſſion; and beſides, ſome overtures had been made towards a more advantageous match with the daughter of the Earl of Southampton (8). But the Earl of Oſſory looked upon his happineſs as inconſiſtent with any marriage but this, ſo that at length he procured the ſettlement inſiſted upon to be made, and the wedding was celebrated, November 16, 1659. It was propoſed, that part of the ten thouſand pounds ſhould have made the portion of his ſiſter Lady Elizabeth, who, about this time married the Earl of Cheſterfield, and that the remainder ſhould be employed in defraying the expences of the education of Lord John; but the King's neceſſities being very preſſing, the Marquis of Ormond made no heſitation at ſacrificing this, which ſeemed to be his laſt ſtake, for his maſter's ſervice (9).

[*C*] *Had very extraordinary compliments paid to him on that occaſion, by both houſes of Parliament.*] His Lordſhip took leave of the Commons, in a ſhort and handſome ſpeech, on the 8th of Auguſt, 1662, upon which an order was made, that Sir Paul Davis and Sir Henry Tichburne, with the body of the houſe, ſhould accompany him to the bar of the Houſe of Lords (10). The Lords having notice of their coming, made an order, that, by the conſent of the Earls bench, the Earl of Oſſory ſhould be placed above all the Earls, but it ſhould be no precedent for the future. His place being thus fixed, the houſe of Commons were called in, and the Speaker, in their name, returned thanks to the Lords for the honour they had been pleaſed to do the honourable perſon, he then preſented to the houſe; and aſſured them, that nothing could do them greater pleaſure, and the Commons doubted not, but as he had been a great help to their houſe, ſo he would be an honour to that of the Peers, and very uſeful to both. The Commons being withdrawn, the Earl of Oſſory was introduced into the houſe, and complimented by the Chancellor, in a ſhort and handſome ſpeech, upon that occaſion.

(2) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 502.

(3) Idem, ibid.

(4) Idem, ibid.

(5) Ibid. p. 162.

(6) Hiſtoire de Maiſond'Orange, p. 395.

(7) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. p. 570.

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. p. 385.

(9) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 183.

(10) Ibid. p. 24.

[*D*] *The*

and the next day's glorious action (*i*). He was ſoon after ſworn of the Privy-Council in England, being then Lord of the Bed-Chamber to the King by his father's reſignation; on the fourteenth of September 1666, he was ſummoned by writ to the Engliſh Houſe of Lords (*k*), by the title of Lord Butler of Moore-Park. He had not ſat ſix weeks in the Houſe before he called the Duke of Buckingham to an account, for ſaying, on the debate of the bill for prohibiting the importation of Iriſh cattle, that none were againſt it but ſuch as had Iriſh eſtates or Iriſh underſtandings. The Duke was to have met him in Chelſea-fields the next day; but, in his ſtead, about three hours after the time, came an officer with a guard to ſecure him; and the Duke had ſhared the ſame fate, if he had not prudently kept out of the way. The next morning his Grace complained to the Houſe of Lords of a breach of privilege, which produced a new quarrel with the Earl of Arlington. As ſoon as the King was informed of this complaint, he ordered the Earl of Oſſory to be releaſed, who went immediately to the Houſe to make his defence, which did not hinder his being ſent to the Tower, and the Duke was committed to the cuſtody of the Uſher of the Black-Rod; but, in two days, they were both releaſed (*l*). In May 1670, he attended the King in his journey to Dover, to meet his ſiſter the Ducheſs of Orleans; and in October following he was ſent to Holland, to bring over the Prince of Orange (*m*). At the cloſe of the ſame year, he thought himſelf obliged to reſent, in a very extraordinary manner, the inſult offered his father by Col. Blood, towards the Duke of Buckingham, who was thought to be the author of it [*D*]. In the month of February following, he attended the Prince of Orange back to the Hague, from whence he made a tour to the Court of France, returned by the way of Holland, and ſoon after he arrived in England, the Prince of Orange, as a mark of his high eſteem and regard, ſent him a baſon and ewer of maſſy gold (*n*). In the ſummer of 1671, he went over again to Flanders and Holland, and, in the beginning of 1672, he had the command of the Reſolution, a third rate man of war, having a little before received a very extraordinary mark of the King's ſincere affection for him. It ſeems his Lordſhip, who loved play a little too much, had run in debt about eight thouſand pounds, which made him extreamly uneaſy, of which his Majeſty being informed, he was ſo kind as to pay it for him, and the worthy Sir Stephen Fox contrived that it ſhould be done in ſuch a way, that no body at Court knew any thing of it. The Earl was on board the Reſolution the fourteenth of March with Sir Robert Holmes, when he attacked the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and gave ſignal marks of courage upon that occaſion, with which, however, his father was highly offended, becauſe, as that attempt was made before any declaration of war, he looked upon it as diſhonourable to the Engliſh arms (*o*). In April he had the command of the Victory given him, which was a ſecond rate. He was in the action off Southwould-Bay, which happened May 28, 1672, and acquired great reputation therein, as well as by relieving all the wounded ſeamen in St Thomas's Hoſpital; and on the thirtieth of September he was elected Knight of the Garter (*p*). In November following he was ſent Envoy Extraordinary to France, with compliments of condolence on the death of the Duke of Anjou. He was received there with extraordinary honours, and extreamly preſſed to accept a command in the army, to induce him to which, he was offered twenty thouſand piſtoles for his equipage, and ten thouſand piſtoles a year, but he excuſed himſelf, though he could not avoid accepting, at his audience of leave, a jewel of the value of two thouſand pounds (*q*). In May 1673, his Majeſty honoured him with the command of the St Michael, a firſt rate, and appointed him Rear-Admiral of the Blue on the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, in which poſt he ſerved in the enſuing battle againſt the Dutch, and covered the Prince, which was the ſhip wherein Sir Edward Spragge bore his Flag, as Admiral of the ſquadron after his death, and the veſſel's being diſabled; 'till towards night, and then brought her off in tow, and joined Prince Rupert's ſquadron (*r*). Upon this his Lordſhip was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Red, and on the tenth of September he diſplayed the Union Flag, as Commander in Chief of the whole fleet, in the abſence of Prince Rupert (*s*), by the King's ſpecial command. It was towards the cloſe of this year, that the Earl formed a very important project of revenging the diſgrace the nation had ſuſtained in the former war, by the burning of our ſhips at Chatham, in return for which, he would have burnt all the ſhips that were laid up at Helvoetſluys, and why this was not put in execution remains a ſecret to poſterity (*t*) [*E*]. His Lordſhip had equally

(*i*) Memoirs of the Lord Clifford, p. 79. Compleat Hiſt. of England, p. 263.

(*k*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 478.

(*l*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 234.

(*m*) Life of King William III. p. 14.

(*n*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 504.

(*o*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 880.

(*p*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 288. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 504. Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 87.

(*q*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 504.

(*r*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 295. Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 91.

(*s*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 504. Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 91.

(*t*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 505.

[*D*] *The Duke of Buckingham, who was thought to be the author of it.*] This very ſingular incident (11) happened, when Dr Turner, afterwards Biſhop of Ely, was Chaplain in waiting; and in his preſence, the Earl of Oſſory coming by chance, not long after Blood's attempt into the Royal Preſence; and ſeeing the Duke of Buckingham ſtanding by the King, his colour roſe, and he addreſſed him in the following words. 'My Lord, I know well, that you are at the bottom 'of this late attempt of Blood's upon my father; and 'therefore, I give you fair warning, if my father comes 'to a violent end, by ſword or piſtol; if he dies by 'the hand of a ruffian, or by the more ſecret way 'of poiſon, I ſhall not be at a loſs to know the firſt 'author of it; I ſhall conſider you as the aſſaſſin; I 'ſhall treat you as ſuch, and wherever I meet you, I 'ſhall piſtol you, though you ſtood behind the King's 'chair; and I tell it you in his Majeſty's preſence, that 'you may be ſure I ſhall keep my word.'

[*E*] *Remains a ſecret to poſterity.*] The Earl of Oſſory, in his ſeveral voyages to Holland, had heard, and at laſt had taken the pains to ſee, that the Royal Charles, was laid up in Helvoetſluys. This is an excellent harbour on the iſland of Voorn, in the province of Holland, about five miles ſouth from the Briel, at that time little talked of, though ſince become well known to the world, from it's being the ſtation of our packets (12). In the latter end of the ſummer, his Lordſhip

(11) This was related to Mr Carte by Robert Aſley of Glaſſh in the county of Monaghan, to who had it from the Biſhop of Ely. Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 425.

(12) Deſcription of the Seven United Provinces; printed for Moſes Pitt, p. 37.

equally the confidence of the Duke of York, and of the King his maſter, and this both in their publick and private concerns, as is evident from his being the only nobleman truſted with the ſecret of the Duke's firſt marriage (*u*), and the perſon who actually gave Mrs Anne Hyde away. When, therefore, it was thought requiſite, in the winter of 1674, to offer the Lady Mary to the Prince of Orange, though the King made choice of Lord Oſſory, yet his Royal Highneſs confirmed it with a very ſignal teſtimony of reſpect, declaring he would rather truſt his concerns with his Lordſhip than with any other perſon, and when he embarked on the tenth of November with the Earl of Arlington his brother-in-law, it was univerſally underſtood at Court, that he was the Duke's Miniſter, as the other was the King's (*w*). How well he was received in Holland, and how grateful his perſon was to the Prince of Orange, appears from his Highneſs's conducting him on board his ſhip, which, though a great honour in itſelf, was much increaſed by the manner of doing it, for the Prince perceiving that the ſhip made little way, followed from ſhore the next morning in a long-boat, and accompanied his Lordſhip out to ſea (*x*). What the real iſſue was of this negociation, and by whom it was conducted, has been ſhewn in another place (*y*), and need not therefore be repeated here. In 1675, he was, as a mark of their reſpect, choſen Maſter of the Brotherhood of Trinity-houſe, and, in Auguſt following, made one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty (*z*). In November 1676, he became Lord Chamberlain to Queen Catharine (*a*). When M. Bentinck came over to England in the ſummer of the next year, to reſume the treaty for the match beforementioned, he was particularly recommended by his Highneſs to the Earl of Oſſory, and the Duke of Ormond, and by their advice it was, that he applied himſelf to the Lord-Treaſurer Danby, ſo that, by whatever means that negociation was happily terminated, his Lordſhip plainly had his ſhare in it. One advantage he drew from thence was this, that he obtained leave, which had been often refuſed him before, to go over, and make the reſt of the campaign with his Highneſs in Flanders, which he did, and, upon the appearance of a battle, he had the poſt of honour given him, with a command of ſix thouſand men (*b*). In the beginning of the year following, he went over again, in order to take upon him the command of the Britiſh ſubjects in the pay of the States, and, at the cloſe of the war, was continued in his command, with extraordinary marks of honour on the part of the States-General [*F*]. In the progreſs of that campaign he diſtinguiſhed himſelf extreamly, more eſpecially at the battle of Mons which was fought towards the cloſe of it, and wherein he commanded the Engliſh troops, with whom he did ſo much, and contributed ſo far to the retreat which Marſhal Luxemburg was obliged to make from the field of battle, that the States of Holland, the Duke of Villa Hermoſa, Governor

(*u*) As appears by a Certificate under his Royal Highneſs's hand, produced at the Council-Table, when the marriage was enquired into.

(*w*) Supplement to Heath's Chronicle, p. 599. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 911.

(*x*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 505.

(*y*) See the article of BENNET (HENRY) Earl of Arlington, note [*N*].

(*z*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 505.

(*a*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 992.

(*b*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 505, 506.

Lordſhip was informed, that two and twenty of the largeſt ſhips of the Dutch fleet, were to be laid up there; and this induced him to conſider more ſeriouſly a ſcheme he formerly had of burning the veſſels in this port; and what contributed ſtill more to excite him to this undertaking, was an account, that tho' the place was of ſuch conſequence, and very capable of being defended, yet there was no better garriſon in it than two companies of foot. In order to be perfectly ſatisfied, he ſent over M. St Paul, his Maſter of the horſe, to take a view of the place; which he did, and brought back an exact plan of it, though at the hazard of his life. He then propoſed it to the King, deſiring no more than eight men of war; the like number of large boats for landing men, with two thouſand land troops; or if ſo many could not be ſpared, he was content to undertake it with fifteen hundred (13). The King was very well pleaſed with the project, but the Duke of Buckingham ſecretly oppoſed it, and raiſed ſome objections about getting ſhips into the port; but Sir John Narborough, who was to command under the Earl, being conſulted by the King, offered to carry in the veſſels, at half flood, or loſe his head; to which the Earl added, that if he did not then fire the Dutch ſhips with a half-penny candle, he would be content to have his fixed by Cromwell's, upon Weſtminſter-Hall. Upon this the neceſſary preparations were made with great diſpatch; and about the middle of the month of December, when the Earl of Oſſory was ready to take his leave, and to embark at Portſmouth, he ſuddenly received a countermand, the very night before his intended departure. Whether this proceeded purely from the pique and jealouſy of that Duke, or from the King's unwillingneſs to ſtrike ſuch a ſtroke, when he was on the point of concluding the peace, tho' even in that he had been juſtified by the conduct of the Dutch, on the like occaſion, remains, and perhaps ever will remain, a ſecret (14). This however is certain, that his Lordſhip afterwards examined the place, and was thoroughly ſatisfied from thence, that nothing could have hindered the ſucceſs of his deſign, if he had been allowed to have put it in execution.

(13) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 443. Columna Roſtrata, p. 249.

(14) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 505, 506.

[*F*] *With extraordinary marks of honour, on the part of the States-General.*] At the time the Earl went over to command the Engliſh forces in the ſervice of the States; in February 1677, he had a commiſſion from them to be Colonel and Captain of one of the ſix regiments, yet was made Major-General and commander in chief of the Engliſh brigade by the Prince of Orange's patent (15); but his waggon ordinances were appointed him in that rank and quality by the States. When the peace was made, the Earl declared, that he expected a commiſſion from the States-General, according to the cuſtom of that ſervice, which the Prince of Orange ſought to evade as well as he could, being very deſirous, on the one hand, to keep his Lordſhip in the poſt, and very apprehenſive, on the other, that the States would never be brought to create a new general officer at a time, when his ſervice was not immediately neceſſary. The Earl remained firm in his ſentiments, that he ought to be upon the regular and legal eſtabliſhment; and therefore, in the beginning of the year 1680, he ſent over an agent, with inſtructions to demand ſuch commiſſions as he expected; or if theſe were refuſed, to deliver up the commiſſions that he had, of Colonel and Captain. The Prince interpoſed as far as he could, and gave the Earl's agent all the good words poſſible; but the gentleman told his Highneſs, it was not in his power to negotiate, or to liſten to any propoſals, but that he was barely charged with a meſſage, and muſt return to his maſter with the anſwer of their High Mightineſſes. When the Prince ſaw that there was nothing to be done in this way, he laid the matter before the Council of State, ſet forth the abilities and ſervices of the Earl of Oſſory, and ſhowed how reaſonable a thing it would be to grant him what he demanded; which the States did, and the whole affair was ſettled entirely to his Lordſhip's ſatisfaction, in April 1680, but in a manner ſo repugnant to their uſual maxims, that the Prince of Orange himſelf was amazed at it, tho' at the ſame time highly ſatisfied and pleaſed (16).

(15) Life of Major Bernardi 40, 41.

(16) Carte's L of the Duke Ormond, Vol. I p. 506, 507.

[*G*] *Shall*

Governor of the Spaniſh Low-Countries, and even his Catholick Majeſty himſelf, thought fit, in a letter under his hand, to acknowledge the great ſervices (*c*) he performed in that action. His Lordſhip returned, in company with Mr Hyde, who had been ſent to execute a commiſſion of importance to his Highneſs, September 13, 1678. His Majeſty intended, ſoon after, to have given him the command of a ſquadron, deſtined to chaſtize the Algerine pirates, but the Lord-Treaſurer Danby interpoſing, and engaging Sir John Narborough ſhould undertake that ſervice with a ſmaller force, he was thereupon preferred (*d*). His Lordſhip was in like manner diſappointed the next year, when the King had thought of him to have carried his compliments, and a jewel of the value of thirteen thouſand pounds, for the new Queen of Spain. But the Nobleman then at the head of the Treaſury, procured that deſign to be laid aſide, from a ſpirit of œconomy, notwithſtanding which, we are told, this jewel was, not long after, given to the Ducheſs of Portſmouth (*e*). It was in the courſe of this winter, that the enemies of the Duke of Ormond attacked his conduct warmly in the Houſe of Lords, where it was moſt vigorouſly defended by the Earl of Oſſory, who thought fit to carry the war into the enemies quarters, in a famous ſpeech in anſwer to one of the Lord Shafteſbury's, which, as an inſtance of his Lordſhip's talents, ſhall be preſerved in the notes [*G*]. As this did him very great credit at home, ſo it procured him from abroad an honour he very little expected. This ſpeech of his being tranſmitted to Holland, was there tranſlated into, and printed in, Dutch, upon which the Prince of Orange, as a mark of his ſincere friendſhip, as well as a proof of his very high eſteem, wrote his Lordſhip a letter, the contents of which render it extreamly worthy of notice (*f*) [*H*]. We draw now near the cloſe of his days, and the laſt period of his honours. The King was a good deal embarraſſed about the port of Tangier in Barbary, the poſſeſſion of which he acquired by his marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, and in fortifying of which he had ſpent immenſe ſums of money (*g*). The place

(*c*) Life of King William III. p. 94. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 943. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 506.

(*d*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 3-6.

(*e*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond. Vol. II. p. 506.

(*f*) Appendix to the ſecond Vol. of Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 30.

(*g*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 335.

[*G*] *Shall be preſerved in the notes.*] The Earl of Shafteſbury had not, very probably, any perſonal diſlike to the Duke of Ormond, but he ſaw clearly, that ſo long as he continued Lord-Lieutenant, and in credit with the King, the progreſs of their party would be entirely ſtopped in Ireland, and much retarded in England (17). It was for this reaſon therefore, that he expatiated in the Houſe of Lords, on the great danger the three kingdoms were in from Popery, and the little care that was taken to proſecute the Papiſts in Ireland, notwithſtanding, that of the three, it was viſibly the moſt expoſed. As he was a very copious and witty ſpeaker, he could not help throwing out ſome ſtrokes as to perſons allied to the Iriſh by blood, having a natural propenſity to indulge Papiſts; and upon this occaſion it was, that the Earl of Oſſory thought proper to anſwer him in the following ſpeech; the latter part of which is a ſuccinct view of his antagoniſt's meaſures, when he acted with the Court. The Earl of Shafteſbury, inſtead of replying with heat, as ſoon as the Earl ſat down, ſtood up again, and explained his firſt ſpeech in ſuch a maner, as that he ſeemed to take off thoſe reflections, that were undoubtedly deſigned to fall upon the Duke of Ormond; and this conceſſion in ſo great a man might well be eſteemed a victory,

(17) See North's Examen of Kennet's Compleat Hiſtory, p. 85, 87.

'I am very ſorry, and do much wonder, to find that 'noble Lord ſo apt to reflect upon my father, when 'he is pleaſed to mention the affairs of Ireland. It 'is very well known that he was the chief perſon that 'ſuſtained the King's and the Proteſtant intereſt, when 'the Iriſh rebellion firſt broke out. His ſervices were 'ſo acceptable to the long Parliament, that, after ſome 'ſucceſſes he had againſt the Iriſh rebels, the Parliament voted him thanks, and ſent him a rich jewel, 'as a mark of honour and their eſteem. It is well 'known, that when he had made two peaces with 'the Iriſh, they both times perfidiouſly broke them, 'and endeavoured his murder, and ſent out ſeveral 'excommunications againſt him, and thoſe that adhered to him. When he was abroad, I believe many 'may remember how, when the Duke of Glouceſter 'was taken into the hands of ſome that would have 'perverted him, the King commanded my father to 'bring him from Paris, which he did, notwithſtanding the threatnings and animoſity of that party againſt 'him. How he has been laid at, by that party, ſince 'the King's Reſtoration, I think is ſufficiently notorious. I beg your Lordſhips pardon, if the nearneſs 'of my relation may have made me ſay any thing, 'which may look vain, being infinitely much concerned, that any ſuſpicion ſhould be raiſed againſt 'him, which may argue his being not ſufficiently 'zealous in all things, wherein the Proteſtant Religion 'and the King's ſervice are concerned. Having ſpoke 'of what he has done, I preſume with the ſame truth 'to tell your Lordſhips, what he has not done. He 'never adviſed the breaking of the triple league, he 'never adviſed the ſhutting up of the Exchequer, he 'never adviſed the declaration for a Toleration, he 'never adviſed the falling out with the Dutch and joining with France. He was not the author of that moſt 'excellent poſition of *Delenda eſt Carthago*, that Holland, a Proteſtant country, ſhould, contrary to the 'true intereſt of England, be totally deſtroyed. I beg 'your Lordſhips will be ſo juſt, as to judge of my father and of all men, according to their actions and 'counſels (18).'

(18) Appendix to Carte's ſecond Vol. of the Life of the Duke of Ormond, p. 90.

[*H*] *The contents of which render it extremely worthy of notice*] There is ſuch a mixture of freedom and ſpirit in this letter of his Highneſs's, that, at the ſame time, we produce it to ſhew his regard for the Earl of Oſſory, it cannot but raiſe a ſentiment of eſteem for his Highneſs himſelf, who could in ſo few lines paint the warmth of his ſatisfaction; his averſion to falſe patriots, his high opinion of the Duke of Ormond, his fears for this country, his foreſight of what would happen to it, and his tenderneſs for his friend (19).

(19) Idem, ibid.

'J'Ay eſté ravi d'apprendre, que vous avez ſi bien 'ſceu faire ces bourgres d'Haranguers. Voſtre 'harangue eſt icy imprimé, laquelle je vous envoyerai, 'ſi je la puis avoir, devant que cellecy part. Je n'aurois jamais crû, que l'on auroit eſté ſi loin, d'attaquer 'Monſieur voſtre pere, lequel je croirois eſtre au deſſus de toutes ſoupçons, ſurtout en fait de religion. 'Dieu ſçait ce que cecy ſera la fin de toutes vos 'brouilleries: je la crains extremement du mauvais 'coſté. Le temps nous apprendra en peu. Croyez moy 'toûjours ſans reſerve abſolument a vous.

'De la Haye, ce 'zde May, 1679. G. H. Prince d'Orange.'

In Engliſh thus.

'*I Was overjoyed to learn, that you knew ſo well how 'to deal with theſe infamous Demagogues. Your ſpeech 'is printed here, which I will ſend you, if I can get it 'before this goes away. I could never have believed, 'that they would have puſhed things ſo far, in attacking 'your father, whom I looked on to be above all ſuſpicions; 'in point of religion, more eſpecially. God knows whether this will be the period of your diſturbances: I am 'extremely apprehenſive of the worſt. Time will ſoon explain things. Believe me always, and without reſerve, 'to be abſolutely your's.*

'*William Henry Prince of Orange.*'

[*I*] *In*

place was certainly of great importance, as it lay very commodiously for protecting our trade, for keeping the Moors in awe, and for giving us weight in the Mediterranean, but more especially as we possessed it by an undisputed title, and were at liberty to make what acquisitions we could, without giving umbrage to any Christian Prince. The Parliament, however, had conceived a dislike to the manner in which this affair had been managed, grounded chiefly upon a rumour that the garrison was a nursery for Popish soldiers (*b*); to remove which fears, his Majesty made choice of the Earl of Ossory to go over thither in quality of Governor (*i*). He was preparing every thing for that purpose, when his Lordship was suddenly taken ill at Arlington-House, of a high and malignant fever, which disturbed his head almost from the time he was seized. The Physicians had for two days some hopes of his recovery, but he relapsed, and on July 30, 1680, expired, as universally lamented as he had been beloved (*k*). His Lordship died when he was just turned of the forty-sixth year of his age, leaving his disconsolate Countess and his children to the care of the Duke of Ormond his father, by whom they were educated and disposed of in the world, in a manner suitable to their high quality [*I*]. To venture at drawing a character of this excellent person, at such a distance of time, and from the scanty materials that we have been able to collect together, would be only amusing the reader with a rude and imperfect sketch of a picture that deserves to be drawn at full length. We shall content ourselves, therefore, barely with a few touches, and leave his pourtrait to be finished by the hand of some able master. The Earl of Ossory had a very graceful person, and without concerning himself much about dress, made, always as good a figure as any Nobleman at Court. He had a martial air, and that easiness in address, which is natural to those who perform their exercises well, and have been much used to them. He possessed, in a high degree, all polite accomplishments; he understood Musick well, spoke and wrote French and Italian perfectly, understood most of the modern languages, and, with all the qualities that recommend a man in a Court, had all the talents also of a man of business. His courage was truly heroick, and rose, upon all occasions, in proportion to the danger, but it was the effect of his high spirit and good sense, and not at all of a hasty disposition, for in his behaviour no man was more cautious or more modest; and tho', when he thought it necessary, he spoke with great warmth and freedom, yet he never did this unprovoked, and was very easily reconciled, provided he thought his antagonist sincere. His generosity was boundless, but at the same time was exerted to noble purposes and upon proper occasions. When he was Commander in Chief of the English Brigade, and had the naming the officers of six regiments, he shewed his disinterestedness in preferring men of merit freely, and at the same time directed his Secretary, Mr Ellis of Pall-Mall, to take nothing for their commissions; and, as he was by this means deprived of a considerable perquisite, his Lordship thought himself obliged to make it up to him out of his own pocket. In a word, his virtue was unspotted in the centre of a luxurious Court; his integrity unblemished amidst all the vices of his times; his honour untainted through the course of his whole life; his reputation general with all parties at home, and so diffused abroad, that he received the strongest marks of confidence and esteem from persons of the highest rank in every nation in Europe; and had the honour of entertaining at his own house, all foreigners of distinction that visited the Court of England in his time. Neither has this just tribute to his high virtues, and many amiable qualities, been confined only to the short period of his life, the same felicity has attended his memory. Such as have written of Irish concerns, have commended his prudence in the government of that kingdom, of which he was twice Lord-Deputy; those who have treated of marine affairs, have extolled his courage and conduct on board the fleet; and foreign Historians have recorded the great services he performed in Flanders; nor even in these times, when men are too apt to take things in wrong lights, and to impose their own conceptions on posterity for History; has there yet appeared a writer so regardless of truth, or of his own character, as to venture a stroke of censure on that of Lord Ossory.

(*b*) Kennet's Compleat History of England, Vol. III. p. 376, 408.

(*i*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 507.

(*k*) Historian's Guide, p. 125. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 1001. Compleat History of England, Vol. III. p. 393.

[*I*] *In a manner suitable to their high quality.*] The Countess of Ossory was naturalized by Act of Parliament, passed September 13, 1660 (20); and she was considered throughout her whole life, as one of the best and most agreeable ladies of her rank, in the kingdom. She was certainly an excellent wife; and instead of reproaching the Earl with his single indiscretion, in point of play, she always consoled him with assurances, that she would labour by her œconomy to prevent or repair any inconveniences it might otherwise occasion (21). By her the Earl had eleven children, five sons and six daughters, of whom, the major part survived him. His eldest son, James, who succeeded him in his title of Ossory, was born April 29, 1665, in the castle of Dublin (22); and on the demise of his grandfather, succeeded him also, in the title of Ormond. Charles the second son, was created by King William and Queen Mary, in the year 1693, Baron of Cloghgrenan, Viscount Tullogh, and Earl of Arran, in the kingdom of Ireland; as also Lord Butler of Weston, in the county of Huntingdon, by which he became a Peer of England (23). His Lordship is at present, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Lord High-Steward of the city and liberty of Westminster. Of Lord Ossory's four surviving daughters, Lady Elizabeth, the eldest, was married to William Stanley, Earl of Derby (24); Lady Emilia Buttler lived a maid; Lady Henrietta espoused Henry Nassau d'Auverquerque, Earl of Grantham (25); and Lady Catherine Butler never married. Another James, who was elder than the deceased Duke of Ormond, and two other sons that were younger, dying in Ireland, were buried at Christ-Church, Dublin, as were also two of his Lordship's daughters.

(20) Kennet's Historical Register, p. 255.

(21) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 501.

(22) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 60.

(23) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 229.

(24) Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 124.

(25) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 572.

BUTLER (SAMUEL) a celebrated Poet of the laſt century, was born at Strenſham in Worceſterſhire, and baptized there the thirteenth of February 1612 (*a*) [*A*]. His father Mr Samuel Butler, a reputable country farmer [*B*], perceiving in his ſon an early inclination to learning, ſent him for education to the free-ſchool of Worceſter, under the care of Mr Henry Bright; where having laid the foundation of Grammar-learning, he was ſent, for ſome time, to Cambridge [*C*], but was never matriculated in that Univerſity (*b*). After he had reſided there ſix or ſeven years (*c*), he returned to his native country, and became clerk to one Mr Jefferys of Earl's-Croom, an eminent Juſtice of the Peace for that county, with whom he lived ſome years in an eaſy and reputable ſervice (*d*); during which time, thro' the indulgence of a kind maſter, he had ſufficient leiſure to apply himſelf to his favourite ſtudies, Hiſtory and Poetry; to which, for his diverſion, he added Muſick and Painting [*D*]. He was afterwards recommended to that great encourager of learning, Elizabeth, Counteſs of Kent; under whoſe patronage, he had not only the opportunity of conſulting all kinds of books, but of converſing likewiſe with that living library of learning, the great Mr Selden (*e*); who was very converſant in that Lady's family, and often employed our Poet to write letters beyond ſea, and tranſlate for him (*f*). He lived ſome time alſo with Sir Samuel Luke, a gentleman of an antient family in Bedfordſhire, and a famous commander under Oliver Cromwell; about which time he wrote the celebrated HUDIBRAS [*E*]; under which character, it is generally ſuppoſed, he intended to ridicule that Knight [*F*]. After the Reſtoration of King Charles II. our Poet was made Secretary

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 452. And Butler's Life, prefixed to his *Hudibras*, edit. Lond. 1732, 12*mo*, p. 5.

(*b*) Life of Butler, ibid. p. 6.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Anthony Wood does not mention this incident of Butler's Life.

(*e*) Life, &c. p. 6, 7.

(*f*) Wood, ibid.

[*A*] *He was born in the year* 1612.] This is contradicted by Charles Longueville, Eſq; a gentleman now living (1), whoſe father was Butler's particular friend (2); and who has declared, that our Poet was born in the year 1600. The reader muſt chooſe, which authority he will rely upon.

(1) In 1746.

(2) See the *General Dictionary*, Article HUDIBRAS.

[*B*] *His father* —— *a reputable country farmer.*] Anthony Wood tells us, that Butler's father had a competent eſtate of near three hundred pounds a year, but moſt of it in leaſe-lands held of Sir Thomas Ruſſel, grandfather of Sir Francis Ruſſel, Baronet, Lord of the Manor of Strenſham (3). The authority of the Oxford Antiquary, in what he ſays of our Poet, is the more to be depended upon, as he had his information from Butler's own brother, then living.

(3) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 452.

[*C*] *He was ſent for ſome time, to Cambridge.*] Some of the neighbourhood, Mr Wood informs us (4), pretended, that Butler went to Oxford; and he aſſures us, that one Samuel Butler was elected from Weſtminſter-ſchool, a ſtudent of Chriſt-church in 1623; but, making very little ſtay there, he was not matriculated, and conſequently his age and place of nativity are not remaining on record in that Univerſity: otherwiſe, had he been a member of that body, we ſhould have known whether he was afterwards the famed author of *Hudibras*. The reader ſhould be told, that the gentleman mentioned above (5) affirms, that Mr Butler never reſided at Oxford.

(4) Ibid.

(5) In the Remark [*A*].

[*D*] *He applied himſelf to* —— *Painting.*] The anonymous author of his *Life* (6) tells us, he had ſeen ſome pictures, ſaid to be of Mr Butler's drawing, which were preſerved in Mr Jefferys's family: 'which 'I mention not (adds he) for the excellency of them, 'but to ſatisfy the reader of his early inclinations to 'that noble art; for which alſo he was afterwards 'entirely beloved by Mr Samuel Cooper, one of the 'moſt eminent Painters of his time.' The Oxford Antiquary (7) places our Poet's improvement in Muſick and Painting to the time of his ſervice under the Counteſs of Kent.

(6) Prefixed to his *Hudibras*, edit. Lond. 1732, 12*mo*, p. 6.

(7) Ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *About which time he wrote the celebrated* HUDIBRAS.] 'Tho' Fate, (ſays the author of his Life) 'more than choice, ſeems to have placed him in the 'ſervice of a Knight, ſo notorious both in perſon and 'politicks; yet, by the rule of contraries, one may 'obſerve throughout his whole poem, that he was moſt 'orthodox both in his religion and loyalty. And I am 'the more induced to believe he wrote it about that 'time, becauſe he had the opportunity to converſe 'with thoſe living characters of rebellion, nonſenſe 'and hypocriſy, which he ſo lively and emphatically 'expoſes throughout the whole work (8).'

(8) Life, &c. page 7.

[*F*] *It is generally ſuppoſed, he intended to ridicule* Sir Samuel Luke *under the character of* Hudibras.] The principal reaſon of this conjecture is founded on the following paſſage of the poem:

'Tis ſung there is a valiant Mamaluke,
In foreign land yeleped ——
To whom we have been oft compar'd,
For perſon, parts, addreſs, and beard:
Both equally reputed ſtout;
And in the ſame cauſe both have fought.
He oft, in ſuch attempts as theſe,
Came off with glory and ſucceſs;
Nor will we ſail i' th' execution
For want of equal reſolution (9).

(9) Hudibras, Part i. Canto i. ver. 904.

The name *Sir Samuel Luke* exactly ſupplies the deficiency in the ſecond line, if you melt the two ſyllables of SAMUEL into one; and the compariſon *Hudibras* makes between himſelf and that Knight, ſeems to juſtify the ſuppoſition. But what tends farther to confirm it, is a ballad intitled, *A Tale of the Cobler and Vicar of Bray*, printed in *Butler's poſthumous Works* (10); in which Sir Samuel Luke is thus characterized:

(10) Page 285. See the Remark [*R*].

In Bedfordſhire there dwelt a Knight,
Sir Samuel by name,
Who by his feats in civil broils
Obtain'd a mighty fame.

Nor was he much leſs wiſe than ſtout,
But fit in both reſpects
To humble ſturdy Cavaliers,
And to ſupport the ſects.

This worthy Knight was one that ſwore
He wou'd not cut his beard,
'Till this ungodly nation was
From Kings and Biſhops clear'd.

Which holy vow he firmly kept,
And moſt devoutly wore
A griezly meteor on his face,
'Till they were both no more.

His worſhip was in ſhort a man
Of ſuch exceeding worth,
No pen or pencil can deſcribe,
Or rhyming bard ſet forth.

Many and mighty things he did
Both ſober and in liquor;
Witneſs the mortal fray between
The Cobler and the Vicar.

Then follows the tale, in which the Knight acts as a Juſtice of the Peace, and has a Clerk named *Ralph*:

RALPH, who was both his Squire and Clerk,
And Conſtable withal.

I ſhall not diſpute whether this ballad be Butler's or not; but ſhall only obſerve from it, that as, in *Hudibras*, the Knight is ſuppoſed to be drawn in the character

Secretary to Richard Earl of Carberry, Lord Preſident of the principality of Wales, who appointed him Steward of Ludlow-Caſtle, when the Court was revived there; and about this time he married one Mrs Herbert, a gentlewoman of a very good family [*G*]. The Oxford Antiquary pretends (*g*), that Butler was Secretary to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, when that Lord was Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge; and the life-writer aſſures us (*h*), the Duke had a great kindneſs for our Poet, and was often a benefactor to him [*H*]. But no one was a more generous friend to Mr Butler, than that Mecænas of all learned and witty men, Charles Lord Buckhurſt, the late Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex; who, being himſelf an excellent Poet, knew how to ſet a juſt value upon the ingenious performances of others (*i*); and we are told, he owed it to that nobleman, that the Court taſted his *Hudibras* (*k*). He had alſo promiſes of places and employments of great value and credit, from the Lord Clarendon, High-Chancellor of England (*l*); but they proved meer Court promiſes. In ſhort, Mr Butler affords a remarkable inſtance of that coldneſs and neglect, which great geniuſes often experience from the Court and age in which they live [*I*]. The integrity of his life, the acuteneſs of his wit, and eaſineſs of his

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Page 8.

(*i*) Life, &c. ibid.

(*k*) See Prior's Poems. Dedication to the Duke of Dorſet.

(*l*) Wood, ib.

racter of Sir Samuel Luke, ſo here Sir Samuel is evidently drawn in the character of Hudibras. For, beſides what been already quoted, he is armed with a *Baſket-hilt*:

Then up he took his *baſket-hilt*,
And out enrag'd he went.

In like manner as Hudibras:

His puiſſant ſword unto his ſide
Near his undaunted heart was ty'd,
With *Baſket-hilt*, that wou'd hold broth,
And ſerve for fight and dinner both (11).

(11) Hudibras, Part i. Canto i. ver. 351.

And whether we ſuppoſe this ballad to be written before, or after *Hudibras*, it will equally anſwer our purpoſe: for, in the firſt caſe, it will be evident, that Butler drew from this character; and, in the latter, it will ſhew, that, at that time, Sir Samuel Luke was generally underſtood to be meant under the character of Hudibras. The new editor of *Hudibras* (†) tells us, 'It has been ſuggeſted—that, notwithſtanding Sir 'Samuel Luke of Wood-end, in the pariſh of Cople, 'in Bedfordſhire, has generally been reputed the He'ro of this poem, yet, from the circumſtances of his 'being compared to Sir Samuel Luke, it is ſcarce pro'bable, that he was intended, it being an uncommon 'thing to compare a perſon to himſelf; that the ſcene 'of action was in *Weſtern Clime*; whereas Bedford'ſhire is north of London; and that he was credibly 'informed by a Bencher of Gray's-inn, who had it 'from an acquaintance of Mr Butler's, that the perſon 'intended, was Sir Henry Roſewell of Ford-abbey in 'Devonſhire.—Theſe, indeed (*adds our editor*) would 'be probable reaſons, to deprive Bedfordſhire of it's 'hero, did not Mr Butler, in his *Memoirs* of 1649, 'give the ſame deſcription of Sir Samuel Luke; and, 'in his *Dunſtable-Downs*, expreſsly ſtyled *Sir Samuel 'Luke, Sir Hudibras*. And from the ſham ſecond part, 'publiſhed 1663, it appears, that the *Bear-beating* 'was at Brentford, which is *Weſt* of London; and 'this might induce him to ſay,

(†) Pref. p. 3, 4. See the text, at the end.

'*In Weſtern Clime there is a Town*, &c.'

[*G*] *He married Mrs Herbert, a gentlewoman of a very good family.*] Anthony Wood ſays, ſhe was a widow, and that Butler ſupported himſelf by her jointure: for tho', in his riper years, he had ſtudied the Common-Law, yet he made no advantage by the practice of it (12). But the life-writer aſſures us, ſhe was not a widow, and that, tho' ſhe had a competent fortune, it was of little or no advantage to Butler, being moſt of it unfortunately loſt by being put out on bad ſecurities (13).

(12) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(13) Life, &c. page 8.

[*H*] *Wood pretends, he was Secretary to the Duke of Buckingham—and the life-writer aſſures us, the Duke had a great kindneſs for him*, &c.] The late ingenious Major Richardſon Pack tells us a ſtory; which, if it be true, overthrows the aſſertion both of the Antiquary and the Life-writer. We ſhall give it in his own words. 'Mr Wycherly had always laid hold of any opportu'nity, which offered, to repreſent to his Grace *(the 'Duke of Buckingham)* how well Mr Butler had de'ſerved of the Royal Family by writing his inimitable '*Hudibras*; and that it was a reproach to the Court, 'that a perſon of his loyalty and wit ſhould ſuffer in 'obſcurity, and under the wants he did. The Duke 'ſeemed always to hearken to him with attention 'enough, and, after ſome time, undertook to recom'mend his pretenſions to his Majeſty. Mr Wycherly, 'in hopes to keep him ſteady to his word, obtained of 'his Grace to name a day, when he might introduce 'that modeſt and unfortunate Poet to his new patron. 'At laſt an appointment was made, and the place 'of meeting was agreed to be the Roe-buck. Mr 'Butler and his friend attended accordingly; the Duke 'joined them. But as the D—l would have it, the 'door of the room where they ſat was open, and his 'Grace, who had ſeated himſelf near it, obſerving a 'pimp of his acquaintance (the creature too was a 'Knight) trip by with a brace of ladies, immediately 'quitted his engagement, to follow another kind of 'buſineſs, at which he was more ready, than in doing 'good offices to men of deſert; tho' no one was better 'qualified than he, both in regard to his fortune and 'underſtanding, to protect them; and from that hour, 'to the day of his death, poor Butler never found the 'leaſt effect of his promiſe (14).'

(14) Poſthumou Works of W Wycherly, Eſq published by M Theobald. In th Memoirs, &c. p. 6, 7.

[*I*] *He affords a remarkable inſtance of that coldneſs and neglect, which the greateſt geniuſes often experience from the court and age in which they live.*] We are told indeed, by the gentleman mentioned in the remark [*A*], that King Charles II. once ordered him a ſmall gratuity of three hundred pounds; which had this compliment attending it, that it paſſed all the offices without any fee, at the ſollicitation of Mr William Longueville of the Temple, Lord Danby being at that time High-Treaſurer. But this ſeems to have been the only Court favour he ever received. A ſtrange inſtance of neglect, when we conſider King Charles's exceſſive fondneſs for the poem of Hudibras. This is movingly related by our Poet himſelf (†), who thence takes occaſion to do juſtice to his poem, by hinting it's excellencies in general, and paying a few modeſt compliments to himſelf; of which the following lines are worth tranſcribing.

(†) In his H dibras at Cou See his Remai

Now you muſt know, Sir Hudibras
With ſuch perfections gifted was,
And ſo peculiar in his manner,
That all that ſaw him did him honour.
Among the reſt this Prince was one,
Admired his converſation:
This Prince, whoſe ready wit and parts
Conquer'd both men and women's hearts,
Was ſo o'ercome with Knight and Ralph,
That he could never claw it off:
He never eat, nor drank, nor ſlept,
But Hudibras ſtill near him kept;
Nor would he go to church or ſo,
But Hudibras muſt with him go;
Nor yet to viſit concubine,
Or at a city-feaſt to dine,
But Hudibras muſt ſtill be there,
Or all the ſat was in the fire.

Now

his converſation, rendered him highly acceptable to all men: yet he was very delicate, as well as ſparing, in the choice of his acquaintance. After having lived to a good old age [K], admired by all, tho' perſonally known to but few, he died [L] the twenty-fifth of September 1680, and was buried at the expence of his good friend Mr Longueville of the Temple [M], in the Church-yard of St Paul's Covent-Garden (m). He had no funeral monument for many years; 'till in 1721, Mr Barber, an Alderman of London, generouſly erected one to his memory, among the Poets, in Weſtminſter-Abbey [N]. The Poem, intituled HUDIBRAS [O], by which he acquired that high reputation as a Poet, which he

(m) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 453. and Life &c. p. 9.

Now after all, was it not hard,
That he ſhou'd meet with no reward,
That fitted out this Knight and Squire,
This monarch did ſo much admire?
That he ſhou'd never reimburſe
The man for th' equipage, or horſe,
Is ſure a ſtrange ungrateful thing,
In any body but a King.
But this good King, it ſeems, was told
By ſome that were with him too bold,
If e're you hope to gain your ends,
Careſs your foes, and truſt your friends.
Such were the doctrines that were taught,
'Till this unthinking King was brought
To leave his friends to ſtarve and die,
A poor reward for loyalty.

(15) See Poems and Tranſlations by J. Oldham. Lond. 1683. p. 73.

Our author's fate in this reſpect is juſtly and pathetically lamented by Mr Oldham in his *Satire againſt Poetry* (15), in which he introduces the ghoſt of Spenſer diſſuading him from Poetry, upon experience and example, that poverty and contempt were it's inſeparable companions. After mentioning the caſes of Homer and Cowley, he goes on:

On Butler who can think without juſt rage,
The glory and the ſcandal of the age?
Fair ſtood his hopes, when firſt he came to town,
Met every where with welcomes of renown;
Courted and lov'd by all, with wonder read,
And promiſes of princely favour fed.
But what reward for all had he at laſt,
After a life in dull expectance paſt?
The wretch, at ſumming up his miſ-ſpent days,
Found nothing left, but poverty and praiſe,
Of all his gains by verſe he could not ſave
Enough to purchaſe flannel and a grave.
Reduc'd to want, he in due time fell ſick,
Was fain to die, and be interr'd on tick;
And well might bleſs the fever that was ſent
To rid him hence, and his worſe fate prevent.

(16) See Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. V. p. 213. edit. 1727. 12mo.

In like manner Mr Dryden, in his *Hind and Panther* (16), makes the *Hind* (or Church of Rome) object to the *Panther* (or Church of England) her hard-heartedneſs in neglecting a Poet, who had ſtood up in her defence.

Unpitied *Hudibras*, your champion friend,
Had ſhewn how far your charities extend:
This laſting verſe ſhall on his tomb be read,
He ſham'd you living, and upbraids you dead.

[K] *He lived to a good old age.*] According to Anthony Wood and the life-writer, he was ſixty-eight years of age when he died: but, according to Mr Longueville, he was about fourſcore.

[L] *His death.*] The Oxford Antiquary, and the writer of his *Life*, tell us, he died of a conſumption. Mr Oldham ſays, he was carried off by a fever:

(17) See the Remark [I].

And well might bleſs the fever that was ſent, &c (17).

But Mr Longueville aſcribes his death only to old age; which may well be, if he arrived to fourſcore years. The ſame gentleman inform us, that Butler lived for ſome years in Roſe-ſtreet, Covent-garden, and probably died there.

[M] *He was buried at the expence of Mr Longueville of the Temple.*] That Gentleman (as we learn from his ſon Mr Charles Longueville) would fain have buried him in Weſtminſter-Abbey, and ſpoke, with that view, to ſeveral perſons, who had been his admirers, offering to pay his part; but none of them would contribute: whereupon Mr Longueville buried him very privately at St Paul's Covent-garden; himſelf, and ſeven or eight more, following him to the grave

[N] *Mr Alderman* Barber *erected a monument to* Butler—*in Weſtminſter-Abbey.*] The inſcription thereon is as follows:

M. S.
Samuelis Butleri qui Strenſhamiæ in agro Vigornienſi
Natus 1612 obiit Londini 1680.
Vir doctus imprimis, acer, integer;
Operibus ingenii, non item præmiis felix; Satyrici apud
Nos carminis artifex egregius;
Qui ſimulatæ religioni larvam detraxit, et perduellium
Scelera liberrime exagitavit;
Scriptorum in ſuo genere primus et poſtremus.
Ne cui vivo deerant ferè omnia
Deeſſet etiam mortuo tumulus,
Hoc tandem poſito marmore, curavit
JOANNES BARBER Civis Londinenſis. 1721.

[O] *His Poem, intituled,* HUDIBRAS.] This incomparable performance is ſo well known to all who are the leaſt converſant in the *Belles Lettres*, that very little need to be ſaid of it here. It is of the burleſque kind, being uſually ſtyled a *Mock-Heroic*, or *Mock Epic*; and is pretty much of the nature of Homer's *Margites*; which, according to Ariſtotle, bore the ſame relation to Comedy, that the Iliad and Odyſſey do to Tragedy. The hint of this poem is taken from the inimitable Don Quixote; but, in other reſpects, it is perfectly an original, being intended as a general ſatire on thoſe times of anarchy and confuſion, during which the poet lived. The Knight's name, and ſomething of his character, are borrowed from Spenſer's *Fairy Queen* (18):

(18) Book ii. Canto i. Stanza 17.

He that made love unto the eldeſt dame,
Was hight Sir *Hudibras*, an hardy man;
Yet not ſo good of deeds, as great of name,
Which he by many raſh adventures wan,
Since errant arms to few he firſt began.
More huge in ſtrength, than wiſe in works he was,
And reaſon with fool-hardiſe over-ran:
Stern melancholy did his courage paſs;
And was (for terror more) all armed in ſhining braſs.

As to the verſification of this poem, I ſhall give the reader the ſentiments of two great judges of Poetry, Mr Dryden and Mr Addiſon. 'The ſort of verſe, 'which is called *burleſque*, conſiſting of eight ſyllables, 'or four feet, is that which our excellent *Hudibras* 'has choſen. —— The worth of his poem is too well 'known to need any commendation. His ſatire is of 'the Varronian kind, tho' unmixed with proſe. The 'choice of his numbers is ſuitable enough to his deſign, as he has managed it: but, in any other hand, 'the ſhortneſs of his verſe, and the quick returns of 'rhyme, had debaſed the ſtyle. And beſides, the 'double rhyme (a neceſſary companion of burleſque 'writing) is not ſo proper for manly ſatire; for it 'turns earneſt too much into jeſt, and gives us a boyiſh 'kind of pleaſure. It tickles awkwardly with a 'kind of pain to the beſt ſort of readers: we are 'pleaſed ungratefully, and, if I may ſo ſay, againſt

'our

he continues to enjoy, was publiſhed at three different times. The firſt part came out in 1663, in octavo: afterwards came out the ſecond part; and both were printed together with ſeveral additions and annotations. At length the third and laſt part was publiſhed, but without any annotations, as appears by the copy printed in 1678 (*n*). The great ſucceſs of this poem occaſioned ſeveral unſucceſsful imitations of it [*P*]; and ſome vain attempts

(*n*) Wood, ib.

'our king; we thank him not for giving us that unſeaſonable delight, when we know he could have 'given us a better and more ſolid. He might have 'left that taſk to others, who, not being able to put 'in thought, can only make us grin with the excreſ'cence of a word of two or three ſyllables in the 'cloſe. It is indeed below ſo great a maſter to make 'uſe of ſuch a little inſtrument. But his good ſenſe 'is perpetually ſhining through all the writes: it affords 'us not the time of finding faults. We paſs through 'the levity of the rhyme, and are immediately carried 'into ſome admirable uſeful thought. After all, he 'has choſen this kind of verſe, and has written the 'beſt in it; and had he taken another, he would al'ways have excelled. As we ſay of a court favourite, 'that whatever his office be, he ſtill makes it upper'moſt, and moſt beneficial to himſelf (19).' Mr Addiſon, ſpeaking of the ſeveral kinds of falſe wit, ſays: *I muſt ſubjoin the double rhymes, which are uſed in doggrel poetry, and generally applauded by ignorant readers. If the thought of the couplet in ſuch compoſitions is good, the rhymes add little to it; and if bad, it will not be in the power of the rhyme to recommend it. I am afraid, that great numbers of thoſe, who admire the incomparable* Hudibras, *do it more on account of thoſe doggrel rhymes, than of the parts that really deſerve admiration. I am ſure, I have heard the*

(19) Dryden's Juvenal, edit. 1735. Dedicat p. 100, 101.

'—— Pulpit, drum eccleſiaſtick,
'Was beat with fiſt inſtead of a ſtick,

And

'There was an ancient ſage Philoſopher,
'Who had read Alexander Roſs over.

more frequently quoted than the fineſt pieces of wit in the whole poem (20). But, notwithſtanding theſe cenſures, the ſhortneſs of our author's verſe, and the quick returns of his rhymes, have been ſome of the principal means of raiſing and perpetuating the fame of this poem: for the turns of wit and ſatirical ſayings, being ſhort and pithy, are therefore more tenable by the memory; and this is one reaſon, why Hudibras is more frequently quoted in converſation, than the fineſt heroic poem. King Charles II, whom the judicious part of mankind will allow to have been a ſovereign judge of wit, was ſo great an admirer of *Hudibras*, (tho' he ſhamefully neglected it's (†) author) that he would often pleaſantly quote it in converſation (21). And more of our Poets have teſtified their high opinion of Butler's genius; but none in a manner ſo much to his advantage as Mr Prior in the following paſſage of his *Alma:*

(20) Spectator, Vol. I. No. lx.

(†) See the Remark [*I*].

(21) Life, &c. p. 3.

But ſhall we take the Muſe abroad,
To drop her idly on the road,
And leave her ſubject in the middle,
As Butler did his bear and fiddle?
Yet he, *conſummate Maſter*, knew
When to recede, and where purſue:
His *noble negligences* teach
What others toils deſpair to reach.
He, *perfect dancer*, climbs the rope,
And balances your fear and hope:
If, after ſome diſtinguiſh'd leap,
He drops his pole, and ſeems to ſlip;
Strait gathering all his active ſtrength,
He riſes higher half his length.
With wonder you approve his ſlight,
And owe your pleaſure to your fright.
But, like poor Andrew, I advance,
Falſe mimic of my maſter's dance;
Around the cord awhile I ſprawl,
And thence, tho' low, in earneſt fall (22).

(22) Canto ii. init.

Nor has Hudibras wanted encomium from foreigners; among whom the French author of *Diſſertation ſur la Poëſie Anglois* (‡), expreſſes himſelf thus: 'The 'Engliſh have a Poet, whoſe reputation is equal to 'that of Scarron in French: I mean the author of 'Hudibras, a comical Hiſtory in verſe, written in the 'time of Oliver Cromwell. It is ſaid to be a delicate 'ſatire on that kind of *Interregnum*; and that it is le'velled particularly at the conduct of the Preſbyterians, 'whom the author repreſents as a ſenſeleſs ſort of 'people, promoters of anarchy, and compleat hy'pocrites. Hudibras, the heroe of this poem, is a 'holy Don Quixote of that ſect, and a redreſſer of 'imaginary wrongs, that are done to his Dulcinea. 'The Knight has his Rozinante, his Burleſque Adven'tures, and his Sancho. But the Squire of the Engliſh 'Poet is of an oppoſite character to that of the Spaniſh 'Sancho; for, whereas the latter is a plain unaffected 'peaſant, the Engliſh Squire is a Taylor by trade; a 'Tartuff, or finiſhed hypocrite, by birth; and ſo deep 'a dogmatick Divine, that

(‡) Gen. Dict. Vol. IV. p. 296.

He cou'd deep myſteries unriddle,
At eaſily as thread a needle,

'as it is ſaid in the poem. The author of Hudibras 'is preferable to Scarron, becauſe he has one fixed 'mark or object; and that, by a ſurprizing effort of 'imagination, he has found the art of leading his 'readers to it, by diverting them.' M. de Voltaire highly extols this poem, and at the ſame time accounts for it's never having been tranſlated into foreign languages. 'There is one Engliſh poem —— the 'title whereof is Hudibras —— it is Don Quixote, it 'is our *Satire Menippeè*, blended together. I never 'met with ſo much wit in one ſingle book as in this; 'which at the ſame time is the moſt difficult to be 'tranſlated. —— Who would believe, that a work, 'which paints in ſuch lively and natural colours the 'ſeveral foibles of mankind, and where we meet 'with more ſentiments than words, ſhould baffle 'the endeavours of the ableſt tranſlators? But the 'reaſon of it is this; almoſt every part of it alludes 'to particular incidents (†).' I ſhall only add, that ſome verſes in the poem of *Hudibras* were omitted, for reaſons of State, in the firſt impreſſion; ſuch as theſe following,

(†) Letters concerning the Engliſh nation, p. 212, 213. Lond. 1733, 8vo.

Did not the learned Glynn and Maynard,
To make good ſubjects traitors, ſtrain hard?
Was not the King, by proclamation,
Declar'd a traitor thro' the nation?

[*P*] *There have been ſeveral unſucceſsful imitations of* Hudibras.] Such as, *The Second Part of Hudibras*; the *Dutch* and *Scotch Hudibras*; *Butler's Ghoſt*; the *Occaſional Hypocrite*; and ſome others. The author of the firſt of theſe pieces, we are told, is ridiculed by Butler under the character of *Whachum*, towards the latter-end of the Second part (23). I conjecture it muſt be that part of Whachum's character, which celebrates his ſkill in poetry. The verſes are admirable, and may ſerve as a ſpecimen of our author's wit and humour.

(23) Life, &c. p. 13.

Beſides all this, he ſerv'd his maſter
In quality of Poetaſter,
And rhymes appropriate cou'd make
To ev'ry month i'th' Almanack;
When terms begin and end, cou'd tell,
With their returns, in doggrel——
He wou'd an elegy compoſe
On maggots ſqueez'd out of his noſe;
In Lyrick numbers write an ode on
His miſtreſs eating a black-pudding;
And when impriſon'd air eſcap'd her,
It puff'd him with poetick rapture.

His

tempts have been made to translate some parts of it into Latin [Q]. The Oxford Antiquarian ascribes to our author two pamphlets, supposed falsely (he says) to be William Prynne's: the one intituled *Mola Asinaria*; or, *The unreasonable and insupportable Burthen, pressed upon the Shoulders of this groaning Nation*, Lond. 1659, in one sheet in quarto; the other, *Two Letters*, one from *John Audland* a Quaker to *William Prynne*, the other *Prynne's Answer*, in three sheets in folio 1672 (*o*). The *Life-writer* mentions a small poem, of one sheet in quarto, on *Du Val* a notorious highway-man, said to be written by Butler (*p*). These pieces, with a great many others, (most, if not all, of them falsely ascribed to our author) are published together, under the title of, *The Posthumous Works of Mr Samuel Butler* [R]. The *Life-writer* has preserved a fragment of Mr Butler's, given him by one, whom

(o) Ubi supra.

(p) Life &c. p. 14.

His sonnets charm'd th' attentive croud,
By wide-mouth'd mortal troll'd aloud,
That, circl'd with the long-ear'd guests,
Like Orpheus look'd among the beasts.
A Carman's horse cou'd not pass by,
But stood ty'd up to Poetry;
Nor Porter's burthen pass'd along,
But serv'd for burthen of his song.
Each window, like the pill'ry, appears,
With heads thrust thro' nail'd by the ears.
All trades run in, as to the sight
Of monsters, or their dear delight
The gallows-tree, when cutting purse
Breeds bus'ness for heroick verse;
Which none does hear, but wou'd have hung,
T'have been the theme of such a song (24).

(24) Hudibras, part ii. Canto iii. ver. 358.

[Q] *Some parts of it have been translated into Latin.*] The following similies, we are told (25), were done by the learned Dr Harmer, some time Greek Professor at Oxford.

(25) Life, &c. p. 12, 13.

So learned Taliacotius, from
The brawny part of Porter's bum,
Cut supplemental noses, which
Lasted as long as parent breech;
But when the date of Nock was out,
Off dropt the sympathetick snout (26).

(26) Part i. Canto i. ver. 281.

Sic adscititios nasos de clune torosi
Vectoris docta secuit Taliacotius arte,
Qui potuere parem durando æquare parentem.
At postquam fato clunis computruit, ipsum
Unà sympathicum cœpit tabescere Rostrum.

As wind i'th' Hypocondries pent
Is but a blast, if downward sent;
But if it upward chance to fly,
Becomes new light and prophecy (27).

(27) Part ii. Canto iii. ver. 22.

Sic Hypocondriacis incluſa meatibus aura
Desinet in crepitum, si fertur prona per alvum;
Sed si summa petat, mentisque invaserit arcem,
Divinus furor est, et conscia flamma futuri.

So Lawyers, lest the Bear Defendant,
And Plaintiff Dog shou'd make an end on't,
Do slave and tail with Writs of Error,
Reverse of Judgment and Demurrer;
To let them breathe a while, and then
Cry whoop, and set them on again (28).

(28) Part i. Canto ii. ver. 161.

Sic Legum mystæ, ne forsan pax foret Ursam
Inter tutantem sese actoremque Molossum,
Faucibus injiciunt clavos, dentesque refigunt,
Luctantesque canes coxis femorique revellunt;
Errores jurisque moras obtendere certi,
Judiciumque prius revocare ut prorsus iniquum.
Tandem post aliquod breve respiramen utrinque,
Ut pugnas iterent, crebris hortatibus urgent;
Eia, agite, O Cives, iterumque in prælia trudunt.

These last Latin verses, which, in *Butler's Life*, are so incorrectly printed, as to be rendered almost nonsense, are here (it is hoped) restored to their genuine reading.

[R] *The Posthumous Works of Mr Samuel Butler.*] They are distributed into three volumes, in *duodecimo*, consisting of a great variety of pieces. The editor assures us, they are 'the remains of that great and 'celebrated Genius Mr Butler, author of *Hudibras*.' and 'that a very great expence, and almost incredible 'industry, had been laid out in collecting these pieces, 'which had been scattered thro' an infinite number of 'hands, and could not have been recovered but by the 'most intense application.' He adds, that 'they were 'written, as may be collected from the general argu-'ments, partly during the rebellion, and partly at the 'letter end of King Charles the Second's reign, about 'which time the inimitable author died.' We shall take notice here only of those pieces in this collection, of which the publisher has given some account. The *Fable of the Lion and the Fox*, he tells us, was obtained by the interest of an eminent Clergyman in Buckinghamshire, who had been Chaplain to the old Earl of Caernarvan; who informed him, that Mr Butler used to make long and frequent visits to Asket, the name of that Lord's seat; and that, at intervals, when he was disingaged from my Lord's company, he wrote this piece and several others. The Clergyman added, he believed the Fable of the Lion and the Fox was Mr Butler's first essay in this kind of poetry, and that, after he had finished it, he disliked it, and threw it by, 'till Mr Dichfield, who was then domestick Chaplain to the family, happened to get a copy, which he shewed to the clergy, and other gentlemen, that came to visit my Lord, who generally took copies of it also, some of which are to be met with in their families at this time; and that the applause and credit Mr Butler gained by this fable, induced him soon after to begin his *Hudibras*. With regard to the *Memoirs of the years* 49 and 50, the editor assures us, he had seen several of Mr Butler's Letters to his friends, in which was a part of them, together with the verses, as they are now interspersed and printed with them. The *Earl of Pembroke's Speeches* were intended as a burlesque on that nobleman's Speeches in the House of Lords; which, we are told, were the common talk and sport of the kingdom; and that many of the Wits, at that time, turned them into lampoons and ridicule; amongst whom Mr Butler was one, who put them into the dress we now see them in, and sent them inclosed in letters to his particular friends and acquaintance, from whose copies they were afterwards printed, without Mr Butler's knowledge, and very much against his inclination. The *Speeches of Alderman Atkins* and *Hugh Peters* (the editor tells us) were written by Butler, at the command of the Lord Carberry, to expose the intolerable profaneness and stupidity of the faction. The Poem intitled *Hudibras at Court*, was communicated by the same hand as the Fable of the Lion and the Fox. The editor says, it was doubtless intended as a *Fourth Part* of Hudibras, as is obvious to any person that compares it with the other three. How the author came to drop the design, and to conclude the First Canto with a severe Satire on the Court, is differently reported: but the most general and probable conjecture (he tells us) is, that, after a long and fruitless dependance on the promises of the King and the great Courtiers, full of resentment, he resolved to leave the Court, to which he could never again be reconciled to the day of his death. The pieces contained in the third volume of this collection, the publisher assures us, were most of them written in Mr Butler's own hand, as will appear by the originals in the custody of the Printer. The Poem called *Dunstable-Downs, or the Inchanted Cave*, and *The Tale of the Cobler and Vicar of Bray*, were given to the editor by a gentleman, whose father was an intimate of Mr Butler's, at the time he was Clerk to Sir Samuel

whom he calls the ingenious Mr Aubrey [S], who aſſured him he had it from the Poet himſelf (q). A new edition of Mr Butler's *Hudibras* was publiſhed in 1744, by Zachary Grey, LLD, with large annotations, and a preface, in two volumes 8vo.

(q) Ibid.

Luke; and who aſſured him, the facts of both were true; and that Butler, who was then very young, wrote them whilſt he was with Sir Samuel, and, when he left that ſervice, gave his father the copies. The reſt of the pieces in this volume, excepting the *Coffin for the good old Cauſe*, which is generally ſuppoſed to be Sir Samuel's own, and publiſhed juſt before the expiration of the Rump, were collected from the papers of Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, Dr Midgley, Mr Charles Booth, *Amanuenſis* to the late Duke of Buckingham, Lord Rocheſter, and Captain Julian the famous Satiremonger of that time.

[S] *A fragment of Butler's, communicated by Mr Aubrey.*] It is as follows:

No Jeſuit e're took in hand
To plant a Church in barren land;
Nor ever thought it worth the while
A Swede or Ruſs to reconcile.
For where there is no ſtore of wealth,
Souls are not worth the charge of health.
Spain in America had two deſigns,
To ſell their goſpel for their mines:
For had the Mexicaus been poor,
No Spaniard twice had landed on their ſhore.
'Twas gold the Catholick Religion planted,
Which, had they wanted gold, they ſtill had wanted.

T

BYNG (GEORGE) Lord Viſcount Torrington, and Rear-Admiral of Great Britain, was deſcended from an antient family in the county of Kent; an account whereof ſee in the note [A]. He was born in the year 1663, and in 1678, at the age of fifteen, went a volunteer at ſea, with the King's warrant given him at the recommendation of the Duke of York (a). In 1681, he quitted the ſea-ſervice, upon the invitation of General Kirk, Governor of Tangier, and ſerved as a cadet in the grenadiers of that garriſon, 'till on a vacancy that quickly happened, the General, who always patronized him with great friendſhip, made him Enſign of his own company, and ſoon after a Lieutenant. In 1684, after the demolition of Tangier, the Earl of Dartmouth, General of the ſea and land forces, appointed him Lieutenant of the Orford, from which time he conſtantly kept to the ſea-ſervice, remaining likewiſe an officer in the army ſeveral years after. In 1685, he went Lieutenant of his Majeſty's ſhip the Phœnix, to the Eaſt-Indies, where engaging and boarding a Zinganian pirate, who maintained a deſperate fight, moſt of thoſe that entered with him were ſlain, himſelf greatly wounded, and the pirate ſinking, he was taken out of the ſea, with ſcarce any remains of life. In 1688, being Firſt-Lieutenant to Sir John Aſhby, in the fleet commanded by the Earl of Dartmouth, and fitted out to oppoſe the deſigns of the Prince of Orange, he was in a particular manner entruſted and employed in the intrigues then carrying on, amongſt the moſt conſiderabe officers of the fleet in favour of that Prince, and was the perſon confided in by them, to carry their ſecret aſſurances of obedience to His Highneſs, to whom he was privately introduced at Sherburn, by Admiral Ruſſel, afterwards Earl of Orford. After his return to the fleet, the Earl of Dartmouth ſent him with Capt. Aylmer and Capt. Haſtings, to carry a meſſage of ſubmiſſion to the Prince at Windſor, and made him Captain of the Conſtant Warwick, a fourth rate man of war. In 1690, he commanded the Hope, a third rate, and was ſecond to

(a) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 96.

[A] *An account whereof ſee in the note.*] It appears on record, that this family was a long time ſeated in Kent, and as the viſitation of that country, in the office of Arms, ſhews, John Byng, Eſq; (ſon and heir of Thomas Byng, who was living in the reign of King Henry VII.) in the year 1535 (1), 28th of Henry VIII. having married Agnes, daughter to ——— Spencer, of the county of Eſſex, had iſſue, two ſons and three daughters, Robert, the eldeſt ſon, the direct anceſtor of the preſent Lord Viſcount Torrington, was ſeated at Wrotham in Kent; and Thomas, the youngeſt, was of St Peter's College in Cambridge, Maſter of Clare-hall, and Doctor of the Civil Laws: in 1572, the 14th of Elizabeth, he was Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, as alſo in 1578. In 18 Eliz. he was in commiſſion with William, Lord, Burleigh, Lord High-Treaſurer of England, Richard, Biſhop of Ely, and others, to viſit St John's College in Cambridge. In 36 Eliz. 1594, he was conſtituted Regius Profeſſor of the Civil Law in the ſame Univerſity: he was ſeated at Grandcheſter in Cambridgeſhire, and in 1571 was married to Catharine, daughter of ——— Randall, Eſq; by whom he had ſeveral ſons, of which, Andrew the ſecond was Archdeacon of Norwich, the King's Hebrew Profeſſor at Cambridge, and was particularly recommended by King James I. to be Maſter of Corpus-Chriſti-College in that Univerſity, by his letter of the 26th of March, 1618, as knowing perſonally (he ſays) his great worth, and as he would be an honour and ornament to the Univerſity, if they made choice of him. Henry, the eldeſt ſon of Thomas, was Serjeant at Law, and Counſel to the Univerſity of Cambridge, as was alſo his ſon after him.

(1) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 94.

But to return to Robert Byng, Eſq; of Wrotham, anceſtor of Admiral Byng; he ſerved for the Borough of Abingdon, in the firſt Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, anno 1559, and in the 34th year of her reign, was ſheriff of the county of Kent (2). He married to his firſt wife, Frances, daughter and heireſs of Richard Hill, Eſq; by whom he had iſſue three ſons, George, John, and Francis, whereof the two laſt died without iſſue; and by his ſecond wife, Mary, daughter of William Maynard, Eſq; he had iſſue three ſons, of which, William was Governor of Deal-Caſtle, and a daughter, Anne, married to David Polhill of Orford in Kent, Eſq; The ſaid Robert Byng, Eſq; of Wrotham, died on the ſecond of September, 1595, (as appears by Inquiſition of the Court of Wards) ſeized of the manors of Wrotham, Charlton Ruſthale, in Spelhurſt by Tunbridge; Stodmer-hill and Stock hill, manors in Yalding; and Stanſtead manor, with Leybone Wood in Leybone, leaving iſſue, George Byng, his ſon and heir, who was choſen Member of Parliament for Rocheſter in Kent, 27 Eliz. and for the port of Dover in the firſt year of King James I. He died in 1616, and was ſucceeded by George Byng his ſon and heir, born at Wrotham in 1594, who in 1617, married Catharine, daughter of Sir John Hewett of Headly Hall, in the county of York, by whom he had iſſue, a ſon John, and a daughter, Elizabeth, married to ——— Man, of the county of Kent, Eſq; John Byng, Eſq; his ſon and heir, conveying away Wrotham, was the laſt of this family there. He married Philadelphia, the daughter of ——— Johnſon of Loans in Surry, by whom he had ſeveral children, of which George the Lord Viſcount Torrington, was the eldeſt.

(2) Fuller's Worthies of England, p. 93. in Com. Kent.

[B] *Anſwered*

to Sir George Rooke in the battle of Beachy. In the years 1691, and 1692, he was Captain of the Royal Oak, and ſerved under Admiral Ruſſel, who commanded in chief His Majeſty's fleet. In 1693, that great officer diſtinguiſhed him in a particular manner, by promoting him to the rank of his firſt Captain, in which ſtation he ſerved in the years 1694 and 1695, in the Mediterranean, where the deſigns of the French againſt Barcelona were prevented; and alſo the next year 1696, in the channel, to oppoſe the intended invaſion of King James, with a French army from the coaſt France, which upon the appearance of the fleet was laid aſide. In 1702, a war breaking out, he accepted the command of the Naſſau, a third rate, and was at the taking and burning the French fleet at Vigo. In the year 1703, he was made Rear-Admiral of the Red, and ſerved in the fleet commanded by Sir Cloudeſly Shovel in the Mediterranean, who detached him with a ſquadron of five men of war (*b*), to Algiers, where he renewed the peace with that government. In his return home he was in danger of being loſt, in the great ſtorm which he met with in the Channel. In 1704, he ſerved in the grand fleet ſent into the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, in ſearch of the French fleet; and it was he who commanded the ſquadron that attacked and cannonaded Gibraltar (*c*); and by landing the ſeamen, whoſe valour was very remarkably diſtinguiſhed on this occaſion, they capitulated the third day. He was in the battle of Malaga, which followed ſoon after, and for his behaviour in that action, Queen Anne conferred on him the honour of knighthood (*d*). Towards the latter end of this year, the French having had two ſtrong ſquadrons in the Soundings, beſides great numbers of privateers, which very much annoyed our trade, Sir George Byng ſailed the latter end of January from Plymouth, with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, and a great fleet of rich outward bound merchant ſhips, which after he had ſeen in ſafety out of the Soundings, he directed the ſquadron as he judged beſt for (*e*) annoying the enemies privateers, in which he was ſo ſucceſsful, by his well ſtationing his cruizers, that he took twelve of their largeſt privateers in about two months time, with the Thetis, a French man of war of forty-four guns, and alſo ſeven French merchant ſhips, moſt of them richly laden from the Weſt-Indies (*f*). The number of men taken on board was 2070, and of guns 334. This remarkable ſucceſs made a great noiſe at that time, and was publiſhed by particular directions from the Court. It gave ſuch a blow to the French privateers, that they ſcarce ventured into the Channel all the year after. In 1705, he was made Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and upon the election of a new Parliament, was returned a Burgeſs for Plymouth, which place he repreſented in every ſucceeding Parliament, to the year 1721, when he was created a Peer; and one of his ſons has ſince been conſtantly choſen there. During this ſummer he commanded in chief a ſquadron in the Channel, and blocked up the French fleet in Breſt, with a much inferior ſtrength (*g*). In 1706, the Emperor being cloſely beſieged in Barcelona by ſea and land, by the Duke of Anjou, and the place reduced to great extremity, and our fleet in the Mediterranean being too weak to relieve it, he was appointed to command a ſquadron of twenty ſhips (*h*) from England, to go to it's relief; in which ſervice he uſed ſuch diligence and activity, and joined our fleet with ſuch unexpected diſpatch, that the ſaving that important place, was entirely owing to it, the French having in three days afterwards raiſed the ſiege. He aſſiſted at the other enterprizes of that campaign, and commanded the ſhips detached for the reduction of Carthagena and Alicant, which he accompliſhed, although at this laſt place there were above 160 guns facing the ſea, many of which our Admiral with only five ſhips diſmounted, and drove the enemy from them (*i*). After this, he was appointed to command a winter ſquadron, of eighteen men of war and two fire-ſhips, to guard the coaſt of Portugal, according to the treaty with that Prince, and to cruize in the propereſt ſtations for annoying the enemy. In the beginning of the year 1707, Sir George was ordered with a ſquadron to Alicant, with neceſſaries for the army in Spain; and having accordingly ſailed the thirtieth of March, when he arrived off Cape St Vincent, he had the melancholy news of the defeat of our army at the battle of Almanza, under the command of the Earl of Galway, who ſent to the Admiral, to acquaint him with the diſtreſs he was in, and deſired, that whatever he brought for the uſe of the army, might be carried to Tortoſa in Catalonia, to which place his Lordſhip deſigned to retreat; and that if poſſible, he would have the ſick and wounded men at Denia, Gandia, and Valencia, where it was intended every thing that could be got together, ſhould be got on board (*k*). This ſervice the Admiral performed, and having ſent the ſick and wounded to Tortoſa, and being ſoon after joined by Sir Cloudeſly Shovel from Liſbon, proceeded together to the coaſt of Italy, with a fleet of forty-three men of war and fifty tranſports (*l*), to ſecond Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy in the ſiege of Thoulon, at which Sir George Byng ſerved in the ſecond poſt under Sir Cloudeſly Shovel (*m*), and narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck in his return home, when that great officer was loſt; for the *Royal Anne*, in which Sir George Byng bore his flag, was within a ſhip's length of the Rocks called the *Biſhop and his Clerks*, upon which the Admiral ſtruck; yet he was providentially ſaved by his own and his officers preſence of mind, who in a minute's time ſet the ſhip's top-ſails, even when one of the rocks was under her main chains (*n*). In 1708, he was made Admiral of the Blue, and commanded the ſquadron that was fitted out to oppoſe the invaſion deſigned againſt Scotland by the Pretender, with a French army from Dunkirk; this ſquadron conſiſted of twenty-four men of war, with which Sir George Byng and Lord Durſley, ſailed from Deal for the French coaſt,

(*b*) Burchet's Naval Hiſt. p. 655.

(*c*) Burchet, p. 677.

(*d*) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 98.

(*e*) Burchet, p. 685.

(*f*) London Gazette, April 22, 1705.

(*g*) Peerage of England, ubi ſup.

(*h*) Burchet, p. 692.

(*i*) Burchet, p. 694, 695.

(*k*) Burchet, p. 731.

(*l*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 22.

(*m*) Peerage of England, ut ſupra.

(*n*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 32. Burchet, p. 733.

coaſt, on the twenty-ſeventh of February, and having anchored in Gravelin pits, Sir George went into a ſmall frigate, and ſailed within two miles of the Flemiſh Road, and there learnt the ſtrength and number of the enemies ſhips (*o*). On the Admiral's anchoring before Gravelin, the French officers laid aſide their embarkation, but upon expreſs orders from Court, were obliged to reſume it; and on the ſixth of March actually ſailed out of Dunkirk, but being taken ſhort by contrary winds, came to an anchor 'till the eighth, and then continued their voyage. Sir George Byng, at the time the French fleet ſet ſail, had been obliged for ſecurity, to go to an anchor under Dungeneſs; and in his return to Dunkirk, was informed the French were ſailed, but could get no account where; tho' he was ſtrongly inclined to believe they were deſigned for Scotland. Whereupon it was reſolved in a Council of War, to purſue the enemy to the road of Edinburgh; and accordingly having firſt detached Rear-Admiral Baker, with a ſmall ſquadron, to convoy the troops that were ſent from Oſtend; the Admiral proſecuted his expedition with the reſt (*p*). On the thirteenth of March, the French were diſcovered in the Frith of Edinburgh, where they made ſignals, but to no purpoſe, and then ſteered a N. E. courſe, as if they intended to have gone to St Andrews; Sir George Byng purſued them, and took the Saliſbury, an Engliſh prize then in their ſervice, with ſeveral perſons of great quality on board, many land and ſea officers in the French ſervice, of very great diſtinction, five companies of the regiment of Bearn, and all the ſhip's company, conſiſting of 300 men (*q*); after this, Sir George Byng finding it impoſſible to come up with the enemy, he returned with the fleet to Leith, where he continued 'till he received advice of the French getting back to Dunkirk, and then proceeded to the Downs, purſuant to the orders he received from the Miniſtry. Before the Admiral left Leith Road, the Lord Provoſt and Magiſtrates of Edinburgh, to ſhew the grateful ſenſe they had of the important ſervice that he had done them, by thus drawing off the enemy before they had time to land their forces, and thereby preſerving not only the city of Edinburgh, but even the whole kingdom, from the fatal effects of a rebellion and invaſion, reſolved to preſent him with the freedom of their city, by ſending, in their name, Sir Patrick Johnſton, their late Repreſentative in Parliament, with an inſtrument called a burgeſs ticket, incloſed in a gold box, having the arms of the city on the ſide, and theſe words engraved upon the cover; 'The Lord Provoſt, Baillies, and Town Council of Edinburgh, did preſent theſe letters of Burgeoiſe, 'to Sir George Byng, Admiral of the Blue, in gratitude to him for delivering this iſland 'from a foreign invaſion, and defeating the deſigns of a French fleet, at the mouth of the 'Frith of Edinburgh, the thirteenth of March 1708.' This preſent was accompanied with a letter from the Lord Provoſt, wherein he deſired the Admiral to accept it as a mark of their high reſpect to him, who had delivered them from ſuch great fear and apprehenſions of danger, for which his memory ſhould be honoured by them (*r*). When Sir George Byng was afterwards created Lord Torrington, this action of his is particularly mentioned in the preamble to his patent of creation, much to his honour, as the reader will ſee hereafter. Upon Sir George Byng's arrival in London, he was moſt graciouſly received by the Queen his Sovereign, and by His Royal Highneſs Prince George of Denmark, Lord High-Admiral; and the Queen was pleaſed to offer him the place of one of the Prince's Council in the Admiralty, which however he then declined (*s*). One would have imagined, that this ſurprizing ſucceſs muſt have ſatisfied every body; and that after defeating ſo extraordinary a ſcheme, as at that time this was allowed to be, and reſtoring publick credit, as it were in an inſtant, there ſhould have been an univerſal tribute of applauſe paid to the Admiral, by all ranks and degrees of people. Yet this was ſo far from being the caſe, that Sir George Byng had ſcarce ſet his foot in London, before it was whiſpered that the Parliament would enquire into his conduct; which took riſe from a very fooliſh perſuaſion, that having once had ſight of the enemy's fleet, he might if he pleaſed, have taken every ſhip of them as well as the Saliſbury. The truth of the matter was, that the French having amuſed the Jacobites in Scotland, with a propoſal about the beſieging the Caſtle of Edinburgh; Sir George Byng was particularly inſtructed, by all means to prevent that, by hindering the French from landing in the neighbourhood. This he effectually did, and by doing it, anſwered the end for which he was ſent (*t*) [*B*]. But the

(*o*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 68, 69. Burchet, p. 740, &c.

(*p*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 130. Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 741. Oldmixon, Vol. II. p. 404.

(*q*) Lives of the Admirals, ubi ſupra. Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 1, &c.

(*r*) Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 742.

(*s*) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 99.

(*t*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 70. Hiſt. of Europe for 1708.

[*B*] *Anſwered the end for which he was ſent.*] To give a more particular and circumſtantial account of this important affair, we muſt have recourſe to Sir George Byng's own account, contained in two letters wrote to the Miniſtry by him from on board the Medway, dated the 13th and 15th of March, and which, together with a letter wrote by the French General to the King his maſter, ſhew the real deſigns of the French, and the great judgment and foreſight of our Admiral in diſappointing them, and will make a compleat journal of this famous expedition. We ſhall do this in as few words as poſſible. 'On the 13th of 'March, in the morning, the French fleet was 'diſcovered in the mouth of the Frith of Edinburgh, 'off of which place Sir George Byng anchored 'the night before, and ſent a boat on ſhore to the Iſle 'of May, from whence he had an account that they 'came to an anchor the 12th in the afternoon, and 'had ſent a ſhip up to Leith with a flag at main top-'maſt-head, but by that time ſhe could get before the 'town, they heard guns fired in the manner of ſalutes, 'which were ours, for coming to an anchor. This 'ſhip, judged to be about ſixty guns, came down in the 'morning, and was within two leagues of our ſquadron; 'that the French ſquadron ſtanding from Sir George 'Byng, he purſued them with all the ſail he could, 'ſometimes with hopes of coming up with them, but 'they were lighter ſhips than ours; two of our ſhips 'indeed, the Ludlow Caſtle and Dover, being cleaner 'and better ſailors then the reſt, came up with part 'of the enemy's ſquadron, paſſing by ſome of their 'ſmaller, to reach bigger ſhips, in hopes of ſtopping 'them 'till they could be ſtrengthned. They engaged 'two or three of the French, one of which was the 'Saliſbury,

the ſame malicious people, who firſt propagated this ſtory, invented alſo another, *viz.* that Sir George was hindered from taking the French fleet, by his ſhips being foul; which actually produced an enquiry in the Houſe of Commons, and an addreſs to the Queen, to direct that an account might be laid before them, of the number of ſhips that went on the expedition with Sir George Byng, and when the ſame were cleaned; which at laſt however ended in a reſolution, that the thanks of the Houſe ſhould be given to the Prince, as Lord-High-Admiral, for his great care in ſo expeditiouſly ſetting forth ſo great a number of ſhips, whereby the fleet under Sir George Bying, was enabled, ſo happily, to prevent the intended invaſion (*u*). This was a very wiſe and well concerted meaſure, ſince it fully ſatisfied the world of the falſhood of theſe reports, and, at the ſame time, gave great ſatisfaction to the Queen and her Royal Conſort, the Prince of Denmark, who both conceived that his Royal Highneſs's character was affected, as Lord-High-Admiral. In the middle of the ſummer of the year 1708, a reſolution was taken, to make a deſcent on, or at leaſt to alarm, the coaſt of France, by way of retaliation for the affront ſo lately offered us; and Sir George Byng as Admiral, and Lord Durſley as Vice-Admiral of the blue, were appointed to command the fleet deſtined for that purpoſe [*C*]. The ſame year, Sir George Byng, had the honour

(*u*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 71. Hiſt. of Europe for 1708.

' Saliſbury, of fifty guns, formerly taken from us; ' theſe they endeavoured to cut off from the reſt of ' the fleet, but a very dark night coming on, they loſt ' ſight of all but the Saliſbury, and ſhe falling in ' amongſt the headmoſt of ours, was taken. The ' Admiral learned from the officers of this ſhip, that ' there were twelve batallions on board their ſquadron, ' commanded by the Count de Gace, and that the ' Pretender, the Lord Middleton, Lord Perth, the ' Mac-donalds, Captain Trevannion, and ſeveral other ' officers and gentlemen, were on board the Mars, ' in which ſhip was Monſieur Fourbin, who command- ' ed the ſquadron. The morning after this chaſe ' there were but eighteen of the enemy's ſhips ſeen, ' and they as far off as they could be diſcovered from ' the maſt-head; ſo that the Admiral having no pro- ' ſpect of coming up with them, he lay off and on ' near Buchaneſs, all the day, to gather his ſhips to- ' gether. The next morning it blew hard north-eaſterly, ' which made a great ſea, and he judging the French ' could not ſeize the ſhore to make any attempt, bore ' up for Leith, which was thought moſt reaſonable, ' not only to ſecure, but to give countenance and ' ſpirit to, her Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, and diſ- ' courage thoſe who might have a deſign to join the ' enemy. The 16th, a Council of War was held in ' the road of Leith, when it was conſidered where the ' French might probably attempt to land, or which ' way our ſquadron might proceed, with moſt proba- ' bility of preventing any deſign they might have; it ' was thought, that if our ſquadron ſhould go north- ' ward, and the wind come up ſtrong weſterly, it might ' hinder their gaining the Frith of Forth, and that ' ſince the enemy were probably driven to the ſouth- ' ward of it (which they thought was of the greateſt ' conſequence to ſecure) and were at firſt found at ' anchor in the Frith, it was reaſonable to believe they ' intended for Edinburgh, the metropolis; ſo it was ' determined to remain in Leith road, until there ' ſhould be advice of their returning on the coaſt, or ' that an anſwer could be received to the expreſs diſ- ' patched to the Lord High-Admiral, but that in the ' mean while, ſcouts ſhould be kept out between the ' Frith and Aberdeen, and all poſſible means uſed to ' gain intelligence from the ſhore, for which pur- ' poſe the Admiral deſired the Earl of Leven to ſend ' ſome truſty perſons northwards towards the Frith of ' Murray. The 23d of March he received orders to ' ſend five ſhips and the priſoners taken in the Saliſbury, ' into the river Humber, and the Downs, and with ' the ſquadron to proceed to ſea and guard the coaſt of ' Scotland; whereupon it was reſolved, that as ſoon ' as the priſoners could be removed, the ſquadron ' ſhould proceed off Buchaneſs, and that there the ' Admiral ſhould ſend on ſhore for intelligence of the ' enemy, and that if he could not get any, he ſhould ' ply it up again towards the Frith of Edinburgh. ' Not being able to get any advice, either by ſea or ' land, of the French ſquadron, and proviſions grow- ' ing ſhort in his own, he received orders in the be- ' ginning of April, to return to the Downs, but to ' leave three ſhips to cruize on the coaſt of Scotland, ' to prevent correſpondence between diſaffected perſons ' of that kingdom, and France. Accordingly the ' Admiral appointed the ſhips for that ſervice, and ' arrived in the Downs the 16th of April with three ' third rates, thirteen fourths, of which the Saliſbury ' prize was one, two fifths, a ſixth, and fire-ſhip, hav- ' ing appointed ſome frigates to convoy recruits from ' Scotland to Holland (3).'

(3) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 747, 748.

The account which the French General, Monſieur de Gace, wrote the King his maſter, agrees pretty well with the above (4). He ſays, they ſailed from Dunkirk the 19th of March in the evening, and caſt anchor in the mouth of the Frith of Edinburgh the 23d in the afternoon, N. S. The next day as they were ready to enter the Frith, they diſcovered our ſquadron; upon which the Admiral, M. Fourbin, reſolved to bear off by the favour of a land breeze, which, (ſays he) ' Very luckily carried us from the ' enemy.' That we purſued them pretty cloſe all that day, and that four of our beſt ſailors (we ſay only two) attacked ſome of their ſternmoſt ſhips, and took the Saliſbury, after a ſtout reſiſtance. That their fleet being diſperſed, and we near them, M. Fourbin ſteered falſe during the night, which had a good effect, for the next day they found themſelves, with twenty ſail, at a good diſtance from us, whereupon it was propoſed that ſince they had been prevented landing in the Frith of Forth, they ſhould try if they could reach Inverneſs and land there, to which the Pretender readily agreed, and they actually ſet ſail, and ſteered a whole day northwards, with a favourable wind, but at night there aroſe a ſtrong contrary wind, which continued all the next day, with great violence, and they having no pilots to guide them, and fearing many other inconveniencies, they reſolved to return to Dunkirk, where they arrived the 7th of April, N. S. Thus ended this affairs of the invaſion, which made ſo great a noiſe at that time, and which has been handed down in ſo many different lights to poſterity; and tho' happily put an end to in time, yet had begun to have very bad effects, by ſinking our publick ſecurities, occaſioning a prodigious run upon the Bank, and diſturbing our foreign remittances ſo much, that all thinking people were convinced of the great riſk a nation runs, that engages in a foreign war, while loaded with debts at home.

(4) Appendix to Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 743.

[*C*] *Sir George Bying was appointed to command the fleet deſtined for that purpoſe.*] Our Admiral ſailed on the 27th of July, from Spithead, with the fleet, and tranſports having the troops on board, intended for the deſcent, commanded by Lieutenant-General Erle, and came the next day to anchor off Deal. The 29th, they ſtood over to the coaſt of Picardy, as well to alarm, as to amuſe the enemy, and to be ready for further orders. The firſt of Auguſt the fleet ſailed again, and anchored the next day in the bay of Boulogne, where they made a feint of landing their troops; the third, they ſtood in pretty nigh the ſhore, to obſerve the condition of the enemy. The fourth, they weighed, but anchored again about noon in the bay of Eſtaples. Here a detachment of troops were landed; but the project on ſhore, which this deſcent was to have ſeconded, being laid aſide, an expreſs brought new orders from England, upon which the troops were re-embarked. The ſeventh, they ſtood over-again to the coaſt of England, and being joined by more tranſports in Dover road, arrived the eleventh in the bay of La Hogue. The twelfth, they deſigned to have landed; but upon viewing the coaſt, they found ſo many troops brought together, to oppoſe a

honour of conducting the Queen of Portugal to Liſbon [D]; where a commiſſion was ſent him, appointing him to be Admiral of the White (w); and her Portugueſe Majeſty preſented him with her picture ſet in diamonds, to a very great value (x). In the Year 1709, he commanded in chief, Her Majeſty's ſquadron in the Mediterranean, during which, he attempted the relief of the city and caſtle of Alicant, and, which was a greater enterprize, had a deſign upon Cadiz; in both which, it was very far from being his own fault, that he did not ſucceed, having himſelf done all that could be expected from him, or he had power to do, to render thoſe important deſigns ſucceſsful [E]. After his return home from this command,

(w) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 99.

(x) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 90. Hiſt. of Europe for 1708.

deſcent, and ſo many forts and batteries on ſhore, that it was deemed impracticable. The fourteenth, the fleet ſet ſail again for the weſtward, but the wind coming about the next day, they altered their courſe, and lay before Cherbourg, but found no proſpect of doing any thing there. The ſame day the Lord Durſley, in the Oxford, with ſix other men of war, and marines, ſailed to the weſtward to cruize in the Soundings. The ſeventeenth, the reſt of the fleet returned to the bay of La Hogue, but the men growing ſickly, and proviſions falling ſhort, Sir George Byng returned to Spithead, on the 28th (5). — After thus alarming the French coaſts, and creating the enemy inexpreſſible trouble, the Duke of Marlborough deſired that the troops on board this ſquadron, might be landed at Oſtend, which was accordingly performed on the 23d of September, at ſo critical a juncture, that it is thought if they had not arrived, the city of Liſle could ſcarce have been taken (6). Many things were given out with relation to this expedition, the true deſign of which, was to diſturb the French naval armaments on their coaſts, and to oblige the French Court to march great bodies of men to protect their maritime towns, which neceſſarily occaſioned the diminiſhing their army in Flanders. The French Hiſtorians however, magnify the great advantage they obtained, by repelling this invaſion.

(5) London Gazette, No. 4458, 4459, 4460, 4461, &c. Lives of the Admiral's, Vol. IV. p. 86, 87.

(6) Lives of the Admirals, ut ſup.

[D] *Sir George Byng had the honour of conducting the Queen of Portugal to Liſbon.*] Her Majeſty was ſtiled, before her marriage, the Arch-ducheſs Mary-Anne of Auſtria, daughter of the Emperor Leopold, and ſiſter to the Emperor Joſeph. Her marriage with the King of Portugal was thought to be highly advantageous to the common cauſe, and was therefore very grateful to our Court, who readily offered to ſend her Majeſty to Liſbon, on board a Britiſh ſquadron, after having been firſt eſpouſed by proxy, at Vienna (*). In the beginning of the month of September, ſhe ſet out for Holland, where Rear-Admiral Baker attended, with a ſmall ſquadron, in order to bring her over; which he accordingly did, on the 25th of that Month, and landed her at Portſmouth, where ſhe ſtaid ſome days at the houſe of Thomas Ridge, Eſq; and the Queen being then at Windſor, ſent inſtantly the Duke of Grafton to compliment her Majeſty, on her part; as his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Denmark did the Lord Delawar, on his. Colonel Godfrey, who had married the Duke of Marlborough's ſiſter, was ſent to Portſmouth, to defray the expences of the Queen of Portugal's houſhold, while ſhe continued there, and accordingly he kept eight tables all the time; and her Majeſty, in teſtimony of her grateful ſenſe of the honours paid her by our Court, beſides her preſent to Admiral Byng, made one to the Duke of Grafton of a diamond ring worth twelve thouſand Crowns. On the 6th of October, about three in the afternoon, the Queen of Portugal went on board the Royal Anne, where her Majeſty was received by Sir George Byng, and on her going off, the Governor ſaluted her with all the cannon of the place; and the next morning at ſeven o'clock, the fleet weighed and put to ſea, when all the cannon of the town were again diſcharged. Sir George Byng proceeded with a fair wind, and, after a very quick and eaſy paſſage, brought her Majeſty ſafely into the river of Liſbon, on the 16th of the ſame month. The King of Portugal, with ſeveral magnificent barges, went on board the Royal Anne, to welcome the Queen; and returning from thence, their Majeſties landed at the bridge of the palace, under a magnificent triumphal arch, from whence they proceeded through a vaſt crowd of people, to the Royal-Chapel, where they received the nuptial benediction. The Queen having generouſly expreſſed her great ſatisfaction as to the entertainment ſhe had received, during her ſtay in England, undoubtedly the King was very liberal in his magnificent preſents to the Admiral, and others, who conducted her (7). Sir George Byng, the very next day after his arrival at Liſbon, had intelligence that ſome French ſhips of conſiderable force had been ſeen upon the coaſt, which were ſuppoſed to be waiting for ſome of the homeward-bound Brazil fleet, which were then miſſing. Upon this, he immediately ſailed in queſt of them, though without ſucceſs, except that the news of his being at ſea, forced them to retire, and thereby ſecured the ſafe return of thirty-four ſhips, which dropped in by degrees. About the middle of November, Sir George received orders to proceed to Port-Mahon, in order to winter there, and to leave Sir John Jennings at Liſbon, with a ſmall ſquadron; but before he left that place, he received the Queen's orders to wear the Union Flag in the Mediterranean, the Prince of Denmark (through whoſe hands it ſhould otherwiſe have gone as Lord High-Admiral) being dead (8). He ſailed on the 27th of December with ſix Ships of the Line, two fire-ſhips, and three other attendants; and having ſent five ſhips to Alicant, to aſſure the Governor of the caſtle there, of his aſſiſtance, he arrived himſelf about Cape Palos the 3d of January, when ſtanding in for Alicant, the wind came off from the land ſo freſh, that he could not fetch the bay, ſo that he bore away to Port-Mahon; but when he had got within four leagues of that place, which was on the 5th, a ſtorm aroſe, which ſeparated moſt of the ſquadron, forcing him almoſt ſo high as Sardinia; but on the 12th he got into Port Mahon, where he found moſt of the ſquadron (9).

(7) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708 P. 313.

(8) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 737.

(9) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. 91. Hiſt. of Europe for 1708.

[E] *Having done all his power to render thoſe deſigns ſucceſsful.*] There were many accidents occurred to fruſtrate our Admiral's great deſigns, as will appear from a ſhort view of his proceedings during his command in the Mediterranean. In our laſt note, we left him in the harbour of Port-Mahon, where he was extremely diſtreſſed for want of naval ſtores, which were on board the Arrogant, a ſhip that had been miſſing from his arrival in that harbour, in queſt of which he detached ſhips to Majorca and Cagliari; and at the ſame time diſpatched orders to Sir Edward Whitaker, who was on the coaſt of Italy, to join him with his ſquadron, in caſe the Emperor's troops, that were deſigned for Catalonia, were not as yet ready. All the month of February 1709, was ſpent in tedious expectations; but at laſt, about the middle of March, Sir Edward Whitaker arrived with about 3500 men (10), to the great joy of Sir George Byng and General Stanhope, who had long waited for theſe forces, in order to attempt ſomething for the relief of Alicant, then beſieged by an army of 12000 men; and for the ſafety of which, King Charles had expreſſed unuſual concern (11). Accordingly the ſquadron, conſiſting of eleven ſhips of the line of battle (12), having put to ſea, arrived before Alicant, on the 5th of April in the morning, and ſtood into the bay, anchoring againſt the batteries and lines which the enemy had thrown up along the coaſt; and while the cannon were playing againſt thoſe works, General Stanhope intended to puſh on ſhore, but the wind blowing very ſtrong, occaſioned a great ſea, which rendered it impracticable; and the large ſhips being in leſs than four fathom water, were obliged to weigh their anchors, and make out of cannon ſhot. The weather continuing very bad till the 7th, and it not being known what extremities the garriſon might be under, and the enemy increaſing conſiderably in ſtrength, the General ſent a flag of truce an ſhore, with propoſals for ſurrendering the caſtle, to which the garriſon had before retired; which being agreed to, and our men embarked, Sir George Byng proceeded with the troops towards Barcelona, having detached ſome ſhips to cruize for the Turky fleet, others with tranſports for corn to Barbary, and three ſhips he left to clean at Port-Mahon. In his

(10) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, P. 754.

(11) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 115.

(12) Burchet, ut ſupra.

(*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 243.

command, he was made one of the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Lord High-Admiral (*y*), in which poſt he cotinued 'till ſome time before the Queen's death; when not falling in with the meaſures of thoſe times, he was removed; but on the acceſſion of his late Majeſty King George, he was reſtored to that employment (*z*). In July 1711, he was made Admiral of the White; and, in the year 1715, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, he was appointed to command a ſquadron in the Downs, in that critical juncture, with which he kept ſuch a watchful eye along the French coaſt, by examining ſhips, even in their ports, and obtaining orders from the Court of France, for the putting on ſhore at Havre de Grace, great quantities of arms and ammunition which he had detected, were ſhipped there for the Pretender's ſervice (*a*); that in reward of his ſervices, the King created him a Baronet November 14, 1715 (*b*); gave him a ring of great value; and other marks of his royal favour (*c*). In the year 1717, a diſcovery having been made, of an invaſion intended againſt this kingdom, by Charles XII. King of Sweden [*F*]: orders were

(*y*) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 99.

(*z*) Peerage of England, ubi ſup.

(*a*) Peerage of England, ubi ſup.

(*b*) Salmon's Chronol. Hiſtorian, p. 375.

(*c*) Peerage of England, ut ſup.

his way to Bercelona, he landed General Stanhope with the troops at Tarragona, and returned, with the garriſon of the caſtle of Alicant, to Port-Mahon (13). The whole ſquadron having joined at Barcelona, in June, a Council of War was held, in which it was determined, that ſince the King of Spain, as the poſture of affairs then were, could not come to any reſolution as to the fleet's aſſiſting in the reduction of thoſe parts of Spain ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, to ſail to a ſtation ten leagues off Cape Thoulon, not only for intercepting their trade, but to alarm them all that might be; and it being neceſſary a ſquadron ſhould be on the coaſt of Portugal, Sir John Jennings was ſent with thirteen ſhips to Liſbon (14). Sir George Byng arrived before Thoulon the 24th of June, in which harbour he ſaw only eight ſhips rigged, and one large man of war on the careen, the reſt being diſarmed. After thus inſulting Thoulon, he returned to Barcelona road, where he found moſt of the ſhips arrived from the ſervices upon which he had ſent them; and ſome of them, particularly the Centurion and Dunkirk, had been ſo fortunate as to take a great many prizes. The Admiral, upon his arrival to Bercelona, found the Court of Spain, at the inſtance of Cardinal Grimani, very deſirous to have the reduction of Sicily attempted, and was informed by General Stanhope, that it was her Majeſty's pleaſure, part of the fleet ſhould aſſiſt in the deſign upon Cadiz; but the Dutch ſhips having been ſeparated in bad weather, and ours being too few to anſwer theſe and other ſervices the Court propoſed, he ſuſpended, for ſome time, the coming to any reſolution, being every day in expectation of the ſhips of the States-General; but at length he formed a diſpoſition of her Majeſty's ſhips, and appointed Sir Edward Whitaker for the ſervice of Sicily, while he himſelf deſigned to proceed on the other with General Stanhope. The 26th of July, the Court of Spain having notice of the enemy's penetrating into the Lampourdan, with intention, as was apprehended, to beſiege Gironne; and there being a waut of ſhips to protect the coaſts of Catalonia, and hinder the enemy having ſupplies by ſea, as alſo a ſquadron to bring over the prizes with corn from Porto Farina, which they were in great want of, and ſome ſhips to go to Italy for money to ſubſiſt the troops; the Court ſeemed to lay aſide the deſign on Sicily, and Sir George Byng ſent five ſhips for the aforeſaid veſſels with corn (15). Thus the warmth, impatience, and irreſolution of the Court of Spain, obliged the Admiral to drop his great deſigns; for, without regard to what had been reſolved, or even for what themſelves had demanded before, they were continually deſiring ſomething new to be done for them, without conſidering that it was impoſſible our ſhips could perform one ſervice, without neglecting another. Thus upon an apprehenſion that the enemy would attack Gironne, the Engliſh ſhips were deſired to intercept their proviſions. Soon after they were diſtreſſed for want of proviſions themſelves, and then the moſt neceſſary thing that could be done, was to ſend for the prizes, laden with corn, from Port Farina. By that time this was reſolved on, money grew ſcarce, and then his Catholick Majeſty hoped that the Engliſh ſhips would go and fetch it immediately from Italy. The manner in which theſe demands were made, and the apprehenſions the officers were under, of complaints being ſent home, induced them to comply with every thing, as far as was in their power; ſo that, of neceſſity, the expedition againſt Sicily was laid aſide. Our admirals, however, ſtill flattered themſelves, that ſomething might be done at Cadiz, where it was known the people were in want of bread, and were beſides, highly diſcontented with the French government (16).—On the 27th of July, the Dutch ſquadron arrived from Leghorn, upon which Sir George Byng called a Council of War, and laid before them the Queen's orders, the deſires of his Catholick Majeſty, and the project formed by themſelves for attempting Cadiz; but the Commander in Chief of the Dutch Ships, excuſed himſelf, declaring, that they were victualled only 'till the end of Auguſt, which diſabled him from undertaking any ſervice beyond the 20th of that month. It was then agreed, that Sir George Byng ſhould proceed to Cadiz, and the Dutch be employed in other ſervices, as the King of Spain might have for them. Sir George arriving at Gibraltar, expected to have found there Rear-Admiral Baker's ſquadron, and the troops deſigned for the attempt on Cadiz; but not gaining any intelligence of him, or of Sir John Jennings, and finding that important enterprize could not be executed, he reſolved to return to England, where he ſafely arrived on the 25th of September, leaving Sir Edward Whitaker with a ſquadron of ſixteen ſhips in the Mediterranean, to protect the coaſts of Catalonia, and cruiſe off the coaſt of Roſes, to prevent the carrying to the enemy, any ſupplies of proviſions or ammunition, and to intercept their veſſels of corn from the Levant, and the coaſt of Barbary. This wiſe diſpoſition of the Admiral's had the deſired effect; for in the bay of Roſes, our fleet diſcovered the grand convoy intended for the French ſervice in the Lampourdan, conſiſting of forty large veſſels laden with corn and other proviſions, of which we took thirty, and hindered the reſt from putting to ſea; by which the enemy was greatly diſtreſſed, and King Charles's army ſo happily ſupplied with proviſions, as to be able to keep the field, which otherwiſe they could not have done (17). Some Dutch accounts ſay, Sir Edward Whitaker actually went into the bay of Roſes, and took fifty corn veſſels, and offered King Charles to aſſiſt in reducing that port, but his advice was not followed.

(13) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 758. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 122.

(14) Burchet, ut ſupra. HiſtoireMilitaire, Tom. VI. p. 253.

(15) Burchet, p. 759, 762. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 123.

(16) Burchet, &c. ubi ſupra.

(17) Burchet, ut ſupra. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 125.

[*F*] *It having been diſcovered that an invaſion was intended againſt this kingdom.*] This deſign was chiefly carried on between Baron Gortz, Miniſter and favourite of the King of Sweden, and Count Gyllemberg, the Swediſh Miniſter in England, who had lived here ſome years, and married an Engliſh lady. They had for ſome time carried on a correſpondence together, and concerted meaſures with the Engliſh rebels in France, and ſeveral perſons in England, for raiſing a rebellion, in favour of the Pretender, to be ſupported by foreign force. It is not certainly known how this conſpiracy came to be diſcovered; but on the 29th of January, Mr Secretary Stanhope, by the King's command, communicated to the Privy-Council, the information his Majeſty had received concerning this plot; upon which ſeveral perſons were ſecured, and amongſt the reſt, Count Gyllemberg, with all his papers; and Baron Gortz was, at his Britanick Majeſty's requeſt, arreſted in Holland, where he acted as Miniſter from the King of Sweden. Mr Secretary Stanhope laid before the Houſe of Commons, copies of letters that paſſed between Gyllemberg, Gortz, Baron Sparr, the Swediſh Ambaſſador at Paris, and others, by which it appeared, that their intention was to tranſport 12,000 men, a ſufficient train of artillery, arms for 10 or 12,000 men more, with requiſite ſtories of ammunition; that there had been remitted to them, ſeveral

ſums

were iſſued for forminga grand ſquadon, conſiſting of twenty-one ſhips of the line (*d*), beſides frigates, for the Baltick, the command of which was given to Sir George Byng, who was to have had two Admirals under him, with an additional force; but before thoſe ſhips were ready, the Miniſtry altered their deſign; and Sir George, in obedience to his freſh orders, ſailed on the thirtieth of March for Copenhagen (*e*), and on the eleventh of April arrived in the road of that place. The next day he had an audience of the King, and aſſiſted at ſeveral conferences which were held the ſucceeding week, in order to ſettle the operations by ſea, and the command of the confederate fleet, in caſe the ſeveral ſquadrons ſhould join (*f*). Sir George next detached five ſhips of the line to cruize in the Categat, between Gottenburgh and the Point of Shagen, to cover the trade from the Swediſh priteers. The Daniſh cruizers being likewiſe employed for the ſame purpoſe, the paſſage was ſo effectually ſecured, that no ſhips could paſs out of that port. Sir George himſelf only waited for a fair wind to ſail with the reſt of the Britiſh ſquadron into the Baltick, where the Swedes, however, had abſolutely laid aſide whatever deſign they had formed, either to our prejudice, or againſt the general peace of Europe, On the ſeventh of May, however, our Admiral ſailed from Copenhagen, having under his convoy a great number of merchant ſhips, bound for ſeveral ports of the Baltick, and being joined by the Daniſh fleet, commanded by Vice-Admiral Gabel, they ſailed together towards Carlſcroon, but were obliged by contrary winds to return. As no enemy appeared, and the ſeaſon began to advance, Sir George Byng thought of returning home with the fleet; and accordingly on the ſecond of November he paſſed the Sound, with nine Engliſh men of war, three frigates, and three veſſels of ſmall burthen, leaving behind him ſix men of war to act in conjunction with the Daniſh fleet; and on the fifteenth of the ſame month, arrived ſafe at the mouth of the Thames: there leaving his ſquadron, he came up to London, and was graciouſly received by his Majeſty (*g*). We are now to enter upon the moſt important ſcene of action, our Admiral was ever engaged in; and which he conducted with equal honour and reputation to himſelf, and the Britiſh Flag. This was the famous expedition of the Engliſh fleet to Sicily, in the year 1718, for the protection of the Neutrality of Italy, and the defence of the Emperor's poſſeſſions (according to the obligations England was under by treaty) againſt the invaſion of the Spaniards, who had the year before ſurprized Sardinia, and had this year landed an army in Sicily. It comes not within our province to enquire into the policy of the Councils which produced theſe meaſures; it is ſufficient for us to relate plain matters of fact, by which it will appear, that Sir George Byng performed, upon this occaſion, all that could be expected from the wiſdom and ſkill of an Engliſh Admiral; and that this expedition effectually anſwered it's end, which ought to be conſidered as an honour to his memory: whether that end ſhall be thought right or wrong, which is mere political diſpute, and neither can or ought to affect the character of the Admiral, in the leaſt. It was about the middle of March, in the year 1717-18, that Sir George Byng was appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Squadron intended for the Mediterranean; in May following he received his inſtructions, which ſee in the note [*G*]. The ſhips

(*d*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 398.

(*e*) Chandler's Debates. Votes of the Houſe of Commons. Political State of England. Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 390.

(*f*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 400.

(*g*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 401.

ſums of money from perſons in the deſign; that amongſt others, the Duke of Ormond was concerned, and had wrote to Gortz, that the King his maſter (meaning the Pretender) had ordered him to let Gortz know, that he expected ſhortly a ſupply of money, and would remit ſixty thouſand pounds to his Swediſh Majeſty, and begs him to look upon it only as a token of what was to come after, &c. The pretence for this invaſion, was, to maintain the Engliſh liberties, and ſupport the Church of England. In order to ſatisfy the world of the truth of this affair, the letters and papers relating thereto, were made publick; and the Parliament ſoon after, ſhewed the warmeſt reſentment and indignation at the inſolence of this attempt. It was indeed amazing, that a Prince, who was already overwhelmed by ſo many and ſo powerful enemies, ſhould think of adding to their number, by an attempt of this kind. But whoever conſiders the genius and ſpirit of the late Charles XII. will eaſily conceive, that it was natural enough for him to embrace any expedient which ſeemed to promiſe the deſolving that confederacy by which he was diſtreſſed. But his deſign was not only rendered abortive by this unexpected diſcovery, which put it abſolutely out of his power to carry it into execution, but it likewiſe brought upon him new difficulties, in conſequence of our King's reſentment of ſuch behaviour, which preſently diſcovered itſelf, by the vigorous reſolutions taken here; for a bill was brought to prohibit commerce with Sweden (18), during ſuch time as his Majeſty ſhould think it neceſſary, for the ſafety and peace of his kingdom (19), which paſſed both Houſes, and had the Royal Aſſent; and ſoon after a proclamation was publiſhed to the ſame end; and a formidable ſquadron ſent into the Baltick under the command of Admiral Byng, which effectually removed all apprehenſions the nation was under from the Swedes.

(18) Chandler's Debates. Votes of the Houſe of Commons. Hiſtorical Regiſter for 1717.

(19) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 398.

[*G*] *He received his inſtructions, which ſee in the note.*] They were dated the 26th of May, and are to the following purpoſe (20): 'That he ſhould, upon his 'arrival in the Mediterranean, acquaint the Court of 'Spain, and likewiſe the Viceroy of Naples, and the 'Governor of Milan, that he was ſent into that ſea in 'order to promote all meaſures that might beſt con'tribute to the compoſing the differences ariſen be'tween the two Crowns, and for preventing any fur'ther violation of the Neutrality of Italy, which he was 'to ſee preſerved. That he was to make inſtances with 'both parties, to forbear all acts of hoſtility, in order 'to the ſetting on foot, and concluding, the proper 'negotiations of peace: But, in caſe the Spaniards 'ſhould ſtill inſiſt to attack the Emperor's territory in 'Italy, or to land in any part of Italy for that pur'poſe, or ſhould endeavour to make themſelves maſters 'of the iſland of Sicily, which muſt be with a deſign 'to invade the kingdom of Naples, he was then, with 'all his power, to hinder and obſtruct the ſame. But 'if they were already landed, he was to endeavour 'amicably to diſſuade them from preſevering in ſuch 'an attempt, and to offer them his aſſiſtance to with'draw their troops, and put an end to further acts of 'hoſtility. But if his friendly endeavours ſhould prove 'ineffectual, he was then to defend the territories at'tacked, by keeping company with, or intercepting 'their ſhips or convoys, or (if neceſſary) by oppoſing 'them openly.' It is evident that theſe inſtructions were not of the cleareſt kind; but it ſeems, that they were explained to the Admiral before hand, by thoſe who had then the direction of affairs, as appears by a letter wrote by Mr Secretary Craggs to Sir George Byng, immediately before his embarkation; it is preſerved by the accurate Hiſtorian of this expedition, above-cited, in his appendix, of his original edition; from whence we have tranſcribed it, as a full proof, that

(20) See the Account of the Expedition of the Britiſh Fleet to Sicily, in the Appendix.

ſhips being got to their rendezvous at Spithead, Sir George Byng repaired down to Portſmouth, to take them under his commad; and on the fifteenth of June 1718, ſailed from thence with twenty ſhips of the line of battle, two fire-ſhips, two bomb-veſſels, an hoſpital-ſhip, and a ſtore-ſhip. Being got into the ocean, he ſent the Rupert to Liſbon for intelligence; and arriving the thirtieth off Cape St Vincent, he diſpatched the Superbe to Cadiz, with a gentleman who carried a letter from him to Colonel Stanhope, (the preſent Earl of Harrington) the King's Envoy at Madrid, wherein he deſired that Miniſter to acquaint the King of Spain, with his arrival in thoſe parts, in his way to the Mediterranean, and to lay before him the inſtructions he was to act under with his ſquadron; of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter [*H*]. The Admiral purſuing his voyage with unfavourable winds, it was the eighth of July before he made Cape Spartel, where the Superbe and Rupert rejoined him, and brought him advice of the mighty preparations the Spaniards had made at Barcelona, and of their fleet ſailing from thence the eighteenth of June to the eaſtward. In paſſing by Gibraltar, Vice-Admiral Cornwall came out and joined him, with the Argyle man of war, and Charles galley. The ſquadron wanting water, and the wind continuing contrary, they anchored off Cape Malaga; where having compleated their watering, in four days, they proceeded to Minorca, where the Admiral was to land four regiments of foot which he carried out from England, in order to relieve the ſoldiers there in garriſon, who were to embark and ſerve on board the ſquadron (*b*). On the twenty-third of July, he anchored with the ſquadron off Port Mahon; here he received advice, that the Spaniſh fleet had been ſeen the thirtieth of June, within forty leagues of Naples, ſteering S. E. upon which he diſpatched away expreſſes to the Governor of Milan, and the Viceroy of Naples, to inform them of his arrival in the Mediterranean; from whence he ſailed the twenty-fifth of July, and arrived the firſt of Auguſt in the Bay of Naples (*i*), into which the fleet ſailing with a gentle gale, conſiſting of twenty-one ſail of the line of battle, moſt of them great ſhips, and three of them bearing flags, afforded ſuch a ſpectacle as had never been ſeen in thoſe parts before. The whole city was in a tumult of joy and exultation. The ſhore was crowded with multitudes of coaches and people; and ſuch an infinite number of boats came off, ſome with proviſions and refreſhments, others out of curioſity

(*b*) Account of the Expedition to Sicily, p. 15, 16. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 418. Hiſtory of the Revolutions of Spain, Vol. V. p. 521.

(*i*) Annals of King George. Hiſtorical Regiſter for 1718.

that Sir George acted according to the verbal explication of his written orders by the Miniſters.

Cockpit, May 27,
'SIR, O. S. 1718.

'I Incloſe to you His Majeſty's inſtructions, as well 'with relation to your conduct in the Mediterra-'nean, as to the treaty with the Moors.

'After what paſſed yeſterday between my Lord 'Sunderland, my Lord Stanhope, you, and me, when 'we were together at Lord Stanhope's lodgings, there 'remains nothing for me, but to wiſh you a good 'voyage, and good ſucceſs in your undertakings: I 'do it very heartily, and am, with great truth,

'SIR,

'Your moſt obedient

'Humble ſervant,

'J. CRAGGS.'

[*H*] *Of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter.*] This letter of Admiral Byng's, Mr Stanhope ſhewed to the Cardinal Alberoni, who upon reading it told him with ſome warmth, 'That his maſter 'would run all hazards, and even ſuffer himſelf to 'be driven out of Spain, rather than re-call his troops, 'or conſent to any ſuſpenſion of arms;' adding, 'That the Spaniards were not to be frighted, and 'that he was ſo well convinced of their fleet's doing 'their duty, that if the Admiral ſhould think fit to 'attack them, he ſhould be in no pain for the 'ſucceſs.' Mr Stanhope, having in his hand, a liſt of the Britiſh ſquadron, deſired his Eminence to peruſe it, and to compare it's ſtrength with that of their own ſquadron; which the Cardinal took and threw on the ground with much paſſion. Mr Stanhope, with great temper, intreated him, 'To conſider the ſincere at-'tention the King his maſter had always had to the 'honour and intereſts of his Catholick Majeſty, which 'it was impoſſible for him to give greater proofs of 'than he had done, by his unwearied endeavours 'through the whole courſe of the preſent negotiation, 'to procure the moſt advantagious conditions poſſible 'for Spain, in which he had ſucceeded even beyond 'what any unprejudiced perſon could have hoped for; 'and that, tho' by the treaty of Utrecht for preſerving 'the Neutrality of Italy, which was entered into at the 'requeſt of the King of Spain himſelf; as alſo by that 'of Weſtminſter, the 25th of May, 1716, His Ma-'jeſty found himſelf obliged to defend the Emperor's 'dominions when attacked, he had hitherto acted 'only as a mediator, though even ſince the enter-'prize againſt Sardinia, by his treaties, he became a 'party in the war, and for this year laſt paſt, had 'been ſtrongly called upon by the Emperor, to com-'ply with his engagements; and that, even now, 'when it was impoſſible for him to delay any longer 'the ſending his fleet into the Mediterranean, it 'plainly appeared by the Admiral's inſtructions, which 'he communicated to his Eminence, and by the or-'ders he had himſelf received, that His Majeſty had 'nothing more at heart, than that his fleet might be 'employed in promoting the intereſts of the King of 'Spain, and hoped his Catholick Majeſty would not, 'by refuſing to re-call his troops, or conſent to a ceſſa-'tion of arms, put it out of his power to give all the 'proofs of ſincere friendſhip he always deſigned to 'cultivate with his Catholick Majeſty.' All that the Cardinal could be brought to promiſe, was, to lay the Admiral's letter before the King, and to let the Envoy know his reſolution upon it in two days; but it was nine before he could obtain and ſend it away; the Cardinal probably hoping, that the Admiral would delay, in expectation of it, in ſome of the ports of Spain, and thereby give time for their fleet and forces to ſecure a good footing in Sicily. The anſwer was wrote under the Admiral's letter, in theſe words. 'His Catholick Majeſty has done me the honour to 'tell me, that the Chevalier Byng may execute the 'orders which he has from the King his maſter.' 'Eſcurial, July 15th, 1718.' 'The Cardinal Alberoni.' Mr Stanhope ſeeing things tending to a rupture, gave private and early notice of his apprehenſions to the Engliſh Conſuls, and Merchants, ſettled in the Spaniſh ſea-ports, adviſing them to ſecure their effects againſt the dangers that might ariſe from a breach between the two crowns; and ſet out himſelf for Madrid, in order to make new propoſitions to his Catholick Majeſty, to prevent things coming to extremities; in which negotiation he actually laboured 'till very near the time that hoſtilities were begun; but to no purpoſe; for Cardinal Alberoni was ſo bent on executing his own ſcheme (21), that he rejected all propoſals that were made him, with great firmneſs (22), and reſolution.

(21) Hiſt. of the Revolutions of Spain, Vol. V. p. 519.

(22) Mercures Hiſtoriques & Politiques. Memoires de III. L. C. Alberoni, &c. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 417.

curioſity and admiration; that the ſea between the fleet at anchor and the ſhore, was, litterally, covered. The Viceroy, Count Daun, being ill with the gout, and having ſent his compliments to the Admiral, he went on ſhore, attended by the Flag-officers and Captains in their boats, and was ſaluted at his landing, by all the cannon round the city and caſtles, and was conducted to Court, through an infinite throng of people, with the greateſt acclamations of joy, and all the honours and ceremonies paid to a Viceroy [*I*]. Here the Admiral entered into a conference with Count Daun, from whom he learnt that the Spaniſh army, conſiſting of about 30,000 men, commanded by the Marquis de Lede, had landed the ſecond of July in Sicily, and had ſoon made themſeves maſters of the city and caſtles of Palermo, and of great part of the iſland; that they had taken the town of Meſſina, and were then carrying on the ſiege of the citadel, *&c.* After the conference, the Admiral was ſpendidly entertained at dinner, and then lodged at the palace of the Duke de Matalona, which had been magnificently fitted up for his reception. The next morning they had another conference, on the meaſures to be taken in that conjuncture of affairs; when it was agreed, that the Viceroy ſhould ſend 2000 German foot, in tartans, to Meſſina, to relieve the citadel, and Fort St Salvador, under the protection of Sir George Byng (*k*), who accordingly ſailed with them the ſixth of Auguſt from Naples, and arrived the ninth in view of the Fare of Meſſina. Here the Admiral, deſirous of trying every method of negotiation, before he proceeded to the extremity of his orders, diſpatched his firſt Captain to Meſſina, with a letter to the Marquis de Lede, wherein, after acquainting him upon what account he was ſent there, he propoſed a ceſſation of arms in Sicily, for two months, in order to give time to the ſeveral Courts, to conclude on ſuch reſolutions as might reſtore a laſting peace; but added, that if he was not ſo happy to ſucceed in this offer of his ſervice, he ſhould then be obliged to uſe all his force, to prevent farther attempts to diſturb the dominions his Maſter ſtood engaged to defend. The General returned for anſwer, that he had no Powers to treat, and conſequently could not agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms, but muſt follow his orders, which directed him to ſeize upon Sicily for his Maſter the King of Spain. According to the beſt accounts the Admiral could receive, he was led to conclude, that the Spaniſh fleet was ſailed from Malta, in order to avoid him; and therefore upon receiving the Marquis's anſwer, he immediately weighed, with intention to come with his ſquadron before Meſſina, in order to encourage and ſupport the garriſon in the citadel; but, as he ſtood about the Point of the Fare towards Meſſina, he ſaw two Spaniſh ſcouts in the Fare; and being informed at the ſame time by a felucca, which came off from the Calabrian ſhore, that they ſaw from the hills, the Spaniſh fleet lying by; the Admiral altered his deſign, and ſending away the German troops to Reggio, under the convoy of two men of War, he ſtood thro' the Fare with his ſquadron, with all the ſail he could, after their ſcouts, imagining they would lead him to theirs, which accordingly they did; for before noon he had a fair view of their whole fleet lying by, and drawn into a line of battle, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven ſail of men of war, ſmall and great, beſides two fire-ſhips, four bomb-veſſels, ſeven gallies, and ſeveral ſhips laden with ſtores and proviſions, commanded by the Admiral Don Antonio de Caſtaneta, and under him four Rear-Admirals, Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock; on the ſight of the Engliſh ſquadron, they ſtood away large, but in good order of battle. The Admiral followed them all the reſt of that day, and the ſucceeding night, with calm and fair weather; the next morning early, (the eleventh) the Engliſh being got pretty near up with them, the Marquis de Mari, Rear-Admiral, with ſix Spaniſh men of ſtar, and all the gallies, fire-ſhips, bomb-veſſels, and ſtore-ſhips, ſeparated from their main fleet, and ſtood in for the Sicilian ſhore; upon which the Admiral detached Capt. Walton, of the Canterbury, with five more ſhips after them; and the Argyle and Canterbury, getting within gun-ſhot of the headmoſt ſhip, about ſix in the morning, the Argyle fired a ſhot to bring her to, which ſhe not minding, the Argyle fired another, and the Canterbury being ſomewhat nearer, fired another, upon which the Spaniſh ſhip fired her ſtern chaſe guns at the Canterbury, and then the engagement began. The Admiral purſuing the main body of the Spaniſh fleet; the Orford, Capt. Falkingham, and the Grafton, Capt. Haddock, came up firſt with them about ten of the clock, at whom the Spaniards fired their ſtern chaſe guns. The Admiral ſent orders to thoſe two ſhips not to fire, unleſs the Spaniards repeated their firing; which they doing, the Orford attaked the Santa Roſa, of ſixty guns, and took her. The St Carlos, of ſixty guns, ſtruck next, without much oppoſition, to the Kent, Capt. Mathews. The Grafton attacked warmly the

(*k*) Hiſt. of the Revolutions of Spain, Vol. V. p. 521.

[*I*] *He was conducted to Court through an infinite throng of people, with the greateſt acclamations of joy,* &c.] The imperial Viceroy of Naples, preſented Sir George with a ſword ſet with diamonds, and a very rich ſtaff of command; and to the Admiral's ſon he alſo made a preſent of a very fine ſword; and likewiſe ſent refreſhments to the fleet, conſiſting of a hundred oxen, three hundred ſheep, ſix hundred pounds of ſugar, ſeventy hogſheads of wine, forty hogſheads of brandy, and ſeveral other things (23). We need not wonder, that the German government was extremely well pleaſed at the Admiral's arrival, or that they paid him evey honour in their power, ſince it is very certain, that his coming ſo luckily, preſerved that kingdom for the houſe of Auſtria, that had otherwiſe, in all probability, ſhared the fate of Sicily, which the Marquis De Lede had conquered, almoſt as ſoon as he landed (24); or rather his landing gave the people an opportunity of declaring for that power, which, tho' it had loſt it's ſovereignty over them, had ſtill preſerved their affection. And at Naples, though the common people were generally in the intereſt of the houſe for the houſe of Auſtria, there was a ſtrong party, among the Sicillian Nobility for Spain; and the whole country was ill provided for defence.

(23) Lives of the Admirals, p. 418.

(24) Hiſt. of the Revolutions of Spain, Vol. V. p. 529.

[*K*] *See*

the Prince of Aſturias, of ſeventy guns, formerly called the Cumberland, in which was Rear-Admiral Chacon, but the Breda and Captain coming up, Capt. Haddock left her much ſhattered, for them to take; and ſtretched a-head after another ſhip of ſixty guns, which had kept firing on his ſtarboard bow, during his engagement with the Prince of Aſturias. About one of the clock, the Kent, and ſoon after the Superbe, Capt. Matter, came up with, and engaged the Spaniſh Admiral, of ſeventy-four guns, who, with two more ſhips, fired on them, and made a running fight, 'till about three, and then the Kent bearing down upon him, and under his ſtern, gave him her broadſide, and fell to leeward; afterwards the Superbe putting for it to lay the Admiral aboard, fell on his weather quarter, upon which the Spaniſh Admiral ſhifting his helm, the Superbe ranged up under his lee quarter, on which he ſtruck to her. At the ſame time the Barfleur, in which was the Admiral, being a-ſtern of the Spaniſh Admiral within ſhot, and inclining on his weather quarter, Rear Admiral Guevara and another ſixty gun ſhip, which were to windward, bore down upon him, and gave him their broadſides, and then clapt upon a wind, ſtanding in for the land; Admiral Byng immediately tacked and ſtood after them, until it was almoſt night, but it being little wind, and they galing away out of his reach, he left purſuing them, and ſtood into the fleet, which he joined two hours after night. The Eſſex took the Juno of thirty-ſix guns, the Mountague and Rupert took the Volante of forty-four guns, and Rear-Admiral Delaval in the Dorſetſhire, took the Iſabella of ſixty guns. This action happened off Cape Paſſaro, at about ſix leagues diſtance from the ſhore. The Engliſh received but little damage. The ſhip that ſuffered moſt was the Grafton, which being a good ſailor, her Captain engaged ſeveral ſhips of the enemy, always purſuing the headmoſt, and leaving thoſe ſhips he had diſabled or damaged, to be taken by thoſe that followed him. The Admiral lay by ſome days at ſea, to refit the rigging of his ſhips, and to repair the damages the prizes had ſuſtained; and, the eighteenth received a letter from Capt. Walton, who had been ſent in purſuit of the Spaniſh ſhips that eſcaped. The Captain was one whoſe natural talents were fitter for atchieving a gallant action, than deſcribing one, and his letter on this occaſion, is ſingular enough in it's kind to deſerve notice. It runs thus:

SIR,

'WE have taken and deſtroyed all the Spaniſh ſhips and veſſels which were upon the coaſt, the number as per margin,

I am, *&c.*

Canterbury, off Syracuſa,
Auguſt 16, 1718.

G. WALTON.

Theſe ſhips that Capt. Walton thruſt into his margin, would have furniſhed matter for ſome pages, in a French relation; for, from the account they referred to, it appeared that he had taken four Spaniſh men of war; one of ſixty guns, commanded by Rear-Admiral Mari; one of fifty-four, one of forty, and one of twenty-four guns, with a bomb-veſſel, and a ſhip laden with arms; and burnt four men of war, one of fifty-four, two of forty, and one of thirty guns, with a fire-ſhip and a bomb-veſſel. He was knighted for this action, and made a flag officer ſome time after. Such is the account of this famous action, by our Admiral (*l*). The Spaniards, publiſhed likewiſe an account on their ſide, which was printed in Holland, and circulated with great induſtry throughout all Europe, in order to make ſuch impreſſions as might ſerve their purpoſe, and incline the world to believe, that their fleet had not been attacked and beaten fairly, but had been ſurprized and deſtroyed, without that kind of notice, which the laws of nature and nations require, to diſtinguiſh force of arms from pyratical violence. It is but juſt in any caſe, to hear both parties; and as the Spaniſh relation contains many particulars that are wanting in the Admiral's, which is indeed too general, and as the Hiſtorian of this expedition, has not taken notice of the account given by the Spaniards, it is therefore requiſite to give it a place here, for by a compariſon hereof with our Admiral's account, many particulars come to be explained, which otherwiſe might have been buried in obſcurity. See therefore the notes, where it comes more properly [*K*]. As ſoon as Admiral Byng had obtained a full account of the whole

(*l*) This Account is taken from the ſeveral Letters written by the Admiral, or publiſhed with his authority.

[*K*] *See therefore the notes, where it comes more properly.*] The account itſelf being very long, we ſhall ſhorten it as much as we can, by curtailing it of ſome particulars which are the ſame with the Admiral's. The ſubſtance therefore is as follows. 'The Spaniſh 'Admirals not knowing the intentions of the Engliſh, 'whether they came as friends or enemies, endeavoured to penetrate into their deſigns, and ſent two 'light frigates to get intelligence of them; and when 'the Engliſh ſquadron advanced into the Faro, it was 'ſaluted by all the Spaniſh ſhips and veſſels which were 'there. That the officer ſent by Admiral Byng to 'the Marquis de Lede, with propoſals for a ceſſation 'of arms, affirming, that his fleet was not to commit 'any act of hoſtility, but only to ſecure the tranſports 'under the Admiral's protection, from inſults; yet, 'though it was believed that a courier was ſent by the 'Marquis, to Madrid, with the Admiral's propoſals, 'the Engliſh ſquadron took the opportunity of night, 'to ſurprize the Spaniſh ſquadron, which had retired 'towards Cape Paſſaro, but did not make much ſail, 'that it might not be thought they ſuſpected any hoſtilities. During this, a calm happened, by which 'the ſhips of both ſquadrons fell in one among another; and the Spaniſh Admiral perceiving this accident, cauſed the ſhips of the line to be towed, in order

whole tranſaction, he diſpatched away his eldeſt ſon to England, who arriving at Hampton-Court in fifteen days from Naples, brought thither the agreeable confirmation of what publick

'order to ſeparate them from the Engliſh, and join 'them in one body, without permitting the gallies to 'begin any act of hoſtility, which they might have 'done to advantage, during the calm. The weather 'changed, when the Marquis de Mari was near land, 'and conſequently ſeparated from the reſt, making the 'rear-guard, with ſeveral frigates and other tranſport 'veſſels, which made up his diviſion, and endeavour-'ed, tho' in vain, to join the main body of the Spaniſh 'ſquadron, while the Engliſh filled their ſails to gain 'the wind, and cut off the diviſion of the Marquis de 'Mari; and having at laſt ſucceeded in it, they at-'tacked him with ſix ſhips, and obliged him to ſepa-'rate from the reſt of the ſquadron, and to make to-'wards the coaſt, where they ſtood it againſt ſeven 'ſhips of the line, as long as the ſituation permitted; 'and being no longer able to reſiſt, the Marquis de 'Mari ſaved his Men, by running his ſhips a-ground, 'ſome of which were burnt by his own order, and o-'thers taken by the enemy.—— Seventeen ſhips of the 'line, the remainder of the Engliſh ſquadron, attacked 'ten Spaniſh ſhips, which continued making towards 'Cape Paſſaro; and as they retired in a line, becauſe 'of the inequality of their ſtrength, the Engliſh at-'tacked thoſe that compoſed the rear-guard, with four 'or five ſhips, and took them; this happened ſucceſ-'ſively to others, which being attacked ſeparately by 'five, ſix, or ſeven of the enemy's, were taken after 'a bloody and obſtinate fight. Thus the Royal St Phi-'lip, Admiral Caſtaneta, was attacked by the whole 'diviſion of the Engliſh Admiral, conſiſting of ſeven 'ſhips of the line, and a fire-ſhip; the fight began at 'two in the afternoon, by a ſhip of ſeventy guns, and 'another of ſixty, which gave him two broadſides, 'but he defended himſelf ſo well that they retired, 'and two other ſhips, one of eighty, the other of ſe-'venty guns, renewed the attack; and the eighty gun 'ſhip retired very much ſhattered, without going into 'the line; but the others making towards the Spaniſh 'Admiral, they fired upon him, while it was impoſſible 'for him to hurt them, and ſhot away all his rigging, 'without leaving him one entire ſail, while two o-'thers, one of ſixty, the other of thirty guns, attacked 'the ſtarboard of his ſhip, to oblige him to ſurrender, 'and the Engliſh Admiral carried a fire-ſhip, to reduce 'him by the flames, which, however, the Spaniſh Com-'mander prevented, and maintained the fight 'till to-'wards night, having loſt two hundred men, and him-'ſelf received a ſhot which pierced his left leg, and 'wounded his right heel: yet he continued to defend 'himſelf 'till a cannon-bullet having cut a maſt in two, 'the pieces of which fell upon him and left him half 'dead, he was forced to ſurrender While the Royal 'Philip was engaged with the Engliſh, Rear-Admiral 'Guevara came up, and attacked Admiral Byng's 'ſhips, and very much damaged them. The Prince 'of Aſturias, Rear Admiral Chacon, was attacked at 'the ſame time, by three ſhips of equal force, againſt 'which he defended himſelf valiantly, avoiding being 'boarded, 'till being wounded, and having loſt moſt of 'his men, he was obliged to ſurrender his ſhip, which 'was all ſhot through and through, after having ſhot 'down the maſts of an Engliſh ſhip that retired out of 'the fight. The St Roſa frigate defended herſelf a-'bove three hours, againſt five Engliſh ſhips, who did 'not take her 'till they had broke all her ſails and 'maſts. The Volante fought three hours and an half, 'againſt three Engliſh ſhips, and having loſt her ſails, 'and put up others that were in ſtore, was juſt going 'to board one of the enemy's ſhips, but being ſhot 'through by ſix cannon-bullets, and the water coming 'in, the Captain was obliged to ſurrender, becauſe the 'ſhip's crew forced him. The Juno was engaged al-'ſo by three Engliſh ſhips; yet maintained the fight 'above three hours, not ſurrendering 'till moſt of her 'men were killed, and the ſhip juſt falling in pieces. 'The Pearl fought three hours againſt three ſhips, and 'after having ſhot down the maſts of one of them, 'which immediately retired, was reſcued by Rear-Ad-'miral Guevara. The Iſabella was purſued all night 'by ſeveral Engliſh ſhips, and after a defence of four 'hours, ſurrendered the next day. The Surprize fri-'gate fought three hours againſt three Engliſh ſhips, 'when moſt of her men being killed, her Captain 'wounded, and all her rigging ſpoiled, ſhe was forced 'to ſurrender The other light ſhips and frigates re-'tired to Malta and Sardinia, as did alſo Admiral Gue-'vara. The marines in every ſhip, who were com-'poſed of the nobility of Spain, ſignalized and diſtin-'guiſhed themſelves with great valour. The ſeven 'gallies having done all that was poſſible to join the 'Spaniſh ſhips, having a freſh gale of wind, retired to 'Palermo Beſides the above ſhips which the Engliſh 'took out of the main body of the Spaniſh ſquadron, 'they alſo took the Royal, the St Iſidore and the Ea-'gle, two frigates. This is the account of the ſea-'fight between theSpaniſh and Engliſh ſquadrons, the 'laſt of which by ill faith, and the ſuperiority of their 'ſtrength, had the advantage to beat the Spaniſh ſhips 'ſingly, one by one; and it is to be believed, by the 'defence the Spaniards made, that if they had acted 'jointly, the battle would have ended more happily 'for them. Immediately after the fight, a Captain of 'the Engliſh ſquadron came, in the name of Admiral 'Byng, to make a compliment of excuſe to the Mar-'quis de Lede, giving him to underſtand, that the 'Spaniards had been the aggreſſors, and that this ac-'tion ought not to be looked upon as a rupture, be-'cauſe the Engliſh did not take it as ſuch. To which 'it was anſwered, 'That Spain will reckon it as a for-'mal rupture, and that they would do the Engliſh all 'the damages and hoſtilities imaginable.'

There are many things in this relation more agreeable to Spaniſh humour than to truth; and there is no queſtion to be made, but that both accounts retain ſome tincture of the paſſions and prejudices of thoſe who drew them up; and it is no leſs certain, that what was commonly reported at that time, of the bad behaviour of the Spaniards, and of their making but a weak defence, was but indifferently founded: For the truth is, that their fleet, though ſtrong in appearance, was every way inferior to ours; their ſhips being old, their artillery none of the beſt, and in number of guns, one hundred and ſixteen ſhort of ours, and their ſeamen moſt of them not to be depended upon (25). Yet it is agreed on all hands, that their Admirals defended themſelves very gallantly; and, indeed, their defeat may, in a great meaſure, be charged upon their irreſolution at the beginning, and their not taking good advice when it was given them, we mean that of Rear-Admiral Cammock, who was (to ſpeak impartially) a much better ſeaman than any who bore command in the Spaniſh fleet (26). He knew perfectly well, the ſtrength of both parties, and ſaw plainly that nothing could ſave the Spaniards, but a wiſe diſpoſition; and therefore, in the laſt Council of War held before the battle, he propoſed that they ſhould remain at anchor in the road of Paradiſe, ranging their ſhips in a line of battle, with their broadſides to the ſea; which meaſure would certainly have given the Admiral infinite trouble to attack them; for the coaſt there is ſo bold, that their biggeſt ſhips could ride with a cable a ſhore; and farther out, the currents are ſo various and rapid, that it would have been hardly practicable to get up to them, but impoſſible to anchor, or lye by them in order of battle. Beſides, they lay ſo near the ſhore, and could have received ſuch aſſiſtance of ſoldiers from the army, to man and defend them; and the annoyance the Spaniards might have given them from the ſeveral batteries they could have planted along the ſhore, would have been ſuch, that the only way of attacking the ſhips, ſeemed to be by boarding and grappling with them at once, to prevent being caſt off by the currents, which would have been a very hazardous undertaking, wherein the Spaniards would have had many advantages, and the Engliſh Admiral have run the chance of deſtroying his fleet, or buying a victory, if he ſucceeded, very dear (27). But the Spaniſh Admirals were too much perſuaded of their own ſtrength, and the courage of their ſeamen, or elſe they fooliſhly depended upon their not being attaked by our fleet. Whatever the motive was, they ſlighted this ſalutary counſel, and were thereby undone.

(25) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 438.

(26) Page 439.

(27) Account of the Expedition to Sicily, p. 36, 37.

[A] *Which*

publick fame had before reported, and upon which, the King had already written a letter to the Admiral with his own hand, which the reader may ſee in note [*L*]. Mr Byng met with a moſt gracious reception from His Majeſty, who made him an handſome preſent, and ſent him back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, to negotiate with the ſeveral Princes and States of Italy, as there ſhould be occaſion; and with his royal grant to the officers and ſeamen, of all prizes taken by them from the Spaniards. The Admiral, in the mean time, proſecuted his affairs with great diligence, procured the Emperor's troops free acceſs into the fortreſſes that were ſtill held out in Sicily, ſailed afterwards to Malta, and brought out the Sicilian gallies, under the command of the Marquis de Rivaroles, and a ſhip belonging to the Turkey company, which had been blocked up there by Rear-Admiral Cammock, with a few ſhips which he had ſaved after the late engagement, and then ſailed back again to Naples, where he arrived on the ſecond of November; and ſoon after received a gracious letter from the Emperor, written with his own hand, accompanied with a picture of His Imperial Majeſty, ſet round with very large diamonds, as a mark of the grateful ſenſe he had of the ſervices rendered by his Excellency to the Houſe of Auſtria. See the letter in note [*M*]. As for the prizes that had been taken, they were ſent to Port-Mahon, where, by ſome unlucky accident, the Royal Philip took fire, and blew up, with moſt of the crew on board; but the Spaniſh Admiral had been before ſet on ſhore in Sicily, with ſome other priſoners of diſtinction, where he ſoon after died of his wounds. The Spaniſh Court, exceſſively provoked at this unexpected blow, which had, in a manner, totally deſtroyed the naval force they had been at ſo much pains to raiſe, were not ſlow in expreſſing their reſentments. On the firſt of September, Rear-Admiral Guevara, with ſome ſhips, entered the Port of Cadiz, and made himſelf maſter of all the Engliſh ſhips that were there; and at the ſame time, all the effects of the Engliſh Merchants were ſeized in Malaga, and other ports of Spain, which, as ſoon as it was known here, produced reprizals on our part; and in December following, a declaration of war againſt Spain [*N*]. Sir George Byng ſtaid

[*L*] *Which the reader may ſee in the note.*]

'Monſieur le Chevalier Byng.

'QUOY que je n'ay pas encore reçeu de vos nouvelles en droiture, j'ay appris la victorie que la flotte a remportee ſous vos ordres, & je n'ay pas voulu vous differer le contentment que mon approbation de votre conduit vous pourroit donner. Je vous en remercie, & je ſouhait que vous en temoigniez dans cette occaſion. Le Secretaire d'Etat Craggs a ordre de vous informer plus au long de mes intentions; mais je voulu vous aſſurer moy même que je ſuis, Monſieur le Chevalier Byng,

'A Hampton-Court, ce 23 d'Aout, 1718. Votre bon amy,

'GEORGE R.'

In Engliſh thus.

'Sir GEORGE BYNG.

'ALthough I have received no news from you directly, I am informed of the victory obtained by the fleet under your command; and would not therefore defer giving you that ſatisfaction which muſt reſult from my approbation of your conduct. I give you my thanks, and deſire you will teſtify my ſatisfaction to all the brave men who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion. Mr Secretary Craggs has orders to inform you more fully of my intentions; but I was willing myſelf to aſſure you, that I am,

'Hampton-Court, Auguſt 23, 1718. Your very good friend,

'GEORGE R.

[*M*] *See the letter in the note.*]

'Monſieur Amiral & Chevalier BYNG.

'J'AY reçu avec beaucoup de ſatisfaction & de joye, par le porteur de celle cy la votre du 18me d'Aout. Quand je ſceus que vous etiez nomme de ſa Majeſte le Roy votre maitre pour commandez ſa flotte dans la Mediterranee je conceus d'abord toutes les bonnes eſperances. Le glorieux ſucceſs pourtant les a en quelque maniere ſurpaſſe. Vous avez en cette occaſion donne des preuves d'une valeur, conduit, & zele pour la commune cauſe très ſingulier; la gloire que vous en reſulte eſt bien grande, mais auſſi en rien moindre ma reconnoiſſance, comme vous l'expliquera plus le Comte de Hamilton. Comptez toujours ſur la continuation de ma reconnoiſſance & de mon affection envers vous, priant Dieu qu'il vous ait en ſa ſainte garde.

'A Vienne, ce 22me Octobre, 1718. 'CHARLES.'

In Engliſh thus.

'Admiral Sir GEORGE BYNG,

'I Have received with a great deal of joy and ſatisfaction by the bearer of this, your's, of the 18th of Auguſt. As ſoon as I knew you were named by the King your maſter, to command a fleet in the Mediterranean, I conceived the greateſt hopes imaginable from that very circumſtance. The glorious ſucceſs you have had, ſurpaſſes however my expectations. You have given, upon this occaſion, very ſingular proofs of your courage, conduct, and zeal for the common cauſe, the glory you obtain from thence, is indeed great, and yet my gratitude falls nothing ſhort thereof, as Count Hamilton will fully inform you. You may always depend upon the continuance of my thankfulneſs and affection towards you; may God have you always in his holy keeping.

'Vienna, September 22, O.S. 1718. 'CHARLES.'

The Admiral was alſo honoured with a letter of congratulation upon his victory, from the Queen of Denmark, wrote by her Majeſty's great Maſter of the houſhold, September 26, 1718.

[*N*] *And in December following, a declaration of war againſt Spain.*] As to the expediency of this meaſure, as well as of the Sicilian expedition, there were very warm debates in Parliament; and this laſt engroſſed all converſation, from the time of the ſtroke given to their fleet in the Mediterranean, ſome looking upon that as one of the nobleſt exploits ſince the Revolution, but the generality of people conſidered it in quite another light; and when an addreſs was moved for, to juſtify that meaſure, it was warmly oppoſed in both Houſes of Parliament, but without effect. Perhaps, there never was a meaſure more maliciouſly aſperſed, and miſrepreſented, than this of the attacking the Spaniſh fleet; it was confidently, and generally reported, and for many years believed, that Sir George Byng attacked and deſtroyed that fleet, without any

ſtaid at Naples, adviſing and aſſiſting the Viceroy, in concerting the neceſſary meaſures to be taken againſt the enemy, 'till the third of February following, and then ſailed to Port-Mahon, to refit his ſhips and put them in a condition to go on early with the operations of the campaign, leaving his eldeſt ſon at Naples, to manage his correſpondence with the Viceroy, and to inform the Court of England of all occurrences in thoſe parts; and left Capt. Mathews with a ſquadron, at Pentemelia, to obſerve Rear-Admiral Cammock, and hinder his eſcaping out of Meſſina to the ſouthward [O]. The Admiral having refitted moſt of his ſquadron at Port-Mahon, ſailed early in the ſpring from thence to Naples [P], where

orders or inſtructions for his ſo doing; and without giving the leaſt intimation to the Court of Spain: and under this heavy imputation did the Admiral lie, for ſeveral years, 'till the affair was cleared up, by publiſhing an authentick account of the whole, and the Admiral's orders and inſtructions, and the ſteps he took for giving notice of them to the Court of Spain; from whence it appears, that he had expreſs orders for what he did, and that all his meaſures were in purſuance of thoſe orders: as to the action itſelf, off Paſſaro, the following letter may be alone ſufficient to juſtify the Admiral. It was wrote by the Earl Stanhope, then Secretary, to Sir George Byng, and is as follows:

'Bayonne, September 2, 1718.

'BEING arrived here laſt night, in ſix days from 'Madrid, I do, in purſuance of the commands 'I have from His Majeſty, take this firſt opportunity 'of acquainting you, that nothing has paſſed at Ma'drid, which ſhould divert you from purſuing the in'ſtructions you have.

'If the news which I learn at Bayonne, that the 'Citadel of Meſſina is taken, be not true, or if, not'withſtanding the Spaniards have that port, their 'fleet, by contrary winds, or any other accident, 'ſhould not have got into the harbour, and that you 'have an opportunity of attacking them, I am per'ſuaded you will not let ſuch an occaſion ſlip; and I 'agree perfectly in opinion with what is recommended 'to you by Mr Secretary Craggs, that the firſt blow 'you give, ſhould, if poſſible, be deciſive.'

[O] *To obſerve Rear-Admiral Cammock, and hinder his eſcaping out of Meſſina to the ſouthward.*] Captain Mathews ſucceeded in this command, for he had the good fortune to run one of Cammock's ſhips a-ſhore, of ſixty-four guns, called the St Roſelia; and another called the St Pedre of ſixty guns, was caſt away in Tarento Bay. Admiral Cammock himſelf, endeavouring to get away to Spain in a ſmall frigate of twenty-two guns, was chaſed the 6th of February by a ſhip of Captain Mathew's ſquadron; and eſcaped with much difficulty in his boat to Catalonia, but the frigate was taken, with all his effects and papers, amongſt which was a commiſſion from the Pretender, appointing him Admiral of the white ſquadron.

This unhappy man, was a native of Ireland, and being bred at ſea, had raiſed himſelf to the poſt of a Captain, and ſerved in our navy in Queen Anne's war, with a good character: but aſſociating himſelf with thoſe who were enemies to the Houſe of Hanover, and becoming obnoxious to the government, on the acceſſion of that family to the crown, he abandoned his country, and entered into the ſervice of Spain, where he was promoted to the rank of a Rear-Admiral, and ſerved in that poſt in the expedition againſt Sicily. He was a man of a bold, enterprizing genius, of which he gave a remarkable inſtance or two, in the courſe of this expedition, which, as they are not at all foreign to our purpoſe, we ſhall relate, eſpecially as they were the actions of a native of this kingdom, tho' a degenerate one. The Germans being beſieged in Melazzo, a town in Sicily, and having no proviſions but what came by ſea from Calabria and other ports of Naples, Admiral Byng appointed Captain Walton to cruize with a ſquadron, upon that ſtation, to hinder Rear-Admiral Cammock, from coming out of the Fare, and to ſecure the paſſage of the veſſels with proviſions for the German camp, to which none had then arrived in a month, and Captain Walton being blown off his ſtation, Cammock took hold of this opportunity to get out of Meſſina, as the weather abated, and appearing before Tropea, with Engliſh colours, ſent a letter on ſhore to the Governor, under a fictitious name of one of the Engliſh Captains, acquainting him, that he was come there by Admiral Byng's orders, to convoy the embarkations with proviſions to Melazzo, and preſſed him to diſpatch them away, the place being in the utmoſt diſtreſs. Had this ſtratagem ſucceeded, it would have entirely ruined the Emperor's affairs in Sicily; but the Governor happening to be a wary man, and obſerving the letter to be written on Genoa paper, from that ſingle circumſtance conceived a ſuſpicion, which made him refuſe to ſend the embarkations out to him. In the mean time, Admiral Byng, then at Naples, being made ſenſible of the extremities the Germans were reduced to, had no other way left, than to fill four men of war with proviſions, directing their Captains to attempt at all hazards to get to Melazzo, which three of them did, with much difficulty and danger (the fourth being diſabled by bad weather) and came providentially to the relief of the garriſon, at a time they muſt have otherwiſe ſurrendered to the enemy, or periſhed by famine. A few days after, Captain Walton recovered his ſtation, upon the ſight of whom, Admiral Cammock retired into Meſſina.

The other project of Admiral Cammock's ſeemed leſs likely to ſucceed than the other; for after the deſtruction of the Spaniſh fleet, he aſſured Don Joſeph Patinho, who had the abſolute direction and management of the Spaniſh expedition, except the military part, that he could put moſt of the Engliſh fleet into his hands, in lieu of that he had loſt; in confidence of which, he wrote a letter to Sir George Byng, to let him know, that he had the Pretender's commands to aſſure him, if he would bring over the greateſt part of his fleet to Meſſina, or to any port in Spaio, he would create him Duke of Albemarle, with a royal bounty of one hundred thouſand pounds to ſupport the honour and dignity of that rank; and that every Captain ſhould have ten thouſand pounds, and the ſeamen a gratuity of two months wages; that Signor Patinho would ſatisfy him of the King of Spain's ſecurity for the performance of this agreement, and that no body elſe but the Dukes of Ormond and Mar were in the ſecret. — Whether he wrote by direction or not, does not appear, but the letter met with the contempt it deſerved. —— He likewiſe ſent another letter to Captain Walton, with the promiſe of a reward of ten thouſand pounds, a commiſſion of Admiral of the Blue, and to be made an Engliſh Peer, if he would bring his ſhips into Meſſina, which the honeſt Captain brought to the Admiral, with vehement expreſſions of abhorrence and indignation.

[P] *The Admiral ſailed early in the ſpring to Naples.*] During the Admiral's ſtay at Naples, an accident happened, ſingular enough to deſerve notice. The Viceroy of Naples, who ſtudied every way to make the place agreeable to the Admiral, on the feſtival of St Januarius, had appointed him a box near his own, to behold that famous ceremony. The blood continued a long time without liquifying, at the approach of the head of that ſaint. The vaſt concourſe of people began to ſhew ſigns of concern: they fell firſt to praying, afterwards proceeded to groans and lamentations; and at length ſuch a confuſed murmuring and uncaſineſs was perceived among them, that the Viceroy being apprehenſive of ſome bad conſequences, ſent Count Hamilton to the Admiral, to beg he would not take it ill, if he deſired him to retire, not knowing what effect it might have upon the populace, if they ſhould take it into their heads to attribute the failing of the miracle to the ſaints's being diſpleaſed at his preſence: the Admiral had no ſooner quitted his box, and was ſtepping into the Viceroy's coach, but he heard a prodigious ſhout of *é ſalto, é ſalto, it is done, it is done*; and ſuch joy and exultation appeared in every countenance, as if they had been delivered from ſome terrible calamity.

[Q] *This*

where he adjusted every thing with the Viceroy, and the German General, for the reduction of Sicily, in which, he acted with such zeal, and with such success, that the imperial army was transported into the island, and so well supplied with all things necessary, from our fleet, (which at the same time attended the motions of the enemy's army so closely) that it may be truly said, the success of that expedition, was as much owing to the English Admiral, as to the German General; and that the English fleet did no less service than the army. It was entirely owing to the Admiral's advice, and to his assistance, and supplies of cannon, powder, and ball, from his own ships, that the Germans re-took the city of Messina, in the summer of the year 1719; after which the Admiral landed a body of English granadiers, who very quickly made themselves masters of the Tower of Faro, by which, having opened a free passage for their ships, he came to an anchor in Paradise-Road; this was a step of great consequence, for the officers of the Spanish men of war, which were in the Mole, perceiving this, began to despair of getting out to sea, and unbent their sails, unrigged their ships, and resolved to wait their fate with that of the citadel; which gave the Admiral great satisfaction, who now found himself at liberty to employ his ships in other services, which had been for a long time employed in blocking up that port. But while things were in this prosperous condition, a dispute arose among the Allies, about the disposition of the Spanish ships, when, after the citadel's being taken, they should of course fall into their hands. This dispute was happily ended [Q], by the Admiral's proposing to erect a battery, and destroy them as they lay in the bason, which was done accordingly, and thereby, the ruin of the naval power of Spain compleated. The Imperial Court had formed a design of conquering Sardinia, out of which they had been driven by the Spaniards; but our Admiral judged it more for the service of the House of Austria, that the army should be immediately transported into Sicily, which might expedite the conquest of both islands; and according to his advice, the expedition against Sardinia was laid aside, and the reduction of Sicily first attempted. At Messina, the Admiral received another most gracious letter from the Emperor, wherein he signified to him, 'his approbation of a project, that 'was the effect of his zeal and activity; the satisfaction he had in his wise conduct, and 'for his love and attachment to his imperial person and august house; and on all occasions 'he should give him marks of his affection and esteem, and of his good remembrance of 'the services he had done him.' The Admiral, in order to succeed in his scheme, and at the same time to procure artillery for carrying on the siege of the citadel of Messina, went over to Naples in August, and finding that the government was absolutely unable to furnish the military stores that were wanting, he very generously granted the cannon out of the British prizes, and procured, upon his own credit, and at his own risk, powder and other ammunition from Genoa; and soon after went thither himself, in order to hasten the embarkation of the troops intended for Sicily, which was made sooner than could have been expected, meerly by his incredible labour and diligence, and in spite of the delays affected by the Count, now Bashaw, Bonneval, who was appointed to command them. At Genoa also, the Admiral received great honours and respect. At his arrival, the town saluted his flag with twenty-one guns, and his person with ten guns and twenty chambers, and the Republick sent off six Deputies, three of the old, and three of the new nobility, to compliment him upon his arrival. After a stay of about three weeks, he sailed with all the transports for Sicily, and arrived before Messina October the eighth, which so elevated the spirits of the army then besieging the citadel, that upon the first sight of the fleet, they made a vigorous attack upon a half-moon, and carried it. The Admiral repairing a-shore to the General's quarters, was embraced by him and all the general officers, with the most tender

[Q] *This dispute was happily ended*, &c.] Signor Scarampi began the dispute, and first started the question, claiming the two best, of sixty and sixty-four guns, new ships, which had belonged to his master, the King of Sardinia, and were seized by the Spaniards in the port of Palermo. He grounded his right on the Convention made at Vienna, 29th of December, 1718, in which it was said, 'That as to the ships belonging to the King 'of Sardinia, if they had been taken in port, they shall 'be restored him; but that this shall be referred to 'Admiral Byng to answer.' To this the Admiral replied, 'That this Convention having been only a 'ground-work for another to be made at Naples, be 'could be directed by none, but that which had been 'made, in consequence thereof, in April 1719, between 'the Viceroy of Naples, the Marquis de Breille, Minister of Sardinia, and himself, in which no mention is 'made of those ships; and as for the reference to his 'opinion, he did freely declare, he could not think the 'King of Sardinia had any shadow of title to them; 'that they had been taken by the enemy, were now 'fitted, and armed at their expence, and under their 'colours; that they would put out to sea, if he did 'not hinder them, and attack all the English ships they 'met with, and, if stronger, take them; so that they 'could not consider them in any light than that which 'they were, the ships of an enemy.' Count de Mercy, next put in his claim for the Emperor, alledging, 'That 'as those ships would be found within the port of a 'town taken by his master's arms, according to the 'right of nations, they belonged to him.' The Admiral replied, 'That it was owing to his keeping 'two squadrons on purpose, and at a great hazard, 'to watch and observe those ships; that they were 'now confined within the port, which, if he was to 'withdraw, they would still be able to get to sea, and 'he should have a chance of meeting with, and taking 'them.' But, reflecting afterwards with himself, that possibly the garrison might capitulate for the safe return of those ships into Spain, which he was determined never to suffer: that, on the other hand, the right of possession might breed an inconvenient dispute among the Princes concerned; and if it should prove, that they did not belong to England, it were better they belonged to no body; he proposed to Count Mercy, to erect a battery, and destroy them as they lay in the bason; who urged, that he had no orders concerning those ships, and must write to Vienna for instructions about it. The Admiral replied, with some warmth, that he could not want a power to destroy every thing that belonged to the enemy, and insisted on it with so much firmness, that the General being concerned in interest, not to carry matters to a disagreement, caused a battery to be erected, notwithstanding the protestation of Signor Scarampi, which in a little time sunk and destroyed them.

[R] *And*

tender marks of affection and gratulation, the whole army being overjoyed to ſee a man who always brought them relief and ſucceſs, and every good that attended them. In ten days after the Admiral's arrival at Meſſina, the citadel ſurrendered to the Germans; after which, Sir George Byng re-embarked a great part of the army, and landed them upon another part of the iſland [*R*], by which means they diſtreſſed the enemy to ſuch a degree, that the Marquis de Lede, commander of the Spaniſh forces, propoſed to evacuate the iſland; to which, the Germans were very well inclined, and ſent to Vienna for inſtructions; but the Admiral proteſted againſt it, and declared, that the Spaniſh troops ſhould never be permitted to quit Sicily and return home, 'till a general peace was concluded; and ſent his eldeſt ſon to Vienna, with inſtructions, that if the Imperial Court liſtened to the propoſals of the Spaniſh General, to declare, that his father could never ſuffer any part of the Spaniſh army to depart out of the iſland, 'till the King of Spain had acceded to the Quadruple Alliance, or 'till he received poſitive inſtructions from England for doing ſo In this Sir George Byng certainly acted as became a Britiſh Admiral; who, after having done ſo many ſervices for the Imperialiſts, might ſurely inſiſt on their doing what was juſt with reſpect to us, and holding the Spaniſh troops in the uneaſy ſituation they now were, 'till they gave ample ſatisfaction to the Court of London, as well as to that of Vienna. The Admiral had the detention of the Spaniards in his own hands, ſince the Germans could do nothing in that matter without him; and our demands on the Court of Spain, were as much for the intereſt of the common cauſe as for our own, ſo that tho' the ſteadineſs of Admiral Byng deſerves commendation, yet there ſeemed to be no great praiſes due to the German complaiſance. After this, the Spaniſh General laid a ſnare to ſeparate the Admiral from the Germans, by propoſing an agreement with him, for a ſeparate ceſſation of hoſtilities, but without effect [*S*]. But ſoon afterwards, when the Germans, with the Aſſiſtance of the Admiral, had begun the ſiege of Palermo, before which the Spaniards lay encamped, and juſt as the two armies were upon the point of engaging, a courier arrived in that lucky inſtant from Spain, with full powers for the Spaniſh General, to treat and agree about the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia, in conſequence of the King of Spain's acceſſion to the Quadruple Alliance; upon which the two armies were drawn off, a ſuſpenſion of arms agreed on, the Germans put into the poſſeſſion of Palermo, and the Spaniards embarked for Barcelona; and the Admiral, after he had ſettled all affairs in Sicily, ſailed in Auguſt 1720, to Cagliari in Sardinia, where he aſſiſted at the conferences, with the Miniſters and Generals of the ſeveral powers concerned, wherein was regulated the manner of ſurrendering the iſland by the Spaniſh Viceroy to the Emperor, and the ceſſion of the ſame from the Emperor to

[*R*] *And landed them upon another part of the iſland.*] Here the Admiral once more ſaved the Imperial army, by his admirable foreſight, judgment, and thought, in which he ſhewed a great ſuperiority over the Generals of the Allies, who, even after the reduction of Meſſina, finding they could not ſubſiſt their army, nor undertake any action where they were, went to the Admiral, their old deliverer, and told him in a very deſponding manner, that they had reſolved to tranſport the army to Calabria and Syracuſa, for ſubſiſtance during the winter, and prayed his aſſiſtance. The Admiral replied, 'He hoped their affairs were not ſo deſperate 'as they apprehended, that he had been employing 'his thoughts for their ſervice, and believed he ſhould 'be able to extricate them out of their preſent circum'ſtances; that he was for tranſporting their army to 'Trapani, which would be turning the difficulty up'on the Spaniards, by obliging the Spaniards to make 'uneaſy marches, and to keep the field in the winter; 'that they ſhould thereby be able to enlarge their 'quarters, the granaries of corn would fall into their 'hands, and they would keep the city of Palermo in 'awe, 'till the ſeaſon would permit the attempting to 'reduce it, which would bring the war to a ſpeedy iſ'ſue. That as the whole army could not be tranſported 'at once, he would ſend his ſecretary to Tunis, the 'neareſt African port to Trapani, and employ him 'and the Engliſh Conſul there, to buy up whatever 'corn was neceſſary for ſubſiſting one part of the ar'my at Trapani, 'till the reſt was arrived; for which 'ſervice, as he knew they had no money, he would 'employ his own caſh and credit, depending upon 'their honour for repayment.' Count de Mercy penetrating immediately into the facility and advantageous conſequences of this ſcheme, roſe up, and embracing the Admiral, in a kind of tranſport acknowledged, 'That he had hit upon the only method practicable, 'not only for the preſervation of the army, but even 'for puſhing on the war with ſucceſs.' And the ſcheme was accordingly executed ſucceſsfully.

[*S*] *Propoſing an agreement for a ſeparate ceſſation of hoſtilities, but without effect.*] The affair was this. The Marquis de Lede ſent to the Admiral, a Spaniſh Gazette, wherein was publiſhed a treaty of ſuſpenſion of arms at ſea, concluded at the Hague, between the Miniſters of Great Britain, France, and Spain; and therefore he propoſed a ſeparate ceſſation of arms, and proteſted againſt any violences the Admiral ſhould commit, contrary to the plain inſtructions of their ſovereign; but the Admiral replied, that he could pay no regard to a pretended Convention publiſhed in a foreign news-paper, and even in which there was a clauſe, that nothing in it ſhould derogate from what ſhould be agreed between him and the Marquis, for what concerns the Mediterranean ſea. That as the Spaniſh Miniſter had ſigned the Quadruple Alliance ever ſince the 17th of February laſt, it was ſtrange the Marquis had received no orders for treatiug about the evacuation of the iſland, which was the neceſſary conſequence of it; and that as the time for doing this was elapſed, 'till he had ſecurity that the Marquis really intended it, he could not agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms. This was an adventurous proceeding in the Admiral; for his inſtructions from England directed him to come to a ſuſpenſion of arms with Spain, without ſtaying for ſettling the terms of evacuation, which might take up time. But his penetration ſhewed him, that if a ſuſpenſion took place at ſea, the Spaniards might introduce what ſuccours and troops they pleaſed into the iſland, which would unravel all they had been doing, and if any interruption happened in the negotiations on foot, put the Spaniards in a better ſtate of proſecuting the war, and perhaps protracting it another year. He was jealous of their artifices, and found they took every advantage to evade the evacuation of the iſland; and therefore, as the convention for a ceſſation of arms at ſea, ſigned at the Hague, February 29th, left him at liberty of treating as he thought proper, he determined to remain united with the Germans, which he prudently ſaw was the quickeſt way to bring the Spaniards to a compliance, and to come into real meaſures for evacuating the iſland. The event juſtified his precaution, and his conduct received at home the approbation it deſerved.

[*T*] *By*

to the Duke of Savoy; and at the inſtance of this Prince, the Admiral did not depart, 'till he had ſeen the whole fully executed, the Spaniſh troops returned into Spain, and the Duke of Savoy put into quiet poſſeſſion of his new kingdom of Sardinia, in exchange for Sicily, according to the Quadruple Alliance; in all which affairs the Admiral arbitrated ſo equally between them, that even the King of Spain expreſſed his great ſatisfaction in his conduct, to the Britiſh Court; and his behaviour was ſo acceptable to the Duke of Savoy, that his acknowledgments to him, were accompanied with his picture ſet in diamonds. Thus ended the war of Sicily, wherein the fleet of Great Britain bore ſo illuſtrious a part, that the fate of the iſland was wholly governed by it's operations, both competitors agreeing, that the one could not have conquered, nor the other have been ſubdued, without it. Never was any ſervice conducted in all it's parts with greater zeal, activity, and judgment, nor was ever the Britiſh Flag in ſo high reputation and reſpect in thoſe diſtant parts of Europe. The late King, who had named the Admiral for that expedition, and knew his abilities, uſed to ſay to his Miniſters, when they applied for inſtructions to be ſent to him for his guidance on certain important occaſions, That he would ſend him none, for he knew how to act without any; and indeed all the meaſures which he took abroad, were ſo exact and juſt, as to ſquare with the councils and plan of policy at home. In our relation of this expedition, we have entirely followed the account of it publiſhed in 1739, and have, by a bare recital of facts, without further enquiries, ſhewn how well Sir George Byng executed his inſtructions; for in this conſiſts the merit of an Admiral, and for which alone he is anſwerable, and not at all for the rectitude of thoſe inſtructions. If this be not granted, we muſt never expect to be well ſerved at ſea; ſince the Admiral who takes upon him to interpret his inſtructions, will never want excuſes for his conduct be it what it will; and if this be once granted, Sir George Byng muſt be allowed to have done his duty as well as any Admiral ever did; for to his conduct it was entirely owing that Sicily was ſubdued, and his Catholick Majeſty forced to accept the terms preſcribed him by the Quadruple Alliance. He it was who firſt enabled the Germans to ſet foot in that iſland; by him they were ſupported in all they did; and by his counſels they were directed, or otherwiſe had been expelled the iſland, even after the taking of Meſſina, as we have ſhewn above (*m*). The cauſe of the Emperor being become the cauſe of his Maſter, he ſerved the intereſt of that Prince, with a zeal and fidelity that ſtood a pattern to his own ſubjects. He lived in ſuch harmony with the Imperial Viceroys and Generals, as has been ſeldom ſeen among fellow-ſubjects united in command, the want of which has proved the ruin of many important expeditions. He was incapable of performing his duty in a cold or negligent manner, and when any ſervice was committed to his management, he devoted his whole time and application to it; nor could any fatigue or indiſpoſition of body, ever divert or interrupt his attention from any point that required preſent diſpatch. To this it might be in a great meaſure owing, that he was never unfortunate in any undertaking, nor miſcarried in any ſervice that was entruſted to his direction. For whoever will trace upwards to the ſprings and cauſes of publick or private events, ſhall find (except where the immediate finger of Providence is viſible) that what is uſually called ill-luck, is generally the effect of negligence or imprudence. He always proceeded upon ſolid principles, and left nothing to Fortune that could be accompliſhed by foreſight and application. His firmneſs and plain-dealing were ſo apparent to the foreigners who treated with him upon buſineſs, that it contributed much to the diſpatch and ſucceſs of his tranſactions with them; for they could depend upon what he ſaid, and as they ſaw he uſed no arts or chicanes himſelf, and had too diſcerning a ſpirit to ſuffer them to paſs unobſerved in others, they often found it their beſt policy to leave their intereſts in his hands and management, being very ſure of a moſt impartial and punctual performance of whatever he engaged in. His reputation was ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed in this particular, that in the frequent diſputes and altercations which aroſe between the Savoyards and Germans in the courſe of the war, and between the latter and the Spaniards at the concluſion of it, wherein little faith or confidence was given to the promiſes or aſſeverations of each other, he was the common umpire between them, always ſhunning and oppoſing any extravagant or unjuſt demands (which the over-bearing temper of the German General was very apt to ſuggeſt, where he had the ſuperior hand) and reconciling, as much as poſſible, the violences of war with the rules of honour and juſtice (*n*). After the performing ſo many ſignal ſervices, when the Admiral departed from Italy to attend his late Majeſty, by his own command, at Hanover, the King, among many moſt gracious expreſſions of favour and ſatisfaction, told him, That he had found out the ſecret of obliging his enemies as well as friends, and that the Court of Spain had mentioned, with great acknowledgment, his fair and friendly behaviour, in the proviſion of tranſports and other neceſſaries for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from many vexations and oppreſſions that had been attempted. No wonder that a man endowed with ſuch talents, and ſuch a diſpoſition, left behind him in Italy and other foreign parts, the character of a great Soldier, an able Stateſman, and an honeſt man. During his Majeſty's ſtay at Hanover, he began to reward the eminent ſervices of Sir George Byng, by making him Treaſurer of the Navy, and Rear-Admiral of Great Britain; and, on his return to England, one of his Moſt Honourable Privy-Council (*o*); and ſoon after, in 1721, he was created a Peer of Great Britain, by the title of Viſcount Torrington, and Baron

(*m*) See note [*S*]. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 462.

(*n*) Account of the Expedition to Sicily, p. 195, 196.

(*o*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 100.

(p) Peerage of England, ut ſupra.

Byng of Southill in Bedfordſhire (*p*) [*T*]; and, in 1725, he was made one of the Knights of the Bath, upon the revival of that Moſt Antient and Honourable Order. When his preſent Majeſty came to the Crown, he was pleaſed to place him at the head of his naval affairs, as Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, in which high ſtation he died at his houſe in the Admiralty, of an aſthma, in January 1733, in the ſeventieth year of his age, and lies buried at Southill in Bedfordſhire. His Lordſhip was but of a tender conſtitution, though well ſupplied with ſpirits, which did not diſplay themſelves ſo much in gaiety of converſation (for he was modeſt in his nature) as in activity in all the duties and functions of life or buſineſs, in which he was indefatigable, and by a continued habit of induſtry, had hardened and inured a body, not naturally ſtrong, to patience under any fatigue. He had made no great proficiency in ſchool learning (which the early age of going to ſea ſeldom admits of) but his great diligence, joined with excellent natural parts, and a juſt ſenſe of honour, made him capable of conducting difficult negociations and commiſſions, with proper dignity and addreſs. During the time he preſided in the Admiralty, he laboured in improving the naval force of this kingdom, in procuring encouragement for ſailors, who, in him, loſt a true friend; and in promoting the ſcheme, for eſtabliſhing a corporation for relief of widows and children of commiſſion and warrant officers in the Royal Navy; and in every other ſervice to his country that he was capable of. His Lordſhip married, in 1691, Margaret, daughter of James Maſter, of Eaſt Langden in the county of Kent, Eſq; by whom he had eleven ſons and four daughters, of which there ſurvived him, Pattee, George, Robert, John (now an Admiral), Edward, and Sarah, married to the eldeſt ſon of Sir John Oſborn of Chickſand in Bedfordſhire, Bart. and mother of the preſent Sir Danvers Oſborne. The Lord Torrington was ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son Pattee, who was abroad with his father in the expedition to Sicily, and after his death was continued Treaſurer of the Navy, and one of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy-Council; was afterwards made Vice-Treaſurer of Ireland, and Captain of the Yeomen of the Guards: and dying in 1746 without iſſue, was ſucceeded by his brother the Honourable Brigadier George Byng, the preſent Lord Viſcount Torrington.

[*T*] *By the title of Viſcount Torrington*, &c.] The preamble to his Lordſhip's patent, is as follows, greatly to the honour of his memory. 'As the grandeur 'and ſtability of the Britiſh empire depend chiefly 'upon knowledge and experience in maritime affairs, 'we eſteem thoſe worthy of the higheſt honours, who, 'acting under our influence, exert themſelves in maintaining our dominion over the ſea. It is for this 'reaſon that we have determined to advance to the 'dignity of Peerage, our truſty and well-beloved 'Counſellor, Sir George Byng, Knight and Baronet, 'who being deſcended from an ancient family in 'Kent, and educated from his youth in the ſea-ſervice, 'hath through ſeveral poſts arrived at the higheſt 'ſtation and command in our navy, by the ſtrength 'of his own abilities, and a merit diſtinguiſhed by 'our predeceſſors and ourſelves in the many important 'ſervices, which he has performed with remarkable 'fidelity, courage, and ſucceſs. In the late vigorous 'wars, which raged ſo many years in Europe. Wars 'fruitful of naval combats and expeditions, there was 'ſcarce an action of any conſequence wherein he did 'not bear a principal part, nor were any dangers or difficulties ſo great, but he ſurmounted them by his exquiſite conduct, and a good fortune that never failed 'him. Particularly, when a ſtorm was gathering in 'France, and it was uncertain upon what part of 'the coaſt it ſhould fall, with the greateſt ſagacity 'and diligence, he flew to the very place of danger, 'reſcuing our capital city of Scotland, from the 'threatned attack of a French ſquadron, which had 'many rebels and numerous forces on board; and by 'his very appearance, defeated the vain hopes of the 'enemy, compelling them to relinquiſh their enterprize, and to ſeek their ſafety by a flight towards 'their own ports, not without loſs. With no leſs vigilance he repreſſed not long ſince the like machinations of the ſame traytors in the ports of France, who 'were ſo diſconcerted at his preſence, as to abandon 'the ſchemes they had projected, for which ſervice 'we conferred on him the dignity of a Baronet, the 'firſt mark of our royal favour. Moreover, lately, 'when new contentions were ſpringing up in Italy, 'and the diſcord of Princes was on the point of embroiling Europe again in a war, he did, with ſingular 'facility and conduct, interpoſe with our ſquadron, 'cruſhing at one blow the laboured efforts of Spain, 'to ſet up a power at ſea, and advanced the reputation of our arms in the Mediterranean to ſuch a pitch, 'that our flag gave law to the contending parties, and 'enabled us tore ſettle the tranquillity that had been 'diſturbed. It is juſt therefore we ſhould diſtinguiſh 'with higher titles, a ſubject who has ſo eminently 'ſerved us and his country, both as monuments of 'his own merit, and to influence others to a love and 'purſuit of virtue. *Know ye therefore*, &c.

H

C.

CÆSAR (Julius), a learned Civilian in the end of the XVIth, and beginning of the XVIIth century, was born near Tottenham in Middlesex (*a*), in the year 1557 [*A*]. His father was Cæsar Adelmar, (*b*), Physician to Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth; lineally descended from Adelmar, Count of Genoa, and Admiral of France, in the year of Christ, 806, in the reign of Charles the Great. This Cæsar Adelmar's mother was daughter to the Duke *de Cesarini*, from whom he had the name of Cæsar (*c*), which name, Mary I, Queen of England, ordered to be continued to his posterity [*B*]: and his father was Peter Maria Dalmarius, of the city of Trevigio in Italy, Doctor of Laws, sprung from those of his name living at Cividad del Friuli (*d*). Julius, who is the subject of this article, had his education in the University of Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, May 17, 1575, as a Member of Magdalen-Hall (*e*). Afterwards he went and studied in the University of Paris; where, in the beginning of 1581, he was created Doctor of the Civil Law, and had letters testimonial for it, under the seal of that University (*f*), dated the 22d of April, 1581 [*C*]. He was admitted to the same degree at Oxford, March the fifth, 1583; and also became Doctor of the Canon-Law (*g*). In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he was Master of Requests, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and Master of St Catharine's Hospital near the Tower (*h*). On the 22d of January 1595, he was present at the confirmation of Richard Vaughan Bishop of Bangor, in the church of St Mary le Bow, London (*i*). Upon King James's accession to the throne, having before distinguished himself by his merit and abilities, he was knighted by that Prince, at Greenwich, May 20, 1603 (*k*). He was also constituted Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer (*l*); and on the 5th of July, 1607, sworn of His Majesty's Privy-Council (*m*). January 16th, in the eighth of King James I, he obtained a reversionary grant of the office of Master of the Rolls, after Sir Edward Phillips, Knight (*n*); who departing this life, September 11, 1614 (*o*), was succeeded accordingly by Sir Julius, on the first of October following (*p*). And he thereupon resigning his place of Chancellor of the Exchequer, had for successor in it, Sir Fulk Greville, Knight (*q*) In 1613, he was one of the Commissioners, or Delegates, employed in the business of the divorce, between the Earl of Essex and his Countess (*r*); and gave sentence for that divorce. About the same time, he built a chapel at his house, on the north side of the Strand in London, which was consecrated, May 8, 1614 (*s*). As he had been Privy-Counsellor to King James I, so was he also to his son, King Charles I (*t*); and appears, moreover, to have been *Custos Rotulorum* of the county of Hertford (*u*). We are likewise informed by one author (*w*), that he was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. After having thus passed through many honourable employments; and continued, in particular, Master of the Rolls for above twenty years; he departed this life, April 28, 1639, in the seventy-ninth year of his age (*x*). He lies buried in the church of Great St Helen's within Bishopsgate, London (*y*), under

(*a*) J. Norden, in Descript. of Middlesex: and T. Fuller's Worthies of England, in Middlesex, p. 179. edit. 1662. His father had a house near Tottenham.

(*b*) Or *Dalmarius*, Dalmare, or Athelmer.

(*c*) From the inscription under his picture at Benington in Hertfordshire. History of Hertfordshire, by N. Salmon, edit. 1728, fol. p. 367.

(*d*) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 111.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Idem, ibid. col. 125.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) From an inscription under his picture at Benington. See Salmon, as above, p. 367. See also his epitaph below.

(*i*) Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, Lond. 1718, ful. p. 487.

(*k*) Stow's Annals, edit. 1631, fol. p. 824. Sir Hen. Chauncy says, it was the 11th. Hist. of Hertfordshire, p. 309.

(*l*) See the inscription under his picture, as above. Chauncy calls him only Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

(*m*) Stow, ubi supra, p. 890.

(*n*) See Mr Newcourt's Repertorium Ecclesiasticum, &c. Vol. I. p. 341.

(*o*) Camden's Annals of King James I.

(*p*) Pat. 12 Jac. p. 5.

(*q*) Camden, ibid.

(*r*) Truth brought to light by Time, &c. Lond. 1651, 4to, p. 79, 107. and *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, &c. Lond. 1650, 8vo, p. 115, &c.

(*s*) Stow's Annals, as above, p. 999.

(*t*) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 125.

(*u*) From the inscription under his picture, as above.

(*w*) Fuller, in his History of the Worthies of England, in Middlesex, p. 179: it should be 185, for it is wrong paged.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 186. and Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 935. Wood says in one place, that it was April 12 (Athen. Vol. I. col 619), and in another that it was the 16th (Fasti, as above). In pag. 102, he says he died April 18, aged 75.

(*y*) Ibid. and Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. edit. 1720. B. ii. p. 104.

[*A*] *Was born——in the year* 1557.] As is evident from his age, at the time of his death. For we are informed (1), that he was in the seventy-ninth year of his age, in 1636, when he died.——His father died in 1569, and was buried in the Church of Great St Helen's, in Bishopsgate-street, of which Queen Elizabeth had granted him a lease, on the 27th of May, 1564, together with the Rectory, tithes, &c. for twenty one years (2).

(1) Fuller's Worthies, ubi supra, p. 186.

(2) See Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. London, 1720, Vol. I. Book iii. p. 100, 104. and Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 125.

[*B*] *Which name, Mary* I, *Queen of England, ordered to be continued to his posterity.*] This is attested by a memorandum, in the last page of one of Sir Julius Cæsar's manuscripts at Benington, written with his own hand; and containing the same in substance as is related above. Julius Adelmarius, *filius* Cæsaris Adelmarii, *qui semper durante vita cognitus publice & appellatus* Cæsar, *per illustrissimas Reginas* Mariam & Elizabetham, *transmisit eandem Appellationem, idemque nomen ad Posteritatem suam, quæ tamen Posteritas* Adelmarii *nomen non dereliquit; cum illud ab illustri Comite* Genuæ *in Italia, Dno Admirallio* Galliæ *tempore* Caroli M. *Imperatoris* Germaniæ *in continua stirpe masculina ad illam descenderit; idque jure hæreditario.* Jul. Adelmarius, *alias* Cæsar, *ætatis suæ* an. 77, 1634 (3).

(3) History of Hertfordshire, by N. Salmon, &c.

[*C*] *And had letters testimonial for it, under the Seal of that University.*] Wherein he was stiled, Julius Cæsar, *alias* Dalmarius, *Dioc.* London, *in* Anglia, *filius excellentissimi in Art. & Med. Doctoris* Cæsaris Dalmarii, *in Universitate* Paris, &c. *i. e.* 'Julius Cæsar, &c. 'of the diocese of London, in England, son of the most 'excellent Doctor Cæsar Dalmarius, &c. of the Uni-'versity of Paris, &c.

[*D*] *He*

under a fair but uncommon monument, designed by himself; being in form of a Deed, and made to resemble ruffled parchment (z), in allusion to his office, as Master of the Rolls [D]. With regard to his character; he was a man of great gravity and integrity, and remarkable for his extensive bounty and charity to all persons of worth, or that were in want (a): so that he might seem to be Almoner-General of the nation [E]. He entertained for some time in his house the most illustrious Francis, Lord Bacon, Viscount St Albans [F]. He made his grants to all persons double kindnesses by expedition, and cloathed (as one expresses it) (b), his very denials in such robes of courtship, that it was not obviously discernable, whether the request or denial were most decent. He had also this peculiar to himself, That he was very cautious of promises, lest falling to an incapacity of performance, he might forfeit his reputation, and multiply his certain enemies, by his design of creating uncertain friends. Besides, he observed a sure principle of rising, namely, That great persons esteem better of such they have done great courtesies to, than those they have received great civilities from; looking upon this as their disparagement, the other as their glory. Sir Julius Cæsar's manuscripts, bound up in several volumes, are preserved at Benington in Hertfordshire, the seat of his posterity (c). The Lord Clarendon mentions a story that has a relation to him (d), which the reader may not perhaps be displeased to see in the note [G]. Besides Sir Julius; Cæsar Adelmare had

(z) Fuller, ubi supra.

(a) Fuller, ibid.

(b) Lloyd in State-Worthies, ubi supra, p. 937.

(c) Hist. of Hertfordshire, by N. Salmon, p. 367. He printed 'A 'Catalogue of 'the Books, 'Parchments, 'and Papers, be- 'longing to the 'Court of Re- 'quests,' 4to, now very scarce.

(d) Hist. of the Rebellion, in six Volumes, 8vo, Oxford, 1732, Vol I. p. 52, 53.

[D] *He lies buried* ——— *under a fair but uncommon monument* ——— *in form of a deed,* &c.] The contents of which deed, or epitaph, are as follows:

To all Christian people to whom this present writing shall come; Know ye, that I Julius Dalmare, alias Cæsar, Knight, Doctor of Laws; Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and one of the Masters of Requests to Queen Elizabeth; Privy-Counsellor to King James, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Master of the Rolls, have confirmed or granted by this my present writing, That I will, with the Divine Assistance, willingly pay my debt to nature, whenever it shall please God. In witness whereof, I have set my hand and seal. Dated the 27th of February, 1635.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos hoc præsens scriptum pervenerit; Sciatis, me Julium Dalmare, alias Cæsarem, Militem, utriusque Legis Doctorem; Elizabethæ *Reginæ Supremæ Curiæ Admiralitatis Judicem, & unum è Magistris Libellorum*; Jacobo *Regi à Privatis Conciliis, Cancellarium Scaccarii, Scriniorum Magistrum, hac præsenti Charta mea confirmasse, Me annuente Divino Numine, naturæ debitum libenter solviturum, quam primum Deo placuerit. In cujus rei memoriam, Manum meam, & Sigillum appositi. Datum 27 Februarii,* 1635.



Here his Seal, or Coat of Arms, is affixed, and beneath is written

Irrotulatur Coelo (4).

It is enrolled in Heaven.

(4) Fuller's Worthies, p. 185, 186. and Lloyd's State-Worthies, p. 936.

[E] *So that he might seem to be Almoner-General of the nation.*] Dr Fuller gives the following instance of his uncommon charity. 'A gentleman once borrowing his coach (which was as well known to poor people as any hospital in England) was so rendezvouzed about with beggars in London, that it cost him all the money in his purse to satisfy their importunity, so that he might have hired twenty coaches on the same terms (5).'

(5) Worthies of England, ubi supra.

[F] *He entertained for some time in his house the Lord Francis Bacon,* &c.] We are told by an ill-natured writer (6), That the Lord Bacon, 'after he was 'out of his place, pinned himself for very scraps on 'that noble gentleman, Sir Julius Cæsar's hospitality, 'so that at last he was forced to get the King's warrant to remove him out of his house; yet in his prosperity, the one being Chancellor, and the other 'Master of the Rolls, did so scorne and abuse him, as 'he would alter any thing the other did.' But Mr Stephens assures us (7), That the Lord Bacon was not reduced to such low circumstances, as is commonly imagined, but had something considerable even at the time of his death.

(6) Sir Anthony Weldon, Court and Character of King James, Lond. 1650. 8vo, p. 133, 134.

(7) Account of the Life of the Lord Bacon, in his *Letters and Remains*, Lond. 1734, 4to, p. 25, 26, 29. and Introd. p. 58.

[G] *The Lord Clarendon mentions a story that has a relation to him,* &c.] It is as follows; "Sir *Julius* "*Cæsar* was then Master of the Rolls (in the reign of "King Charles I.) and had inherent in his office the "indubitable right and disposition of the Six Clarks "places, all which he had for many years, upon any "vacancy, bestowed to such persons as he thought fit. "One of those places was become void, and designed by "the old man to his son *Robert Cæsar*, a Lawyer of a "good name, and exceedingly beloved. The Lord "Treasurer * (as he was vigilant in such cases) had "notice of the Clark's expiration so soon, that he "procured the King to send a message to the Master of "the Rolls, expressly forbidding him to dispose of "that Six Clark's place, 'till his Majesty's pleasure should "be further made known to him. It was the first com- "mand of that kind that had been heard of, and was "felt by the old man very sensibly. He was indeed "very old, and had out-lived most of his friends; so "that his age was an objection against him; many "persons of quality being dead, who had, for recom- "pence of services, procured the reversion of his office. "The Treasurer found it no hard matter so far to "terrify him, that (for the King's service, as was pre- "tended) he admitted for a Six Clark a person recom- "mended by him (Mr *Fern*, a dependant upon him) "who paid six thousand pounds ready money; which, "poor man! he lived to repent in a jayl. This work "being done at the charge of the poor old man, who "had

(*) Weston, Earl of Portland.

had two sons, that were eminent in their way. His second son, Sir THOMAS CÆSAR, was one of the Barons of the Exchequer (*e*). And his third son, HENRY CÆSAR, educated in Baliol College, and St Edmund Hall, Oxon, became Prebendary of Westminster in the second stall, in September 1609, [which he resigned the latter end of the year 1625] (*f*); and Dean of Ely, in 1614. He died at Ely the 27th of June 1636, aged seventy-two, and was buried on the north side of the Presbytery of the Cathedral there. He gave to Jesus College in Cambridge two Fellowships of twelve pounds a year a-piece, and five Scholarships of five pounds a year each; upon condition, that the Fellows and Scholars should be elected from the King's Free-School at Ely (*g*).

(*e*) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 15c.

(*f*) Newcourt, Repertor. Eccles. &c. Vol. I. p. 924.

(*g*) Wood, as above.

" had been a Privy Counsellor from the entrance of " King *James*, had been Chancellor of the Exchequer, " and served in other offices; the depriving him of " his right made a great noise: and the condition of " his son (his father being not likely to live to have " the disposal of another office in his power) who, " as was said before, was generally beloved, and " esteemed, was argument of great compassion; and " was livelily, and successfully represented to the King " himself; who was graciously pleased to promise, " that." ' If the old man chanced to die before any ' other of the six Clarks, that office, when it should ' fall, should be conferred on his son, whosoever ' should succeed him as Master of the Rolls; which ' might well be provided for:' " And the Lord " Treasurer obliged himself (to expiate the injury) to " procure some declaration to that purpose, under " his Majesty's sign manual; which, however easy to " be done, he long forgot, or neglected One day, " the Earl of *Tullibardin*, who was nearly allied to " Mr Cæsar, and much his friend, being with the " Treasurer, passionately asked him, Whether he had " done that business? To whom he answered with a " seeming trouble," ' That he had forgotten it, for ' which he was heartily sorry; and if he would give ' him a little note in writing, for a memorial, he ' would put it amongst those which he would dispatch ' with the King that afternoon.' " The Earl presently " writ in a little paper, *Remember Cæsar*; and gave it " to him; and he put it into that little pocket, " where, he said, he kept all his memorials which " were first to be transacted. Many days passed, and " *Cæsar* never thought of. At length, when he " he changed his cloaths, and he who waited on him in " his chamber, according to custom, brought him all " the notes and papers found in those he had left off, " which he then commonly perused; when he found " this little billet, in which was only written, *Remember Cæsar*, and which he had never read before, " he was exceedingly confounded, and knew not what " to make, or think of it. He sent for his bosom-" friends, —— and after a serious and melancholick " deliberation, it was agreed, that it was the advertisement of some friend, who durst not own the " discovery; that it could not signify nothing, but " that there was a conspiracy against his life, by his " many and mighty enemies: and they all knew " *Cæsar*'s fate, by contemning or neglecting such " animadversions" Therefore they advised him to pretend to be indisposed, that he might not stir abroad all that day, and that none might be admitted to him, but persons of undoubted affection: and that at night some servants should watch with the Porter. —— " Shortly after, the Earl of Tullibardine asking " him, Whether he had remembered *Cæsar?* The " Treasurer quickly recollected the ground of his " perturbation, and could not forbear imparting it " to his friends, and so the whole jest came to be " discovered."

C

CALAMY (EDMUND) an eminent Nonconformist Divine, in the XVII Century. He was the son of a Citizen of London, and born there in February 1600 July 4, 1616, he was admitted of Pembroke Hall, in the University of Cambridge (*a*). In 1619, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and in 1632, that of Bachelor of Divinity (*b*). He shewed himself pretty early no friend to the Arminian party, which was the reason, that he could not obtain a fellowship in that society, even when he seemed to be entitled to it from his standing, as well as from his learning and unblemished character. At last however, he so far conquered all prejudices, that he was elected Tanquam Socius of that Hall (*c*) [*A*]. Dr Felton, the pious and learned Bishop of Ely, had so great a regard to his diligence in study, and unaffected zeal for religion, that he made him his Chaplain (*d*), and paid him, during his residence in his family, uncommon marks of respect [*B*]. His Lordship gave him likewise, as a mark of his favour, the Vicarage of St Mary's in Swaffham-Prior in Cambridgeshire, in which capacity of Vicar he did much good, tho' he did not reside on his cure by reason of it's small distance from the Episcopal palace (*e*). But after the death of the Bishop, in 1626, Mr Calamy being

(*a*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 4.

(*b*) From the University Register.

(*c*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, ubi supra.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Continuation of the Account of silenced and ejected Ministers, Vol. I. p. 8.

[*A*] *Elected Tanquam Socius of that Hall.*] This was peculiar to Pembroke Hall. The reader may see the occasion of erecting it in another place (1). Besides the Society of the Fellows, the *Tanquam Socius* had *Poma, i.e.* his dividend in the garden; *Pupilli, i.e.* Leave to take Pupils; and *Pileus, i.e.* the honour of the cap; together with a certain stipend, but no share in the government of the house. Yet take it altogether, tho' there was less profit, there was at least as much honour in being *Tanquam Socius*, as in being Fellow; for it was an evident sign, that, tho' the college conferred only this, they thought him on whom they conferred it worthy of the other, since they might otherwise have saved themselves this expence. The *Tanquam Socius* held his office but for three years, unless he was rechosen (2). As for our author, he was within that space better provided for.

(1) See the article ANDREWS (LANCELOT) note [*B*].

(2) Extract from Sampson's Hist. of the Nonconformists, MS.

[*B*] *Uncommon marks of respect.*] The Bishop gave directions, that Mr Calamy should not be called down to family prayers, or upon any other occasion, without half an hour's notice, that his studies might not be abruptly interrupted That there was good reason for this, the reader must admit, when he is told, that during the whole time Mr Calamy lived with this Prelate, he studied at the rate of sixteen hours a day. He read over the controversies of Bellarmine entirely, and all the answers written by Chamier, Whitaker, Raynolds, and others, who, by parts, undertook the refuting his voluminous work. Mr Calamy likewise perused many of the School-men, particularly Thomas Aquinas, whose sums he had read with diligence and thoroughly mastered; he went through the works of St Augustine five times, besides perusing many other eminent writers, ancient and modern, and exclusive of the daily study of the Holy Scriptures and the commentators upon them. This laborious course acquired him a large fund of solid and useful learning, and enabled him to discharge with great ability, the several offices to which he was afterwards called, and yet he never affected quotations, but contented himself with a plain and familiar manner of speaking, which favoured not at all of the schools. He was always extremely grateful towards his patron while living, and spoke with the utmost reverence of his memory after his decease (3).

(3) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 4.

being chosen one of the Lecturers of St Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, he resigned his Vicarage and applied himself wholly to the discharge of his function at Bury (*f*). He continued there ten years, and, as some writers say, was during the greatest part of that time a strict Conformist (*g*). Others, and indeed himself, say the contrary [C]. The truth seems to be, that he was unwilling to oppose ceremonies, or to create a disturbance in the Church about them, so long as this might be avoided with a safe conscience (*h*); but when Bishop Wren's articles, and the reading of the book of Sports, came to be insisted on, he thought himself obliged to alter his conduct, and not only avoid conforming for the future, but also to apologize publickly for his former behaviour, which he did with equal modesty and freedom (*i*) [D]. He came now to be considered as an active Nonconformist, and being in great favour with the Earl of Essex, he presented him to the living of Rochford in Essex, a Rectory of considerable value, and yet it proved a fatal present to Mr Calamy, for removing from one of the best and wholsomest airs in England, that of St Edmund's-Bury, into the hundreds of Essex, he contracted such an illness as broke his constitution, and left behind it a dizziness in his head, which he complained of as long as he lived (*k*). Upon the death of Dr Stoughton, he was chosen minister of St Mary Aldermanbury, which brought him up to London, in 1639 (*l*). The controversy concerning Church-Government was then at it's greatest height, in which Mr Calamy had a very large share. In the month of July 1639, he was incorporated of the University of Oxford, which, however, did not take him off from the party in which he was engaged (*m*). In 1640, he was concerned in writing that famous book called, Smectymnuus, which himself says, gave the first deadly blow to Episcopacy (*n*). It was indeed, tho' a warm, a very well written piece, and therefore we find frequent references thereto in all the defences and apologies for Nonconformity, which have been since published [E]. In 1641, he was appointed by the House of Lords a member of the

(*f*) Wood's Fast. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 281.

(*g*) Idem, ibid.

(*h*) See his just and necessary Apology, &c. Lond. 1646, 4to.

(*i*) Continuation of the Account of silenced and ejected Ministers, Vol. I. p. 8.

(*k*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 5.

(*l*) Newcourt's Repert. Eccles. Vol. I. p. 918.

(*m*) Wood's Fast. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 281.

(*n*) Just and necessary Apology, p. 13.

'[C] *And indeed himself, say the contrary.*] The famous Anthony Wood has taken pains to shew, that our author altered his opinion as to Church-government and ceremonies (4); and Mr Walker hints, that he was once as high in his opinions as Archbishop Laud (5): their testimonies, however, will not affect his character much, if the authorities they produce be fairly answered. The author of a quarto pamphlet, printed at Oxford, in 1643, intituled, *Sober Sadness; or Historical Observations upon the Pretences, Proceedings, and Designs of a prevailing Party, in both Houses of Parliament*, &c. says, 'That Mr Calamy complied 'with Bishop Wren, his Diocesan, preached in his 'surplice and hood, read prayers at the rails, bowed 'at the name of JESUS, and undertook to satisfy 'and reduce such as scrupled those ceremonies (6).' One Mr Henry Burton, in a quarto Pamphlet, printed at London, in 1646, asserts pretty nearly the same. The title of his pamphlet was, *Truth still Truth, tho' shut out of doors*; in answer to which, Mr Calamy published, *A just and necessary Apology against an unjust Invective, published by Mr Burton, in a late book of his entituled, &c.* wherein he affirms, 'That during 'the time he was at St Edmund's-Bury, he never 'bowed to or towards the Altar, to or towards the 'East, never read that wicked book of Sports upon 'the Lord's day, never read prayers at the high altar, 'at the upper end of the church where the people 'could not hear. I have often, continued he, preached against innovations; and once I did it at a public visitation, and was called in question for my 'labour; I never justified the oath *ex officio*, nor 'ever prosecuted any man or woman at the high 'commission; I never to my best remembrance preached at any time for the justification of any innovations. 'In some few things, I did, I confess, conform, according 'to the light I then had, out of the uprightness of 'my heart, &c (7).' Whoever considers this, and that Mr Calamy was only Lecturer at St Edmund's-Bury, will readily incline to think, that these writers were mistaken as to his Conformity, or might perhaps be misled by representations made in his favour to Bishop Wren by some kind friends, who were willing to preserve him in his diocesan's good graces.

(4) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 281.

(5) Walker's Attempt to recover the Names and Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 255.

(6) Page 5.

(7) Page 8.

[D] *With equal modesty and freedom.*] With this view he tells us himself, he made a recantation and retractation sermon at Bury, in the hearing of thousands, and afterwards speaking of the countenance he gave to the legal applications, against what was esteemed tyranny in the Bishops of those times, he says, 'My house 'was the retreat of godly ministers in the worst of 'times. Here was the Remonstrance framed against the 'Prelates; here were all meetings; I was the first 'that openly, before a Committee of Parliament, did 'defend, that Bishops were not only not an order di-'stinct from Presbyters, but that in Scripture, a Bishop 'and Presbyter were all one (8).' In the same piece he takes abundance of pains to shew, that all this was from conscientious motives, not from any pique to particular persons, or prejudice arising from his own disappointments, or despair of preferment. He likewise asserts, that it was before the turn of the times, and consequently flowed not from a spirit of popularity. Others, however, have not scrupled to affirm the contrary, and that Robert, Earl of Essex, said he would be lost, if he was not taken off, and therefore gave him the Rectory of Rochford (9). Yet Mr Calamy must be allowed to know himself as well as his patron; but it is our business to report all things fairly.

(8) Page 9.

(9) Wood's Fast Oxon. Vol. I. col. 281.

[E] *Which have been since published.*] The title of the book, at length, runs thus. *An Answer to a book, entituled,* AN HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE; *in which the Original of Liturgy and Episcopacy is discussed, and Queries propounded concerning both: The Parity of Bishops and Presbyters in Scripture demonstrated, the Occasion of their Imparities in Antiquity discovered; the Disparity of the ancient and our modern Bishops manifested; the Antiquity of ruling Elders in the Church vindicated: The Prelatical Church bounded. Written by* SMECTYMNUUS. *London* 1641. *4to.* containing with the Appendix ninty-four pages. The word Smectymnuus is composed of the initial letters of it's authors names, which were Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow. This piece, which is certainly written with great fierceness of spirit, and much asperity in language, contains eighteen sections, in the last of which, the differences between the Prelatists and Puritans, are aggravated with great bitterness. Then follow sixteen queries, the last of which runs thus. 'Whether, having 'proved, that God never set such a government in 'his Church as our Episcopal government is, we may 'lawfully any longer be subject to it, be present at 'their courts, obey their injunctions, and especially 'be instruments in publishing and executing their Ex-'communications and Absolutions (10).' The book is shut up by an Appendix, wherein is contained an Historical Narration of those bitter fruits, Pride, Rebellion, Treason, Unthankfulness, &c. which have issued from Episcopacy, while it hath flood under the continual influences of sovereign goodness. The whole ends thus 'The inhuman butcheries, bloodiheddings, 'and cruelties of Gardiner, Bonner, and the rest of 'the Bishops in Queen Mary's days, are so fresh in 'every man's memory, as that we conceive it a thing 'altogether unnecessary to make mention of them. 'Only we fear lest the guilt of the blood then shed, 'should

(10) Smectymnuus, p. 82.

the Sub-Committee for Religion (o), which consisted of very eminent Divines, whose conduct however has been differently censured [F]. He made a great figure in the Assembly of Divines, tho' he is not mentioned in Fuller's catalogue (p), and distinguished himself therein, both by his learning and moderation. He likewise preached several times before the House of Commons, for which his memory has been very severely treated (q) [G]. He was at the same time one of the Cornhill Lecturers, and no man had a greater interest

(o) Fuller's Ch. Hist. cent. XVII. p. 174.

(p) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 5.

(q) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 281. Echard's Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 178.

'should yet remain to be required at the hands of this 'nation, because it hath not publickly endeavoured 'to appease the wrath of God, by a solemn and general 'humiliation for it. What the practices of the Prelates 'have been ever since, from the beginning of Queen 'Elizabeth to this very day, would fill a volume like 'Ezekiel's roll, with lamentation, mourning, and woe 'to record. For it hath been their great design to 'hinder all further Reformation: to bring in doctrines 'of Popery, Arminianism, and Libertinism, to main'tain, propagate, and much increase the burden of 'human ceremonies, to keep out and beat down the 'preaching of the word, to silence the faithful preachers 'of it, to oppose and persecute the most zealous pro'fessors, and to turn all religion into a pompous out'side: and to tread down the power of godliness. 'Insomuch, as it is come to an ordinary proverb, that 'when any thing is spoiled, we use to say, *The Bishop's 'foot is in it*. And in all this, and much more which 'might be said, fulfilling Bishop Bonner's prophecy, 'who, when he saw, that in King Edward's Reforma'tion, there was a reservation of Ceremonies and 'Hierarchy, is credibly reported to have used these 'words: *Since they have begun to taste our broth, it* (11) Ibid. p. 93. *'will not be long e'er they will eat of our beef* (11).' Dr Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter, who wrote the Humble Remonstrance, published a Vindication of it in answer to this book, and to this the Smectymneans replied. Now to shew the credit of this work, it may not be amiss to observe, that Dr Wilkins, afterwards the famous Bishop of Chester, in his Ecclesiastes, or a Discourse concerning the Gift of Preaching, sets (12) Page 51. down this as a capital work against Episcopacy (12). As such it is mentioned by Dr Calamy, in his Postscript to the Preface of his Abridgment of Baxter's Life, in which Postscript, he professes to instruct the inquisitive reader as to the books most proper to be read, in order to have a true notion of the merits of Nonconformity; and in the same light we find this work considered by (13) Vol. II. p. 398. Mr Neale, in his History of the Puritans (13).

[F] *Has been differently censured.*] Dr Calamy gives this account of the matter. 'He was, says he, one 'of those Divines, who, *anno* 1641, met by order 'of Parliament in the *Jerusalem Chamber*, with several 'Bishops and Doctors, in order to the *accommodating 'Ecclesiastical matters*; in which meeting, by mutual 'concessions, things were brought into a very hopeful 'posture; but the whole design was spoiled by the (14) Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 5. 'bringing into the House the bill against Bishops (14).' In this he agrees with the Church Historian, Fuller (15), and other writers of those times. What Archbishop Laud thought of this project may be gathered from this remark in his Diary. 'A Committee for Religion (15) Cent. XVII. p. 175. 'settled in the Upper House of Parliament. Ten 'Earls, ten Bishops, ten Barons. So the lay votes will 'be double to the Clergy. This Committee will 'meddle with doctrine as well as ceremonies, and 'will call some Divines to them to consider of the 'business, as appears by a letter hereto annexed, sent 'by the Lord Bishop of Lincoln to some Divines, to 'attend this service. Upon the whole matter, I believe 'this Committee will prove the national synod of 'England, to the great dishonour of the Church. And (16) Page 24. 'what else may follow upon it, God knows (16).' Dr Heylyn gives us a further account of this matter (17). 'Though a Convocation were at that time sitting, yet (17) Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 430, 431. 'to increase to the miseries of a failing Church, it is permitted, that a private meeting should be held in the 'Deanry of *Westminster*, to which some orthodox and 'conformable Divines were called, as a foil to the rest, 'which generally were of *Presbyterian* or *Puritan* princi'ples. By them it was proposed, that many passages in 'the Liturgy should be expunged, and others altered for 'the worse. That decency and reverence in officiating 'God's publick service should be brought within the 'compass of innovations. That doctrinal *Calvinism* 'should be entertained in all parts of the Church; 'and all their sabbath speculations, though contrary 'to *Calvin*'s judgment, superadded to it. But before 'any thing could be concluded in those weighty mat'ters, the Commons set their bill on foot against *root 'and branch*, for putting down all Bishops and Cathe'dral Churches, which put a period to that meeting 'without doing any thing.'

[G] *Very severely treated.*] Mr Archdeacon Echard, in his History of England, in giving our author's character, speaks thus, *That he was so much an incendiary, and promoter of the rebellion and Scots invasion, that his actions cannot be vindicated* (18). This (18) Vol. III. p. 137. gave such offence to his grandson, Dr Edward Calamy, that he wrote and published a letter to the Archdeacon, wherein he observes, that our author was no Chaplain in the army; no enemy to a Liturgy, freed from passages liable to just objections; was rather for reforming Episcopacy, according to Archbishop Usher's platform, than eradicating it. He then objects to what Mr Echard says, as to our author's being a frequent Preacher before the House of Commons, for says, Dr Calamy, there are but three sermons of his preached before that House. 'The first is intituled, *England's 'Looking-Glass*, on *Jerem.* xviii. 7, 8, 9, 10. preach'ed on a solemn fast, December 22, 1641. Printed 'at London, in 4*to*. The design of which sermon is 'to shew, that national repentance will divert, and 'national sins draw down, national judgments. The 'second was intituled, *God's free Mercy to England*, 'on *Ezek.* xxxvi. 32. at a solemn fast, February 23, '1641. Printed at London 1642, 4*to*. the intent of 'which is to represent England's mercies, as a motive 'and means of England's humiliation and reforma'tion. His third was intituled, *England's Antidote 'against the Plague of Civil War*, on *Acts* xvii. 30. 'preached October 22, 1644; and printed at Lon'don 1645, in 4*to*.' These three sermons the Doctor further affirms to be *plain practical sermons*; and adds further, 'Tho' there are some complaints intermingled 'of several hardships, which many worthy persons 'met with before this Parliament, and motions made 'for further rectifying things that were amiss; yet 'there is nothing tending to inflame and widen the 'differences between King and Parliament: no push'ing them on to rigour and severity; no inclination 'discovered to have the Constitution altered, or any 'of our foundations overthrown (19)' After pro- (19) See his Letducing this defence: it is but just to observe, that ter to Archdeasome exceptionable passages have been taken notice of con Echard, p. in these very sermons. As for instance, 'But now 87. 'mark the doctrine; when God begins to build and 'plant, if that nation do evil, God will unbuild 'what he has built, and pluck up what he has 'planted, and repent of the good, &c. For you 'must know, that God repents as well of his mercies, 'as of his judgments: when God made *Saul* King, 'and he proved stubborn and disobedient, he repented 'that he had made him King (20).' And again in the (20) Sermon before the Com- following passage: 'If there be found any amongst mons, Dec. 22, 'you that drive on the designs of *Oxford*, and are 1641, p. 34. 'found at *Westminster* only to betray their country, the 'Lord unmask such, and the Lord give them repenting 'hearts: this is to build up houses with the blood of 'three kingdoms, this is to sell your souls for preferment; and it is just with God, that such not only 'lose their souls, but lose their preferments also, as '*Judas*, that sold his master, hung himself (21).' (21) Fast Sermon And as to the Scots invasion, the reader may consider before the Com- the following paragraph from Mr Calamy's speech at mons, Oct. 22, Guildhall, October 6, 1643. 'If you would have a 1644, p. 25. 'peace with *Popery*, a peace with slavery, if you 'would have a *Judas* peace, or a *Joab* his peace, you 'know the story He kissed *Amasa*, and then killed 'him: If you would have a peace, that may bring a 'massacre with it, a *French* peace; if you would have 'such a peace, it may be had easily. But if you 'would have a peace that may continue the Gospel 'among you, such as the godly in the kingdom de'sire, I am confident such a peace cannot be had, 'without

intereſt in the city of London, in conſequence of his miniſterial abilities, than he (r). He preached conſtantly in his own pariſh church for twenty years, not only to a numerous but moſt worthy audience, compoſed of the moſt eminent citizens, and even perſons of great quality. He ſteadily and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the ſectaries, and gave many pregnant inſtances of his diſlike to thoſe violences which were committed afterwards, on the King's being brought from the Iſle of Wight (s). He oppoſed the infamous murder of his Sovereign King Charles I, with conſtancy and courage [H]. Under the uſurpation of Cromwell, he was paſſive and lived as privately as he could, yet he gave no reaſon to ſuſpect, that he was at all a well-wiſher to that government (t) [I], when the times afforded a favourable opportunity, he neglected not the promoting the return of King Charles II, and actually preached before the Houſe of Commons on the day they voted that great queſtion (u), which, however, has not hindered ſome from ſuggeſting their ſuſpicions of his Loyalty [K]. After this ſtep was taken, he together with Mr Aſh and other eminent Divines, were ſent over to compliment the King in Holland, by whom they were extremely well received (w). When His Majeſty was reſtored, Mr Calamy retained ſtill a conſiderable ſhare in his favour, and in June 1660, was appointed one of his Chaplains in Ordinary, and was offered the Biſhoprick of Coventry and Litchfield, which he refuſed (x) [L]. When the Convocation came to be choſen, he together with Mr Baxter were elected, May 2, 1661, for London, but the Biſhop of that dioceſe having the power of chuſing two out of four, or four out of ſix, elected within a certain circuit, Dr Sheldon who was then Biſhop, was ſo kind as to excuſe both of them, which perhaps was owing to the ſhare they had in the Savoy Conference (y). After the miſcarrying of that deſign, Mr Calamy made uſe of all his intereſt to procure the paſſing of an act agreeable to the King's declaration at Breda, but when this was fruſtrated and the

(r) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 5.

(s) Ibid.

(t) See the Life of Cromwell, p. 133.

(u) Baxter's Narrative of the memorable Paſſages of his Life, P. ii. p. 217.

(w) Idem, ibid. p. 218.

(x) Kennet's Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 234.

(y) Continuation of the Account of ſilenced and ejected Miniſters, Vol. I. p. 9.

'without contributing towards bringing in the Scots '(22).' Beſides theſe, Anthony Wood mentions two other ſermons, the firſt intituled, *The Nobleman's Pattern of true and real Thankfulneſs*, preached at a ſolemn Thankſgiving, June 15, 1643, on Joſhua xxiv. 15. and printed the ſame year at London, in 4*to*. The ſecond intituled, *An Indictment againſt England, becauſe of herſelf-murdering Diviſions*, preached before the Houſe of Lords at their faſt, December 25, (ſo that they faſted upon Chriſtmas-day) 1644, on Matth. xii. 25. printed at London, in 1645, in 4*to* (23).

(22) Examination of the ſecond Vol. of Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans by Dr Grey, p. 391.

(23) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 281.

[H] *With conſtancy and courage.*] There is a famous paper often referred to, in order to ſhew the innocency of the Preſbyterians, with reſpect to the King's murder, which is intituled, *A ſerious and faithful Repreſentation of the Judgments of Miniſters of the Goſpel within the Province of London, contained, in a Letter from them to the General and his Council of War, delivered to his Excellency by ſome of the Subſcribers, January* 18, 1648. To this piece there are between forty and fifty ſubſcribers, but the name of Mr Calamy is not among them; the reaſon of which was, that this Repreſentation was drawn up to enforce what he and ſome other miniſters of the ſame perſuaſion had delivered in two conferences; the firſt, with the General and his Council; the ſecond, with the chief officers of the army, as the paper itſelf recites (24). This evidently ſhews, that whatever warm expreſſions might eſcape our author in his ſermons, he was undoubtedly loyal, and ſincerely deteſted that barbarous and bloody fact. Some indeed have affected to treat this paper, as a matter of no great ſignificancy; but Mr Collier in his Church Hiſtory (25), after making a very faithful extract of it, ſays very honeſtly and fairly, that it was an inſtance of *handſome plain dealing, and a bold reprimand of a victorious army.*

(24) See this Pamphlet printed at London in 4*to*, 1649, p. 1.

(25) Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. of Great Britain, Vol. II. p. 859, 860.

[I] *A will-wiſher to that government.*] The following ſtory, which Harry Neville, who was one of the Council of State aſſerted of his own knowledge, is a full proof of this, and at the ſame time a very curious paſſage in itſelf. 'Cromwell having a deſign to ſet 'up himſelf, and bring the crown upon his own head, 'ſent for ſome of the chief city Divines, as if he 'made it a matter of conſcience to be determined by 'their advice. Among theſe was the leading Mr 'Calamy, who very boldly oppoſed the project of 'Cromwell's ſingle government, and offered to prove 'it both *unlawful and impracticable.* Cromwell anſwered readily upon the firſt head of *unlawful*, 'and appealed to the ſafety of the nation being the 'ſupreme law: but, ſays he, pray Mr Calamy, why '*impracticable?* He replied; Oh it is againſt the 'voice of the nation, there will be nine in ten againſt 'you. Very well, ſays *Cromwell*; but what if I 'ſhould diſarm the nine, and put the ſword in the 'tenth man's hand, would not that do the buſineſs '(26)?'

(26) See the Life of Cromwell, p. 133.

[K] *Their ſuſpicions of his Loyalty.*] Dr Calamy in his letter to Archdeacon Echard, juſtified his grandfather's Loyalty very warmly; but in anſwer to that letter, it is aſſerted, that in 1659, Mr Calamy, Mr Baxter, and five or ſix more of the ſame character, made the following ſpeech, by one of their number to General Monk. 'I hear a report, Sir, that you have 'ſome thoughts of calling back the King. But it is 'my ſenſe, and the ſenſe of theſe gentlemen here with 'me, that it is a thing you ought not to do upon any 'terms: for prophaneneſs is ſo inſeparable from the 'Royal party, that if ever you bring the King back, 'the power of godlineſs will moſt certainly depart 'from this land (27).' This is a little improbable in itſelf, and I muſt own, that we have no conſiderable authority to juſtify this ſtory. On the other hand Mr Baxter tells us, that the chief men who turned the General's reſolution to reſtore his Majeſty, were Mr Clarges and Sir William Morice, the firſt his brother-in-law, the latter his kinſman, together with the petitions and affections of the city, principally moved by Mr Calamy and Mr Aſh, two ancient, leading, able Miniſters, with Dr Bates, Dr Manton, Dr Jacomb, and other Miniſters of London, who concurred; and theſe were encouraged by the Earl of Mancheſter, the Lord Hollis, the late Earl of Angleſey, and many of the then Council of State (28).

(27) Page 27.

(28) Narrative of the moſt remarkable Paſſages of his Life and Times, Part ii. p. 214.

[L] *Which he refuſed.*] The account given us of this matter by his grandſon, is to this purpoſe. He refuſed a Biſhoprick, becauſe, he could not have it upon the terms of the King's declaration; but kept his temper and moderation after he was ejected. I have been credibly informed, that Biſhop Wilkins had ſuch an opinion of his inſight into the controverſy about Church-Government, that he heartily wiſhed he could have conformed, that he might have confronted the bold and confident aſſertors of the *Jus Divinum* of Epiſcopacy in the Convocation, in which he was not allowed to ſit, tho' he was choſen one of the Clerks for the city (29). And yet the author of the Modern Pleas, &c. ſays, 'I have been credibly informed '(not to ſay, that I am able to make it good) that 'Mr Calamy did, before his Majeſty and diverſe Lords 'of the Council, profeſs, that there was not any 'thing in the Conſtitution of the Church, to which 'he could not conform, were it not for the ſcandalizing 'of others (30).' But Mr Baxter anſwers, we muſt teſtify, ſome of us that were in his company, from firſt to laſt, we heard him over and over proteſt, That he took ſeveral things in Conformity to be intolerable ſins. And he wrote the Preface to our Reply, he may be judged of by that (31).

(29) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 6.

(30) Page 12.

(31) Apology for Nonconformity, p. 152.

[M] *In*

the Act of Uniformity passed, he took a resolution of suffering for his conscience rather than suffer in it, and accordingly preached his farewel sermon at Aldermanbury, August 27, 1662 (z). He made however a last effort three days afterwards, by presenting a petition to His Majesty to continue in the exercise of his ministerial office; this petition was signed by many of the London Clergy, and Dr Manton and Dr Bates assisted at the presenting it, when Mr Calamy made a long and moving speech, but neither it nor the petition had any good effect, tho' the King expressed himself in favour of Toleration [*M*]. He remained in his parish and came constantly to church, tho' another was in the pulpit, which proved an occasion of much trouble to him, for on December 28, 1662, the expected Preacher not coming in time, some of the principal persons in the parish prevailed upon Mr Calamy to supply his place, which with some importunity he did, but delivered himself with such freedom, that he was soon after by the Lord Mayor's warrant committed to Newgate for his sermon (*a*). But the case itself being thought hard, and some doubt arising how far the commitment was legal, His Majesty in a few days discharged him (*b*). This affair however has made a great noise, and much has been said on both sides, we will give the reader an opportunity of informing himself with what degree of justice [*N*]. He lived to see London in ashes, the sight of which broke

(z) Ibid.

(*a*) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 262.

(*b*) Continuation of the Account of silenced and ejected Ministers, Vol. I. p. 11.

[*M*] *In favour of Toleration.*] The whole of this transaction does extraordinary honour to the memory of our author. In his speech he intimated, that those of his persuasion were ready to enter the list with any for their fidelity to His Majesty, and did little expect to be dealt with as they had been; and they were now come to His Majesty's feet, as the last application they should make, &c. His Majesty promised he would consider of their business; and the very next day the matter was fully debated in Council, His Majesty himself being present, who was pleased to declare, that he intended an indulgence, if it were at all feasible. The great friends of the Silenced Ministers, who had encouraged their hopes by a variety of specious promises, were allowed, upon this occasion, freely to suggest their reasons against putting the act in execution, and they argued very strenuously. But Dr Sheldon, Bishop of London, in a warm speech, declared, That it was now too late to think of suspending that law, for that he had already, in obedience to it, ejected such of his Clergy as would not comply with it, on the Sunday before; and should they now be restored, after they were thus exasperated, he must expect to feel the effects of their resentment, and should never be able to maintain his epifcopal authority among such a Clergy, who would not fail to insult him as their enemy, being countenanced by the Court; nor could the resolutions of the Council-board justify his contempt of a law, which had passed with such an unanimous consent, and upon such mature deliberation, of both Houses: Should the sacred authority of this law be now suspended, it would render the Legislature ridiculous and contemptible; and if the importunity of such disaffected people were a sufficient reason to humour them, neither the Church nor State would ever be free from distractions and convulsions. So that, upon the whole, it was carried, that no indulgence at all should be granted (32). Dr Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford, has given us a farther account of this matter, which cannot be disagreeable to the reader. 'By this 'seasonable interposition, says his Lordship, the Bi'shop freed the Church of England from these plagues 'for many years. For thus it happened luckily, hap'pily, and prosperously, and indeed very provident'ially, that the Schismaticks entangled themselves in 'their schism by covenant and agreement, entering into 'a new association, being deceived by the large pro'mises of the London Teachers, that they would not 'obey the law, and thence imagining that they should 'defend themselves by their multitude. And whereas 'the Courtiers would have persuaded the King, that 'there would be Preachers wanting in the city of Lon'don, upon that Sunday, the very prudent Bishop of 'that diocese, who had computed the number of the 'faction, had ready at hand an equal number of or'thodox Divines, and those eloquent and learned, 'who, the sign given, did, as it were, come out of 'ambush, and take possession of the pulpits. And 'though from that time the Schismaticks tried all 'their art, that they might be received again into the 'bosom of the Church, yet he guarded every pass and 'avenue with such diligence, that when they saw their 'attempts so often baffled, they at length sat down, 'being no farther troublesome with their schism, than 'barely that they were Schismaticks as long as he 'lived (33).'

(32) Continuation of the Account of silenced and ejected Ministers, Vol. I. p. 11.

[*N*] *With what degree of justice.*] The account given of this matter by Dr Calamy runs thus. 'He 'was imprisoned *in terrorem*, for preaching occasionally 'after *Bartholomew* day; but soon released, when 'it was seen what a resort of persons of all qualities 'there was to him in Newgate, and how generally 'the severity was resented. Our late Historian re'presents his preaching, at that time, as *seditious*. 'But it was purely occasioned by a disappointment, as 'to the Preacher expected; and the discourse, as I 'have been informed by those that very well knew it 'to be true, was unpremeditated. That hard word, 'therefore, might have been spared. As circumstances 'then were, there might well be a concern stirring for 'serious Religion, which was in no small danger. 'And had this author waved that reflection, his work 'would not have lost any of it's beauty (34).' This reflection of Bishop Kennet's the reader will the better judge of when he sees it in his own words. 'Had he 'taken a practical subject, and kept to it, no notice 'would have been taken of that one occasional neces'sity, as it were, of preaching. But it looked like a 'plot, or formed design, that he should chuse a sub'ject of Eli's *Concern for the Ark of God*; and so ap'plied the danger of the Church and Religion to the 'present times, that he could not be thought less a *se*'*ditious*, than a *disabled* Preacher (35).' It appears from hence, that it was not either the occasion of his preaching, or the subject, strictly speaking, which induced the Bishop to make use of so harsh a word, but the application. Now to judge of this, recourse must be had to the sermon, which has been printed, and therein two passages have been taken notice of as sufficient to excuse Bishop Kennet's censure, the rather, because zeal in a Prelate is as laudable as in a Pastor of any other communion. The first passage is this: *You have had*, says Mr Calamy, *three famous successors; Dr Taylor for seven years, Dr Stoughton for seven years, and myself, I have been with you almost four and twenty years, and may not God now unchurch you, by suffering you to want a faithful Minister to go in and out before you. This is one reason, upon which account I may safely say, the Ark of God is in danger; and* Aldermanbury *may truly fear the loss of the Ark* (36). The second passage runs thus: *I read that among the Romans, when any man was accused for his life, all his relations put on mourning apparel, and they followed him to his trial in mourning, thereby to shew their love to the party in danger. Now did you love the Gospel, the Ministers of the Gospel, and the ordinances of Christ, you would all put on mourning, and lament for the Gospel, the Ark of God, that is in danger; and because you do not, it is a sign you have no love for the Gospel* (37). But the thing did not end here, for as this commitment was ill taken on one side, so his discharge, by the King's express command, was as warmly resented by the other; for in the next session of Parliament, complaint thereof was made in the House of Commons; upon which it was signified to the House, that his release from imprisonment was not owing to the sole command of the King, but to a deficiency in the act of Parliament, that had not fully provided for his longer restraint.

(33) Hist. of his own Times, p. 33.

(34) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 7.

(35) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 262.

(36) Sermon at Aldermanbury church, Dec. 28, 1662, printed at Oxford, 1663, p. 12.

(37) Ibid. p. 14.

broke his heart, he was driven through the ruins in a coach to Enfield, and was ſo ſhocked at the diſmal appearance that he could never wear off the impreſſion, but kept his chamber ever after and died, October 29, 1666, within a month after this accident happened (*c*). He was tho' a very learned man, yet a plain and practical Preacher, and one who was not afraid to ſpeak his ſentiments freely of and to the greateſt men, and of this the reader will meet with a remarkable inſtance in the notes [*O*]. His writings, tho' they were not numerous, are ſufficient to ſupport his reputation, and to make his abilities known to poſterity [*P*]. He was twice married. By his firſt wife, he had a ſon and daughter; and by his ſecond, ſeven children, ſome of whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention in ſucceeding articles.

(*c*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. lib. xiv. p. 39.

reſtraint. Whereupon there was this entry made in their Journal. *Die Jovis, Febr.* 19, 1662. *Upon complaint made to this Houſe, that Mr* Calamy *being committed to priſon, upon breach of the act of Uniformity, was diſcharged upon pretence of ſome defect in the act:* — Reſolved, *That it be referred to a Committee to look into the Act of Uniformity, as to the matter in queſtion, and to ſee whether the ſame be defective, and wherein.* And ſoon after a Committee was appointed, *to bring in the reaſons of the Houſe for their advice to the King againſt a Toleration, with an addreſs to His Majeſty.* And ſo an effectual door was opened to all the rigour and ſeverity that followed (38).

(38) Continuation of the Account of ejected and ſilenced Miniſters, Vol. I. p. 12.

[*O*] *A remarkable inſtance in the notes.*] Dr Calamy tells us, that our author, at the time of the Reſtoration, had the greateſt intereſt in court, city, and country, of any of the Miniſters, and therefore extremely careſſed at firſt; but ſoon ſaw whither things were tending. Among other evidences of it, this is one: That having General Monk for his auditor in his own church, a little after the Reſtoration, on a ſacrament-day, he had occaſion to ſpeak of *filthy lucre:* 'And why, ſaid he, is it called *filthy*, but becauſe it 'makes men do baſe and *filthy* things? Some men, 'ſaid he, will betray three kingdoms for *filthy lucre's* 'ſake.' Saying which, he threw his handkerchief, which he uſually waved up and down while he was preaching, towards the General's pew (39).

(39) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 6.

[*P*] *His abilities known to poſterity.*] As we have already mentioned ſeveral pieces written by him, this note ſhall only ſerve as a ſupplement, and take in thoſe that we have had no opportunity to account for, *viz. The great Danger of Covenant-refuſing and Covenant-breaking*, &c. preached before the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Miniſters, &c. of London, on 2 Tim. iii. 3. printed at London 1646, in 4to. Another preached before the Lord Mayor, entitled, *The Monſter of Self-ſeeking anatomized.* Sermon at St Giles's Morning Exerciſes on Acts xxvi. 8. Funeral Sermons upon Dr Samuel Bolton, Robert Earl of Warwick, in 1658, Mr Simeon Aſhe in 1662. A Sermon to the native citizens of London, entitled, *The City Remembrancer.* A Farewel Sermon on 2 Sam. xxiv. 14. to his pariſh of St Mary Aldermanbury, Aug. 17. 1662. And five Sermons, entitled, *The Godly Man's Ark, or a City of Refuge in the Day of his Diſtreſs*, the 8th edition of which was printed at London, 1683, in 12mo. He had a hand in drawing up the *Vindication of the Preſbyterian Government and Miniſtry*, printed at London 1650; and the *Jus Divinum Miniſterii Evangelici Anglicani*, printed in 1654. Since his Death, there was a treatiſe of Meditation printed in a clandeſtine way, not by his ſon, nor from his manuſcript, but from ſome imperfect notes taken by an auditor. E

CALAMY (EDMUND) eldeſt ſon to the Reverend Mr Edmund Calamy, of whom in the preceding article, was born at Sir Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, about the year 1635. In his junior years he was carefully inſtructed by his father, and when he had acquired a ſufficient fund of learning, he was transferred to the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he was entered of Sidney-College, March 28, 1651. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in 1654-5. Then he removed to Pembroke-Hall, where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, in 1658 (*a*). He became afterwards Fellow of that College; and on April 20, 1659, was preſented to the living of Moreton in Eſſex, which he held 'till he was removed by the Act of Uniformity, in 1662 (*b*) [*A*]. After his ejectment he retired to London, and kept a Meeting privately in his houſe in Aldermanbury. When King Charles II. publiſhed his declaration for Indulgence, he ſet up a publick Meeting in Currier's Hall, near Cripplegate. But when the Diſſenters were again perſecuted, he had recourſe to his former method; and tho' he was very aſſiduous in his duty, yet he eſcaped impriſonment, notwithſtanding warrants were frequently out againſt him; but he had the misfortune with ſeveral other of his brethren to fall under a Crown-Office proſecution, which put him to a great deal of trouble and expence (*c*). As he was a perſon of much learning and unaffected piety, ſo he was very careful to avoid whatever might draw upon him the imputation of party. In the earlier part of life he declined taking the Covenant, and through the whole courſe of it ſhewed a ſpirit of moderation and charity agreeable to his calling. He was, tho', a Nonconformiſt, a man of very free notions, and one who never pretended to confine the Church of Chriſt within the bounds of any particular ſect; he had a great contempt for the goods of this world, and was ſuch a lover of obſcurity and retirement, that tho' he was a very able as well as painful Preacher, and was known to have done much good in the ſpace of three and twenty years that he exerciſed the Miniſtry in London, yet he would never be prevailed on to appear in print, but ſatisfied himſelf with the conſciouſneſs of having performed his duty (*d*). Having thus led a private and peaceable, tho' not a quiet, life, he exchanged it

(*a*) From the University Regiſter.

(*b*) Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. Vol. II. p. 424.

(*c*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 301.

(*d*) Continuation of the Account of ejected and ſilenced Miniſters, Vol. II. p. 464.

[*A*] *By the Act of Uniformity in* 1662.] We have ſome very curious particulars in relation to this gentleman's acquiring, holding, and loſing this living. He was admitted to it by an inſtrument dated at Whitehall the 20th of April, 1659, ſetting forth, That he had been preſented to the rectory of Moreton in the county of Eſſex, by the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Mancheſter, John Lord Roberts, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Bart. Anthony Tuckney, Doctor in Divinity, Maſter of St John's College in Cambridge, Simeon Aſh, Clerk, and Edmund Calamy, the elder, Clerk, Feoffees in truſt of Robert Earl of Warwick, deceaſed, the patron thereof, and that he had a teſtimonial of his holy life and good converſation; wherefore he was admitted as the legal incumbent by the Commiſſioners for approbation of publick Preachers, which inſtrument is

it for a better in the Month of May 1685, being taken off by a conſumption. He left behind him a ſon and four daughters (*e*).

(*e*) From particular information.

is ſigned by Philip Nye, Regiſter, and ſealed with the common ſeal of the Board beforementioned. He afterwards gave four bonds to the Protector Richard, for the payment of the firſt fruits and tenths, each bond for nine pounds, the firſt payable October 1, 1659, and the laſt April 1, 1661. He ſhewed his loyalty to King Charles II by contributing freely to the benevolence in 1661, yet this did not hinder his being turned out, in the year following, for Nonconformity (*1*).

(1) Calamy's Continuation of the Account of ejected and ſilenced Miniſters, Vol. 1. p. 461, 462, 463, 464.

E

CALAMY (BENJAMIN) an eminent Divine of the Church of England, in the XVIIth Century. He was the ſon of the famous Mr Edmund Calamy, Miniſter of Aldermanbury beforementioned, by a ſecond wife, and received the firſt tincture of learning at St Paul's School, from whence he was ſent when very young to the Univerſity of Cambridge, and there entered of Catharine-Hall. In the year 1664-5, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; in 1668, that of Maſter of Arts; and became alſo Fellow of that Hall, and a very eminent Tutor there. April 25, 1677, he was choſen in the room of Dr Simon Ford, Miniſter of St Mary Aldermanbury; and ſoon after appointed one of His Majeſty's Chaplains in ordinary. In 1680, he took his Degree of Doctor in Divinity (*a*). In 1683, he preached in that church his famous ſermon, which he afterwards publiſhed under the title of, *A Diſcourſe about a ſcrupulous Conſcience*, of which we may truly ſay, that never any piece of it's kind or ſize, gained more credit to it's author, or was more taken notice of by the publick (*b*) [*A*]. This ſermon he preached a ſecond time at Bow Church with great effect, and this excited a zealous Nonconformiſt, one Mr Thomas De Laune, who had been formerly a ſchoolmaſter, to write againſt it, which he did in ſuch a manner as drew upon him a fatal impriſonment, which he endeavoured by all means to aſcribe to Dr Calamy, tho' his complaints on this head had little or no foundation (*c*) [*B*]. In 1683, he was admitted to the Vicarage of St Lawrence

(*a*) From the Univerſity Regiſter.

(*b*) The title at large ran thus: A Diſcourſe about a doubting Conſcience, preached at the pariſh church of St Mary Aldermanbury, London, by Benjamin Calamy, D. D. one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in Ordinary, London, 1683, 4to.

(*c*) See Delaune's Narrative mentioned in note [*B*].

[*A*] *More taken notice of by the publick.*] This ſermon is in every reſpect very extraordinary. In the title page, we have this motto from a piece of Mr Baxter's. 'Conſider this, it is the judgment of ſome, 'that thouſands are gone to hell, and ten thouſands 'upon their march thither, that in all probability 'had never come there, if they had not been tempted 'from the pariſh churches, for the enjoyment of 'communion in a purer Church (1).' It was dedicated to Sir George Jefferies, Knight and Baronet, Chief Juſtice of Cheſter, afterwards Lord Jefferies and High-Chancellor of England. And in this dedication there are ſome very ſingular paſſages. In the firſt place, he acknowledges Sir George for his patron, and profeſſes, that it was by his intereſt and favour he was placed in this pariſh. He then proceeds thus. 'Upon 'how many this plain, homely diſcourſe may have 'good effect, I cannot gueſs: how many it will anger 'and diſpleaſe; I am not at all concerned: and tho' 'I may be thought by ſome ill adviſed, in publiſhing ſuch a ſermon, yet every one will commend 'and juſtify my diſcretion in prefixing your name before it; for ſo great an awe have the enemies of our 'Church and government of your Loyalty and fidelity 'to both, of your undaunted zeal and activity for 'both, that they will not dare loudly to condemn 'what you are pleaſed to protect. They will be juſtly 'afraid of quarelling with me, when they know I 'have engaged you on my ſide. I am very ſenſible, 'that in the age we live, ſome are ſo extraordinary 'wiſe and wary, as to cenſure and diſcourage all 'men that ſpeak roundly and act vigorouſly for the 'King and Church, as being more forward and buſy 'than is needful; but I am alſo as ſenſible, that if 'ſome men had not ſhewn more courage and honeſty 'than thoſe prudent perſons, both would have been 'by this time in far greater danger, than at this preſent, thanks be to God, they are. For my own 'part, no one is more favourable to a truly tender conſcience than myſelf, let it be as nice and ſcrupulous 'as it can well, ſo it be about the ſubſtantial matters 'of piety towards God, juſtice between man and man, 'due obedience to ſuperiors, and when it makes us 'more exactly careful of our undoubted duty in all 'inſtances: but when men are ſcrupulous only on one 'ſide, about things commanded by lawful authority, 'and make no ſcruple of diſobedience, ſchiſm, faction, 'and diviſion; when men ſet up their private humour, fancy, or opinion, in oppoſition to eſtabliſhed 'laws; when they become peeviſh, pragmatical, and 'ungovernable; nay, when men's conſciences prove 'ſo generally tender and ſcrupulous, as to doubt of 'and ſuſpect the rights of the Crown (for that conſcience that is ſo tender againſt the Church, is alſo 'uſually as tender againſt the King) ſuch wayward, 'ſkittiſh conſciences ought to be well bridled and 'reſtrained, or elſe they will be not only intolerably 'troubleſome, but extreamly miſchievous, both to 'Church and State.' The ſermon itſelf is very warm in the cauſe of Conformity, and perhaps there never were more arguments uſed, or thoſe better proſecuted, than we meet in this diſcourſe. At the end of it, we find the following quotation, from a book of his father's, to ſhew, that ſuch as were Nonconformiſts then, were zealous for Conformity, when themſelves were in poſſeſſion of the churches, the paſſage is this. 'Take heed of ſeparating from the publick 'aſſemblies of the Saints. I have found by experience, 'that all our Church calamities have ſprung from this 'root. He that ſeparates from the publick worſhip, 'is like a man tumbling down a hill, and never leaving 'till he comes to the bottom of it. I could relate 'many ſad ſtories of perſons profeſſing godlineſs, who 'out of diſlike to our Church meetings, began at firſt 'to ſeparate from them, and after many changes and 'alterations, are turned, ſome of them Anabaptiſts, 'ſome Quakers, ſome Ranters, ſome direct Atheiſts. 'But I forbear; you muſt hold communion with all 'thoſe Churches with which Chriſt holds communion. 'You muſt ſeparate from the ſins of Chriſtians, but 'not from the ordinances of Chriſt. Take heed of 'unchurching the Churches of Chriſt, leſt you prove 'Schiſmaticks inſtead of being true Chriſtians (2).' Whoever peruſes this diſcourſe and conſiders the time in which it was publiſhed, and the nature of theſe arguments from their own writers, will eaſily diſcern the cauſes of that ſpirit which was raiſed againſt Dr Calamy, on account of his preaching it. A ſpirit perhaps, that nothing could have overcome but the innocency of his life, his readineſs to converſe with the worthieſt men of all parties, and his willingneſs to do good to ſuch as differed from him in opinion.

(1) Ep. to ſeparate Congregations.

(2) Godly Man's Ark in the Ep. Ded. to the pariſh of Aldermanbury.

[*B*] *Had little or no foundation.*] The title of this book runs thus, De Laune's *Plea for the Nonconformiſts; ſhewing the true State of their Caſe, and how far the* Conformiſt's *Separation from the Church of Rome, for their Popiſh Superſtitions*, &c. *introduced into the Service of God, juſtifies the* Nonconformiſt's *Separation from them for the ſame. In a Letter to Dr* Benjamin Calamy, *upon the Sermon called,* Scrupulous Conſcience, *inviting hereto: To which is added,* A PARALLEL SCHEME OF THE PAGAN, PAPAL, and CHRISTIAN RITES AND CEREMONIES. To this there is added, another piece, intituled, *A Narrative of the Tryal*

Lawrence Jewry, with St Mary Magdalen Milk-ſtreet, annexed, to which he was collated by the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's, in the room of Dr Benjamin Whichcot. June 18, 1685, he was on the deceaſe of Dr John Wells, inſtalled into the Prebend of Harleſton, in the Cathedral Church of St Paul (*d*). Theſe preferments are abundant proofs of his merit and of his great intereſt in the city of London, which he maintained not by attaching himſelf to any party, but by living in great intimacy with the beſt men of all parties. He was particularly acquainted with Alderman Corniſh, who was his pariſhioner, and for whom he had ſo great a reſpect, that he gave teſtimony in his favour when he was tried for High-Treaſon, October 16, 1685, which was no ordinary mark of friendſhip in thoſe times (*e*) [C]. It is thought, that a ſenſe of publick calamities had a great ſhare in bringing his laſt illneſs upon our author, who fell into a declining ſtate in the autumn of the year laſt mentioned, and died of a pleuritic fever in the month of January 1686. He was a man equally valuable for the abilities which he poſſeſſed, and the uſes to which he applied them. He was a ſincere ſon of the Church of England, and piouſly intent on gaining over Diſſenters of all ſorts to her Communion; but withal he had an extenſive charity, and a juſt averſion to perſecution. He was heartily loyal, but without bitterneſs or paſſion, and his loyalty occaſioned his grief, when he ſaw thoſe ſteps taken which

(*d*) Newcourt's Repert. Eccleſ. Vol. I. p. 388, 155.

(*e*) See the caſe of Alderman Corniſh.

Tryal and Sufferings of Thomas De Laune, *for writing, printing, and publiſhing a late book called,* A Plea for the Nonconformiſts, *with ſome modeſt Reflexions thereon. Directed to Dr Calamy; in obedience to whoſe Call that work was undertaken. By* Thomas De Laune. *Printed for the Author* 1683. In this warm book, the author takes it all along for granted, that Dr Calamy's printing his ſermon, was a challenge to the Nonconformiſts in general, and to every man who thought himſelf able to defend Nonconformity in particular, though there is certainly nothing in the ſermon which can warrant ſuch an opinion. The book is wrote too in very fierce language, and a high charge of idolatry is brought againſt the Church. After the letter, follows another ſhort treatiſe, bearing the title of, *The Image of the Beaſt; ſhewing by a parallel or Scheme, what a Conformiſt the Church of Rome is to the Pagan, and what a Nonconformiſt to the Chriſtian Church, in it's Rites, Service, and Ceremonies, the better to exemplify the true and falſe Church. By T. D.* For the publiſhing this book, he was taken into cuſtody, on November 29, 1683, and the next day committed to Newgate by a warrant from Sir Thomas Jenner, then Recorder of London. After his commitment, he wrote a long letter to Dr Calamy, wherein, after having often told him, that he wrote in obedience to his call, and that he was impriſoned entirely on his account, he concludes thus. 'As 'truth ſeeks no corners, nor ſuborners, and as real 'beauty will not be beholden to the artificial dawb-'ings of a pencil; ſo the Chriſtian Religion (where pro-'feſſed in it's naked ſimplicity) needs no other argu-'ment to beget profelytes, than it's own lovely and 'illuſtrious features, altogether plain, honeſt, and 'every way amiable, void of all meretricious gawdery, 'or that majeſtical pomp, which pleaſes only the ex-'ternal ſenſe. I have no malignity againſt any per-'ſon whatſoever, much leſs againſt your Church, or 'any of it's members; all I deſire is, that ſcrupulous 'conſciences, who trouble not the peace of the na-'tion, ſhould be dealt withal (at leaſt) as weak 'brethren, according to Rom. xiv. 1. and not ruined 'by penalties, for not ſwallowing what is impoſed 'under the notion of decency and order, tho' excen-'trick to the ſcheme we have of it in our only rule 'of faith. Sir, I entreat you to excuſe this trouble 'from a ſtranger, who would fain be convinced by 'ſomething more like Divinity than Newgate, where 'any meſſage from you ſhall be welcome to your 'humble ſervant, T. D (3).' To this epiſtle, Mr De Laune tells us, Dr Calamy anſwered, if he has been impriſoned on account of anſwering my book, I will do him any ſervice that becomes me. Some other letters he ſent him, to pretty near the ſame purpoſe, which did not hinder his being tried at the Old Bayly for a Libel, on the 16th of January following, aud upon conviction he was fined one hundred marks, ordered to find ſecurity for a year, and his book to be burnt before Royal Exchange. By which fatal ſentence, himſelf, his wife, and children periſhed in Newgate, no body caring to lay down ſeventy-five pounds for him, tho' he was a man of much knowledge and learning (4). His ſufferings gave very great concern to Dr Calamy, who was a man of much humanity, and he did all he could to ſerve him; but it not appearing that his book was more an anſwer to Dr Calamy than to Dr Stilling-fleet, or any other writer in defence of Conformity, and as the Doctor's words were ſtrangely wreſted and abuſed in his Narrative, Dr Calamy's charitable applications which were hearty and frequent had the leſs weight

(3) Delaune's Narrative, p. 59.

(4) Obſervator, Vol. II. No. 95.

[C] *No ordinary marks of friendſhip at that time.*] The caſe of Alderman Corniſh is very well known, and the violence with which he was treated even at his trial. He thought it neceſſary there to prove his being a Churchman, and not an Occaſional Conformiſt. With this view he would have called Dr Sharp then Dean of Norwich, or Dr Tillotſon then Dean of Canterbury, but neither thought proper to appear; he had then recourſe to Dr Calamy. The circumſtances of the thing are very remarkable, and therefore we will conſider the whole paſſage as it ſtands in the printed trial.

'*Mr Corniſh.* My Lord, I deſire I may have the 'Miniſter of the pariſh, *Dr Calamy*, for my conſtancy 'at my pariſh-church, and receiving the Sacrament, 'according to the rites of the Church of *England*; that 'I am, to all appearance, a perſon that does as well 'affect the government as any man. L. C. J. *Jones* I 'doubt you are all appearance. Dr *Calamy*. My 'knowledge of Mr *Corniſh* hath been ſince I came to 'be Miniſter of the pariſh, which is about two years, 'a little above two years; whenever he was in town 'he did uſe to come to church as conſtantly as any 'one, and come with his family to prayers, and did 'come to the Sacrament; and he did not only come 'at *Eaſter*, to ſave himſelf from a preſentment, but at 'our monthly communion; and ſince I have been Mi-'niſter of the place, I have often converſed with him: 'All that I can ſay, is, that I never heard him ſay a 'diſreſpectful word of the government. L. C. J. *Jones*. I 'hope he took you to be a man of another kidney? 'Dr *Calamy*. I marked his words, becauſe of the cha-'racter I had heard of him. Mr *Att Gen.* Pray 'what was the character he had before theſe two years? 'Dr *Calamy*. That was what was publick (5).' The Chief Juſtice, in ſumming up this part of the evidence, obſerved to the Jury, that Mr Corniſh laid great ſtreſs on his being a Churchman, of which he had given no evidence beyond two years, which being ſince the trial of the Lord Ruſſel, it was to be preſumed he took up this character as a thing neceſſary then to purge off ſuſpicions. Mr Corniſh objected to this, that he had been a conſtant Churchman for ſeven years, but that Dr Calamy could ſpeak only ſince the time of his coming into the pariſh, his predeceſſor, Dr Whichcot, being dead. After Mr Corniſh received ſentence of death, Dr Calamy viſited him in Newgate, but excuſed himſelf from attending him at the place of execution, by ſaying plainly, that, *He could as well die with him, as behold his death in ſuch circumſtances.* Dr Calamy forbore not uſing all the intereſt he had to ſave him, to the very laſt, and upon this occaſion it is reported that Sir George Jefferies ſhould have given him this anſwer: *Dear Doctor, fet your heart at reſt, and give yourſelf no further trouble, for I can aſſure you, that if you could offer a mine of gold as deep as the Monument is high, and a bunch of pearls as big as the ſtones at the top of it, it would not purchaſe his life* (6).

(5) Trial of Hen. Corniſh, Eſq; &c. London, printed for Geo. Croom, 1685. Collection of State Trials, Vol. IV. p. 153.

(6) General Dict. Vol. IV. p. 27.

[D] *A*

which could end in nothing but publick confuſion. His own virtues however exempted him in a great meaſure from envy and ſcandal, even in the worſt of times, inſomuch, that the greateſt men of all ſects and all parties amongſt us, readily joined in paying a juſt tribute of praiſe to his memory (*f*) [*D*]. Tho' few in his ſituation were either better or more frequent Preachers, yet he left behind him very little in print. Some ſermons of his were after his deceaſe publiſhed by his brother, which ſerved only to raiſe a greater regret in the world for the loſs of ſo worthy a perſon, and of ſo many of his excellent performances as were buried in oblivion. His ſermons are ſtill valued as well for the beauty of their language as the excellent ſentiments contained in them [*E*].

(*f*) Appendix to the third Vol. of Echard's Hiſt. p. 21.

[*D*] *A juſt tribute of praiſe to his memory.*] His Funeral Sermon was preached by Dr William Sherlock, afterwards Dean of St Paul's, January 7, 1685-6. In this ſermon the Doctor tells us, that, 'when a prevailing faction threatened both Church and State, 'and the fears of Popery were thought a ſufficient juſtification of the moſt illegal and irreligious methods 'to keep it out; when it was ſcandalous to ſpeak a 'word either for the King or the Church; when cunning men were ſilent; and thoſe, who affected popularity, ſwam with the ſtream; then this great and 'good man durſt reform Schiſm and Faction; durſt 'teach men to conform to the Church, and to obey 'and honour the King; durſt vindicate the deſpiſed 'Church of England, and the hated doctrine of Paſſive 'Obedience, though one was thought to favour Popery, and the other to introduce ſlavery. But he 'was above the powerful charms of names, and liked 'Truth never the worſe becauſe it was miſcalled. His 'publick ſermons preached in thoſe days, and printed 'by publick authority, are laſting proofs of this; and 'yet he was no Papiſt neither, but durſt reprove the 'errors of Popery, when ſome others, who made the 'greateſt noiſe and outcry about it, grew wiſe and cautious. This was like a truly honeſt and faithful ſervant, to oppoſe the growing diſtempers of the age, 'without any regard either to unjuſt cenſures, or appa- (7) Page 30, 31. 'rent danger (7). And yet he did not needleſſly provoke 'any man; he gave no hard words, but thought it 'ſevere enough to confute mens errors, without up 'braiding or reproaching their perſons. His converſation was courteous and affable to all men; ſoft and 'eaſy, as his principles were ſtubborn. He could 'yield any thing but the truth, and bear with any 'thing but the vices of men. He would, indeed, have 'been the wonder of his age, had he not lived in ſuch 'an age, as, thanks be to God, can ſhew many ſuch 'wonders; and yet, in ſuch an age as this, he made 'an illuſtrious figure. Though he had his equals, he had (8) Ibid. p. 31. 'not many ſuperiors (8). Thus he lived, and thus this 'good man died, for thus was he found doing when his 'Lord came.' Dr Baſil Kennet, in his Preface to the Tranſlation of the Critical Works of M. Rapin, gives us, at once, a fine panegyrick on our author and Dean Sherlock. He is ſpeaking there of the eloquence of the Engliſh pulpit, which leads him to this obſervation. 'As this age applauds the unexhauſted ſtore of things 'and words in Dr Barrow, the next will acknowledge 'that one of his learned ſucceſſors began the reputation of Mr Boyle's Lecture. The refined thought, 'and choice manner, which we admire in the writings 'of the late Dean of Sarum, thoſe who come after us 'will affirm to have been continued in other ornaments 'of the ſame Church. Nor will the reſpect which is 'ſo juſtly paid to the clear vein of argument, and excellent ſpirit of Dr Calamy, be denied to the natural 'perſuaſiveneſs, the eaſy and popular reaſon, of the 'friend who performed the good office at his funeral.' The celebrated Mr Anthony Wood ſtyles Dr Calamy *a loyal perſon, an excellent preacher, and a zealous man for the Church of England* (9). Archdeacon Echard ſpeaks of him thus: 'His ſermons ſeem to have 'been compoſed for the generality of mankind, in 'which there is both ſtrength and perſpicuity, and diſcover a genius able to penetrate into the ſecret receſſes 'of human nature, for which he was particularly obſerved by King Charles's Court, when he preached 'at Newmarket. Wherefore it is a pity that we have 'no more of them in print (10).' Biſhop Burnet reckons him with Tenniſon, Sharp, Patrick, Sherlock, Fowler, Scot, Clagget, Cudworth, Williams, and many others, of whom he ſays, that 'though he knew them 'not ſo particularly as to give all their characters, yet 'they deſerved a high one, and were, indeed, an honour both to the Church, and to the age, in which 'they lived (11).' In the *Hiſtory of Paſſive Obedience* we find a great variety of paſſages from his ſermons (12), and as that book is compoſed chiefly from the works of our moſt eminent Divines, it proves him to be ſuch in the opinion of it's compilers.

(9) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 282.

(10) Appendix to the three Volumes of his Hiſt. of England, p. 21.

(11) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 462.

(12) Said to be printed at Amſterdam, 1689. 4to. p. 122.

[*E*] *As the excellent ſentiments contained in them.*] The pieces printed in his life-time were theſe. 1. A Sermon preached at Guildhall, on Tit. iii. 8, 9. London 1673, in 4to. 2. A Sermon preached at Guildhall, on John v. 14. before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, May 29. London 1682, in 4to. 3. A Diſcourſe about a ſcrupulous Conſcience, preached at St Mary Aldermanbury, on Luke xi. 41. London 1683, in 4to. 2d edit. 4. A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen at Guildhall chapel, Sept. 30. 1683, on Rom. iii. 8. London 1683, in 4to. 5. A Sermon preached at St Mary le Bow before the Artillery-Company, on Matt. xxvi. 52. London 1684, in 4to. 6. A Sermon preached at St Mary le Bow before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, Sept. 2. 1684, being the Anniverſary-faſt for the fire of London, on Iſai. lvii. 21. 7. A Thankſgiving-ſermon, on Eccleſ. x. 20. There was a volume of poſthumous Sermons, in number thirteen, publiſhed by his brother, of whom we are to ſpeak in the next article, with his Funeral Sermon, by Dr Sherlock, prefixed. This volume has run through a great many editions, and has at this day as many admirers as when it was firſt publiſhed. E

CALAMY (James) ſon to Edmund Calamy, B. D. beforementioned, by a ſecond wife, and younger brother to Dr Benjamin Calamy, of whom in the preceding article. He was educated at Catharine-Hall in the Univerſity of Cambridge, where, in 1672, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and in 1676, that of Maſter (*a*). Having received holy Orders, and being highly conſidered on account of his father's reputation, he was preſented to the Rectory of Northill in Bedfordſhire, where he continued 'till the year 1707, when he was preſented by his intimate friend, Dr Blackall, Biſhop of Exeter, to that of Cheriton-Biſhops in Devonſhire; and had at the ſame time a Prebend in the Church of Exeter beſtowed on him. He was a man of great learning, but much greater modeſty, which is the reaſon that he left nothing behind him in print, except his Dedication of his brother's ſermons. He led a ſingle life, and on December 14, 1714, was ſurprized by a ſudden death (*b*.) E

(*a*) From the Univerſity Regiſter.

(*b*) From particular information.

CALAMY (EDMUND) a very eminent Divine among the Nonconformists, grandson to Mr Edmund Calamy, Minister of Aldermanbury, by his eldest son, Mr Edmund Calamy, Minister of Moreton in Essex (*a*). He was born at his father's house in Aldermanbury, April 5, 1671, and after acquiring a competent portion of learning in several private schools, and at Merchant-Taylor's, under the celebrated Mr Hartcliffe, he removed to a private Academy at Wickham-Brook in Suffolk. There he was under the tuition of Mr Samuel Cradock, a very eminent and worthy person, who had been Fellow of Emanuel College in Cambridge, and by whose assistance Mr Calamy went through a course of Logick, Natural Philosophy, and Metaphysicks (*b*). He studied with such diligence as to merit particular marks of favour from Mr Cradock, as before from Mr Hartcliffe; and by his natural sweetness of temper, and great candour in conversation, he established such friendships with his contemporaries, as were both useful and honourable to him in the succeeding part of his life (*c*) [*A*]. In March 1688, being just turned of seventeen, he went over to the University of Utrecht, where he studied Philosophy under De Vries, Civil Law under Vander Muyden, both celebrated Professors, and attended the Lectures of the most learned Grævius, upon Sophocles and Puffendorf's Introduction. Here Mr Calamy pursued his studies with still greater diligence than before, making it a rule with him to spend one whole night in a week amongst his books (*d*). His application and proficiency recommended him to the favour of all who knew him there, and especially to the notice and friendship of two of his countrymen, who came afterwards to fill very high stations both in Church and State [*B*]. By degrees his abilities gained him so great reputation, that the famous Mr William Carstairs, Principal of the College of Edinburgh, invited him to accept of a Professor's chair in that kingdom, having himself been sent over to Holland on purpose to find a person qualified for such an office. But Mr Calamy declined this offer, and soon after returned into England (*e*). On his arrival, he went first to Oxford, carrying with him, letters from Professor Grævius to Dr Pocock, Regius Professor of Hebrew, and to Dr Edward Bernard, Savilian Professor of Astronomy in that University. These worthy persons received him with great civility, and obtained leave for him to prosecute his studies in the Bodleian library. He made the utmost use of this and all the other advantages he enjoyed at Oxford, particularly the improving conversation of the most learned Mr Henry Dodwell, with whom he was intimately acquainted (*f*). Mr Calamy had by this time determined to apply himself particularly to Divinity, which he did with great steadiness and industry. After studying the Scriptures thoroughly, and acquiring considerable knowledge in Ecclesiastical History, and the works of the primitive Fathers, he began to enquire into later controversies, particularly, that between the Church of England and the Nonconformists, and after a long and sober examination of what had been written on both sides, he resolved to join himself to the latter. In consequence of this choice, he preached sometimes in Oxford, and more frequently in the adjacent villages, 'till in the year 1692, he was invited to assist Mr Matthew Sylvester at his meeting-house in Black-Friars (*g*). There he continued to preach two years before he received Presbyterian Ordination. At length, on June 22, 1694, he was ordained at Dr Annesley's Meeting-house in Little St Helens (*h*). He was soon after invited to become assistant to Mr Daniel Williams in Hand-alley. October 20, 1702, he was appointed one of the Lecturers at Salter's Hall; and in 1703, he was chosen to succeed Mr Vincent Alsop, as Pastor of a great Congregation in Westminster (*i*). He had recommended himself in a very particular manner to the whole Dissenting interest, first by the care he had taken in publishing Mr Baxter's History of his Life and Times, and then in making a very useful Abridgment of it, which he afterwards improved into a much larger and more valuable work [*C*]. This however exposed him to some attacks, in which his book was treated

(*a*) As appears by the foregoing article.

(*b*) Funeral Sermon upon the Death of Edmund Calamy, D. D. with some Account of his Life and Character by Daniel Mayo, M. A. p. 20.

(*c*) See these points more fully explained in the notes.

(*d*) Funeral Sermon before cited, p. 21.

(*e*) From the Account given by Mr Carstairs himself.

(*f*) See the article DODWELL (HENRY) in this Dictionary.

(*g*) Funeral Sermon before cited, p. 23.

(*h*) See his Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. IV. p. 635.

(*i*) Funeral Sermon before cited, p. 24.

[*A*] *In the succeeding part of his life.*] At Merchant-Taylors school he entered into a close friendship with Mr Dawes (1), afterwards Sir William Dawes, and Archbishop of York; as also with Mr Hugh Boulter the late Primate of Ireland, and a most worthy person. At Wickham-Brook he became acquainted with Mr Timothy Godwin, one eminent in all kinds of learning, but especially for his knowledge of the Greek-tongue, at that time he was designed for the study of Physick, but his inclinations took afterwards another turn, and he applied himself so happily to Divinity, that he rose by degrees to the Archbishoprick of Cashel. With these great men he ever after maintained his friendship as long as he, and they, lived, which is a very full proof of his merit, as the contracting such acquaintances is a high instance of his penetration and judgment. A person of less sagacity would not have discovered these seeds of worth in them; and a man of less honour or integrity would have forfeited their esteem, especially if the wide difference in their opinions be considered.

(1) From the Funeral Sermon cited in the text, p. 20.

[*B*] *Very high stations in Church and State.*] These were Charles Lord Spencer, afterwards the famous Earl of Sunderland, who was long Secretary of State in the reign of Queen Anne, afterwards held the same post in the reign of King George I. 'till he was made President of the Council, First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, and Prime Minister; and Mr Charles Trimnell, then tutor to Lord Spencer, and afterwards successively Bishop of Norwich and Winchester. With these he maintained his friendship as long as they lived (2).

(2) Id. ib. p. 23.

[*C*] *A much larger and more valuable work.*] The History of this celebrated performance runs thus. In 1696, it was thought proper to put to the press his Narrative of the most memorable Passages of his Life and Times, a large folio; to render which more useful, our author drew up the Table of Contents, made some remarks on the Work itself, and added to it an Index. This led him to reflect seriously on the authority and usefulness of the book; and to see the expediency of continuing it, for Mr Baxter's History came no lower than 1684. Upon this plan Mr Calamy, with great industry and labour, composed the piece of which we are now speaking, and published it under the following title: *An Abridgment of Mr Baxter's* History of his Life and Times. *With an Account of many others of those worthy Ministers who were ejected after the Restoration of King Charles* II. *Their Apology for themselves*

treated with great marks of deference and reſpect. In his anſwers, Mr Calamy ſhewed the higheſt regard to decency and to the dignity of his ſubject, ſo that very few diſputes of this nature have been managed with greater clearneſs and ſtrength of argument, or with leſs offence [*D*] His reputation being much increaſed by the ſkill and learning he had ſhewn in this diſpute, he was invited into Scotland, whither he went in 1709, and was entertained wherever he came with the higheſt remarks of reſpect, and had the dignity of Doctor in Divinity conferred on him by the Univerſities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Glaſgow (*k*). In 1718, he wrote a Vindication of his grandfather and ſeveral other worthy perſons, againſt the reflections thrown upon them by Mr Archdeacon Echard, in his Hiſtory (*l*) [*E*]. In 1728, he compleated his great deſign of preſerving the Hiſtory of ſuch Miniſters, Lecturers, Maſters, and Fellows of Colleges, &c. as were ejected and ſilenced after the Reſtoration. A work of prodigious induſtry and labour, and which is alone ſufficient to tranſmit his memory with honour to poſterity, as it has ſupplied the learned world with a noble collection of memoirs, which otherwiſe, in all probability, had been diſſipated and loſt (*m*) [*F*]. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many other learned and uſeful writings, as well as by a conſtant and painful Miniſtry, which made his loſs greatly regretted, not only by the Diſſenters, but alſo by the moderate members of the eſtabliſhed Church, both Clergy and Laity, with many of whom he lived in great intimacy. He died, June 3, 1732, in the ſixtieth year of his age, having been twice married, and leaving ſix children behind him (*n*). His funeral ſermon was preached by Mr Daniel Mayo (*o*), in which he has given us a great and very deſerved character of Dr Calamy, *viz.* that he was a perſon of ſound judgment, extenſive learning, ſincere piety, of a candid and

(*k*) Ibid. p. 26.

(*l*) See a farther Account of this Work in the notes.

(*m*) See his Prefaces to the firſt and third Volume of his Abridgment of the Life of Baxter.

(*n*) Funeral Sermon before cited, p. 28, 29.

(*o*) Printed at London, 1732, in 8vo.

ſelves and their Adherents; containing the Grounds of their Nonconformity and Practice, as to ſtated and occaſional Communion with the Church of England; and a Continuation of their Hiſtory 'till the Year 1691. By Edmund Calamy, *Edm. Fil. & Nepos.* London, 1702, 8*vo.* This work made a great noiſe in the world, and as it gave offence to ſome, ſo it gave great ſatisfaction to others; inſomuch that, as it's author tells us, he received thanks for it from ſeveral quarters, and ſuch notices and helps towards compleating his deſign, that he had quickly materials enough for a ſecond edition, which he afterwards publiſhed, and in the Preface thereto, gives us the following account of alterations and additions. 'In this ſecond edition, beſides ſeveral 'not inconſiderable marginal additions all along by 'way of confirmation and elucidation; and an account 'of ſeveral controverſial writings on both ſides, in'ſerted in their proper places, and remarks on thoſe 'paſſages in the third volume of *the Compleat Hiſtory* '*of* England, in folio, which unkindly reflect on the 'perſons, or cauſe, of the Nonconformiſts, there is 'a continuation of the Hiſtory through King *William*'s 'reign, and Queen *Anne*'s, down to the paſſing the '*Occaſional Bill* the laſt year. Theſe additions make 'up a full third part of the preſent volume. They 'contain, among other things, ſome account of the 'conceſſions of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners in '1689; the carriage of the Diſſenters after their li'berty, their differences among themſelves, and their 'treatment from their brethren of the *Church of Eng'land:* The whole controverſy about *Occaſional Con'formity:* The differences of thoſe of the Eſtabliſhed 'Church among themſelves, about the nature, power, 'and privileges of Convocations, &c. with a faithful 'repreſentation of the ſubſtance of ſeveral treatiſes 'about *Toleration, Church power, Liberty,* and divers '*Eccleſiaſtical Matters,* that were publiſhed from 1688 'to 1711. And, in the cloſe, I have ſubjoined the '*Reformed Liturgy,* which was drawn up and preſented 'to the Biſhops in 1661; that the world may judge 'how fairly the ejected Miniſters have been often re'preſented as irreconciliable enemies to all *Liturgies.*' This edition he publiſhed in 1713, in two volumes 8vo, and dedicated it to the then Duke of Devonſhire, to whom, when Marquis of Hartington, he had dedicated the firſt edition.

[*D*] *Or with leſs offence.*] 'Mr Ollyffe in 1703, 'publiſhed his *Defence of Miniſterial Conformity to the* 'Church of England, *in anſwer to the Miſrepreſentations* 'of the Terms thereof, *by* Mr Calamy, *in the* 10th 'Chapter of *his* Abridgment of the Hiſtory of Mr Bax'ter's Life and Times. London. 8vo. pag. 147. 'And the ſame year Mr Hoadley publiſhed his *Rea'ſonableneſs of Conformity to the Church of England,* 'repreſented to the diſſenting Miniſters, *in anſwer to the* '10*th Chapter of Mr* Calamy's Abridgment of Mr 'Baxter's Hiſtory of his Life and Times. London '1703. 8vo. pag, 160. And ſoon after appeared the 'Second Part of his Reaſonableneſs of Conformity. Lon'don 1703. 8vo. pag. 232. In anſwer to theſe trea'tiſes, Mr Calamy publiſhed the ſame year, *A De'fence of moderate Nonconformity; in anſwer to the Re'flections of Mr* Ollyffe, *and Mr* Hoadley, *on the* 10*th* 'Chapter of the Abridgment *of the* Life *of the Reve'rend Mr* Richard Baxter, *Part* I. *with a Poſtſcript,* 'containing *ſome Remarks on a Tract of Mr* Dorring'ton's, *entitled,* The Diſſenting Miniſtry in Religion 'cenſured and condemned from the Holy Scriptures. 'London 1703. 8vo. pag. 261. Some paſſages 'in this book relating to Re-ordination, were ani'madverted upon, in a *Preſervative againſt Sepa'ration from the Church of England, wherein the Un'lawfulneſs of it is proved, and the chief objections of* 'the *Diſſenters anſwered. Directed to his Pariſhioners.* 'By Solomon Pagis, *Rector of Farnborow in Somerſet'ſhire.* London, 1704. 8vo. Soon after appeared 'Mr Hoadley's *Serious Admonition to Mr* Calamy, *oc'caſioned by the* firſt part *of his* Defence of moderate 'Nonconformity. London 1703. 8vo. pag. 54. The 'year following Mr Calamy publiſhed the *Second Part* 'of his *Defence of moderate Nonconformity,* &c. *with* 'an *Introduction about the true State of the preſent* 'Controverſy *between the Church and Diſſenters; and* 'a *Poſtſcript, containing an Anſwer to Mr* Hoadley's 'Serious Admonition, *and ſome Remarks on a Letter of* 'a *nameleſs Author, ſaid to be* a congregational Mi'niſter in the country. London 1704. 8vo. pag. 414. 'and afterwards the *third Part* of his *Defence; to* 'which *are added, Three Letters, one to Mr* Ollyffe, *in* 'anſwer *to his* Second Defence on Miniſterial Confor'mity: *Another to Mr* Hoadley, *in anſwer to his* De'fence of the Reaſonableneſs of Conformity; *and a* 'third *to the author from Mr* Raſtrick *of Lynn in Nor'folk, giving an account of his Nonconformity.* Lon'don 1705. 8vo. In 1707 Mr Hoadley publiſhed his 'Defence *of Epiſcopal Ordination,* in 8vo.' To this piece our author drew up a Reply, both as to the argumentative and hiſtorical part of it, but forbore printing it, as himſelf tells us (3), that he might not give his antagoniſt any diſturbance in the purſuit of that political conteſt, in which he was ſo happily engaged, and ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the true lovers of his country.

(3) Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. I. p. 715.

[*E*] *By Mr Archdeacon Echard in his hiſtory.*] The title of this piece at large runs thus. *A Letter to Mr Archdeacon* Echard, *upon occaſion of his* Hiſtory of England; *wherein the true Principles of the Revolution are defended; the Whigs and Diſſenters vindicated; ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction cleared from Aſperſions; and a Number of Hiſtorical Miſtakes rectified.* London, 1718. 8vo. To this piece there was an anſwer written, which, however, did not appear weighty enough to make a Reply neceſſary, and ſo the diſpute dropt.

[*F*] *Had been diſſipated and loſt.*] The entire Title of this great work is this. *A Continuation of the Account of the Miniſters, Lecturers, Maſters, and Fellows, of*

and benevolent temper, and very moderate with regard to differences in point of Religion.

of Colleges, and Schoolmaſters, who were ejected and ſilenced after the Reſtoration in 1660, *by, or before, the Act for Uniformity. To which is added, The Church and Diſſenters compared as to Perſecution, in ſome Remarks of Dr* Walker's *attempt to recover the Names and Sufferings of the Clergy that were ſequeſtered,* &c. *between* 1640 *and* 1660. *And alſo ſome free Remarks on the twenty-eighth Chapter of Dr* Bennet's *Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles of Religion.* In two volumes. London, 1727. E

CALDERWOOD (DAVID), a very famous Divine of the Church of Scotland, and a very eminent writer in behalf of the Preſbyterians, in the beginning of the XVIth century. It is not a little ſtrange, conſidering the great figure our author made in his own time, and the high reputation his writings have been in ſince his death, that we find no mention made of him by ſuch as have profeſſed a deſire of preſerving the memories of eminent men of that country. All we are able to learn of him, is, that he deſcended from a very good family in that kingdom, and being from his youth deſigned for the Miniſtry, he applied himſelf with great diligence to the ſtudy of Divinity, more eſpecially to that of the Scriptures in their original tongues, with the aſſiſtance of the beſt commentaries, the works of the Fathers, the Councils, and the beſt writers on Church-Hiſtory antient and modern (*a*). His great learning, even when he was but a young man, rendered him highly eſteemed, as his warm zeal for the eſtabliſhed Church of Scotland, as it then ſtood without Biſhops, made him extremely welcome to moſt of the Miniſters; ſo that he was ſettled about the year 1604, at Crelling, not far from Jedburgh, in the South of Scotland (*b*), where, by a very regular and unblameable life, as well as a very pious and diligent application to the duties of his function, he became much beloved and greatly reverenced by all ſuch as concurred with him in opinion. King James the VIth of that country, and Firſt of Great Britain, being inclined to bring the Church of Scotland to a conformity with that of England, at leaſt as near as poſſible, laboured earneſtly to reſtore the epiſcopal authority, and to enlarge the power of the Biſhops that were then in that kingdom (*c*). Againſt this many of the Miniſters ſet themſelves with great heat and vehemence, and none more earneſtly than Mr David Calderwood, who at the time Mr James Law, then Biſhop of Orkney, came to viſit the the Preſbyteries of the Merſe and Tiviotdale, declined his juriſdiction, by a paper under his hand, dated May 5, 1608 (*d*), which was the firſt publick mark he gave of that oppoſition, which he afterwards ſupported with ſo much warmth, and which was the occaſion of all his ſubſequent troubles and misfortunes. The King, who was ſtrongly bent on the carrying his deſign into execution, made uſe, for that purpoſe, of the Earl of Dunbar, then Lord High-Treaſurer of Scotland, whom he ſent into that kingdom, attended by Dr Abbot, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and two other Divines, with inſtructions to take all imaginable pains, to perſuade both the Miniſtry and Laity, of his Majeſty's ſincere deſire to promote the good of the Church, and of his zeal for the Proteſtant religion (*e*). The Divines, before mentioned, diſcharged their duty with all the induſtry imaginable, and the Lord Treaſurer ſhowed his fidelity to his Maſter, by doing all that was poſſible for him to do in promoting this great work, for which he hath been tranſmitted in very different lights to poſterity (*f*) [*A*]. It does not appear that Mr Calderwood aſſiſted

(*a*) See the Epiſtle to the Reader, prefixed to Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland.

(*b*) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 491, 573.

(*c*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 507. Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 280, 281.

(*d*) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 573.

(*e*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 510.

(*f*) See th'epoint fully explained in the notes.

[*A*] *For which he hath been tranſmitted in very different lights to poſterity.*] This great Stateſman, and able Miniſter, George Hume Earl of Dunbar, was not only in great favour with the King his Maſter, but ſtood much better with the Engliſh nation than almoſt any of the King's countrymen beſide. It was for this reaſon that the King created him, firſt, Baron Hume of Berwick, which was an Engliſh honour (1), and afterwards Earl of Dunbar in Scotland; and as he was Lord High-Treaſurer of this kingdom, ſo he was, at the ſame time, Chancellor of the Exchequer in England (2). He was looked upon as the only man capable of managing Church affairs in Scotland, and was therefore ſent down Commiſſioner, in 1606, to the Aſſembly that was held at Lithlingow; he alſo held a Parliament at Perth, and his conduct there is, by a Reverend Prelate (3), much commended. At this time he procured the ſettling conſtant Moderators, which was a great ſtep to the reſtoring epiſcopal authority: but Sir James Balfour (4) tells us, that his Lordſhip diſtributed the ſum of forty thouſand marks amongſt the moſt needy, and the moſt clamorous, of the Miniſters, and thereby carried this point, as appeared afterwards in his accounts. But however he carried it, it highly recommended him to his maſter, who ſent him down again to Scotland in 1608, where he did him further ſervice, for which he was, on his return, made Knight of the Garter. In 1610, he went down the third time to compleat his work, and upon his coming back to Court, had many acknowledgments made him, both by the King and by the Clergy. But if we may truſt Mr Calderwood, in the midſt of all his proſperity, one of the great men of his party foretold his end; his account of the matters runs thus (5). 'A little after the 'Aſſembly holden at Glaſgow, James Colvine, a Scotiſh gentleman, viſiting Mr Andrew Melvine in the 'Tower, found him ſo penſive and melancholy, that 'he got no ſpeech of him for a ſpace: at length he 'brake forth in theſe words: *That man* (meaning '*Dunbar*) *that hath overthrown that Kirk, and the* '*liberties of Chriſt's kingdom there, ſhall never have* '*that grace to ſet his foot in that kingdom again.* As he 'foretold ſo it came to paſs, and *Dunbar* ended his 'life the next *January* following at *Whitehall.*' The Lord Treaſurer was in a very bad ſtate of health when he came back from Scotland, and continued declining 'till the 29th of January, 1611, when he departed this life; and his body being carried down to Scotland, was buried in the collegiate church of Dunbar, where a magnificent monument was erected to his memory (6). Our author's character of him, and account of his deceaſe, is very ſingular. 'The Earl of *Dunbar*, ſays 'he, a chief inſtrument employed for the overthrow 'of the diſcipline of our Kirk, departed this life at '*Whitehall*, the penult of *January*. So he was pulled 'down from the height of his honour, when he was 'about to ſolemnize magnificently his daughter's marriage with the Lord *Walden*. He purpoſed to keep '*St George*'s day after in *Berwick*, where he had almoſt finiſhed a ſumptuous and glorious palace, which 'ſtandeth yet as a monument to teſtify, that the curſe 'which was pronounced againſt the rebuilders of *Jericho* was executed upon him. Of all that he conquiſhed in Scotland, there is not left to his poſterity 'ſo

(1) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 419.

(2) Crawfurd's Lives of the Great Officers of State, p. 397.

(3) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 496.

(4) Manuſcript Annals of the Hiſt. of Scotland, preſerved in the Library of the Univerſity of Glaſgow, Vol. I. p. 335.

(5) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 639.

(6) Crawfurd's Lives of the Great Officers of State in Scotland, p. 399.

assisted at the general assembly held at Glasgow, June 8, 1610, in which the Earl of Dunbar presided as Commissioner; but it appears plainly from his own writings, that he looked upon every thing transacted there as null and void (*g*). Another general assembly was held on the thirteenth of August 1616, with great solemnity at Aberdeen, where many things were done, against which exceptions were taken by Mr Calderwood and his party. In May 1617, King James went to Scotland, and on the seventeenth of June following, the Parliament met at Edinburgh, and at the same time the Clergy had their meeting in one of the churches, to hear and advise with the Bishops; which kind of assembly it seems was contrived in imitation of the Convocation in England, with which Mr David Calderwood was so little satisfied, that he declared his mind there publicky, which was, that he did not take any such meetings to resemble a Convocation; and finding himself opposed by Dr Whitford and Dr Hamilton, who were friends to the Bishops, he took his leave of them in these words, 'It is absurd to see men sitting in silks and sattins, and to cry poverty 'in the Kirk, when purity is departing (*h*).' In the mean time the Parliament proceeded in dispatching several matters relating to ecclesiastical as well as civil concerns; upon which many of the Ministers resolved to form a protestation, which was ordered to be put into writing by Mr Archibald Simpson, this was accordingly done, and the paper was signed by him on the behalf of the Ministers who signed another separate roll, which was delivered to him as his justification. The protest was then put into the hands of Mr Peter Hewat, who had a seat in Parliament, and was to present it; but another copy of it remained in the hands of Mr Archibald Simpson, to be presented in case any accident happened to the former. This affair soon made a great noise, and Dr Spotswood, Archbishop of St Andrews, seeing Mr Hewat at Court, desired to look upon the protest, and upon some dispute between them it was torn. The other copy was actually presented, by Mr Simpson, to the Clerk Register, who refused to read it before the States in Parliament. Soon after, that assembly was dissolved, and Mr Simpson was summoned before the High Commission Court, where the roll of names, which he had received for his justification, was demanded from him; and upon his declaring that he had given it to Mr Harrison, who had since delivered it to Mr David Calderwood, he was sent prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh, and Mr Calderwood summoned to appear before the High Commission Court at St Andrews, on the eighth of July following, there to exhibit the said roll, and to answer for his mutinous and seditious behaviour (*i*) [*B*]. He accordingly went thither, and on the twelfth of July the King came to that city in person, and soon after Mr Peter Hewat and Mr Archibald Simpson, were deprived and imprisoned for the share they had in this transaction. After this Mr Calderwood was called upon, to answer for the concern he had in this affair, and as we have his own account of the matter, it is probable that the reader will be better pleased to see it in his own words, than in any dress we can give it [*C*]. The issue

(*g*) Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 636, 638.

(*h*) Idem, ibid. p. 676.

(*i*) Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 534.

) Calderwood's listory of the hurch of Scotnd, p. 644.

3) Spotswood's Tistory of the hurch of Scotnd, p. 516.

'so much as a foot breadth of land (7).' We have a very different character of this nobleman from the pen of an eminent prelate (8). 'He was a man, 'says that learned author, of deep wit, few words, 'and, in his Majesty's service, no less faithful than 'fortunate: The most difficile affairs he compassed 'without any noise, and never returned, when he was 'employed, without the work performed he was sent 'to do.' The reader will judge from hence, of the difficulties that occur in writing Scotch lives.

[*B*] *To answer for his mutinous and seditious behaviour.*] It is necessary to give the reader, though in as few words as possible, an account of the reason of this protest. The Ministers had an account that a bill was depending in Parliament, by which, power was given to the King, with the advice of the Archbishops, Bishops, and such a competent number of the Ministry, as his Majesty in his wisdom should think expedient, to consider and conclude, as to matters decent for the external policie of the Church not repugnant to the word of God, and that such conclusions should have the strength and power of ecclesiastical laws. Against this, the Ministers protested for four reasons, First, Because their Church was so perfect, that instead of needing reformation, it ought to be a pattern to others. Secondly, General Assemblies, as now established by law, and which ought always to continue, might, by this means, be overthrown. Thirdly, Because it might be a means of creating schism, and disturb the tranquillity of the Church. Fourthly, Because they had received assurances, that no attempts should be made to bring them to a conformity with the Church of England. They desired therefore, that for these, and other reasons, all thoughts of passing any such law may be laid aside; but in case this be not done, they protest for themselves, and their brethren who shall adhere to them, that they can yield no obedience to this law when it shall be enacted, because it is destructive of the liberty of the Church; and therefore shall submit to such penalties, and think themselves obliged to undergo such punishments, as may be inflicted for disobeying that law. This was the foundation of the prosecution against Mr Calderwood; but, however, this protestation, though not read, had it's effect; for notwithstanding the bill, or, as the Scottish phrase is, the article before-mentioned, had the consent of Parliament, yet the King thought fit to cause it to be laid aside, that there might be no foundation for receiving or reading the Ministers protestation, and soon after called a General Assembly at St Andrew's (9).

[*C*] *In his words, than in any dress we can give it.*] We have this conference between our author and King James, largely and fully stated by him, and it gives a very clear view of the conduct of the Ministers in Scotland at that time, of which we have only short hints in our histories, so that we cannot well judge who is in the right, or who in the wrong: and therefore it is hoped the length of this passage will not render it tedious to the reader. 'Mr David Calderwood was called on, and 'the conclusion of the libels, or indictments, were read. 'To the first head he answered, That understanding 'that Mr Archibald Simpson was warded or impri- 'soned in the castle of Edinburgh for not presenting 'the roll of the names, he delivered it to him again. 'Neither had he time to seek any new subscriptions, 'nor could he, because he had not the protestation 'to present to the subscriber. The King demand- 'ed, what he had to answer to the other point, 'the assisting of that mutinous meeting? He answered, 'Sir, when that meeting shall be condemned as mu- 'tinous, then it is time to me to answer for my parti- 'cular assistance. The Secretary said unto him, Mr 'David, acknowledge your own rashness. In the mean 'time, those that were standing about put upon him, 'and buzzed in his ear, saying, Do this; come in the 'King's will, you will find it best; his Majesty will 'pardon you. He answered to the Secretary, That 'which they had done, was done with deliberation. 'What moved you to protest? said the King. An ar- 'ticle concluded among the Lords of the articles, an- swered

(9) Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 530, 535.

iſſue of this buſineſs, was, that the King being provoked by the inflexible temper and ſharp anſwers of Mr Calderwood, firſt committed him priſoner, and then the Privy-Council, according to the power which at that time they exerciſed, directed him to baniſh himſelf out of the King's dominions before Michaelmas following, and not to return without licence; and upon his giving ſecurity for this purpoſe, he was diſcharged out of priſon, and ſuffered to return to his pariſh, but he was forbid to preach (*k*). He followed the King however to Carliſle, to obtain a prorogation of the time of his baniſhment, which he could not do, and then he applied to the Council and to the Biſhops, who promiſed to write in his favour; but, as he would not acknowledge his offence, or promiſe conformity for the future, he was obliged to quit the kingdom, which he accordingly did, and retired to Holland; but Mr Archibald Simpſon made his ſubmiſſion and was reſtored. We have no account of the manner in which he paſſed his time in Holland, or how our author was provided for there; but, it is certain, that he adhered to his former principles ſteadily, and in the year 1623, he publiſhed his famous book, intituled *Altare Damaſcenum* (*l*) [*D*]. This made

(*k*) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 686.

(*l*) Pierce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 175.

'ſwered Mr David. But what fault was there in it? 'aſked the King. It cutteth off our General Aſſemblies, 'anſwered Mr David. After the King had enquired 'how long he had been a Miniſter, he ſaid to him, 'Hear me, Mr David, I have been an older keeper of 'General Aſſemblies than you. A General Aſſembly 'ſerveth to preſerve doctrine in purity, from error 'and hereſy, the Kirk from ſchiſm, to make confeſ'ſions of faith, to put up petitions to the King in Par'liament. But as for matters of order, rites, and 'things indifferent in Kirk policie, they may be con'cluded by the King with advice of Biſhops, and a 'choice number of Miniſters Next, what is a Gene'ral Aſſembly but a convened number of Miniſters? 'He anſwered, as to the firſt point, Sir, a General 'Aſſembly ſhould ſerve, and our General Aſſemblies 'have ſerved theſe fifty-ſix years, not only for pre'ſerving doctrine from error and hereſy, &c. but al'ſo to make canons and conſtitutions of all rites and 'orders belonging to the Kirk. As for the ſecond 'point, as by a competent number of Miniſters may 'be meant a General Aſſembly, ſo alſo may be meant 'a ſewer number of Miniſters than may make up a 'General Aſſembly. It was ordained in the General 'Aſſembly, with your Majeſty's own conſent, your 'Majeſty being preſent, that there ſhould be Commiſ'ſioners choſen out of every Preſbytery, not exceeding 'the number of three, to be ſent to a General Aſſem'bly, and ſo the competent number of Miniſters is 'already defined. What needeth farther then, ſaid 'the King, but to have proteſted for a declarature, 'what was meant by a competent number? He an'ſwered, in pleading for the liberty of the General 'Aſſembly, we did that in effect. Then the King 'having the proteſtation in his hand, challengeth him 'for ſome words of the laſt clauſe. He anſwered, 'Whatſoever was the phraſe of ſpeech, they meant no 'other thing but to proteſt, that they would give paſ'ſive obedience to his Majeſty, but could not give ac'tive obedience to any unlawful thing which ſhould 'flow from that article. Active and paſſive obedience! 'ſaith the King. That is, we will rather ſuffer than 'practiſe, ſaid Mr David. I will tell thee what is 'obedience, man, ſaid the King. The Centurion, 'when he ſaid to his ſervants, To this man, go, and he 'goeth; to that man, come, and he cometh: That is 'obedience. He anſwered, To ſuffer, Sir, is alſo 'obedience, howbeit not of that ſame kind; and that 'obedience alſo was not abſolute, but limited with ex'ception of a countermand from a ſuperior power. 'Mr David, let alone; confeſs your error, ſaid the 'Secretary. He anſwered, My Lord, I cannot ſee 'that I have committed any fault. Then ſaid the 'King, Well, Mr Calderwood, I will let you ſee 'that I am gracious and favourable. That meeting 'ſhall be condemned before ye be condemned; all 'that are in the roll ſhall be filed before ye be filed, 'providing ye will conform. Sir, I have anſwered my 'libel; replied Mr David, I ought to be urged 'with no farther. The King ſaid, It is true, man, ye 'have anſwered to your libel; but conſider I am here, 'I may demand of you when and what I will. He 'anſwered, Surely, Sir, I get great wrong if I be 'compelled to anſwer here in judgment to any more 'than my libel. Anſwer! Sir, ſaid the King, ye are 'a refractor: The Biſhop of Glaſgow your Ordina'ry, and Biſhop of Cathneſs the Moderator of your 'Preſbytery, teſtify ye have keeped no order, ye have 'repaired neither to Preſbyteries nor Synods, and in 'no wiſe conform? He anſwered, Sir, I have been 'confined theſe eight or nine years; ſo my conformity 'or not conformity, in that point, could not be well 'known. Good faith! thou art a very knave, ſaid 'the King: See theſe ſame falſe Puritans, they are 'ever playing with equivocations. Mr David had al'ledged his confinement to avoid a direct anſwer, be'cauſe he was urged with other points than was con'tained in the libel. The Biſhop of Glaſgow, think'ing to catch him in a ſnare, aſked him, If ye was 'confined, how were ye at the meeting in the ſong'ſchool where ye ſubſcribed the proteſtation? He an'ſwered, Since I was confined I obtained liberty, 'which was granted with exception of Preſbyteries and 'Synods: That meeting was neither a Preſbytery nor 'a Synod. Then ſome ſpeeches paſt betwixt him and 'Glaſgow about the relaxation, which was proclaimed 'for the confined within the dioceſe of Glaſgow. 'Then the King aſked, If ye were relaxed will ye 'obey or not? He anſwered, Sir, I am wronged, in 'that I am forced to anſwer ſuch queſtions which are 'beſide the libel: Yet, ſeeing I muſt anſwer, I ſay, 'Sir, I ſhall either obey you, or give a reaſon where'fore I diſobey; and if I diſobey, your Majeſty knows 'I am to lie under the danger as I do now. Then 'ſaid the King, remembering of his anſwer before, 'That is, to obey either actively or paſſively. I can 'go no farther, ſaid Mr David; and ſo he was re'moved (10).' Upon his being called in again, he was ſuſpended 'till October, and threatened with depri'vation; but Mr Calderwood queſtioning the power of the Biſhops to ſuſpend him in the High Commiſſion-Court, the King ordered him to be ſent priſoner to the Tolbooth of St Andrew's, from whence he was afterwards removed to Edinburgh.

(10) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 682.

[*D*] *Intituled*, Altare Damaſcenum.] We have a particular detail of the ſubject of this treatiſe, and the reaſon and manner of it's being publiſhed by the author of the Preface prefixed to the true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland: his words are theſe, 'Mr '*David Calderwood*, whoſe praiſe is in the Churches 'of Chriſt, as otherwiſe, ſo particularly upon the 'account of his being, but under another and borrow'ed name of *Edwardus Didoclavius*, the author of 'that very learned and elaborate treatiſe, intituled, '*Altare Damaſcenum*, wherein he doth by Scripture, 'Reaſon, and Fathers, irrefragably and unanſwerably '(and indeed for any thing we know it hath not been 'anſwered to this day, nor belike will afterward) de'monſtrate the iniquity of deſigning, and endeavouring 'to model and conform the divinely ſimple worſhip, 'diſcipline, and government of the Church of *Scotland*, 'to the pattern of the pompouſly prelatick and ceremo'nious Church of *England:* under ſome conviction 'whereof, it ſeems King *James* himſelf was, though 'implacably diſpleaſed with it, when being after the 'reading of it ſomewhat penſive, and being aſked the 'reaſon by an Engliſh Prelate ſtanding by, and ob'ſerving it, told him, he had ſeen and read ſuch a 'book; whereupon the Prelate willing His *Majeſty* 'not to ſuffer that to trouble him, for they would 'anſwer it, he replied, not without ſome paſſion, '*What ——— will you anſwer, man? There is no'thing here than Scripture, Reaſon, and Fathers* (11).' A very well-known writer, after citing the greateſt part of this account, is pleaſed to add, That His Majeſty was not out in his judgment, the patron of Epiſcopacy having

(11) See the Preface prefixed to Calderwood's true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland.

made a great noiſe, and was ſoon brought to the hands of King James, who is ſaid to have expreſſed a high opinion of it, tho' he was extremely diſpleaſed with it. It is certain that it made a great impreſſion in England, and was very much admired by all the declared Puritans, and by ſuch as were well-wiſhers to their opinions. It was probably the great reputation of this book, that put one Mr Patrick Scot, if Mr Calderwood himſelf may be believed, upon a very ſtrange undertaking; our author it ſeems had been afflicted in the year 1624 with a long fit of ſickneſs, and nothing being heard of him for ſome time; Scot took it for granted that he was dead, and thereupon wrote a Recantation in his name, as if before his deceaſe he had changed his ſentiments; but this impoſture being detected, he went over in the month of November to Holland, and ſtayed three weeks at Amſterdam, where he made diligent ſearch for our author, with a deſign, as Mr Calderwood believes, to have diſpatched him (*m*). This Scot had the boldneſs to give out, that the King furniſhed him with the matter for his pretended recantation, and that he only put it in order; but ſurely a man, who could have the impudence to write a death-bed recantation, for a reverend Miniſter, and publiſh it in his name, deſerves no credit, when he endeavours to faſten ſuch an aſperſion upon a Sovereign Prince (*n*). It ſeems the reaſon that he did not meet with Mr Calderwood in Holland, was, becauſe he privately returned into his own country, where he remained for ſeveral years; and as a man of his temper and talents could not be idle, it it very likely that he wrote ſeveral other books againſt the proceedings of the Clergy in Scotland (*o*) [*E*]. But it is very certain, that he collected with extraordinary diligence, all the memorials relating to the eccleſiaſtical affairs of that kingdom, from the beginning

(*m*) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 802.

(*n*) Remarks on the Conduct of the Scotch Preſbyterians, during the Reigns of Queen Mary, King James, and King Charles, p. 327.

(*o*) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 814.

having never yet anſwered it, how much ſoever their cauſe requires it (12).

(12) Pierce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 175, 176.

The old edition of this celebrated treatiſe being become extreamly ſcarce, and being withal, from the manner in which it was printed, very imperfect and incorrect, a new one was publiſhed about forty years ago, under the following title: *ALTARE DAMASCENUM: ſeu Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Politia, Eccleſiæ Scoticanæ obtruſa, a Formaliſta quodam delineata; illuſtrata & examinata, ſub nomine olim* Edwardi Didoclavii, *Studio & Opera* Davidis Calderwood. *Cui locis ſuis interſerta Confutatio Paræneſeos* Tileni *ad* Scotos *Genevenſis ut ait Diſciplinæ Zelotas. Et adjecta Epiſtola Hieronymi Philadelphi de Regimine Eccleſiæ Scoticanæ ejuſque, Vindiciæ contra Calumnias* Johannis Spotſwodi *Fani Andreæ Pſeudo-Archi-Epiſcopi per Anonymum. Editio priori longe elegantior & emendatior* Lugduni Batavorum *apud* Cornelium Boteſteyn, 1708, 4*to*. i. e. 'The *ALTAR* at '*DAMASCUS:* or, The Policy of the Church 'of England, intended to be obtruded on the Church 'of Scotland, delineated by ſome Lover of Ceremo'nies, illuſtrated and examined by the Study and Care 'of *David Calderwood*, heretofore publiſhed by him 'under the name of *Edward Didoclavius*. With a 'Confutation of the Admonition of Tilenus to the 'Scots, whom he ſtiles Bigots to the Diſcipline of 'Geneva, interſperſed in their proper places. To 'which is added, the Epiſtle of *Jerom Philadelphus*, 'of the Government of the Church of Scotland, with 'a Vindication thereof againſt the Calumnies of 'John Spotſwood, pretended Archbiſhop of St An'drew's, written by an anonymous author. More 'elegant and correct than the former edition.' In this large work, The Deſcription of the Policy of the Engliſh Church, the author of which Mr Calderwood does not pretend to know, is made the text, and his own diſcourſes are digeſted into the form of notes, by which means the reader has the whole controverſy in one view, and in as regular a method as could well be contrived. This work is divided into fifteen chapters: 1. Of the King's Supremacy, and of the Juriſdiction of the Royal Commiſſioners in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical. 2. Of the Ranks of Biſhops. 3. Of the Dignity and Power of Archbiſhops in England. 4. That a Biſhop and a Preſbyter are one and the ſame Order. 5. Of the Dignity and Power of Biſhops in the Engliſh Church. 6. Of Vicar-Generals, Officials, and Archdeacons. 7. Of Suffragans and Rural Deans. 8. Of Deans and Chapters. 9. Of Rites and Ceremonies. 10. Of the Calling and Function of Preſbyters or Prieſts in the Church of England. 11. Of the Calling and Function of Deacons. 12. Of Lay-Adminiſtrators in the Church of England 13. Of Poſſeſſions. 14. Of Conſtitutions. 15. Againſt the Injuries and Calumnies vented by Tilenus Some of theſe chapters are entirely of Mr Calderwood's writing, particularly the fourth, and theſe are thrown in as ſupplements to the diſcourſes of the author whom he examines, and the great thing aimed at by this way of writing, is to ſhew his impartiality, by bringing to the view of the reader, the repreſentation of the policy of the Church of England, in the words of a friend to, and advocate for, that kind of eccleſiaſtical government. It muſt be admitted, that though there is ſomething very ſingular in this manner of writing, yet it is not without it's conveniencies, as it gives him an opportunity of bringing the whole controverſy within a reaſonable compaſs, and diſcuſſing every part of it methodically and perſpicuouſly. But by purſuing this plan, he has certainly made it very difficult to refute his book, for whoever attempts that, muſt not write by way of anſwer but of reply, and in that caſe he is under a neceſſity of building upon another man's foundation, that is to ſay, the author of the Deſcription of the Policy of the Church of England, which Calderwood made it his buſineſs to refute, and perhaps this may be one reaſon, why this treatiſe was never anſwered in form by any of the Divines of the Eſtabliſhed Church. But the ſeveral points which are therein handled, have been diſcuſſed over and over, and moſt of the arguments made uſe of by Mr Calderwood, have been employed for the ſame purpoſe by the moſt eminent among the modern Engliſh Nonconformiſts. One thing more it will be neceſſary to remark, before we part with this celebrated work, and it is this, that the Nomme de Guerre our author made uſe of, *viz.* EDWARDUS DIDOCLAVIUS, is no more than a tranſpoſition of the letters of his own name, DAVIDUS CALDERWODIUS; ſo that if he might be ſaid in one ſenſe to diſguiſe, he might in another be affirmed to divulge, it's falling from his pen.

[*E*] *Wrote ſeveral other books againſt the proceedings of the Clergy in Scotland.*] I muſt confeſs, that this is no better than conjecture, grounded upon the following paſſage in his Hiſtory, which ſeems to hint, that the ſame perſon who wrote the Altar of Damaſcus, was the author of ſome, if not all the treatiſes that are mentioned therein; but in reſpect to this, I leave every reader to judge for himſelf: 'Upon the fourth 'of *January* 1625, there was a proclamation made 'at the Croſs of *Edinburgh*, making mention, that 'there were ſundry ſeditious perſons who had written 'certain pamphlets and books tending to treaſon and 'ſedition againſt the King, which were printed in the '*Low-Countries*, and were to be brought to *Scotland*. 'Therefore commanding all Magiſtrates of ſea-ports, 'Cuſtomers, Searchers, and other officers, to ſuffer no 'ſhips coming forth of the *Low-Countries* to come 'within the harbours, or any Merchant or paſſenger 'to come on land 'till the ſhips were firſt ſearched, for 'theſe ſeditious writs, pamphlets and books, and that 'the ſame be preſented to the Lords to be ſearched 'by ſuch as were appointed for that effect. But by 'the providence of God, the books were brought out 'of the ſhip a day or two before it was ſearched, and 'were keeped cloſe 'till the approaching of Eaſter 'Communion; *to wit, An Epiſtle to a Chriſtian Brother, An Exhortation to the Kirk of Edinburgh, A Diſpute againſt communicating, where there was Kneeling, Confuſion of Geſtures and Actions.* The *courſe*

'of

beginning of the Reformation there down to his own time, which he digeſted with much accuracy, according to the order of time; and theſe collections of his are ſtill in being, tho' an extract only from them has been publiſhed, under the title of *The true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland* (*p*) [*F*]. How long after this he ſurvived does not appear, for his hiſtory reaches no lower than the death of King James; but, it ſeems probable, from his mentioning the death of Mr Robert Bruce, which happened in 1631 (*q*), that he lived pretty far in the reign of King Charles I; and this we find confirmed by what is ſaid in the advertiſement prefixed to the laſt edition of the *Altare Damaſcenum*, of his being Miniſter at Pencaithland near Edinburgh in 1638, but neither there or elſewhere can we find any notice of the time of his deceaſe. He was certainly a man of quick parts and profound learning, as fully appears from his conduct in his writings, and therefore it is but juſt that an account ſhould be given of him in a collection of this nature, more eſpecially as this article will inform the Engliſh reader of the nature of thoſe diſputes in Scotland, which, tho' he had ſo large a ſhare in them, are but very briefly repreſented by Archbiſhop Spotſwood, and are far from being fairly or diſtinctly treated by the famous Dr Heylyn. It is not neceſſary that we ſhould attempt to give any character of this extraordinary perſon, ſince the reader will be abundantly able to frame one for himſelf, from the matters of fact which we have delivered, and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with adding, that all the writers on the ſide of Nonconformity, have ſet a very high value upon his performances; and

(*p*) Printed in the year 1618, fol. without the Printer's name or the place.

(*q*) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 816.

'*of Conformity* was ſet forth two years before, and 'the Latin book, intituled, *Altare Damaſcenum*; and 'two other years before, *The Speech of the Kirk to her 'beloved Children*, *The Altar of Damaſcus*, in Engliſh, 'and *The Confutation of Doctor Mitchelſon's Reaſons 'for kneeling*. *The Antitheſis between the Paſtor and 'the Prelate*, came not to light, 'till four or five years 'after this (13).'

(13) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 814.

[*F*] *Under the title of the true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland.*] The entire work of Mr David Calderwood, very neatly tranſcribed in ſix fair volumes in folio, by the care of Mr William Dunlopp, Principal of the College of Glaſgow, are preſerved in the publick library of that Univerſity. In the firſt volume immediately after the title page, there is the following note, 'This work comprehended in —— pages, is collected 'out of Mr Knox's Hiſtory and his Memorials, gathered for the continuation of his Hiſtory out of Mr 'James Melvil's Obſervations, Mr John Davidſon his 'Diary, the Acts of the General Aſſemblies, and Acts 'of Parliament, and out of ſeveral Proclamations, and 'Scroles of diverſe: and comprehendeth an Hiſtory 'from the beginning of the reign of King James V, 'to the death of King James VI, but is contracted 'and digeſted in a better order, in a work of three 'volumes, bound in parchment, and is comprehended 'in 2013 pages. Out of which work contracted, is 'extracted another in leſſer bounds, but wanting no-'thing in ſubſtance, and comprehended in —— pages, 'which the author deſireth only to be communicated 'to others, and this with the other, contracted into 'three volumes to ſerve only for the defence of the 'third, and preſervation of the Hiſtory, in caſe it be 'loſt.' The firſt of the ſix volumes, gives a large introduction, wherein the author undertakes to inform us of the time when, and the perſons by whom the iſland of *Great Britain* was firſt inhabited: and afterwards brings down the *Scottiſh* Civil Hiſtory as well as the Eccleſiaſtical, from the firſt planting of Chriſtianity to the end of *James* IVth's reign. After his account of the affairs of the State and the Church, we have a view of all the moſt conſiderable wars and battles (domeſtick and foreign) wherein the people of *Scotland* have been engaged before the ſaid period, as alſo of the ancient honorary titles, and their inſtitution On this laſt head he quotes an old manuſcript, ſent from *Icolmkill* to Mr *George Buchanan*, which teſtifies that a Parliament was held at *Forfar*, in the year 1061, wherein ſurnames are appointed to be taken, and ſeveral Earls, Barons, Lords, and Knights, were created. After this general Preface, he begins his proper work, The Hiſtory of the *Scottiſh* Reformation. And in this volume, advances as far as the marriage of Queen *Mary*, with the Lord *Darnley*, in the year 1565. In his ſtory of Mr *Patrick Hamilton*, the protomartyr in this cauſe, he gives a copy of the ſentence pronounced againſt him, together with a congratulatory letter from the Doctors at *Louvain* to the Archbiſhop of *St Andrews*, on the occaſion of his death. Amongſt thoſe learned men, who upon the firſt perſecution fled into *Germany*, he reckons Mr *George Buchanan*. In his large account of the Diſputes and Sufferings of the Reformers, under the Adminſtration of Cardinal *Beaton*, and the Queen-Regent, we have the particulars of the contentions at *Frankfurt*, which are moſtly taken out of a book, intituled, *A Brief Diſcovery of the Troubles of Mr* John Knox, *for oppoſing the* Engliſh *Service Book, in* 1554. After which we have *Knox*'s Appeal from the ſentence of the Clergy; to the Nobility, Eſtates, and Community of *Scotland*, with a great many letters from the Nobility to the Queen-Regent and him, on the ſubject of Religion. All this part of the Hiſtory, which in the printed book makes no more than thirteen pages, ends at pag 571; from whence (to the end of the book at pag. 902) there is a good collection of curious Letters, Remonſtrances, &c. which are not in the prints, either of *Knox* or *Calderwood*. The ſecond volume, contains the Hiſtory, from 1565, to the arraignment of the Earl of *Moreton* for treaſon, in *December* 1580, and contains 614 pages, wherein are many valuable diſcoveries relating to the practices of *David Rizzio*, the King's murder, *Bothwel*'s marriage and flight, &c. and a more perfect Narrative of the proceedings in the General Aſſemblies, than the printed Hiſtory will afford us. The third volume, comprehends the entire Hiſtory of both Church and State, from the beginning of *January* 1581 to *July* 1586, when Queen *Mary*'s Letter to *Babington* was intercepted. Under the year 1584, there is a ſevere character of Mr *Patrick Adamſon*, Archbiſhop of *St Andrews* (14); which in the concluſion refers us for a farther account of him, to a poem made by one *Robert Semple*, and intituled, *The Legend of the Limmer's Life*. Here is alſo *An Account of the State and Church of* Scotland *to the Church of* Geneva, which was written by *Andrew Melvil*, in anſwer to the miſrepreſentations of the Scottiſh Diſcipline ſcattered in foreign Countries, by the ſaid Archbiſhop *Adamſon*. The fourth gives the like mixt hiſtory of affairs, from July 1586 to the beginning of the year 1596. Here we have a full collection of papers relating to the tryal, condemnation, and execution, of the unfortunate Queen *Mary*, with abundance of others, touching the moſt remarkable tranſactions of this *Decennium*. In the year 1587, there is a large account of the coming of the *Sieur du Bartas* into *Scotland*; of his being carried by King *James* to the Univerſity of *St Andrew's* his hearing of the Lectures of Mr *A. Melvil* there, and the great opinion he had of the abilities of that Profeſſor, &c. In 1590, there are ſome ſmart reflections on Dr *Bancroft*'s Sermon at *Paul*'s Croſs, cenſuring the proceedings of *J. Knox*, and others of the Northern Reformers, with the Aſſembly's Letter to Queen *Elizabeth* about that ſermon. The fifth volume reaches from the beginning of *January* 1596, to the ſame month in 1607. After the accounts of the proceedings of the Aſſembly in 1596, the author ſubjoins this pathetick *Epiphonema: Here end all the ſincere Aſſemblies General of the Kirk of Scotland, enjoying the liberty of the Goſpel under the free government of Chriſt*. The *new and conſtant Platt of Planting all the Kirks of Scotland* (written by Mr *David Lindſay*, one of the *Octavians*) is here inſerted at large, as it was preſented to the King and States in the ſaid year 1596. The Hiſtory of the Confpiracy of the *Gowries*, and the manner of it's diſcovery is likewiſe here recorded at

(14) See the article ADAMSON (PATRICK) Archbiſhop of St Andrews.

and the judicious Mr Calamy (*r*), has particularly pointed out his *Altare Damascenum*, as a capital work on that side of the question.

(*r*) See his Advertisement prefixed to the first Vol. of his Abridgment of the Life of Baxter.

at length, in the same order, wherein the King commanded it to be published. The new form of Nomination to Bishopricks, the Protestation in Parliament against the Restitution of Episcopacy, and the Reasons offered against it by others, are the remaining matters of consideration in this book. The sixth concludes with the death of King *James* VI (15). E

(15) Bishop Nicholson's Scottish Historical Library, p. 70, 71.

CALFHILL or CALFILL (JAMES), a learned Divine in the XVIth Century, otherwise named *Calfield*, *Cawfield*, *Chalfhill* (*a*), or *Calfed* (*b*), was born in Shropshire [*A*], in the year 1530 (*c*). He received his education at Eaton School, and from thence was sent, in 1545, to King's College in Cambridge. But he was removed, with many other Cambridge men, in 1548, to Christ-Church in Oxford, newly founded by King Henry VIII (*d*). Here he shewed himself to be a person of quick wit, and great capacity; being an excellent Poet and Author of a Tragedy, with other Theatrical performances (*e*). In 1549, he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts (*f*); and that of Master, in 1552 (*g*), being junior of the Act celebrated in St Mary's Church, July 18 (*h*). He was made, in 1500, Canon of the second Canonry in Christ-Church Cathedral Oxon. And, on the 12th of December 1561, took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*i*). In 1562, he was Proctor for the Clergy of London, and the Chapter of Oxford, in the Convocation that made the XXXIX Articles (*k*): and on the 16th of May, the same year, was admitted to the Rectory of St Andrew Wardrobe, London (*l*). The 4th of October following, he was presented by the Crown to be Prebend of St Pancras, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul (*m*): and May the 4th, 1565, was collated by Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Rectory of Bocking in Essex (*n*): as he was also, July the 16th following, to the Archdeaconry of Colchester in Essex, by Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London (*o*). The same year, on the 17th of December, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*p*). In 1568, he preached two sermons in Bristol Cathedral, on purpose to confute some opinions of Dr Cheney [*B*], who held that See *in commendam* (*q*). In the year 1569, he made application to Secretary Cecil, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, for the Provostship of King's College, but Dr Goad's interest prevailed (*r*). Upon the translation of Dr Edwin Sandys from the Bishoprick of Worcester to that of London, in 1570, Dr Calfhill was nominated by Queen Elizabeth to succeed him (*s*); but, before his consecration thereto, he died, about the beginning of August, (having a little before resigned his Canonry of Christ-Church, and Rectory of St Andrew Wardrobe) and was buried in the Chancel of Bocking Church (*t*). His works were as follow: I. *Querela Oxonienſis Academiæ ad Cantabrigiam*; i. e. 'The 'Complaint of the University of Oxford to Cambridge.' Lond. 1552, 4*to*. A Latin Poem on the death of Henry and Charles Brandon, sons of Charles, Duke of Suffolk, which died of the sweating sickness in the Bishop of Lincoln's house at Bugden, July 14, 1551. II *Historia de exhumatione Catharinæ, nuper uxoris Pet. Martyris.* i. e. 'The 'History of the digging up the body of Catharine, late wife of Peter Martyr.' Lond. 1562, 8*vo*. III. Answer to John Martiall's *Treatiſe of the Croſs, gathered out of the Scriptures, Councils, and an ient Fathers of the primitive Church* (*u*). Lond. 1565, 4*to*. IV. *Progne*, a Tragedy, in Latin; which probably was never printed. V. *Poemata varia*; several Poems (*w*). As to his character, we are informed, That he was in his younger days a noted Poet and Comedian; and in his elder, an exact disputant, and had an excellent faculty in speaking and preaching (*x*). One who had heard him preach, gives this account of him; 'His excellent tongue, and rhetorical tale, filled with good and wholesome doctrine, so ravished the minds of the hearers, that they were all in admiration of 'his eloquence (*y*).'

(*a*) So it is written in the Annals of the Reformat. &c. by J. Strype, Vol. I. second edit. 1725, p. 236, 237, 562.

(*b*) Newcourt, Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 196.

(*c*) He was 18 years of age in 1548. See Wood, Athenæ, edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 163.

(*d*) Ibid. and Strype's Annals, ubi supra, p. 330.

(*e*) Wood, ibid.

(*f*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 73.

(*g*) Ibid. col. 77.

(*h*) Idem, Athen. ubi supra.

(*i*) Ibid. and Fasti, col. 90. He was also some time Sub-Dean of Christ-church. Strype, ubi supra, p. 237.

(*k*) Strype's Ann. ubi supra, p. 327.

(*l*) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 92, 272.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 92, 196.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 92. and Vol. II. p. 69.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 92.

(*p*) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 93.

(*q*) Strype's Ann. ubi supra, p. 559, 560, 562.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 331.

(*s*) Wood, Athen. ubi supra. and Hist. & Antiq. Univers. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 263, edit. Oxon. 1674.

(*t*) Ibid. and Newcourt, ubi supra, Vol. I. p. 92.

(*u*) See Wood, Athen. Vol. I. col. 288.

(*w*) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 163.

(*x*) Ibid.

(*y*) Strype's Ann. Vol. I. p. 237.

[*A*] *Was born in Shropſhire.*] Mr Strype affirms (1), That he was a Scotchman born; and cousin to Toby Matthews, afterwards Archbishop of York, whom he persuaded to take holy Orders, even against the inclination of his father and mother, and other friends.

(1) Annals, ubi supra.

[*B*] *On purpoſe to confute ſome opinions of Dr Cheney.*] Dr Richard Cheney was Bishop of Gloucester, and held with it the See of Bristol in Commendam. By some persons he had been accused, of speaking irreverently of Calvin and Luther, on account of their notions of Free-will, &c. and of preferring much the ancient Fathers to them (2). Dr Calfhill, therefore, who was very orthodox, and a great admirer of all Calvin's opinions, was employed to confute him in his own Cathedral; and used in his sermons the new coined phrase of *Free-willers*. The Bishop desired to confer with him, but he never would wait upon him; which does not turn much to his credit (3). C

(2) See Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 559, 565.

(3) Ibid. p. 564.

CALVERT (GEORGE), descended from the ancient and noble house of Calvert in the Earldom of Flanders (*a*), and afterwards created Lord Baltimore, was born at Kipling in the North-riding of Yorkshire (*b*), about the year 1582 (*c*); being the son of Leonard Calvert, and Alice his wife, daughter of John Crostland of Crostland in the same county. In the beginning of the year 1593, he became a Commoner of Trinity-College in Oxford, being then very young (*d*); and on the 23d of February 1596-7, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*e*): after which leaving the college, he travelled beyond the seas for

(*a*) Irish Compendium, third edit. 1735, 12*mo*, p. 327.

(*b*) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkshire, p. 201. Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 565.

(*c*) Mr Wood says, he was fifteen years old when he took his degree, and therefore must have been born: but the time here assigned, Athen. ibid. But Fuller says, he was in the fifty-third year of his age when he died; and if so, must have been born about 1585. Worthies, ubi supra.

(*d*) Wood, ibid.

(*e*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 151.

for a time. At his return, in King James Ist's reign, he was made Secretary to Robert Cecil, then one of the chief Secretaries of State, being esteemed a very knowing person in State-affairs (*f*). And so well satisfied was Sir Robert with his faithfulness and diligence, that when he was raised to the office of Lord High-Treasurer, he continued him in his service, and employed him in several weighty matters (*g*). On the 30th of August 1605, when King James I. was entertained by the University of Oxford, he was actually created Master of Arts, with several Noblemen, Knights, and Esquires (*h*). Afterwards, by the interest of his Patron Robert, Earl of Salisbury, he was made one of the Clerks of the Privy-Council; and in 1617, September the 29th, received the honour of Knighthood from his Majesty at Hampton-Court (*i*). On the 15th of February 1618-9, he was appointed one of the Principal Secretaries of State, in the room of Sir Thomas Lake; and the King made great use of him, because he was better acquainted with State-affairs, and more diligent in dispatching business, than his partner and fellow-secretary Sir Robert Naunton (*k*). He was sworn, the seventeenth of the same month, into this important office (*l*): which he discharged with great trust and industry [*A*]. As a reward for it, the King granted him, May 2, 1620, a yearly pension of a thousand pounds, out of the customs (*m*). But, after having enjoyed that place about five years, he willingly resigned it in 1624; freely owning to his Majesty, That he was become a Roman Catholick, so that he must either be wanting to his trust, or violate his conscience in discharging his office. This ingenuous confession so affected King James, that he continued him Privy-Counseller all his reign (*n*); and on the sixteenth of February (*o*) 1624-5, created him (by the name of Sir George Calvert, of Danbywiske in Yorkshire, Knight) Baron of Baltimore in the county of Longford in Ireland. He was at that time one of the Representatives in Parliament for the University of Oxford (*p*). While he was Secretary, he obtained a Patent, for him and his heirs, to be absolute Lord and Proprietor (with the royalties of a Count-Palatine) of the province of Avalon in New-found-land: Which was so named by him, from Avalon in Somersetshire, wherein Glastonbury stands, the first-fruits of Christianity in Britain, as the other was in that part of America. Here he built a fine house in Ferry-land, and spent twenty-five thousand pounds in advancing this new Plantation. After the death of King James, he went twice in person to New-found-land; and when Monsieur de l'Arade, with three men of war sent from the King of France, had reduced our English fishermen to great extremity, this Lord, with two ships manned at his own expence, chased away the French, relieved the English, and took sixty of the French prisoners (*q*). However, finding his plantation very much exposed to the insults of the French, he was at last forced to abandon it (*r*). Whereupon he went over to Virginia, and, after having viewed those parts, came to England, and obtained from King Charles I. (who had as great a regard and affection for him as King James) a patent, to him and his heirs, for Maryland on the North of Virginia [*B*]; with the same title and royalties as had been conferred upon him with

(*f*) Athen. ibid.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. p. 172, 173.

(*i*) Athenæ, ubi supra.

(*k*) Ibid. and Camden's Annals of King James I. under the year 1619.

(*l*) Stowe's Annales, edit. 1631. fol. p. 1031.

(*m*) Camden, ubi supra, under the year 1620. See Complete Hist. of England, edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 654.

(*n*) Fuller's Worthies, ubi supra, p. 202.

(*o*) In the Irish Compendium 'tis said, that it was Feb. 20, edit. 1735, p. 327.

(*p*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(*q*) Fuller's Worthies, ubi supra.

(*r*) See Collier's Great Historical Dictionary, in the article CALVERT (George).

[*A*] *Which he discharged with great trust and industry.*] We are informed, That he thinking, the Duke of Buckingham had been highly instrumental in his preferment, made him a present of a jewel of great value: But the Duke returned it him, acknowledging, he had no hand in his advancement, but that his Majesty alone had made choice of him, on account of his great abilities (1).

(1) Lloyd's State Worthies, second edit. 1679, 8vo, p. 750. H. Holland, p. 39. and Fuller's Worthies, ubi supra, p. 202.

[*B*] *King Charles* I. *granted him a Patent, to him and his heirs, for Maryland.*] That country was first discovered by Sebastian Cabot in 1497, but more perfectly in 1584, by Sir Walter Raleigh, and always passed for part of Virginia, 'till the year 1631, when King Charles I. made a grant of it to George Calvert, Baron of Baltimore. This Lord not living to see his grant made out, his son Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore (who had been at Virginia, and had looked out for a proper place to fix a new plantation of his own) took it out in his own name, and the Patent bears date June 20, 1632. The bounds of that country are thus ascertained therein; namely—All that part of a peninsula lying between the ocean on the East, and the bay of Chesepeak on the West, and divided from the other part [or Accomac, belonging to Virginia] by a right line drawn from Watkin's point on the West, to the main ocean on the East; and between that bound on the South, to that part of Delaware-bay on the North, which lies under the 40th degree of northern latitude. And all that tract of land, from the foresaid bay of Delaware, in a right line, by the degree aforesaid, to the true meridian of the first fountain of the river Patowmeck, and from thence tending towards the South to the farther bank of the foresaid river, and following the west and south-side of it to a place called Cinquack, situate near the mouth of the said river, where it falls into the bay of Chesepeak, &c. On the West it is bounded, at present, by the Apalatheam mountains: And is in length, from North to South, 140 miles; but the breadth of it, from East to West, is not so much. The Lord Baltimore was to hold it of the Crown of England in common socage, as of the manor of Windsor; paying yearly, on Easter-Tuesday, two Indian arrows of those parts at the castle of Windsor, and the fifth part of the gold and silver ore that shall be found there. King Charles himself was pleased to give that province the name of Maryland, in honour of his beloved Queen Henrietta Maria. Cecil Lord Baltimore intended to go thither in person; but afterwards, changing his mind, he appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, Esq; to go Governor in his stead, with whom he joined in commission Jeremy Hawley, and Thomas Cornwallis, Esqrs. The first colony sent thither, consisted of about two hundred people, Roman Catholicks, the chief of whom were gentlemen of good families. They sailed from Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, November 22, 1633, and arrived at Point Comfort in the bay of Chesepeak, February the 24th following; and continuing their voyage, went northward as far as the river of Patowmeck. Since that time, this colony is become very considerable and flourishing, being chiefly peopled with Roman Catholicks, who have transplanted themselves thither, in order to avoid the penal laws made against them in England. At the Revolution, the Lord Baltimore was deprived of the power of appointing a Governor, and other officers; and the government of that province fell under the same regulation as other plantations, which are immediately subject to the Crown. The Baltimore-family also were in danger of losing their propriety, on account of their Religion, by the act which requires all Roman Catholick-heirs to profess the Protestant Religion, on pain of being deprived of their estates. But that family thought fit to profess the Protestant Religion, rather than lose their inheritance; and the present Lord Baltimore is now both Proprietor and Governor of Maryland, being one of the noblest estates enjoyed by a subject of Britain; for he is still entitled to a duty on every hogshead of tobacco exported; enjoys several fair manors, which may be stiled his demesne lands; and has a rent paid him by every planter, besides other perquisites. The

chief

with respect to Avalon aforementioned (s). He died in London, April 15, 1632, in the fifty-first year of his age, and was buried in the chancel of the church of St Dunstan's in the West, in Fleetstreet (t). Descended from him, in the fifth degree, is the present Charles Lord Baltimore, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales, and Fellow of the Royal Society (u). As to Sir George Calvert's character: One historian (w), who hardly speaks well of any body, calls him an Hispaniolized Papist. But others (x) tell us in his praise, That though he was a Roman Catholick, yet he kept himself sincere and disengaged from all interests; and was the only statesman, that being engaged to a decried party, managed his business with that great respect for all sides, that all who knew him applauded him; and none that had any thing to do with him, complained of him. He was a man of great sense, but not obstinate in his sentiments, taking as great pleasure in hearing others opinions, as in delivering his own. Whilst he was Secretary of State, he carried every night to the King a digested and exact account of affairs, and took the pains to examine himself the letters that were of any consequence (y). Judge Popham and he agreed in the publick design of foreign plantantions, but differed in the manner of managing them (z). The first was for extirpating the original heathen inhabitants, the second for converting them: the former sent the lewdest people to those places, the latter was for the sobereſt: the one was for present profit, the other for a reasonable expectation; liking to have but few Governors, and those not interested merchants, but unconcerned gentlemen; granting liberties with great caution; and leaving every one to provide for himself by his own industry, and not out of a common stock [C].

(s) Fuller, ubi supra; and Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 751.

(t) Fuller, ubi supra.

(u) Irish Compendium, ubi supra.

(w) Arthur Wilson, in Life and Reign of King James I. in Complete Hist. of England, edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 705.

(x) Particularly D. Lloyd, in State Worthies, edit. as above, p. 752.

(y) Ibid.

(z) Lloyd, ibid.

(2) British Emp. in America, Vol. I. p. 183, &c. Hist. of Virginia, p. 47. Salmon's Modern History, edit. 1739, 4to. Vol. III. p. 504, 510, 511.

chief product of the country is tobacco. And it is divided into ten counties (2).

[C] *And not out of a common stock.*] The Lord Baltimore was author of the following pieces. I. *Carmen funebre in D. Hen. Untonum ad Gallos bis legatum, ibique nuper fato functum:* i. e. Verses on the death of Sir Henry Unton, twice Ambassador in France, who died there. Printed in 1596, 4to. II. Speeches in Parliament. III. Various Letters of State. IV. The Answer of Tom Tell-troth. The practice of Princes, and the Lamentation of the Kirk. Lond. 1642. 4to. He also writ something about Maryland, but it does not appear that it was ever printed (3).

(3) See Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

CAMDEN (William) one of the most learned Writers, most diligent Antiquaries, and most impartial Historians, that the last age, or this country, produced. He descended from honest and reputable parents, his father, Samson Camden, was a native of Lichfield in Staffordshire, but, settling in London, became a member of the company of Painter-Stainers (a). His mother was of a very antient and worthy family, as himself hath recorded, *viz.* the Curwens of Wirkington in the county of Cumberland (b). He was born May 2, 1551, at his father's house in the Old Bailey (c). He received the first tincture of letters in Christ's Hospital (d), erected the year after his birth, by that learned and pious young Prince, Edward VI, but at what time he was sent thither doth not appear, the records of that Hospital being destroyed in the fire of London, 1666. In the year 1563 he was removed to Islington, being infected with the plague, and remained there some time, which retarded his progress in learning (e). He was afterwards sent to St Paul's school (f), where the pregnancy of his parts, and his assiduous application, distinguished him to such a degree, that in 1566 he was removed to the university of Oxford, where he was entered a Servitor in Magdalen-college, being then about fifteen years old (g), and perfected himself in grammar-learning in the school adjoining, of which Dr Thomas Cooper, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, was Master (h). Upon his missing a Demy's place in his college, he removed from thence to Broadgate-Hall, now Pembroke-College, in the same university (i), where he remained two years and a half, under the tuition of Dr Thomas Thornton, Canon of Christ-church, and his great patron. He left behind him here a signal mark of the respect paid him by his contemporaries, in the short Latin Graces of his composition, which, for many years after, were used by the Scholars of this Society (k). He removed from hence to Christ-church, where he was provided for by the kindness of Dr Thornton, during the time he continued at the university (l) [A]. It was about this time, that, by the encouragement of his

(a) Gul. Camdeni Vita, script. Thoma Smitho, Lond. 1691, 4to. p. 1.

(b) Britan. in Cambriâ, edit. Londinens. 1607, p. 633.

(c) Parentatio Historica: sive Commemoratio Vitæ & Mortis V. C. Gulielmi Camdeni Clarentii facta Oxonia in Schola Historica, per Degoreum Wheare, Historicarum Prælectorem. ap. Bateſii Vit. select. p. 591.

(d) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 2.

(e) Memorabil. de seipso.

(f) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii, p. 269.

(g) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 111. Memorabil. de seipso.

(h) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 480.

(i) V. Parentationem Historicam Degorei Wheari, p. 591. Athen. Oxon. col. 480.

(k) V. Parentationem Historicam Degorei Wheari, p. 591.

(l) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 480.

[A] *By the kindness of Dr Thornton, during the time he continued at the university.*] There are very few lives that have been written with greater care than that of our author by different pens, and yet there have been some mistakes committed, of which it is necessary to take notice, that things may not be censured as deficiencies in this article, which, when explained, we hope will appear corrections. Degory Wheare, who was Camden's Professor of History at Oxford, in his Oration on the death of that great man, which he pronounced very soon after his decease, places his birth in 1550, but without naming the day (1). It is in consequence of this that he brings him to Oxford in 1565, and very probably his authority might have passed, if Camden himself had not settled both these dates, in a paper of memoranda which we find published by Dr Smith, and these leading dates are of very great consequence towards settling all the rest (2). The time of his being seized by the plague is also fixed by Camden, but he says nothing of his being at the Hospital of Christ-Church, which one may presume is the reason that a judicious Prelate treats it as a story founded only on tradition (3). But this tradition must have been early, since we find the fact very positively mentioned in Wheare's Oration (4), nor do I know that it has been questioned by any author. What seems to confirm it is the lowness of his circumstances at the time he was sent to Oxford, where he depended on the kindness of Dr Cooper, and his removal to Broadgate-Hall, which was the effect of Dr Thornton's kindness for him (5). At the same time that these circumstances demonstrates his necessities, they carry along with them testimonies of unusual vigour and firmness of mind, in the pursuit of knowledge under such difficulties, and of his pregnant parts and happy disposition, that before he was twenty, he could raise himself

(1) V. Parentationem Historicam Degori Wheari, p. 591.

(2) Memorabilia de seipso.

(3) Bishop Gibson's Life of Camden, prefixed to his Britannia.

(4) Parentationem Historicam Degori Wheari, p. 591.

(5) Smith, Vita Camden. p. 3, 4.

his friends, he became a candidate for a fellowſhip in the college of All-Souls, and which he loſt by the intrigues of the Popiſh party, on account of his zeal for the Church of England as by law eſtabliſhed (*m*). In 1570, he ſupplicated the venerable Congregation of Regents of that univerſity, that he might be admitted Bachelor of Arts (*n*), but in this alſo he miſcarried. The year following he came up to London, and proſecuted his ſtudies under the patronage, and by the aſſiſtance, of Dr Gabriel Goodman, and Dr Godfrey Goodman his brother, who ſupplied him both with money and books for that purpoſe (*o*). In 1573, he returned to Oxford, where he ſupplicated again, in the beginning of the month of March, for the degree that had been refuſed him, and his requeſt being now granted, he took, but did not compleat it by determination (*p*). In 1575, by the intereſt of his friend Dean Goodman, he was made Second Maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool, which office he executed with great diligence, capacity, and ſucceſs (*q*); ſo that his reputation daily increaſed, and he became known to, and admired by, the great ornaments of the literary world both at home and abroad [*B*]. As much of his time as he could ſpare from the duties of his arduous employment, he beſtowed on the ſtudy of Antiquities, to which he had addicted himſelf while at Oxford, to the proſecution of which he was excited by Godfrey Goodman, nephew to the Dean of Weſtminſter (*r*) Dr Gabriel Goodman, and much encouraged by the famous Sir Philip Sidney (*s*), whoſe reputation for learning, and being the Patron of learned men, our author gratefully celebrated (*t*). He at this time meditated the great work he afterwards compoſed in honour of his native country, and with equal care and diligence peruſed all that the Ancients have left in their writings concerning Britain, with indefatigable induſtry ſearched out and examined the Hiſtorical Writers of our own country, of which very few at that time had been publiſhed, and with equal ſkill and labour viſited the records, and other repoſitories of that kind of learning which ſuited his purpoſe (*u*). In 1581, the learned Preſident Briſſon, being employed here by the French Court, in a negociation of great importance, he entered into a ſtrict friendſhip and cloſe correſpondence with Mr Camden (*w*), which continued to the deplorable death of that eminent Magiſtrate [*C*] In 1582, he took a journey through Suffolk into Yorkſhire,

(*m*) Smith, Vit. Camden. p. 5.

(*n*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 104.

(*o*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 6. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 480.

(*p*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 108.

(*q*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 8.

(*r*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 480.

(*s*) See Brooke's Reply to Camden's Apology, p. 7.

(*t*) Britan. in Cantio, p. 233.

(*u*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 11.

(*w*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 480.

himſelf ſuch powerful patrons from his perſonal merit. This laſt protector being advanced to a canonry of Chriſt-Church, carried him along with him, and entertained him in his own lodgings (6). At this time it was, that his friendſhip commenced with the two Carews, Richard and George, the latter of whom was afterwards raiſed by King James to the title of Earl of Totneſs; and it has been ſuppoſed, that, as they were both Antiquaries, their converſation might give Mr Camden a turn that way (7). This is the more probable, becauſe we learn from himſelf, that before he left Oxford, he had a ſtrong inclination to theſe ſtudies, and that he could never hear any thing mentioned relating to that ſubject (8), without more than ordinary attention. After he quitted the univerſity, and before he was ſettled at Weſtminſter, he made frequent excurſions for the ſake of informing himſelf in matters of this nature, and began very early to form thoſe collections (9), out of which he afterwards drew his learned and laborious performance.

[*B*] *By the great ornaments of the literary world both at home and abroad.*] There appears to be ſome confuſion in the accounts that are given us of Mr Camden's patrons, the three Goodmans, and a very accurate French writer, who has written a very good account of our author, mentions it as an error in Bayle, that he took Dr Godfrey Goodman for the brother of Dr Gabriel, which, if it be an error, he certainly copied from Smith (10). Mr Camden himſelf acknowledges very handſomely, the favours he received from Dr Gabriel Goodman Dean of Weſtminſter, and Anthony Wood poſitively aſſerts, that Godfrey Goodman, who was the Dean's nephew; and, as I take it, the ſon of Dr Godfrey Goodman, ſupplied our author with books and money, and defrayed the expences of his journies (11), which account he borrowed from a MS. in the Bodleian Library (12), written by a third Godfrey Goodman, ſome time Biſhop of Glouceſter, ſon to the ſecond, and grandſon to the firſt, and who was himſelf ſcholar to Camden, ſo that he might be very well acquainted with the acts of friendſhip he received from his family. It is more probable that Mr Godfrey Goodman the Biſhop of Glouceſter's father, and nephew to the Dean of Weſtminſter, was our author's great patron, becauſe, in the ſpace of between four and five years, which elapſed between Mr Camden's coming from Oxford to his being ſettled as Second Maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool, by the intereſt of Dean Goodman, he had no employment, and in this time it was, that he made moſt of thoſe journies (13). Beſides theſe he had many other friends and patrons, ſuch, particularly, as Mr Thomas Savile, brother to the learned Sir Henry Savile, and, as plainly appears by his letters to Camden himſelf, one of the learneſt men of his time, and as ſuch, celebrated by Mr Camden and others (14). Mr Edward Stradling, who was alſo a man of rank and diſtinguiſhed knowledge. Amongſt foreigners, Abraham Ortelius, the moſt able Geographer of his age, coming over to England made an acquaintance with Camden, and correſponded with him conſtantly. He was alſo very intimate with the famous Hotman, who had been Secretary to the Great Earl of Leiceſter. Juſtus Lipſius, Janus Douſa the younger, Janus Gruter, and many others (15). The reader will obſerve, that this account of his friends relates to the time while he was compoſing, and before he publiſhed, his *Britannia*, for after that came abroad, the number of his domeſtick and foreign patrons became much more numerous.

[*C*] *To the deplorable death of that eminent Magiſtrate.*] This honourable perſon, who was a Lawyer by profeſſion, and eſteemed one of the moſt learned men in France, was; in the month of Auguſt 1580, after having exerciſed for five years the office of Advocate General to the Parliament of Paris, promoted to the rank of Preſident *à Mortier*, and was ſoon after declared Counſellor of State by Henry III, who ſent him over to England, to negociate a match between Queen Elizabeth and his brother the Duke of Anjou, at which time he came acquainted with Camden, and how high a value our author ſet upon his friendſhip, appears from his entering it amongſt thoſe few articles he ſet down relating to his own affairs (16). The Preſident Briſſon returning into France, had a large ſhare in the tranſactions of the State, and remaining at Paris when that city revolted againſt his maſter, and declared for the League, he was, by that faction, on the eleventh of January 1589, declared Firſt Preſident of the Parliament, in the room of Achilles de Harlay, whom, for his loyalty, they had thrown into priſon; but Preſident Briſſon, at the time of his accepting the office, declared, by an act under his hand, that he did it under force, that he did not receive his office as an honour (17), but as the only means he had left to ſave his life. Two years after this, a perſon being tried before the Parliament, for correſponding with the King, and being acquitted, the faction reſolved to revenge themſelves upon the Firſt Preſident, whom they condemned to be hanged, and executed their ſentence on the fourth of November

1591,

(6) Britannia in Comitatu Berchenſi in Deſcriptione Wallingfordiæ, p. 204.

(7) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. III. p. 410. Athenæ Oxon. Vol. I. col. 384.

(8) Anſwer to Brooke, p. 1.

(9) See his Preface to the folio edition of his Britannia, which was the laſt publiſhed in his lifetime.

(10) Niceron Memoires des Hommes Illuſtres, Vol. XXIII. p. 87.

(11) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 480. Britan. in Middleſexia, p. 409.

(12) Review of the Court of King James, M.S. p. 19.

(13) Anſwer to Brooke, p. 1.

(14) Britan. in Brigant. See Biſhop Mountague's Preface to his *Diatribia* upon the firſt part of the Hiſtory of Tythes. Reg. ſecund. act. Col. Mert. p. 129.

(15) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 9.

(16) Memorab. de ſeipſo.

(17) Niceron Memoires des Hommes Illuſtres, Vol. IX. p. 300.

shire, and returned through Lancashire in the month of April (x), that he might examine with his own eyes, and upon the spot, some of those Antiquities which he meant to illustrate in his great work, for the improvement of which he had carried on, for many years, a constant correspondence with the most learned and judicious persons of our own and other nations (y). He was fully sensible of all the difficulties of the task he had undertaken, and foresaw to how great envy he should be exposed, by adventuring upon such a piece, as must naturally draw the attention of the learned throughout Europe, and therefore he omitted nothing that might render it worthy of that attention, and of the expectation of his friends. At length, in 1586, his performance appeared, and though much enlarged and improved in future editions, was even then esteemed an honour to it's author, and the glory of his country (z) [D]. In the month of June 1588, he supplicated the university of Oxford for the degree of Master of Arts, which desire of his was granted conditionally, as we are told by Anthony Wood, that he should stand in the Act following; but the same writer informs us, that his admission occurs not in their Register (a). The year following he made a journey into Devonshire, and in the month of June, as himself tells us, was at Iffarcomb (b), which is a prebend of the church of Salisbury, and had been bestowed upon him on the sixth of February preceding, by Dr John Piers, then Bishop of that diocese, and our author's intimate friend (c). The principal design of this journey, was to visit the places most famous for their Antiquities in the West, and the expence of this and others for the same purpose, and in order to improve his Description of Britain, were defrayed, as we are told, by Mr Godfrey Goodman (d). In 1590, he made a journey into Wales, in company with the famous Dr Godwin, afterwards an eminent Prelate (e), and successively Bishop of Landaff and Hereford, that he might examine the Antiquities of this part of the island; for, as himself informs us, he was above all things desirous of having the best and clearest evidence of things he undertook to write about; that the nature of those things would admit. In point of Antiquities, he had recourse to the most ancient authors, which, out of the dust of libraries, he brought forth to publick light; in reference to Civil History, he searched the archives of this kingdom, both by himself and

(x) Memorabil. de seipso. His Defence against York, p. 5.

(y) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 11, 12, 13.

(z) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 207.

(a) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 135.

(b) Memorabil. de seipso.

(c) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 17.

(d) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(e) Memorabil. de seipso.

1594, by tying him up to one of the beams in the council-chamber at the Chatelet (18). The famous M. de Thou, though he was no friend of his, is pleased to confess, That the Republick of Letters received a sensible loss by his death (19). The king his master was wont frequently to express his esteem for him by saying, 'That he believed no Prince in Europe had so 'learned a subject as his Brisson.' Indeed his writings, upon a great variety of subjects, fully support this character; but in all probability, it was his consummate knowledge in ancient Geography and History, that set him so high in the opinion of our author.

(18) Le Journal d'Henri III.

(19) Memoires de sa Vie, liv. v.

[D] *Esteemed an honour to it's author, and the glory of his country.*] This title of this work runs thus, *Britanniæ, sive florentissimorum Regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, & Insularum adjacentium, ex intimâ antiquitate Chorographica descriptio.* Londini, 1586. 8vo. i. e. 'Britain, or a 'Chorographical Description of the flourishing kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the adjacent islands, from the most remote antiquity.' There seems to be nothing better fixed than the date of our author's first edition, he has assigned it himself expressly in his memorials, 1586 *Britanniam edidi* (20). He affirms the same thing in his preface to his last edition; and yet Anthony Wood sets down the first edition to have been in 1582, and makes the second impression in 1585 (21), though in another work of his, he had fixed the first edition to 1585 (22). By this means Niceron is led into a mistake (23), as indeed might easily have happened to the most careful foreigner; but how, or whence, this error in Wood arose, is not to be guessed; for the author himself tells us, that he spent ten years in compiling it, and that he was first put upon it by Ortelius, by which it plainly appears, that he began to digest his collections the year after he came to Westminster (24). It would require more room than we have to spare, to enter even into a brief account of the mighty praises that were bestowed upon this book, even on it's first and imperfect appearance; I mean, in comparison of what it became afterwards, through the continual care and application of it's author; but it may not be amiss to insert a paragraph or two from a letter written to our author by Mr William Lambard (25), the famous Kentish Antiquary, to whom he communicated a part of it before it went to the press; the rather, because the date of this letter, which is July 9, 1585, plainly proves there could be no edition 'till long after that time, notwithstanding what Anthony Wood asserts in express terms. 'I thank you most 'heartily, good Mr Camden, for the use of these 'books of your's, since they deliver many things that are 'not, so far as I do know, elsewhere to be had, and the 'same no less learnedly picked out than delicately 'uttered and written. What praise you deserve in all, I 'can best tell by Kent, wherein (howsoever I have laboured myself) I learn many things by you that I 'knew not before. Your conjecture at the etymon of 'the word *Cantium* is so probable, that you make me 'now doubt of mine own, which before I took to be 'most assured; you have so truly, as I think, traced 'out Leneham, Chilham, and Newendene, by the old 'Durolenum, Jul laber, and Anderida, as I shall 'for ever hereafter rest in your opinion of them. To 'be plain, I seem to myself not to have known Kent, 'till I knew Camden. If you have in purpose to 'perform the rest, go on boldly, good Mr Camden, 'wherein if you shall use the same dexterity that hitherto you have done (as I fear not but you will) '*Acesti & Heliconis opera dixerim.* Howsoever you 'shall be minded to do more or less, defraud not your 'countrymen of so great a pleasure, nor the country 'itself of so great an honour, by forbearing to imprint 'the same. If I had any thing that might further 'your study, I would most willingly impart it; and 'whether I have or no, I will make yourself the judge, 'if it shall like you to come down into Kent, and look 'amongst my papers.'

(20) Memorabil. de seipso.

(21) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481, 482.

(22) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 270.

(23) Niceron Memoires des Hom. illustres, Vol. XXIII. p. 95.

(24) See his Preface to the folio edition of his *Britannia*.

(25) Camden. Epist. p. 28, 29.

This work he dedicated to his first and great patron William Cecil Lord Burleigh, Knight of the Garter, and High-Treasurer of England, and in his dedication he very fully acknowledges, not only the many kindnesses and benefits he had received from him, but his assistance also in the work, and the great helps derived to him from the use of his well-chosen library. It is observable, that this dedication is dated May 2, 1586, so that our author finished this work precisely at the age of thirty-five; and yet, as he informs us himself, he dedicated thereto only his spare hours and Holidays, the duties of his office, engrossing all the rest of his time. He speaks largely, and yet very modestly, of the many and great obstacles he met with, and of the pains he took to overcome them; he shews a just sense of the hazard he ran in publishing his labours, and his apprehension that they might provoke more than one sort of men against him; but at the same time he professes, that the encouragement of Ortelius and other friends, his own zeal for truth, and his passion for the service of his country, inspired him with a generous resolution of daring all the envy of the Criticks, rather than not attempt to render that justice to Britain, which had been so long denied to it.

and by his friends; as to deſcents and the memoirs of great families, he obtained the beſt lights that he could; and the ſame method he took, in regard to the deſcription of places; but finding great variations in theſe, he was willing to undergo any labour, requiſite to come at truth, and that his reputation, which was continually riſing, might not give a ſanction to the miſtakes of other men, reported by him (*f*). On the twenty-third of October 1592, he was ſeized with an ague, which proved a quartan, and notwithſtanding all the helps he received from phyſick, held him long, and brought him low (*g*). While he was labouring under this diſtemper, Doctor Edward Grant, who for about twenty years had worthily executed the office of Head-Maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool, worn out with fatigue, reſigned it in February 1592-3 (*h*); and in the month of March following, was ſucceeded therein by Mr Camden (*i*). Some indeed, and amongſt the reſt, the very learned and accurate Dr Smith, have affirmed, that it was upon the death of that learned perſon (*k*) he came into his place, but the fact is otherwiſe, and therefore it is the more requiſite to correct an error of ſo long ſtanding [*E*]. In the ſucceeding year, but not 'till the middle of ſummer, he became perfectly free from his ague (*l*); and ſoon after publiſhed the fourth edition of his Britannia, which was now very much enlarged, and appeared in many reſpects quite another thing, from what it was at firſt, through the care and diligence of the author, in collecting and digeſting freſh materials, and reforming what, from the information of his friends, he found amiſs therein (*m*). But notwithſtanding all his attention and circumſpection, this edition expoſed him to a very warm, and in many reſpects indecent, attack from Raſe Brookeſmouth, York-Herald, in relation to certain miſtakes, which that writer believed he had diſcovered, in reference to deſcents, and which he apprehended might be attended with conſequences diſhonourable to many of the moſt ancient and moſt noble families in this kingdom (*n*). I have placed this event here, tho' moſt writers report it ſeveral years after, and I do it out of reſpect to truth, becauſe it is certain, that tho' York's book did not appear at this time, yet he had framed his collections for it, ſoon after the publication of the fourth edition of the Britannia (*o*). How far he might be excited by envy, jealouſy, or ſpite, to this undertaking, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but ſhall in the notes give the reader as clear an account of the controverſy, as in my power, and without any mixture of prejudice or prepoſſeſſion [*F*]. As ſoon as he found his health ſo well eſtabliſhed, as to enable him

(*f*) Anſwer to Brooke, p. 1.

(*g*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 17, 18.

(*h*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 310.

(*i*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 19. Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. i. p. 270.

(*k*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 18.

(*l*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*m*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 78.

(*n*) See Brooke's Epiſtle to the gentle and learned Reader, placed before his ſecond Diſcovery of Errors publiſhed in the much commended *Britannia*.

(*o*) See this point largely explained in the note [*E*].

[*E*] *The more requiſite to correct an error of ſo long ſtanding.*] The firſt author of this miſtake, appears to be Degory Wheare in his oration on the death of Camden (26), and by his authority, even the beſt writers have been miſled upon this ſubject (27). 'Upon the 'death of that moſt learned man Edward Grant, 'Doctor in Divinity, who had the government of 'Weſtminſter-ſchool, which happened in the month of 'March 1593, Camden ſucceeded in his place;' ſays the worthy Dr Smith (28); and in this he is followed even by that accurate writer, and excellent judge of our hiſtory, the preſent Biſhop of London, in the life of our author prefixed to the tranſlation of the *Britannia*. 'The firſt ſtep he made, was the ſecond Maſter-'ſhip of Weſtminſter-ſchool in 1575. In this ſtation 'he continued 'till the death of Dr Grant Head School-'maſter (which happened in 1593) whom he ſuc-'ceeded.' Anthony Wood, in his Hiſtory and Antiquities of Oxford (29), ſpeaks doubtfully. 'He came, 'ſays he, to be Head-maſter either by the reſignation, 'or death, of that eminent Divine Edward Grant.' In his article of Camden, of whom he promiſes to be more particular than about any other author, he writes ſtill with greater obſcurity (30). 'In March 1592-3, 'he was made Chief Maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool in 'the place of Dr Edward Grant.' Yet, in the article of Grant, he gives a full and clear account of the matter, which plainly overturns all the former accounts (31). 'He (that is Dr Edward Grant) reſigned his Maſter-'ſhip of Weſtminſter-ſchool about the month of 'February 1592, and was ſucceeded therein by 'William Camden. He died, in September, or 'October, 1601, and was buried in St Peter's church 'in Weſtminſter, whereupon his Canonry was be-'ſtowed on Dr William Barlow.' This is pretty near, but not exactly, right; for this learned man actually died Auguſt 4, 1601 (32), as formerly appeared by the inſcription on his monument in Weſtminſter-abbey, which is now defaced, but the reader may ſtill find it preſerved by the care of our venerable author (33).

(26) V. Parentationem Hiſtoricam, p. 592.

(27) See his article in Bayle.

(28) Vit. Camd. p. 18.

(29) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 270.

(30) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col 481.

(31) Id. ibid. Vol. I. col. 311.

(32) Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, p. 372.

(33) Reges, Reginæ, Nobiles, & alii in Eccleſia Collegiata B. Petri Weſtmonaſterii Sepult. Uſque ad Annum reparatæ Salutis 1606, 4to, p. 77.

[*F*] *Without any mixture of prejudice or prepoſſeſſion.*] The common ſtream of authors repreſent this attack upon Mr Camden, as proceeding from the envious malice of it's author, ariſing from Mr Camden's promotion, and his own diſappointment. A very learned writer begins his account of it thus (34). 'In the year '1597, upon the death of of Richard Leigh Clarenceux 'King at Arms, Sir Fulk Grevil recommended Mr 'Camden to the Queen as a perſon every way qualified 'for the place, and one that had highly deſerved of 'her Majeſty and her kingdoms. The Queen, with-'out more ado, gives him a grant, and Mr Camden 'accordingly was created October 23, in the ſame year, 'having the day before been made Richmond-Herald, 'becauſe, by the Conſtitution, none can be King at 'Arms but who has been firſt Herald. At that time 'Mr Brooke was York-Herald, who, upon Leigh's 'death, preſently had an eye upon that preferment, 'and doubted not but the ſtation he had already in the 'college would ſecure it to him. The greater his 'aſſurance was, the diſappointment lay ſo much the 'heavier upon him, and (as men who lay too much 'ſtreſs upon their own merit, are always hurried on to 'revenge upon the leaſt injury) his next buſineſs was, 'to find out a fair opportunity of ſhewing his reſent-'ments. Mr Camden, at the end of each county, has 'drawn down the hiſtory of the reſpective Earls, and 'he thought probably, that if a quarrel could be picked 'in the buſineſs of families, it would be moſt ſuitable 'to his preſent purpoſe. The plot was well contrived, 'if the charge could have been made out. As it would 'have ſhewn Mr Camden's forwardneſs in engaging 'himſelf on a ſubject he was not maſter of, ſo would it 'have convinced the Government of their unreaſona-'ble choice, not only in preferring a perſon who knew 'little of the matter, but (which was worſe) in re-'jecting one that was an abſolute Critick. After two 'years ſtudy, he publiſhed a book with this title, *A 'Diſcovery of certain Errors publiſhed in print in the 'much commended* Britannia, *&c. without Licence, 'without name either of Printer or Bookſeller.*' All this reads very well, and the circumſtances ſeem to hang together; but notwithſtanding this, and though it ſhould be granted, that Ralph Brooke had a ſiniſter deſign in attacking Mr Camden, yet I doubt it will be found, that this was ſo far from ariſing out of diſtaſte to his being King at Arms, that it was originally grounded in his being no Herald (35). In ſhort, the fact was this: Mr Camden, in his firſt editions touched but gently upon deſcents, and mentioned but a few families, whereas in his fourth edition, he enlarged ſo much upon them, that he has given a particular index to direct the reader on this head, under the title of *Barones & illuſtriores familiæ*, and has therein ſet down

(34) Life of Camden, prefixed to the Tranſlation of his *Britannia*.

(35) In his Addreſs to Maiſter Camden, prefixed to his book, intituled, A Diſcovery of certain Errors, &c. from which Addreſs it is evident that he was not then King at Arms

him to undergo the fatigue of a freſh journey, and was able to obtain leiſure for another excurſion, he next made a tour to Saliſbury and Wales, with a view to farther improvements of his work, and returning by Oxford (*p*), ſpent there ſome time, in which he viſited moſt, if not all the churches and chapels there, copying the monumental inſcriptions and the arms, which he found in them, and reducing them into a book, which Anthony Wood (*q*) tells us, he had ſeen in his own hand-writing. A wonderful proof of his care and diligence! and which, therefore well deſerved to be ſecured from oblivion. In 1597, he was again afflicted with a grievous ſickneſs, upon which he removed to the houſe of one Cuthbert Line, and there, as himſelf tells us, recovered by the care of that perſon's wife (*r*). He publiſhed in this year his Greek Grammar (*s*), for the uſe of Weſtminſter-ſchool, which as it was a proof of his great attention to the functions of his employment, ſo if he had never obliged the learned world with any other performance, it might well have ſecured his reputation with poſterity [*G*]. It is highly probable, that at this time, our author was ſo far from having any thoughts of quitting a poſt, in which he was univerſally reſpected and eſteemed, that it is more probable he propoſed to himſelf, either ending his days in it, or following the example of his predeceſſor and reſigning it, when overwhelmed

(*p*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*q*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(*r*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 19.

(*s*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 78.

down very near two hundred and fifty noble houſes, which Ralph Brooke conſidered as an invaſion upon the rights of the college. This put him upon enquiring, whether there might not be ſome miſtakes in theſe accounts, and when he believed he had found a great many, he was deſirous they ſhould be amended (36). But he did not (if we may believe himſelf) think of attacking Mr Camden in print, or of publiſhing his diſcoveries, as he called them, to the world. His taking this ſtep was owing to other cauſes, of which the reader may take this account in his own words, which I believe will fully clear up the matter (37). 'The moſt abſtruſe arts, I profeſs not, but 'yield the palme and victorie thereof to myne aduerſary that great learned Mr Camden, with whom yet 'a long experimented navigator may contend about 'his chard and compaſſe, about havens, creeks, and 'ſoundes, ſo I, an auncient Herauld, a little diſpute, 'without imputation of audacitie, concerning the honour of armes, and the truth of honorable deſcents. 'In confidence whereof, beholding in foure of his 'imprinted books ſucceſſively, a continewed raz (race) 'and generation of errors, in corrupting and falſifying many noble diſcents and pedigrees, and perceaving that even the braines of many learned men 'beyond the ſeas had miſ-conceaved and miſcarried in 'the travaile and birth of their relations, being gotten, 'as it were, with child (as Diomedes mares) by the 'blaſt of his erronious puffes: I could not, but according to my profeſſion, and long experience in Herauldry, a little queſtion the original father of thoſe 'abſurditics, being ſo farre blowne with the trumpett 'of his learning and fame into forreine lands. For 'what overture about the diſcents of Engliſh nobles, 'and other genealogies, hath that famous Mr Hieron 'Henningius, in his foure pound folio booke, byne 'taken tardie with all, that his credulitie hath not 'fucked out of that highlye eſteemed *Britannia?* 'And was it not from his genealogicall ſlippes, that 'Reuſner in his genealogies, amongſt manie groſſe miſtakings, hath made Richard Plantagener, Duke of 'Yorke, and Anne Mortimer, to be father and mother to Edward the 4th, and Richard the thyrde, 'both Kings of England? coupling them together 'as unnaturally as OEdipus and Jocaſta.

'For remedie of which inconveniences, I was bould 'firſt to move others of good credite and learning, 'friendly to advertice this learned man, Mr Camden, of 'the faultie paſſages in his booke touching Herauldry, to 'whom his anſwere was, that he could not correct any 'of them for diſcrediting his whole worke: as though mending the ſores would have maymed the bodye.

'Secondly, in private when I harde his addreſſement to a fift impreſſion, I my ſelf dealt with him 'for the amendment of ſome ſlippes in his *Britannia* 'of the fame kynd, promiſing hym the uſe of my 'owne obſervations and collections, which, as proffered wares, faſtidiouſly he reiected, not accounting 'them worthy his thankes or acceptation, contrarie 'to the aduice of the ſober learned, who are contente 'to heare the conceipt of a meane friend ſometymes, 'and reſpect the offer, although but a blynde man 'ſhould pointe out the way. The ratt is not ſo contemptible but ſhee may helpe the lyon at a pinch out 'of thoſe nets wherein his ſtrength is hampered: and 'the words of an inferior may often carry matter 'in them, to admoniſh his ſuperiour of ſome important conſideration. And furely of what account ſoever I might have ſeemed to this learaed man, yet 'in regarde of my profeſſion, and courteous offer (I 'being an auncient officer of armes, and he then but 'a Schoolmaſter) might well have vouchſaffed the peruſal of my notes.' It is moſt evident from hence, that his quarrel with our author began not from, but before, his promotion; and though it is very true, that his firſt book did not come out 'till after Camden was promoted; yet, as Brooke therein complained that he had been diſturbed in writing, and much more in printing it, by the friends of Mr Camden, it is plain, that it was not a new or ſudden thought, but an obſtinate reſolution of purſuing an old deſign (38). To all this, we may add, tho' our author himſelf, in his anſwer to Brooke, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, and which, without doubt, is ſharp enough, does indeed take notice of his promotion, and the diſtaſte that it might have given to York-Herald; yet this was after he had publiſhed his Diſcovery, and throughout that piece, he ſhews that diſdain of his adverſary's abilities, which Brooke complains of, never once admits him to be in the right, or his corrections worth regarding (though in his fifth edition he very wiſely made uſe of them) but treats him with very high contempt, and as one no way worthy of his notice. To ſpeak my own ſentiment freely, I am perſwaded that if, on the one hand, Mr Camden had foreſeen his becoming Clarenceux King at Arms, he would not have let fall ſome expreſſions in his writings; and, on the other hand, if Brooke had ſuſpected it before he began the quarrel, I much doubt whether he would have begun it at all; for whoever peruſes his books carefully will find, that what ſtung him moſt, was, that a Schoolmaſter ſhould meddle with deſcents and families, and at the ſame time treat Heralds, to whom he thought theſe things belonged, with ſo little ceremony and reſpect.

[*G*] *It might well have ſecured his reputation with poſterity.*] The title of this work, as publiſhed by the author, ran thus, *Grammatices Græcæ inſtitutio compendiaria in uſum Regiæ Scholæ Weſtmonaſterienſis.* Londini, in 8vo. We have an excellent account both of our author's intention and performance in reference to this Grammar, which, therefore, it is but juſtice to inſert in the words of the Right Reverend Author (39). 'He was, ſays he, always exciting the preſent age to 'virtue and honour, by repreſenting to them the venerable monuments of their anceſtors, or laying a 'foundation for the happineſs of poſterity, by forming 'youth unto religion and learning. They are two 'profeſſions that ſeem to look quite different ways, and 'yet he managed them to ſuch advantage, that if he 'had been continually abroad, 'tis hard to imagine 'how the Antiquary could have been better, or if 'conſtantly in the ſchool, how the Maſter could have 'been more diligent. He was not content to train up 'thoſe who were under his immediate care, unleſs '(like the good old Orator) he put himſelf in a condition to be a guide to them, even after it ſhould 'pleaſe Providence to remove him.' It is not neceſſary to add any thing farther to this account, except it be, that Dr Smith tells us, that at the time he printed his book, which was in 1691, this Grammar had run through very near an hundred impreſſions (40).

(36) Perhaps he might have heard that Mr Camden had received ſuch corrections very thankfully from others, of which the reader may find an inſtance in his Epiſtles publiſhed by Dr Smith, p. 36.

(37) See his Addreſs to the gentle and learned Reader, prefixed to his ſecond Diſcovery of Errors.

(38) See his Addreſs to Mr Camden, before his firſt Diſcovery of Errors: and obſerve the motto alſo to that work, viz. *Quam quiſq; norit Artem in hac ſe exerceat:* which implies, that pedigrees were not Mr Camden's buſineſs at the time this diſpute began.

(39) See Biſhop Gibſon's Life of Camden.

(40) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 78.

[*H*] *By*

whelmed with infirmities, and when he had acquired wherewithal, to pass the remainder of his days with ease and decency. This I say is probable, because he refused the place of a Master of Requests (*t*), which it is likely might be offered him by his friend the Lord Treasurer Burleigh; and yet notwithstanding this, before the end of the year, he left it for a far more honourable employment. Richard Leigh (*u*), Clarenceux King of Arms, dying on the twenty-third of September, Sir Fulk Grevile, our author's intimate friend, asked of Queen Elizabeth, that office for Mr Camden, which was immediately granted; but because it was not usual in the College of Arms, for a person to rise to that dignity, without passing through the office of Herald, he was on the twenty-second of October, so created, by the title of Richmond; and on the twenty-third made Clarenceux (*w*). Upon this preferment, he was complimented by all his friends, except the Lord Burleigh, who took it ill, that a person he had honoured with his friendship, should decline his assistance in his promotion; but upon Mr Camden's acquainting him, that it was entirely a thought of Sir Fulk Grevile's, and that himself was as much surprized by his promotion as his Lordship, that coolness was removed (*x*), and his protection continued to him as long as that wise and good statesman lived, which was not long. It was both an happiness and an honour to Mr Camden to have such a man, not only for his patron but for his friend, who afforded him his countenance, when he published his performance, as he he had given him great assistance while he was engaged in it, communicating to him all the stores of his well furnished library (*y*); and adding to these, the lights of his learned conversation, which could not but be highly useful to Mr Camden, since that noble person had made the Antiquities of England, and the personal History of the great men who had flourished in it, his peculiar and constant study, through the course of his life (*z*). A little before his death, he recommended to our author the preserving to posterity the History of his Royal Mistress; and at the same time, that he advised the building, contributed a large stock of materials towards the erecting it (*a*). How great an effect this recommendation had, will be hereafter seen; in the mean time let us observe, that as there could not be higher testimony of that great man's respect to his Sovereign, so it is impossible he should give a stronger proof of his esteem for our author's abilities, or thorough persuasion of his integrity, than by committing such a work to his care. In 1600, Mr Camden, who was now more at liberty, than while he had the charge of the school upon him, made a journey as far as Carlisle, in the company of Robert Cotton, Esquire (*b*), his dear and intimate friend, afterwards Sir Robert Cotton, Baronet, and after having surveyed whatever was curious in the North, returned to London in the month of December (*c*). This long journey into the North, did not hinder his sending abroad an account of all the monuments of the Kings, Queens, Nobles, and others in the Collegiate Church of St Peter's Westminster, with their inscriptions, which he enlarged and reprinted more than once; and tho' notwithstanding these augmentations, it is still but of very small bulk, yet the elegance and accuracy of the performance (*d*) renders it valuable, even at this day, notwithstanding the pretences made by some authors, who would be thought to have written more fully upon, and to have examined more strictly into, this subject. This year also came out the fifth edition of his Britannia, to which he annexed an Apology to the Reader, in answer to what had been published by Rafe Brooke to the prejudice of his work, and the reception which this edition met with very clearly showed, that the fame of Camden was not to be obscured by any flying clouds of critical envy [*H*]. The next

(*t*) Camd. Epist. p. 247.

(*u*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 20.

(*w*) Memorabil. de seipso.

(*x*) Bishop Gibson's Life of Camden.

(*y*) Answer to Brooke, p. 13.

(*z*) See the article CECIL (WILLIAM) Lord Burleigh.

(*a*) See his Epistle to the reader prefixed to his first part of his Annals.

(*b*) Memorabil. de seipso.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. c. 481.

(*d*) Published originally in a small 4*to* in 1600, again in 1603, and a third time in 1606.

[*H*] *By any flying clouds of critical envy.*] There were three editions of the *Britannia* in octavo, *viz.* the first in 1586, the second in 1587, the third in 1590, but of a larger size than the two former. It appeared the same year at Frankfort where it was printed by John Wechel. The fourth edition was printed at London in 1594, in 4to, and it was this edition that gave occasion to the remarks of Rafe Brooke. This of which we are now speaking was the fifth, printed also in 4to at London; and at the end of this, we find his answer to Brooke, under no other title than this, *Ad Lectorem*, i. e. To the Reader. This is also sometimes bound up with his adversary's book, intitled, *A Discovery of certain errors published in print in the much-commended* Britannia; but being very concise, I do not find that it has been ever printed by itself. He opens this short work with a very clear and a very modest account of his own application to the study of Antiquities, which he assures us began while he was at school, increased at the University, took up most of his time before he was settled at Westminster, and induced him to make those large collections, from whence, at the earnest desire of Abraham Ortelius, he afterwards drew out the first scheme of his *Britannia*, which, he informs us, he very well knew was, in many respects, imperfect, and therefore laboured, by the perusal of books, the information of friends, and by several journies, in which he personally visited the greatest part of England, to amend and improve it. After all this painstaking, he was surprized to find himself, and his work, attacked with great virulence and fury by a certain person (he avoids naming him) whether moved thereto by folly or judgment, by the weakness of his mind, or by the heat of his envy, because the late Queen had been graciously pleased passing this person by, to exalt him to a certain office, he does not determine; but after acknowledging, that he is very sensible both that he might commit, and has committed, various errors, he addresses himself to his defence against the charge that had been exhibited by his enemy (41). But here it will be necessary to observe, that a distinction must be made between the original difference that Brooke had with Camden, and the publication of his treatise; the former related only to some mistakes which this man thought he had discovered in our author's work; but when he was once in, and fancied himself under a necessity of appealing to the world, and to the Earl of Essex, then Earl Marshal, he brought in other matter, which was certainly foreign to his purpose, so that the whole of his charge might be reduced under three heads (42). The first of these was as to errors committed in accounts of noble families. The second, as to the assistance derived, but not acknowledged, from Mr Glover's papers in Lord Burleigh's library. The third, as to the vast helps received from Leland's papers, out of which he surmises that Mr Camden had gathered

(41) Answer to Brooke, p. 1, 2, 3.

(42) Brooke's book was dedicated to the Earl of Essex, who from thence appears to have been his patron; whereas Camden sided with the Cecils; he likewise added thereto Leland's New Year's Gift, which he reprinted with a libellous poem intituled, Leland's Ghost.

next year after this, he was again visited by a fever, from which he recovered by the care of his friend, Mr Heather, for which he bore him ever afterwards very high respect (*e*). In 1603, the plague breaking out at London, he retired with his friend, Robert Cotton, Esq; to his seat at Conington, and thereby escaped it (*f*). It was in this year, that by his care a very noble collection of our ancient Historians, appeared at Frankfort, and these he dedicated to Sir Fulk Grevil, in acknowledgment for the good office he did him in procuring him to be made King at Arms. Part of these Historians were never before published, and such as had seen the light, he sent abroad, much more accurate and compleat, than formerly they had appeared, rendering thereby very great service to all such as were inclined to study the British, English, Irish, or Norman Histories (*g*) [*I*]. In the year following, he published his Remains of his large work, concerning Britain, which, in gratitude for past favours, and as a mark of his sincere friendship and high esteem, he dedicated to his dear friend and constant patron, Sir Robert Cotton, though from the work itself it appears, that he once intended to have inscribed it to Sir Fulk Grevil (*h*). There are in it, without doubt, abundance of curious, useful, and learned remarks, and tho' there may be some light and trivial things intermixed, which perhaps hindered the author from owning it in the same publick manner as he did the rest of his works, yet there is no doubt at all of it's being his, or of it's being worthy of him [*K*].

(*e*) Memorabil. de seipso.

(*f*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(*g*) Bishop Gibson's Life of our author.

(*h*) See this explained more at large in the notes.

He gathered a great part of his description (43). Our author, in his defence, shews largely, from various authorities both of history and records, that in many of the places objected to, himself was in the right; and his adversary, notwithstanding the many years he had spent in the office of a Herald, in the wrong. He acknowledges, however, that by following one of his predecessors, Robert Cook Clarenceux King at Arms, he had fallen into some mistakes, which he thinks were excusable on the score of the authority by which he was misled; as to the other two parts of the charge, he acquits himself intirely by declaring, that he mentioned with honour those from whom he borrowed any thing; and with respect to Leland more particularly, he acknowledges, that he had perused some of his works, and particularly his *Itinerary*, and where he borrowed any thing from it material, had cited him; but observes very justly, that where he says the same things of his own knowledge that Leland had mentioned from his, he did not think himself indebted to him. He farther observes, that if this worthy person spent five years in these studies, himself had spent thirty; that if he had examined many ancient authors, himself had also taken great pains in the same way, and had not only perused what was to be met with in English libraries, but had also procured great helps from abroad, from the monuments of learning preserved in the libraries of France, Italy, and Spain, by the assistance of his learned friends Franciscus Pithæus, Justus Lipsius, Abrahamus Ortelius, H. Surrita, J. Obsopæus, and others. He concludes his short discourse, with some very quick and lively strokes of learned raillery upon his opponent, charges him with utter ignorance in his own profession, and incapacity of translating, or, consequently, of understanding perfectly what he had written in his *Britannia*; and offers to submit the points in dispute to the Earl Marshal, to the College of Heralds, to the Society of Antiquaries, or to four persons learned in these studies. All this did not hinder Brooke from returning to the charge; he wrote a *Second Discovery of Errors*, in which he pursued the same method he had taken in the former, that is to say, he set down first a passage in Camden, then the objections raised against it in his first book; next Camden's answer in his own words; and last of all, his reply; but, for reasons that are not known to us, this was not published. The shrewdest part of it is the Appendix, in which he sets down, in two columns, the passages objected to in Mr Camden's edition of 1594, and the same passages as they stood in this edition of 1600, which puts it in the power of the reader to judge, at one view, of the real sentiments of our learned author as to Brooke's animadversions. This piece, about an hundred years after the death of it's author, was printed from a manuscript of the late learned and worthy John Anstis, Esq; Garter King at Arms (44), and has given us an opportunity of entering more thoroughly into the nature of this controversy, than it was possible for writers to do, who had not seen the latter, as well as the former, performance of Brooke's, in which there are (mixed with much bitterness) abundance of useful and curious passages.

(43) See the Address at the beginning of his book to Mr Camden, and the Confusion which is directed to him so.

(44) The title runs thus: A second Discovery of Errors published in the much-commended Britannia, 1594, very prejudicial to the Descents and Successions of the ancient Nobility of this Realm; with a Reply to Mr Camden's Apology *ad Lectorem*, in his fifth edit. 1600, by Rafe Brooke, Esq; York Herald of Armes, London, printed for James Woodman, 1723, 4to.

[*I*] *The British, English, Irish, or Norman Histories.*] The title of this work at large runs thus, *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, à Veteribus descripta: ex quibus Asser Menevensis, Anonymus de vitâ Gulielmi Conquæstoris, Thomas Walsingham, Thomas de la More, Gulielmus Genuticensis, Giraldus Cambrensis. Plerique nunc in lucem editi ex Bibliothecâ Gulielmi Camdeni.* Francofurti, *folio* 1603. There could not be a stronger proof of our author's candour or zeal for the honour of his country, or the advantage of the Republick of Letters, than this publication of our ancient Historians (45). It plainly shews, that he was very far from being desirous to lock up in his private study, as curiosities, such pieces as, if divulged, might prove of publick utility. He was sensible how great a loss the learned world would sustain, by his laying aside the design he once had formed of writing an English History, and therefore he thought himself obliged in justice, to add to the small stock of materials already prepared, these original and valuable authors. This is the account that himself gives in his Epistle to Sir Fulk Grevil, and it is every way sufficient to satisfy the reader as to the uprightness of his intention, and the benevolence of his disposition. His collection was received, as it deserved, with the utmost applause of the most learned abroad, and with all possible respect and gratitude at home, where it has served for a foundation for most of our modern histories (46).

(45) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 39.

(46) See Dr Brady's and Mr Tyrrel's Introduction to their respective Histories.

[*K*] *Or of it's being worthy of him.*] It will be proper, before we say any thing of this work, to give the reader it's title, in which also he will find the contents briefly inserted. In the original edition it stands thus: *Remaines of a Greater Work concerning* BRITAIN, *the Inhabitants thereof, their Languages, Names, Surnames, Empreses, Wise speeches, Poesies, and Epitaphes*, London, 1605, 4to. It is addressed to the Right Worshipful, Worthy, and Learned Sir Robert Cotton of Conington, Knight; and the author makes it the sole business of his Dedication to disparage his book, treating it as an indigested heap of fragments that he left to be played with by the wind, which he knew to be unworthy of the person to whom they were presented, and should not therefore be offended, however he thought fit to dispose of them. But the true reason of this conduct was, that he might escape any such attacks as had been made upon his *Britannia*, it was this made him depreciate his collection, and call it 'the out-cast rubbish of a greater and more serious 'work, the pitiful sillinefs whereof would secure it 'from envy, which only reaches at eminence.' It was for the same reason that he subscribed it only with the final letters of his name, and delayed so long the publication, for the Epistle Dedicatory is dated the 12th of June 1603, but the book was not published 'till 1605. Dr Smith indeed places it in 1604 (47); which is not only contrary to the title-page of the first edition which lies before me, but to the authority of Camden himself, who sets it down thus in his Memoranda, 1605 Ἀσύλατα prodierunt primum, i. e. *In* 1605 *the* Remains *were first published* (48). By the way, this shews his real sentiments of that work; for, except the first edition of his *Britannia*, and his Greek Grammar, he takes no notice of the other works he published before it. It is expressly ascribed to Camden

(47) Vit. Camd. p. 77.

(48) Memorabil. de seipso.

He wrote, beſides, many ſhort but learned and valuable eſſays on Britiſh Antiquities, moſt of them at the requeſt, and in compliance with the practice of that learned Society of Antiquaries, we have mentioned in another place (*i*), and of which he was a member; ſome of theſe have been preſerved and publiſhed, and, from the peruſal of them, we have reaſon to regret that others are loſt, or, at leaſt, concealed from the view of the world, and hindered from affording thoſe lights, which men addicted to theſe ſtudies will always reap from the writings of this judicious author. Thoſe that are ſtill extant, we owe to the care of the induſtrious and laborious Thomas Hearne (*k*) [*L*]. Who in this, and other reſpects, has merited greatly from the publick. In 1606, began our author's correſpondence with the famous Preſident de Thou, which continued to their mutual ſatisfaction for eleven years, that is to the death of that worthy magiſtrate and faithful Hiſtorian, during which time, he received many notices, with reſpect to the affairs of this iſland, from his judicious and faithful correſpondent, which, with much kindneſs and gratitude, he acknowledged (*l*). The diſcovery of the Powder-plot gave him a freſh occaſion of employing his pen in the ſervice of the publick. It ſeems, that his Royal Maſter King James, after providing that poſterity in this kingdom ſhould be for ever put in mind of the wonderful deliverance himſelf and the nation received, by an Anniverſary Thankſgiving, thinking it proper to put the Reformed Churches abroad upon their guard, againſt thoſe inveterate enemies of the Proteſtant Religion, as well as to ſatisfy foreign Princes of all Religions of the juſtice of his proceedings, made choice of Mr Camden, as beſt qualified to draw up the whole caſe in a Latin ſtyle agreeable to the ſubject. This, with great accuracy, elegance, and ſpirit, he performed, and his work, to ſhew by whoſe authority it was compiled, iſſued out from the preſs of the King's Printer (*m*). It was not long after (and indeed, it is no wonder) put into the liſt of prohibited books by the Inquiſition at Rome (*n*), and probably will retain it's place there as long as that continues in any credit. On the 7th of September 1607, he had the misfortune to fall from his horſe, by which he hurt his leg in ſuch a manner, that he was not able to ſtir abroad for many months (*o*). It was in this year, that he put his laſt hand to, and publiſhed, that noble and compleat edition

(*i*) See the article AGARD (ARTHUR) in this Dictionary.

(*k*) See his Collection of curious Diſcourſes written by eminent Antiquaries upon ſeveral heads in our Engliſh Antiquities. Oxon. printed at the Theatre, 1720, 8*vo*.

(*l*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo. Epiſtola Camdeni, p. 68, 73, 97. 139, 153.

(*m*) This was publiſhed in 1607 in 4*to*, by John Norton, his Majeſty's Printer, in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

(*n*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(*o*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

by his adverſary Brooke, in his *Second Diſcovery of Errors*, and indeed I do not know that ever any doubt was made of it's being his; and as to the value of the work, the number of editions it has run through, and the additions made to it by John Philpot Somerſet-Herald, very clearly ſhew the reception it met with amongſt ſuch as were beſt judges of it's contents. Yet there is a certain author who, with mighty profeſſions of veneration for Mr Camden, hath treated it very freely (49). 'There are in it, ſays he, a deal of good 'collections, touching the languages, money, ſur-'names, and apparel of our Britiſh and Saxon Anti-'quities, but his liſt of proper names might be conſi-'derably enlarged and corrected by what Scottelius 'and Dr Gibſon have written on that ſubject. As 'for his alluſions, rebus, and anagrams, he himſelf 'feared they would paſs for fooliſh fopperies, and I do 'not care for thwarting, without good reaſon, any of 'his opinions. The conceits in impreſſes, apoph-'thegms, poems, epigrams, and epitaphs are endleſs, 'and therefore hardly worth regiſtring in a work of 'this nature.' The proper anſwer to this indirect and timid piece of criticiſm is plainly this. that the author had no conception of what Camden intended to publiſh in that work, which was to preſerve to poſterity an infinite number of curious things, which had been communicated to him while he was forming collections for his *Britannia*, and which, from his own experience, he very well knew might prove very uſeful, and therefore muſt prove very acceptable to ſuch as were lovers of Antiquities. To ſay the truth, it is very difficult to determine whether our prudent and judicious author gave a higher proof of his exquiſite penetration, in rejecting what this book contains, when he framed his Deſcription of Britain, or in putting together theſe materials when he had ſo rejected them, and leaving them, as he has done, to the conſideration and uſe of proper judges amongſt poſterity. If an Architect, who, upon publick notice of his deſign to erect ſome ſtately edifice for general uſe, ſhould be ſo ſupplied with all kind of coſtly materials, as to be able to finiſh his deſign compleatly, and yet have much of thoſe materials to ſpare, would any wiſe man blame him either for not crowding them all in, or for not burying the ſtones, breaking the bricks, or burning the beams that were left? They know little, very little, of the pleaſure, and even utility, of collecting what cannot be inſerted in a work ſo highly finiſhed as the *Britannia*, who blame Mr Camden for ſorting and publiſhing his *Remains*; and they enter very little into his ſpirit, who take literally what he ſays in prejudice to that work, which if he had thought ſuch a heap of rubbiſh and pitiful ſillineſs, as he ſtyles it, he would not have kept or publiſhed, much leſs inſcribed it to Sir Robert Cotton, that great patron of Learning, of Antiquities, and of Camden. But ſome men have the misfortune of miſtaking a humour of finding fault, for a true critical genius; a low punning wit, for a fine vein of raillery, and a confuſed remembrance of many books, for univerſal learning. Such men as theſe may write folio's without leaving *Remains*, but the dreams of Homer will be always more eſteemed, than the waking thoughts of rhymers, who are poets in no man's conception but their own.

(49) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 5.

[*L*] *Of the induſtrious and laborious Thomas Hearne.*] This well-meaning and indefatigable man, in the Collection, which he publiſhed, of curious diſcourſes written by eminent Antiquaries, has preſerved ſeveral pieces of Mr Camden's, which otherwiſe had been buried in oblivion, and which notwithſtanding moſt certainly deſerved a better fate. The firſt of theſe is, *A ſhort Account of the Antiquity, Office, and Privilege of* Heralds *in England* (50), in which he ſeems to think this term is of German original, and that it ſignifies old or ancient Maſter, or, as I find it explained by another writer on the ſame ſubject, a perſon ſtyled Sir, or Maſter, on account of his venerable age. He likewiſe obſerves, that the firſt mention he finds of them was about the time of King Edward I, when in a ſtatute relating to Arms and Weapons it was directed, that the Kings of Heralds ſhould wear no armour but their ſwords pointleſs, and that they ſhould only have their *Houſes des Armes*, which he conceives to be their coats of arms. He adds, that the name and honour of them was never greater than in the time of King Edward III. when there were Kings of Arms, Heralds, and Purſuivants by patent, not only peculiar to the King, but belonging alſo to the principal Nobility. The ſecond diſcourſe of Mr Camden's is dated June 29th, 1604, upon which, probably, it was read in the Society of Antiquaries; the title is, *Of the diverſity of names of this Iſland* (51); in which our author uſes many things before involved either in his *Britannia*, or *Remains*, and advances ſome that are in neither. Upon the ſame ſubject, diſcourſes were read at the ſame time, and before the ſame ſociety, by thoſe eminent Antiquaries Mr Joſeph Holland, Mr Arthur Agard, and Mr Michael Oldſworth, which laſt gives a high character of Camden in his ſhort treatiſe. The laſt treatiſe is *Of the* Etymologie *and* Original *of* Barons (52); tranſcribed from Camden's *Adverſaria*, in poſſeſſion of Lord Hatton, T. S. that is, as I underſtand it, Thomas Smith, from whoſe papers Mr Hearne publiſhed this Collection.

(50) A Collection of curious Diſcourſes written by ſeveral eminent Antiquaries upon our Engliſh Antiquities, p. 85.

(51) Ibid p. 149.

(52) Ibid. p. 205.

[*M*] *Take*

edition of his Britannia, which will remain a perpetual monument of his learning, the rather, as it was erected to the honour of his country. It is from this edition that several Engliſh tranſlations have been made, and therefore it is requiſite, that in the notes we ſhould take ſome farther account of it (*p*) [*M*]. He had now finiſhed and ſent abroad all thoſe pieces, to which his great deſign had given birth, and thereby put it much in the power of others to proſecute with certainty and eaſe, thoſe works in which himſelf had met with ſo much toil and labour. He had once indeed, as himſelf informs us, an intention to have written a Civil Hiſtory of this nation, which was before he undertook his Britannia (*q*), but he ſaw that it would coſt more than one man's life to bring the very materials of it into order, and therefore he contented himſelf with adding the large volume of Hiſtorians beforementioned, to the collections formerly publiſhed, and thereby ſet an example, which has been happily followed by ſeveral learned and worthy perſons. But that the remainder of his years might be filled up with ſomething worthy of his great talents, his uncorrupted fidelity, and extenſive reputation, he began, in 1608, to digeſt thoſe materials which he had been for many years collecting towards the Hiſtory of the reign of Queen Elizabeth (*r*), to which he had been firſt excited by his old patron, the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, the performing of which had from that time been requeſted of him by many other great perſonages, and with the expectation of which he had filled the minds of all his learned friends. But while he was meditating this great work, he was ſeized on his birth-day in 1609, with a dangerous illneſs; and the plague breaking out in his neighbourhood, he was removed to the houſe of his friend Mr Heather, where, by the care of Dr Giffard his Phyſician, he, tho' ſlowly, recovered his health (*s*). At this time it was, that he made choice of Chiſlehurſt in Kent, for the place of his retirement; and thither he went for the firſt time, on the 15th of Auguſt that year; and returned from thence on the 23d of October following (*t*). It was in this year alſo, that a new preferment was intended for our learned author, Dr Sutcliffe, Dean of Weſtminſter, had propoſed erecting a College at Chelſea, for a certain number of learned men, who were to make the oppoſing of Popery the great buſineſs of their ſtudies (*u*). King James was very well pleaſed with this deſign, and gave it all the encouragement that could be expected. He named Dr Sutcliffe, the firſt Provoſt; ſeventeen very eminent Divines were appointed Fellows; and to theſe, as Hiſtorians, were added, Mr Camden and Dr John Hayward a Civilian (*w*). An Act of Parliament alſo paſſed for promoting this new foundation; but notwithſtanding all this, excepting the erecting the bare ſhell of a College, there was no progreſs made (*x*), ſo that it turned no other way to Mr Camden's advantage, than by ſhowing, that when the cauſe of Learning, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Honour of this Nation, were under conſideration, he was always in the thoughts of thoſe who were the beſt judges. The infirmities of old age were now growing upon him daily, notwithſtanding which, he kept up this extenſive correſpondence both at home and abroad. The Hiſtory of Queen Elizabeth went on all this time but ſlowly, on account of the great circumſpection uſed by the author, who neglected no opportunity of conſulting State-Papers,

(*p*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 78.

(*q*) See his *Britannia* under the title of Normans.

(*r*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*s*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 482.

(*t*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*u*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(*w*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory.

(*x*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 49.

[*M*] *Take ſome farther account of it.*] It was this laſt edition, correctly printed in folio, much augmented, amended where it was neceſſary, and adorned with maps, that procured our author thoſe magnificent titles of the Varro, the Strabo, and the Pauſanias of Britain (53); magnificent indeed, and though beſtowed upon him by the moſt judicious men of the age, were what he little affected, one title this work merited which has paſt deſervedly into a kind of prænomen both at home and abroad, ſo that we find him almoſt univerſally ſtyled the *learned* Camden (54). To commend it, is needleſs; our buſineſs is, to give an hiſtorical account of it, and this leads us to take notice of that multitude of commendatory verſes that ſtand before it, and which had been increaſing in every edition; but becauſe we would take notice of them but onee, we deferred ſpeaking of them 'till now. Sir George Sydley, a man diſtinguiſhed both by birth and breeding, wrote a Latin Epigram on the book and it's author; Sir George Buc, who was himſelf an Antiquary and an Hiſtorian, publiſhed an Hepaſtick on the ſame ſubject; Dr Grant, his predeceſſor, wrote a very elegant poem, which ſtands before all the editions; the learned Dr George Carleton diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a congratulatory addreſs in the ſame language; the celebrated Mr Edmund Bolton, author of *Nero Cæſar*, exerciſed his pen in a very elegant political Elegy, entituled, *A Deſcription of the Frontiſpiece*; Mr John Stradling beforementioned wrote an excellent Epigram in Latin, as the famous B. Dodington did in Greek; and in the ſame language, the very ingenious and learned, but unfortunate, Henry Cuſſe, who ſuffered with the Earl of Eſſex, complimented his fellow-ſtudent on his labours, and his verſes were again prefixed to this edition, though publiſhed near ſeven years after his death; Caſpar Dornavius, Janus Gruter, and many others, diſplayed their affection on the ſame occaſion, ſo that it may be truly ſaid, no performance of this kind was ever uſhered into the world with ſtronger recommendations. It was taken into Janſſon's *Atlas*, but altered and interpolated, printed at Amſterdam in 1659; it was epitomized by Regnerus Vitellius Zirizæus, and twice printed at Amſterdam, in 1616 and in 1639, 8vo. It was firſt tranſlated into Engliſh, and publiſhed in folio, at London, in 1611, by the laborious Dr Philemon Holland, a Phyſician of Coventry, who is thought to have conſulted our author himſelf, and therefore great reſpect has been paid to the additions and explanations that occur therein, on a ſuppoſition that they may belong to Camden. But in a later edition of the ſame tranſlation, publiſhed in 1636, the Doctor has taken liberties which cannot either be defended or excuſed. The new tranſlation, made with the utmoſt fidelity from this laſt edition of our author's work, was firſt publiſhed in 1695, by Edmund Gibſon, of Queen's-college in Oxford, the preſent Right Reverend Biſhop of London, in which beſides the addition of notes, and of all that deſerved to be taken notice of in Dr Holland's firſt edition, which, though thrown out of the text, is preſerved at the bottom of the page, there are many other augmentations and improvements, all properly diſtinguiſhed from the genuine work of the author, as they ought to be; and the ſame judicious method has been purſued in the ſubſequent edition of the ſame performance, which may be juſtly conſidered as the very beſt book of it's kind that has been hitherto publiſhed, and I am afraid is in no great danger of being deprived of that character by any new undertaking, notwithſtanding the many helps now at hand.

(53) Blount's Cenſura Celebr. Authorum, p. 619.

(54) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 483.

[*N*] *An*

Papers, the Regiſters of the Privy-Council, Ambaſſadors inſtructions, the Letters of the great men of thoſe times, Parliament Journals, the ſeveral Laws and Statutes paſſed within the period of which he was to write, and, in a word, whatever elſe was requiſite to give him the beſt and moſt perfect lights; for which, beſides his own numerous collections, he had recourſe to the celebrated library of his ſincere, conſtant, and communicative friend, Sir Robert Cotton (*y*). After all theſe pains taken, and when the firſt part, which reached from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign to the year 1589, was compleated and ready for the preſs, he obtained from his royal maſter King James, an order or warrant for the printing and publiſhing it [*N*]. In purſuance of this it was accordingly elegantly and accurately printed in 1615, and though vaſt expectations had been raiſed, both from the nature of the work itſelf, and the reputation of the author, yet it appears clearly from the reception it met with both at home and abroad, that thoſe expectations were fully ſatisfied. It muſt be acknowledged that this was a felicity almoſt peculiar to our author, and which, without doubt, was owing no leſs to his great care and attention, than to his ſuperior genius and extenſive learning; ſo that his work may paſs for a model in it's kind, being equally perfect in all it's parts (*z*); a deſign truly noble in itſelf! as deſcribing a reign fruitful in great events, and one of the moſt glorious in our Hiſtory, taking in at the ſame time a great part of the moſt remarkable tranſactions that happened within this period, throughout the greateſt part of Europe, and in other quarters of the world alſo. The method clear and plain, judiciouſly laid down, conſtantly purſued with equal accuracy, ſkill, and attention. The ſtile is grave, and ſuited to the majeſty of the hiſtory, never ſwelling into a falſe ſublime, or ſinking even in the relation of the ſmalleſt circumſtances, but even and elegant throughout, free from any mixture of affectation, and from a vain and needleſs oſtentation of learning. No way deficient in neceſſary circumſtances, never loaded with tedious or trifling particularities, but proceeding in ſo juſt and equal a manner, that the attention of the reader is continually retained, and never embarraſſed by any ambiguity or doubtfulneſs of expreſſion. His reflections ſhort and weighty, his obſervations natural and inſtructive, his characters exactly and ſuccinctly drawn, his dates wonderfully correct, and his narrations cloſe, without prejudice to that clearneſs which is the great beauty of Hiſtory. But, above all, his veracity, candour, and probity; his gratitude to his miſtreſs, and to his patrons, without any mixture of flattery, much leſs of falſehood; his freedom from prejudice or prepoſſeſſions; his fidelity in reference to perſons and to things, are truly admirable; ſo that we need not wonder at the high praiſes that were beſtowed upon his work in his life-time, or at the great character it has juſtly preſerved, and will ever preſerve, with poſterity [*O*].

We

(*y*) See his Preface to the firſt Part of the Annals.

(*z*) See Mr Selden's Letter, prefixed to Vincent's Diſcovery of Errors, in the firſt edition of the Catalogue of Nobility.

[*N*] *An order, or warrant, for the printing and publiſhing it.*] This warrant was formerly in the hands of that eminently learned, worthy, and upright perſon the Reverend Mr Thomas Baker of St John's, who communicated it to Mr Hearne, but it ſeems that Dr Smith had a copy of it before, which came likewiſe into the hands of Mr Hearne amongſt the reſt of that great man's papers. This warrant runs thus (55),

(55) See Thomas Hearne's Preface prefixed to the firſt Vol. of his edition of Camden's Annals.

'James R.

'OURE pleaſure is, that you cauſe forthwith, 'according to our direction to you, ſo much of 'the Hiſtory of England in Latin as we have peruſed, 'to be printed and publiſhed, that is, from the year 'of our Lord 1558, until the end of the year a thou-'ſand five hundred eighty eight. And this our com-'mand ſhall be your warrant. Given under our ſignet 'the 25th of February at our Palace of Whitehall, in 'the 12th year of our reign of England, France, and 'Ireland; and of Scotland the 48th.

'To our well beloved ſervants Sir Robert Cotton, 'Kt. and Baronett; and William Camden, 'Clarenceux, one of our Kings of Armes.'

[*O*] *And will ever preſerve, with poſterity.*] The title of this part of Mr Camden's work, as it was then publiſhed, runs thus, *Annales rerum Anglicarum & Hibernicarum regnante* Elizabethâ *ad annum ſalutis*, 1589, Londini, 1615, fol. It was again printed at Frankfort in 1616, in 8vo. In his preface he begins with informing the reader, that ſomewhat more than eighteen years before he publiſhed this firſt part, he was, without any ſeeking of his own, excited by the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, to compoſe the Hiſtory of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, in order to which he imparted to him, both from his own, and her Majeſty's Collections, papers, letters, memorials, &c. Theſe he ſorted and peruſed with much leſs proſit than he expected, and the Lord Treaſurer, and the Queen herſelf, dying ſoon after, he quitted for ſome time the thoughts of executing ſo laborious a deſign, hoping that it would be undertaken by ſome other pen. Perceiving, however, in proceſs of time, that theſe expectations were vain, he again (in 1608) reſumed his former intention, and took care to increaſe his ſtock of materials to the utmoſt extent of his power, as well by the aſſiſtance of his friends, particularly Sir Robert Cotton, as by reviewing his own ſtores; *for tho'*, ſays he, *I have been a ſtudious admirer of venerable Antiquity, yet have I not been altogether an incurious ſpectator of modern occurrences, and have farther had the aſſiſtance of great men, who had their ſhare in tranſacting of affairs, and thoſe too with reſpect to religious diſputes of both parties.* He proceeds then to ſhew, from *Polybius*, the true ends of Hiſtory, and the proper manner of writing it, and profeſſing, that he had laid aſide hope and fear, prejudice and prepoſſeſſion, he goes on to give an account of what he propoſed to himſelf in compiling this Hiſtory, which, as it more immediately concerns our deſign of placing his life and character in their true light, we will give the reader in his own words. 'My work, I have, entitled, 'by the name of Annals; in regard, I have diſpoſed 'every thing in it's proper year; for I have learned 'of Tacitus, that weighty and remarkable occurrences 'are to be digeſted, by way of Annals; and that the 'principal buſineſs of Annals, is to preſerve virtuous 'actions from being buried in oblivion, and to deter 'men from either ſpeaking or doing what is amiſs, for 'fear of future ſhame. Beſides, a coarſer and ſhorter 'ſtyle (ſuch as this of mine) is proper and peculiar to 'things written by way of Annals. Upon theſe foun-'dations, I ſet myſelf to writing, with this intention 'and deſign, I went forward; and in compoſing, 'poliſhing, and perfecting my undertaking, I re-'ſolved to ſpend my whole pains at ſpare times; and 'to bequeath them, by my laſt teſtament, to that ho-'nourable perſonage, James Auguſtus de Thou, who 'has with ſingular commendations of his fidelity and 'moderation, begun an Hiſtory of his own time. And 'this, I did, leſt one ſo much reſpected by me, as in-'deed, all ſtrangers are, ſhould, as one unacquainted in

'a foreign

We must indeed allow, that some objections were made with respect to the account he has given of the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, as if he had been biassed therein, from a complaisance for her son who was his Sovereign; but there does not appear any just ground for these suggestions, much less for what has been asserted, that his work was altered or castrated, and that it did not appear to the world as it fell originally from his pen (*a*). These points have been very freely and judiciously canvassed by a very great author, who has also examined what has been thrown out, with respect to the difference between his own relations, and the memoirs communicated by him to his learned friend and constant correspondent M. de Thou, upon that subject (*b*). A severe, but just, picture, he has drawn of the English and Irish Papists, and his full and accurate accounts of their many secret plots and contrivances, as well as frequent rebellions against Queen Elizabeth, provoked that party extreamly; and as there were at that time many fugitives abroad, who made it their business to disturb and impose upon the world by their writings, to which all foreign presses were open, they failed not to lay hold of this occasion to abuse and traduce Mr Camden, and to vent a multitude of calumnies against him, which had frequently as little of probability in them as of truth. Amongst the rest, a certain virulent writer, who pretended to give the world a History of Irish affairs, attacked our author with equal fury and falsehood, insinuating that he had been of their religion, but had been drawn from it by ambitious and secular views (*c*). The nature of this charge, and the confidence with which it was made, induced some of Mr Camden's best friends to think that it deserved an answer, and the Government of Ireland condescending so far as to take notice of this malicious performance, and to refute the principal facts contained therein, an account was sent to Mr Camden of their design, with an offer that his justification should be included in the same piece (*d*). But it seems he judged otherwise of the matter, and thought it better to treat such kind of libels with contempt. We have, however, the letters which he wrote upon this subject, particularly to that wise and great Prelate (*e*) the Lord Primate Usher, which fully refute these calumnies, and very clearly prove, that as he ended, so he began the world, with just notions of the Protestant religion, for which he was actually persecuted at the university, at the very time that it was suggested he showed himself of opposite principles, which, however, could not move him to enter into any controversy [*P*]. There is good reason to believe, that the vast resort to

(*a*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 483.

(*b*) See the article CAMDEN (WILLIAM) in Bayle.

(*c*) Analect. de reb. Catholic. in Hibern. 1616, 8*vo*. p. 113.

(*d*) Camdeni Epist. p. 236, 237.

(*e*) This Letter is dated from Chislehurst, July 10, 1618. Camdeni Epist. p. 246, 247, 248.

'a foreign state, be at a loss in the affairs of our country. But in this my purpose, I was, I know not by what fate, prevented, and a great part of these Annals were sent over to him some years before, when they lay yet shadowed in their first lineaments, and were scarce well begun, disfigured with blurs and dashes, and chasms and patches, here and there tacked together, as they slipt from my hasty pen, and worse mangled by the transcriber. Out of these, by taking away some things, changing and adding others, he has inserted some few passages in the eleventh and twelfth tomes of his History; but indeed, by his grave and solid judgment, much rectified and refined. But whereas he, according to the proportion of his work, (for he undertakes an universal History of his time) has only selected a few passages concerning England and Ireland, and omitted a great many things that may please, and perhaps behove those of our country to be acquainted with; and having myself heard, that the knowledge of our affairs is earnestly desired by foreigners, and that not without some check and reproach of our remissness in communicating them, I again settled myself to a work I had for some time discontinued. I read it all over and considered of it again, added some things, and in some measure polished the stile of it, tho' without any affected flights of eloquence, or quaint ways of expression. For I think it sufficient, if like a picture drawn in weak and faint colours, it is placed in a good and advantageous light. Yet after all, whether I should publish it or not, I could not well determine. But the truth is, those censures and prejudices, that hatred and calumny, which I foresee, advance their ensigns, and sound the charge against me, have not so much discouraged me; as my love of truth, my affection to my country, and the memory of that Princess (which among Englishmen ought to be held for ever sacred) have borne me up against those men, who have shaken off their allegiance to their prince and coutry, endeavour to eclipse the reputation of one, and the glory of the other, by spitting forth their venom and inveterate malice in their scandalous libels, published in foreign parts; and at this very instant (as they stick not to own) are ready to leave to posterity, in a large volume, a monument of their lewdness and dishonesty. For my part, I desire nothing more than that I may be like myself, and they like themselves, posterity will give every one the honour that is his due. What the loftiness of the argument requires, I confess, and am sorry I have not come up to, yet what pains I was able, I have willingly bestowed. Myself I have not in the least satisfied, either in this or my other writings, yet I shall think myself well rewarded for my labour, if by my chearful willingness to preserve the memory of things, to relate the truth, and to train up the minds of men to honesty and wisdom, I may thereby find a place amongst the petty writers of great matters. WHATEVER IT BE, I DEDICATE AND CONSECRATE IT AT THE ALTAR OF TRUTH TO GOD, TO MY COUNTRY, AND TO POSTERITY.' It is not easy to find out stronger words to bind a man to the most scrupulous regard of verity; and considering the character he had for probity, one cannot believe that he gave these assurances with a design to forfeit them. We may form some judgment of the great reputation it acquired him, both in his own country and abroad, by the many testimonies to that purpose, assembled by Sir Thomas Pope Blount (56).

(56) Censura Celebriorum Autorum, p. 618, 619.

[*P*] *Could not move him to enter into any controversy.*] We shall in this note fully clear up the boldest attack that was ever made upon our author's character, which is the more reasonable, because hitherto, we have had but very dark accounts of the matter. In the first place, it is not well agreed who was the author of that scandalous book, in which our author was attacked; but it seems very fully made out by Mr Harris, who published the last edition of Sir James Ware's works, that it was written by Dr David Roth, who was for many years titular Bishop of Ossory, and Vice-Primate of Ireland (57). Dr James Usher, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, gave him the first notice, that an answer was preparing to this libel, by order of the State; and that Dr Thomas Ryves, a Master in Chancery, afterwards knighted, was the person upon whom this task was imposed, and who, says this learned person to Mr Camden, 'is very desirous to be certified 'from you, in what sort you would have him answer 'that calumniation of our Irish libeller, where he in'timateth, that you dissemble your religion, and write 'otherwise than you think, *delusus spe hujus seculi, & 'mundani honoris lenocinio illectus* (58).' Dr Ryves himself also wrote to our author upon the same subject, and offered him all the service in his power. A short

(57) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 222.

(58) Epist. Camd. p. 237.

to him of persons of all parties and of all religions, might give a handle to this opinion; but though our author suspected it he continued his old way of living, and would not alter it on account of these groundless aspersions. He thought himself safe from the consciousness of his own innocence, and as it was the custom of all foreigners, distinguished either by their birth or learning, to pay their respects to him when they visited England, he received them with the same kindness and civility as formerly, and would not deprive himself of the honour and satisfaction he received from thence, to stop the mouths of angry and discontented men, in which he was certainly in the right, and thereby gave a noble testimony of the firmness of his mind, and that freedom from fear which naturally attends a freedom from guilt (*f*). The great commendations the first part of his work had met with, were sufficient to have encouraged him to proceed, if the natural steadiness of his temper, and a desire of perfecting what he had once begun, had not been a sufficient motive to the prosecuting his glorious undertaking. Yet he was so far sensible of the inconveniencies that attend the publication of unwelcome truths, while those whom they concern, or their immediate descendants, are living, and had been made so uneasy by the consequences of this kind that attended the publication of his first volume, that he resolved the second should not come abroad during his life (*g*) [Q]. This was certainly a very wise and prudent determination, which left him at full liberty to continue his History with the same free and impartial spirit with which it was begun. After this point was once settled, he went on with so great chearfulness, that, notwithstanding his weak

(*f*) See his Diary, commonly intitled, his Annals of the Reign of James I, July 1, 1619.

(*g*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 58.

paragraph from Mr Camden's Answer, in regard to the opinion he entertained of such defences, will answer our purpose sufficiently. 'As for the aspersion by your '*Analectist*, it is common to me, with the most reverend and learned Prelates of our Church, from 'Papists and others: and as they, even so I, *rectæ* '*conscientiæ clypeo tutus*, smile at it, as having received 'excess of injuries, traduced as an heretick by *Parsons*, '*Possevinus*, the *Index Expurgatorius* of *Spain*, and 'divers others, but *transeant*. This kind of devil is 'not cast out, but with contempt. My life and my 'writings shall apologize for me And so wishing you
(59) Ibid. p. 247. 'happy success in your charge imposed, I rest, &c (59).' But tho' he wrote thus briefly to this gentleman as a stranger, yet in his Answer to Dr Usher, he speaks more largely, and gives us some very remarkable circumstances of his own History, for which reason it is necessary to insert part of that letter. ' 'I thank God, 'my life hath been such among men, as I am neither 'ashamed to live nor fear to die, being secure in Christ 'my Saviour, in whose true religion I was born and 'bred in the time of King Edward VI, and have continued firm therein. And to make you my confessor, '*sub sigillo confessionis*, I took my oath thereunto, at 'my matriculation, in the University of Oxon (when 'Popery was predominant); and for defending the 'religion established, I lost a fellowship in All-Souls, as 'Sir Daniel Dun could testify, and often would relate, 'how I was opposed there by the Popish faction. At my 'coming to Westminster I took the like oath, where '(*absit jactantia*) God so blessed my labours, that 'the now Bishops of London, Durham, and St Asaph, 'to say nothing of persons employed now in eminent 'places abroad, and many of especial note at home, 'of all degrees, do acknowledge themselves to have 'been my scholars; yea, I brought there to church 'divers gentlemen of Ireland, as Walshes, Nugents, 'O-Reily, Shees, the eldest son of the Archbishop of 'Casilles, Peter Lombard, a merchant's son of Waterford, a youth of admirable docility, and others bred 'popishly and so affected. I know not who may say, 'that I was ambitious, who contented my self in Westminster-school, when I writ my Britannia, and eleven 'years afterwards, who refused a mastership of Requests 'offered, and then had the place of a King of Arms, 'without any suit, cast upon me. I did never set sail 'after present preferments, or desired to soar higher 'by others. I never made suit to any man, no not to 'His Majesty, but for a matter of course incident to 'my place; neither, God be praised, I needed, having 'gathered a contented sufficiency by my long labours in 'the school. Why the *Analectist* should so censure 'me, I know not; but that men of all humours repair unto me, in respect of my place, and rest content to be belied by him, who is not ashamed to bely 'the Lords Deputies of *Ireland*, and others of honourable rank. *Sed hæc tibi uni & soli*.' It is certain, that in this our author formed a very right judgment, for to contend with men, who boldly assert any thing, without thinking themselves at all obliged to produce proof, is equally endless, and to no purpose. Besides, this author had traduced the whole state of Ireland, and would have persuaded the world, that at a time, that kingdom enjoyed the greatest peace and quiet, the government was carrying on a flaming persecution, which gave him an opportunity of framing a martyrology (60), in which he sets down, a person executed for High-Treason, and another who died, at upwards of fourscore, of mere old age How far the government might act wisely, in justifying it's proceedings against those aspersions, is another question, but for a private man, like Mr Camden, to enter into a dispute, with an unknown person, who had consequently no reputation to lose, and might aver what he pleased, was a very unequal match, and therefore very prudently declined.

(60) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 222.

[Q] *The second should not come abroad during his life.*] It is certain, that notwithstanding the great care and circumspection used by our author, in writing the first part of his Annals, they exposed him to the resentment of numbers of persons, who thought themselves injured by the accounts he gave, either of them or of their ancestors; and many of these testified their resentments, in methods suitable to their dispositions. Amongst the rest, there was one Mr Maitland, the son of the famous Laird of Liddington, who made so great a figure in the troubles of Scotland, by adhering faithfully to Queen Mary. It was on the one hand, impossible for our author to pass over this gentleman's behaviour and character in writing his history; and on the other, it was hardly possible for him to treat this subject with greater mildness or caution than he did; and yet his son wrote a very long letter, which is still extant, to Mr Camden, in which, tho' in very respectful terms, he very plainly expresses his distaste at what he had published, and demands the satisfaction of seeing those authorities, which were requisite to justify what he had written (61). It is uncertain whether our author gave him that satisfaction or not, though, without doubt, it was in his power, since he carefully preserved the collections he had made with great pains, for the support of the facts by him delivered, most of which are still in being, or at least were so long after his decease; but it must certainly have been very uneasy to him, to find himself continually exposed to such enquiries and demands, and therefore, we cannot wonder that he should decline multiplying these inconveniences, by publishing the second part of his work. Yet it is very certain, that he was not absolutely determined in this point, but from a consciousness of his own integrity and respect for truth, was willing, if it had been at all necessary, that it should have come abroad, as appears plainly in the following passages, from a letter of his written to a person of great Quality, tho' to whom is unknown. 'I submit 'the Supplement of the Annals of Queen Elizabeth's 'reign to His Majesty's judicious censure: whether it 'please him, they shall be suppressed, or published, for 'I am indifferent.' And he concludes the same letter in these terms. 'As I do not dislike, that they should 'be published in my life-time, so I do not desire, that 'they should be so set forth in English, until after my 'death, knowing how unjust carpers the unlearned 'readers are (62).'

(61) Camb. Epist. p. 305.

(62) Ibid p. 352.

[R] *Which*

weak and infirm ſtate of health, he abſolutely compleated his book in the year 1617; but though he made no difficulty of owning this to his learned friends, yet he deliberated ſeveral years about the diſpoſal of this work, that he might have a moral certainty of it's coming abroad as he left it, and not be either altered or ſuppreſſed. The method he took was equally judicious and ſucceſsful; he kept the original by him, which was preſerved in the Cotton Library, and he ſent a very exact copy of it to his friend Mr Dupuy, who had given him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that he would punctually perform what ſo great a truſt required (*b*), which he did with the greateſt fidelity [*R*]. We have placed theſe facts together, though they happened at ſome diſtance of time, for the ſake of perſpicuity, and that the thread of the narration, with reſpect to ſo material a point, might not be broken or interrupted. In the latter end of the year 1616, there happened an affair which expoſed Rafe Brooke, who had given our author ſo much trouble, to very ſevere cenſure, and we the rather mention it, becauſe the beſt account of it extant fell from the pen of Mr Camden (*i*), though for what reaſon it is impoſſible to ſay, it is left out in the Engliſh tranſlation of that work (*k*), in which he thought fit to record it, and is very imperfectly told by other writers. We have reaſon, therefore, to believe, that the reader will be very well ſatisfied to find it fairly and faithfully ſtated in the notes [*S*]. This affair

(*b*) V. Cl. Petri Puteani Vitam à Rigaltio conſcriptam. Pariſ. 1652. 4*to*, p. 50.

(*i*) See his Diary, Dec. 26, 1616.

(*k*) In the ſecond Vol. of Kennet's Compleat Hiſt. of England.

[*R*] *Which he did with the greateſt fidelity.*] The great reputation of Mr Camden, procured him very early a large correſpondence abroad, which was very uſeful to him, while he was collecting materials for, or corrections and improvements of, his Britannia; and theſe laſted during his whole life. His foreign friends, therefore, intereſted themſelves extremely in the preſervation, as well as the credit of his works; and it was to their ſollicitations, that his reſolutions of ſending a copy of his manuſcript abroad, was principally owing. The celebrated Mr de Peireſc, ſo much better known to the learned world by his Latin name of Peireſkius, was one of the moſt preſſing, in one of his letters to our author, he has the following paſſage (63). 'We have advice from Germany, that they 'have there printed the Hiſtory of the late Monſieur 'de Thou entire; my impatience, is great to ſee 'what it is. This puts me in mind of your's, and to 'deſire, that it may be got out of your hands, for 'the publick benefit. If M. de Thou's had been 'in no body's hands but his own, it would run the 'hazard of being ſuppreſſed, for his executors, and 'the tutors of his children, would have committed it 'to the flames, for the ſake of their private intereſt; 'Mr Linghelſein, to whom the late M. de Thou 'confided a copy, has prevented this. If Mr Grotius, 'would but have believed us, more than ſix months 'before his misfortune happened, there had been a 'copy of his Hiſtory in this kingdom, and conſequent-'ly out of the reach of all by whom he is either 'hated or envied. For the glory of God, think of 'your's, and if there are any difficulties that hinder 'your putting it to the preſs, during your life-time, 'let there be more copies than one, and let them not 'all be on the ſame ſide of the ſea. This, by all the 'affection I have for you, I conjure; remaining, &c.' This letter is dated from Paris, October 14, 1620. It appears, however, by a letter from Mr Dupuy, that he had not received the ſecond part of his Annals ſome time afterwards; but at length, it was ſent by a very ſafe hand, was carefully preſerved, and faithfully publiſhed. This account differs pretty much from what a famous writer tells us, upon this ſubject, in a treatiſe, where one would have thought he ſhould have taken care to be very exact. His own words deſerves notice (64). 'Monſieur de Thou having intended to make 'his Hiſtory general, entered into a correſpondence 'with the men over all Europe, that were moſt likely 'to inform him right; ſo he was in a great corre-'ſpondence with Camden. And when Camden's firſt 'volume appeared, he writ ſeverely to him, finding 'that it was ſo different, from what had paſſed 'between them in letters, chiefly with relation to the 'Queen of Scots; upon which Mr Camden told him 'the truth, That King James, would needs reviſe it 'himſelf, and afterwards put it into the Earl of 'Northampton's hands, who was brother to the Duke 'of Norfolk, that had been beheaded on that Queen's 'account; and that many things were ſtruck out, and 'many things altered: this troubled Camden ex-'tremely, who took care that his ſecond part ſhould 'not run the ſame fate: and therefore he ſent it out 'of England to that great man, that it might be 'printed faithfully after his death. This is well 'known in England, and the ſending the ſecond part 'beyond ſea to a foreigner, does very eaſily carry a 'man to believe this to have been the true reaſon of 'it.' It is very juſtly obſerved, by a very learned Prelate, that nothing ought to be believed of the complaints, ſaid to be made by M. de Thou, againſt our author, unleſs it be proved by his letters, becauſe there are numbers extant, which clearly ſhew the contrary, which acknowledge Mr Camden's aſſiſtance, admit the prudence of his advice, apologize for the neglect of it, promiſe corrections in future editions, deſire the continuance of his correſpondence, and put both their caſes upon the ſame foundation, that of being ill thought of, for intending well (65). The firſt notion of Camden's work being corrupted, came from an oration made at Oxford, in his praiſe, by Lewis Du Moulin, who affirmed the thing was out of doubt, but did not think fit to mention any authority, as he might have done without fear, conſidering the time at which he delivered his oration, *viz.* July 10, 1652 (66). It was from him, in all probability, that Mr Wood took it, but ſtill without proof (67); and what ſeems totally to deſtroy the fact is, that in the laſt edition of his Annals, publiſhed by Mr Hearne, from a copy corrected and fitted for the preſs by Mr Camden's own hand, there is very little, and nothing material, altered, with reſpect to Mary Queen of Scots. As to his ſending it abroad to de Thou, there are ſome objections that render that a little incredible; firſt, becauſe it is more than probable, that he was dead before the book was finiſhed; next, becauſe it is certain, that the author had determined nothing about the publication of it, 'till many years after that worthy perſon was in his grave; and even then he ſubmitted it to the good pleaſure of the King, whether it ſhould be publiſhed or ſuppreſſed; and if publiſhed, whether in his own life-time or not. Thirdly, after all theſe precautions taken, there was a copy ſent abroad to Mr Dupuy, according to the advice of M. de Peireſc, but the original remained here in England; and from thence the laſt edition of the work has been both corrected and augmented. The ſecond par was firſt printed at Leyden in 1625, 8*vo.* at London 1627, fol. again at Leyden 1639, 8*vo.* and ſeveral times ſince; but the moſt correct edition of the whole work is that publiſhed by Thomas Hearne from Dr Smith's copy, corrected by Camden's own hand, collated alſo with another manuſcript in Mr Rawlinſon's library (68). Both parts were tranſlated into French by M. Paul de Pelligent, Advocate in the Parliament of Paris; from which language it was tranſlated into Engliſh by one M. d'Arcy, but with many errors (69). There have been ſeveral other tranſlations, but none at all worthy of the author's admirable performance, and therefore it is much to be wiſhed, that even at this diſtance of time, the ſame juſtice might be done to his Hiſtory of Queen Elizabeth, that has been already done to his Britannia; the rather becauſe a good tranſlation of that work, illuſtrated with notes, and compared with the beſt accounts of thoſe times, that have been ſince publiſhed, could not but be acceptable at this juncture, when no branch of Literature ſeems to have more admirers than Hiſtory, and Engliſh Hiſtory is more particularly diſtinguiſhed.

[*S*] *Faithfully ſtated in the notes.*] The plain and naked account of the matter is this, that on the 27th of December 1616, complaint was made to the King, that Sir

(63) Ibid. p. 309, 310.

(64) Burnet's Reply to Varillas, p. 59.

(65) Camd. Epiſt. p. 68, 73, 97, 139, 153.

(66) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 54.

(67) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 483.

(68) In 8*vo.* without any Printer's name or place, A. D. 1717.

(69) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 483.

affair made so much noise in the world, that, on the third of March following, the Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal of England, met at the College of Heralds in Darby-place, and proposed variohs regulations, such as the augmenting their salaries, removing their wives out of the college, and correcting other abuses, for recovering the credit, and maintaining the reputation, of that honourable society (*l*). Our author seems to have been, all this time rather a calm spectator than a busy actor, even in matters that might have fallen properly enough within his province, yet he was extreamly reverenced by the wisest, greatest, and best men of his time, as appears very clearly from his own Diary. He spent his summers most at Chislehurst, and his winters at his house in Westminster, occupied in both places, as far as his infirm state of health would allow, in serious and useful studies, as is evident by the observations he set down relating to the weather, the appearance of comets, and other things of the like nature (*m*). Jan. 19, 1619, the Painters, Glasiers, and Stone-cutters, were summoned to the Herald's Office, in order to be made acquainted with certain regulations that had been thought necessary, in relation to the painting and otherwise representing of arms. On the tenth of February following, Mr Camden was seized with a dangerous distemper, vomiting blood to such a degree, that he swooned twice; but, by the care of his Physician, being twice let blood in three days, he grew better (*n*). In the month of June 1619, he had a warm dispute with his brethren, Garter and Norroy, Kings at Arms, who it seems took it amiss that he should appoint Mr Vincent to visit Lincolnshire, and Mr Philpot to visit Kent (*o*), the former of which it appeared was a misinformation; but notwithstanding he acquainted them with this, they complained to the Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal against him, as if he had exceeded the powers granted him by his patent; but Mr Camden in his Answer to the Earl of Arundel, in which the powers beforementioned are transcribed, gave such full satisfaction in this point, as, for any thing that appears, prevented any farther trouble to him on this subject (*p*). In the beginning of the year 1621, he was sent for to Court, and consulted by the Lord Chancellor Bacon, in reference to the ceremonies to be used in creating him Viscount St Alban's, and on the twenty-seventh of January following, in consequence of what was then agreed on with him and Norroy King at Arms, the Chancellor was, with great solemnity, created Viscount St Alban's, the Lord Carew carrying the robe of state, the Lord Wentworth the coronet, and the Marquis of Buckingham supporting the new created Peer (*q*). On the first of May 1621 he went to Sanderherst, to look for the camp of the Emperor Alexander Severus, but could meet with no signs of it; this Emperor being killed in Britain, at a place called Sisila, an opinion prevailed amongst many, that it must have been in that neighbourhood, but this was upon conjecture only, and without any kind of proof in the sentiment of our author (*r*). It appears plainly from hence, as well as from various other passages in his Diary, that he was still endeavouring to correct, improve, and augment his *Britannia*, a copy of which, with many such emendations and additions, was in the hands of Dr Thomas Smith (*s*). In the month of June in the same year, he was present at the execution of a very extraordinary sentence. On the last day of the term, about three in the afternoon, Sir Francis Mitchell, Knt. who had been deeply concerned in the monopoly, by which the innholders and keepers of publick houses were grievously oppressed, was brought by the Sheriffs of London into Westminster-Hall. Soon after came the Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal, *viz.* the Lord Privy-Seal, the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Buckingham, and the Earl of Arundel, several other Lords being present as spectators. Before these the prisoner was brought, then the sentence given against him in Parliament having been read with a loud voice, his spurs were broken in pieces by the servants of the Knight Marshal and thrown away, then his sword

(*l*) See his Diary, March 3, 1617.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) Memorabil. de seipso.

(*o*) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 46.

(*p*) Camd. Epist. p. 352, 353, 354.

(*q*) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 65, 66.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 70.

(*s*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 78.

Sir William Segar, Garter King at Arms, had granted the Royal Arms of Arragon, with a Canton of Brabant, to George Brandon, who was the common hangman, at which his Majesty was highly offended. But upon strict enquiry, the fact came out to be, that Rafe Brookesmouth, York Herald, had actually drawn these Arms, which were not unlike those of Arragon and Brabant, and by an emissary of his, impoſing upon the credulity of Garter, for a fee of two and twenty shillings, procured the confirmation of them, and then caused them to be presented to the King (70). Thus Mr Camden plainly, clearly, and fully relates this story; but Dr Smith, who had seen a relation of this affair by another hand, gives us some farther circumstances, tho' he is so cautious, as to leave out Sir William Segar's name (71). He says that the man who came from Brooke pretended, that he was in a mighty hurry, and was to embark that very day on board a ship for Spain, by which means he the more easily drew Sir William Segar, to confirm to him, what he called the Arms of his family. On the 30th of the same month, the whole affair was heard before the Commissioners appointed to execute the office of Earl Marshal, where York Herald openly took upon him the whole affair; and upon report of it made to the King; himself, for his malicious subornation, and Garter for his weakness and credulity in confirming those Arms for the sake of a little money, were both committed to the Marshalsea. On New Year's day a petition from Garter was exhibited to the King, together with a certificate from the Herald's Office, of his integrity and upright behaviour before this unhappy accident; upon which he was releafed, and soon after the friends of York Herald procured his discharge likewise (72). This plainly shews the restless and turbulent temper of the man and his *impious malice*, as Mr Camden calls it, against his superior, and yet about two years afterwards, he dedicated a large work of his to King James, and to the Lords Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal of England, who were then, Edward, Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy-Seal; Lodowick, Duke of Lenox, Lord Steward of the Household; George, Marquis of Buckingham, Master of the Horse; Charles, Earl of Nottingham, High Admiral of England; William, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain; Thomas, Earl of Arundel, and Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, all Privy-Counsellors and Knights of the Garter (73).

(70) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 23.

(71) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 35.

(72) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 25. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 37.

(73) See an Account of that work in note [U].

[T] *Which*

ſword, which was of ſilver and ought to have been gilded, was taken from his ſide, broke over his head, and alſo thrown away; laſtly, he was pronounced to be no longer a worthy Knight but an errant knave, as had been done before in the caſe of Andrew de Harclay, when degraded by Anthony Lucy. The three Kings at Arms, during the whole proceeding, ſat at the feet of the Lords Commiſſioners (*t*). On the laſt of Auguſt the ſame year, Mr Camden was ſeized with his old diſtemper of vomiting blood in the night, but happily recovered (*u*). He executed, during the courſe of the next year, as far as his ſtrength would permit, all the duties of his function, but finding himſelf gradually declining, and his infirmities growing more and more upon him, he reſolved to delay no longer the performance of what he had ſo long ago reſolved upon; the founding an Hiſtory Lecture at Oxford, and accordingly, in the month of May 1622, he ſent down his gift by the hands of his intimate friend Mr Heather (*w*). This was declared by Dr Piers, Dean of Peterborough, and then Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity, in full Convocation, whereupon the univerſity ſent him a publick letter of thanks, and becauſe they underſtood Mr Heather was a perſon for whom he had a ſingular reſpect, they conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Muſick, and the like degree they conferred upon Mr Orlando Gibbons, another friend of his, which civility procured them a new benefactor, and a new Lecture in Muſick, founded by this Dr Heather (*x*). Thus Mr Camden amply fulfilled a vow he ſeemed to have made at the cloſe of his Britannia, and provided for the ſtudy of Antiquity in ſucceeding times, which, by his writings, he had ſo much illuſtrated [*T*]. The firſt Hiſtory Profeſſor was Mr Degory Wheare, ſo appointed by Mr Camden himſelf, October 16, 1622, and he began to read on the ſixth of January following, and he likewiſe granted the ſurvivorſhip in the ſame Lecture to Mr Brian Twine, the famous Antiquary, in caſe he had out-lived Mr Wheare, but as he did not, the right came to the univerſity (*y*). It was ſome time in this year, that his old antagoniſt, Rafe Brooke, York-Herald, having ſent abroad a book with promiſed mighty things with reſpect to accuracy and correctneſs, Mr Camden thought fit to make ſome notes upon it, in which he detected a great many groſs errors, but diſdaining at his time of life to enter into new controverſies, he did not publiſh it (*z*); yet it is very probable, that theſe notes were of uſe to his friend Mr Vincent, who attacked Brooke's work with great vigour, and therein ſhewed not only his own ſkill, but his gratitude and friendſhip to Mr Camden, which led us to mention it [*U*]. On the eighteenth of Auguſt, as he was

(*t*) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 72.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 74.

(*w*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(*x*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 483.

(*y*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 64.

(*z*) Dr Smith tells us that he had ſeen Mr Camden's notes in the poſſeſſion of Francis Sandford, Eſq; of the Herald's Office.

[*T*] *Which by his writings he had ſo much illuſtrated.*] It appears plainly, as we have obſerved in the text, that he had this generous deſign in his thoughts about fifteen years before he carried it into execution, from the concluſion of the ſixth edition of his Britannia, publiſhed in 1607, where he makes uſe of theſe words (74). 'Nothing remains now (having carried on this 'Diſcourſe through ſo many ſhallows of the ocean and 'the rugged rocks, as it were of Antiquity) but that, 'like the Mariners of old, who uſe to dedicate their 'tattered *ſails* or a votive *plank* to Neptune, I alſo 'conſecrate ſomething to the *Almighty* and to venerable *Antiquity*. A vow which I moſt willingly make, 'and which, by the bleſſing of God, I hope to diſcharge in due time.' It is alſo evident, that he communicated his deſign to, and had the advice thereupon of, his beſt friends, from the following extract of a letter from Sir Henry Savile, dated from Eaton, of which he was Provoſt, November 3, 1621 (75). 'I think not amiſs to advertiſe you, that by 'plain Will, without a Deed executed in life-time, no 'land will paſs to a College or Corporation, as I have 'heard by my Counſel. I am ſure, Merton-College 'hath felt it: for Doctor Huicke, Queen Elizabeth's 'Phyſician, whom you may have heard on, or peradventure known, by will left all his land of good 'value to his two daughters and their heirs; and for 'lack of heirs (as we underſtood, they died without 'any children both) all his ſaid lands to Merton-College, whereof he was Fellow, but Doctor Bickley 'laboured, as I have heard, much in it, and could 'recover nothing. So that you muſt fly to ſome ſuch 'courſe as I advertiſed you in my laſt, or leave it 'upon Feoffees, men of ſincerity and judgment, that 'your death do not fruſtrate your good intention.' Agreeable to the advice given him by his worthy and judicious friend, Mr Camden, by a Deed drawn by Sir John Walter, executed in due form of law, under his hand and ſeal (76), the 5th of March, in the nineteenth year of the reign of King James, *anno Dom.* 1621-2, and acknowledged before Sir R. Rich, Knight, one of the Maſters in the High Court of Chancery, on the 14th of April following, made over all his right in the manor of Bexley, in the county of Kent, with all profits, emoluments, &c. ariſing therefrom to the Chancellor, Maſters, and Scholars, of the Univerſity of Oxford, and their ſucceſſors, with this proviſo, that the profits of the ſaid manor, which were computed to be of the yearly value of four hundred pounds, ſhould be enjoyed by Mr William Heather, his heirs and executors for the ſpace of ninty-nine years, from the death of the donor, during which time the ſaid William Heather, was to pay to the Profeſſor of Hiſtory in Oxford, one hundred and forty pounds *per annum*, by half-yearly payments; and after the expiration of that term, the whole eſtate to be veſted in that Univerſity. For which judicious and ample donation, he was by that learned body unanimouſly declared and received into the number of benefactors to the Univerſity (77). At the requeſt of many of his friends, he appointed Degory Wheare, Maſter of Arts, Fellow of Exeter-College, his firſt reader, aſſigning him twenty pounds for the firſt year, forty for the ſecond, and after the third, he was to enjoy the full ſtipend (78). He wrote and dedicated to his patron, a very learned treatiſe, which ſhowed him to be every way fit for that office (79), which he held to to the time of his deceaſe, when the Univerſity elected in his room, Robert Waring, Maſter of Arts of Chriſt-Church, then ſenior Proctor of the Univerſity, Auguſt 2, 1647 (80); and he being turned out the next year by the Parliament Commiſſioners, Lewis du Moulin, Doctor in Phyſick, was ſubſtituted in his place, September 14, 1648, which gave him an opportunity of making the oration in praiſe of our author, which hath been beforementioned (81). In 1660, he was expelled by the Royal Viſiters; and the Univerſity elected in his place, John Lamphire, M. D. and Fellow of New-College (82).

[*U*] *Which led us to mention it.*] It has been before obſerved, that Robert Glover, Eſq; Somerſet-Herald, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a man univerſally eſteemed and admired for his great abilities in his profeſſion (83), had made conſiderable collections, in relation to the deſcents of the Nobility of this kingdom, which were very injudiciouſly and incorrectly publiſhed by his kinſman and executor, Mr Thomas Mills, in 1610, which induced Rafe Brooke, York-Herald, to compoſe another work of the ſame nature, which he intituled, *A Catalogue and Succeſſion of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, and Viſcounts of this Realme of England, ſince the Norman Conqueſt to this preſent year* 1619, *together with their Armes, Wives, and*

(74) Camden's Britannia, p. 1116.

(75) Epiſt. Camd. p. 314, 315.

(76) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 40.

(77) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 484.

(78) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 60.

(79) De ratione & methodo legendi Hiſtorias Diſſertatio, 8vo, 1623.

(80) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. iii. p. 43.

(81) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 72.

(82) Hiſtor. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 43.

(83) Britan. in Comitatu Berchenſi, p. 209.

was ſitting in his chair and very thoughtful, he ſuddenly loſt the uſe of his hands and feet, and

and Children, the Times of their Deaths and Burials, with many of their memorable Actions, diſcovering and reforming many Errors, committed by Men of other Profeſſion, and lately publiſhed in print; to the great wronging of the Nobility and prejudice of His Majeſty's Officers of Armes, who are only appointed and ſworn to deal faithfully in theſe Caſes. Lond. 1619, fol. and again with corrections and emendations in the ſame ſize 1622; before this work, there is large collection of errors in Milles's book, detected with many ſevere remarks; and in his dedication to the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Earl Marſhal, he complains bitterly, not only of Mr Milles, but of John Stowe, for an error committed in his Annals; aud of one Mr Martin, who had written a hiſtory of the Kings of England; and the great deſign of his complaints was, to obtain a reſtraint upon the preſs, that nothing might be publiſhed for the future upon this ſubject, but by the licence of the Earl Marſhal, or of the Commiſſioners for the executing that office; not foreſeing, that this was to attempt curing a ſmall inconveniency by a much greater; for books thus licenſed, however erroneous, would have been the only books publiſhed; and thus, inſtead of providing for the cure of the diſeaſe, he, like a true Quack, ſuggeſted the ſhorteſt method for rendering it incurable. It was to this book, that Mr Auguſtine Vincent Rouge Croix Purſuivant, wrote an anſwer under the title of, *A Diſcovery of errors in the firſt Edition of the Catalogue of Nobility, publiſhed by Raſe Brooke, York-Herald,* 1619, *and printed herewith word for word according to that Edition, with a Continuance of the Succeſſions from* 1619, *until this preſent year* 1622; *at the end whereof is annexed, a Review of a later Edition by him ſtolne into the world* 1621. London, printed by William Jaggard, 1622, fol. It is dedicated to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who was, by this time, become Earl Marſhal; and in this dedication, there is a ſtroke at York's prepoſſeſſion in favour of the family of his old patron the Earl of Eſſex, and his prejudice to the Howards. But whoever has a mind to ſee the true tendency of this controverſy, need only peruſe the following paragraphs from Mr Vincent's addreſs to Brooke, which ſtand at the entrance of his performance. 'It is true, when I firſt entred 'a novice into the world, I found it poſſeſt of a ſtrange 'admiration of Maſter *Yorke*, his name was grown 'a terror to men of his own profeſſion, and I, a young 'novice, could not but be carried with the multitude 'into the ſame opinion. Hee had then but newly ſet 'forth a book againſt Maſter *Camden*, artificially penned, and like a ſcholar; I know the Doctor's name 'that penned it. I then began to obſerve him, abroad 'ſaw him, though loved of few, yet feared of all; 'heard him ſing *Magnificat* of himſelf in *Pouls*, and 'all the walk bear the quire to him; beheld him 'marſhal funerals ſolemnly, which I thought was rare. 'In a word, others admired him; I adored him. 'This opinion bred in me an infinite deſire to be his 'diſciple; but that again ſeemed too high an ambition. The next point then was, ſeeing I might not 'have that beatitude to enjoy his preſence *in ſpecie*, 'yet to have the fruition of him *in ſpeculo* in his works. 'I preſently got into my hands his *Diſcoverie* againſt 'Mr *Camden*; came to it with fear and trembling, as 'one that comes to pull a locke from a lyon's maine; 'read him with reverence, and began to find ſome 'pretty reliſe in him, only methought his ſtyle was 'ſomewhat tart, but that I geſſed might proceede out 'of age: But entring further, and ſeeing him to grow 'from vinegar to gall, and from gall to venome, againſt 'ſo renowned and reverend a man, and the ſame mixt 'with pride, arrogancie, and admiration of himſelf; 'this began a little to ſhake my former conceite: 'theſe things (methought) did not ſo well ſute with a 'man that were truly learned; but yet theſe were his 'moralles (which are not alike tempered in all mens) 'this toucht not his *intellectuals*.

'I then grew bolder, and began to handle him 'neerer, labouring, by comparing their books, to ſatiſfy myſelf, whether Maſter *Camden* were ſo blacke 'as hee had painted him, or not. I found for Maſter '*Camden*, that if he had erred, he had erred with authority. For *Yorke*, I ſaw no proofs, but *Pythagorian* prooſes, inſtead of *ſcriptum eſt, ipſe dixit*; no record, no antiquitie, but his own antiquity of *forty years practiſe* in that ſtudy: this I liked not. Beſides, I noted in him not only *animum contradicendi*, 'a ſpirit of contradiction, but *ſtudium calumniandi*, a 'wilful humour of miſtaking, like *Hercules* in a play, 'that made monſters of ſtraw for himſelf to ſubdue; 'maliciouſly perverting and miſconſtruing what had a 'true and a right underſtanding: and, in further proceſs, diſcovered in him, by the bookes I ſearched, a 'great deal of *ignorance* and *inſufficiency*. Then I 'clearly found mine error, *Tunc ille Æneas?* Is this, 'Mr *Yorke!* Are theſe the fruits of *forty years ſtudy?* 'I then damned my opinion, and hated myſelf for it, 'and that many-headed beaſt from whom I had received it, taking a document thereby never again to 'build my judgment, either in good or bad part, upon 'the vulgar, who ſet up ſhadows for ſaints, and 'adore wooden images which, in their true worth, 'were fitter to be made whipping-poſts, and blaſt with 'their breath, the truly vertuous and noble, of whom 'the world is unworthy.

'Thus, Mr *Yorke*, have I ſhrieved myſelf to you, 'what progreſſe you have made, through my opinion, 'from the higheſt ſteppe to the loweſt, and in what 'termes you ſtood there, before your late-admired *Catalogue* came to light; ſo as now having thus given 'you a true glaſſe of my heart, I truſt you will be ſatisfied, that it was not any humour of *envie* or *emulation* that drew me into this oppoſition; but, firſt, my 'zeal to truth, which I knew ſuffered in this diſcourſe; 'next, your own intolerable arrogance, and pride of 'conceite; your vilifying, and contempte of others, 'as if you had ſtoode on the toppe of *Powles*, and 'ſaw all men under you no bigger than *Jack Dawes*: 'your familiar vaine of detracting from the beſt and 'worthieſt men: your tongue gilding over no man's 'name, but that it left a ſlime behind it: And, laſtly, 'the knowledge and experience I had of your defects, 'and infinite diſtance from true ſufficiencie; and the 'juſt diſdain which burnt within mee, to ſee a fellow 'blowne up by a popular applauſe, and almoſt deified 'amongſt ſillie believers (as the ſtorehouſe of knowledge) whom I knew to be no better than the tombe 'of *Semiramis*, glorious without, and promiſing, by 'the inſcription, great treaſure within, whereas *Darius* 'opening it, found his expectation mockt with the 'ſight of a brainleſſe ſkull, and the reliques of dead 'carkaſſes. But admit *envie* had ſpurred mee on to 'this worke, doth that prove that what you writ was 'true? *Num quia ego claudas, tu recte incedis?* Cloze 'with me in this point: is that true, or no, which I 'have written in diſcovering of your falſhoods? If it 'be not, you are allowed your traverſe: if it be true 'that I ſay, what difference or choice is there of the 'perſon, whether *envie*, or *detraction*, or the Devil himſelf ſpeake it; truth being ever the ſame through what 'mouth, or from what minde ſoever it paſſe? In matters of charitie, it is true, we looke not what, but 'with what minde it is given: but in a verdict of 'truth it is not to be regarded with what minde but 'what is ſpoken. Neither can your *fifty years practiſe* give you privilege to write untruth by authority, 'or to ſet forth things that may appear untrue without 'authority. But we (you ſay) *take upon truſt, and 'are deceived in the names, beginnings, and titles of 'families*;

Mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur ———

It is plain from hence, that the whole of this affair was nothing more than a continuation of the old quarrel between Brooke and Camden, and if it were not ſo plain, we might add ſome other convincing proofs. Brooke's motto to his Catalogue is, *Quam quiſque norit artem, in hac ſe exerceat*, the very ſame that ſtood before his book againſt our author. Mr Vincent's motto is, *Pro captu Lectoris habent ſua fata libelli*, the very ſame that ſtood before Mr Camden's *Britannia*. His title too is the very copy of Brooke's book againſt Camden, and the method he takes in refuting him, is likewiſe an exact tranſcript of his own. But what is more ſingular is, the recommendations prefixed to this book,

and fell down upon the floor, but without receiving any hurt, and ſoon recovering his ſtrength got up again (*a*). The account of this misfortune was one of the laſt things that he committed to writing, it was followed by a ſevere fit of illneſs, which laſted to the ninth of November 1623, when he deceaſed at his houſe at Chiſlehurſt in the county of Kent, in the ſeventy-third year of his age (*b*). By his Will, made his laſt birth-day, he diſpoſed of what little he had left after founding his Hiſtory Lecture, in charities to the poor, legacies to his relations, and ſome ſmall memorials to his particular acquaintance, of which ſome account will be given at the bottom of the page (*c*) [*W*]. His body being removed to his houſe at London, was, on the nineteenth of the ſame month, carried to Weſtminſter-abbey in great pomp, the whole college of Heralds attended in their proper habits, great numbers of the nobility and perſons of the firſt diſtinction accompanied, and at their entrance into the church, the Prebends and other members received the corps in their veſtments, with much ſolemnity, and conducted it into the nave. After the funeral ſermon, which was preached by Dr Sutton, and was eſteemed an excellent performance, they buried him in the ſouth iſle near the learned Caſaubon, and over-againſt the celebrated Chaucer (*d*). Near the place a handſome monument of white marble was erected, with his effigies to the middle, and in his hand a book with *Britannia* inſcribed on the leaves, under which there is an elegant inſcription, but with a miſtake as to his age, which is there ſaid to be ſeventy-four, though he wanted almoſt ſix months of ſeventy-three (*e*). The univerſity of Oxford alſo, in reſpect to a perſon whoſe breeding there did her ſo much honour, as well as out of gratitude for his noble benefaction, paid a remarkable tribute of various kinds of praiſe to the memory of this great man (*f*) [*X*]. His character is thus given us

(*a*) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 82.

(*b*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 66.

(*c*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(*d*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 77.

(*e*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(*f*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 69.

book, under this title: 'The opinions and offices 'of ſundry choice and qualified Gentlemen, friends to 'the author, touching this his Diſcoverie of Errors.' Theſe gentlemen were Sir William Segar, Knight, Garter Principal King at Arms; Richard St George, Eſq; Norroy King at Arms; Samuel Thompſon, Eſq; Windſor-Herald; Henry St George, Eſq; Richmond-Herald; Henry Chitting, Eſq; Cheſter-Herald; Sampſon Lennard, Blewmantle Purſuivant; John Philpot, Rouge Dragon; Mr Richard Brathwayte, Mr John Bradſhaw, Mr Stephen Clyve, and, to cloſe all, a long letter from John Selden, Eſq; which appears to be one of the moſt laboured and correct things he ever wrote. All I have to add to this long note is, that from the ſplenetick attack originally made by Rafe Brooke upon the *Britannia*, aroſe very great advantages to the publick, by the ſifting and bringing to light as good, perhaps a better and more authentick account of our Nobility, than had been given, at that time, of thoſe in any other country of Europe.

[*W*] *At the bottom of the page.*] He wrote his Will himſelf, upon his laſt birth-day, May 2, 1623: it having been this conſtant cuſtom, as appears by his Diary, to ſpend that day in good works and pious meditations (84). In this his laſt teſtament, after a devout introduction, and bequeathing eight pounds to the poor of the pariſh in which he ſhould happen to die, he bequeaths to Sir Fulk Grevile, Lord Brooke, who preferred him gratis to his office, a piece of plate of ten pounds; to the company of Painter Stainers of London, he gave ſixteen pounds to buy them a piece of plate, upon which he directed this inſcription, *Gul. Camdenus Clarenceux filius Sampſonis, Pictoris Londinenſis dono dedit*; he beſtowed the ſum of twelve pounds on the company of Cordwainers or Shoemakers of London, to purchaſe them a piece of plate, on which the ſame inſcription was to be engraved. To his couſin John Wyat, Painter of London, he bequeathed one hundred pounds; to Mr Camden of London, Silkman, ten pounds; and other legacies to his relations; to Mr Thomas Allen of Glouceſter hall in Oxford, he gave ſixteen pounds. To Janus Gruter, Library-Keeper to the Elector Palatine, five pounds; and to Mr Harvey, Vicar of Cheſilhurſt, ſeven; to each of the ſix Heralds, four pounds; and to each of the Purſuivants, two pounds; to Sir Francis Leigh of Weſtminſter, four pounds; to Sir Peter Manwood, four pounds; to Sir William Pitt, three pounds; to Mr St Loe Kniveton, three pounds; the like to Mr Chamberlayne and to Mr Limiter: to Mr Selden of the Temple, five pounds; to Mr Harding the Uſher, for pounds. Several legacies to his ſervants and dependants. As to his books and papers he directs, that Sir Robert Cotton of Conington, ſhould have the firſt view of them, that he might take out ſuch as he had borrowed of him, and then he bequeaths to him all his printed book and manuſcripts, except ſuch as concern Arms and Heraldry, which, with his ancient ſeals, he bequeaths to his ſucceſſor in the office of Clarenceux, provided, becauſe they coſt him a conſiderable ſum of money, he gave to his couſin John Wyat, what the Kings at Arms, Garter, and Norroy for the time being, ſhould think fit; and agreed alſo to leave them to his ſucceſſor. Of this Will he conſtituted Dr Heather ſole Executor, and appointed Sir Robert Cotton and Mr John Wiſe, Overſeers, giving each of them ten pounds for mourning. It was proved on the 10th of November 1623, before Sir William Byrd, Doctor of Laws, by Doctor Heather his Executor (85). But it muſt be obſerved, that notwithſtanding this diſpoſition of his books and papers, yet Dr John Williams, then Dean of Weſtminſter and Biſhop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, procured all the printed books for the new library erected in the Church of Weſtminſter (86). It is underſtood, that his collections in ſupport of his hiſtory, with reſpect to civil affairs, were before this time depoſited into the Cotton library; for as to thoſe that related to eccleſiaſtical matters, when aſked for them by Dr Goodman, ſon to his great benefactor, he declared he ſtood engaged to Dr Bancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who upon his death, tranſlated his right to them to his ſucceſſor, Dr Abbot, who actually had them, and intended to have publiſhed them. They came afterwards into the hands of Archbiſhop Laud, and are very reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been deſtroyed, when his papers fell into the hands of Mr Prynne, Mr Scot, and Hugh Peters; for upon a diligent ſearch made by Dr Sancroft, ſoon after his promotion to that See, there was not a line of them to be found (87).

[*X*] *To the memory of this great man.*] As ſoon as the news of his death reached Oxford, the learned Mr Degory Wheare, his learned Profeſſor of Hiſtory, reſolved to celebrate the memory of ſo worthy a man, by an oration, which he ſeems to have delivered only to ſuch as attended his Lecture. This oration of his was delivered on the 2d of December 1623, and a ſhort account is contained therein of the life and principal actions of the perſon, whoſe memory it celebrates (88). As it was ſo haſtily compoſed, and as orators are generally ſpeaking more attentive to the roundneſs of their periods, the propriety of their expreſſion, and the elegance of their method, than to matters of fact; we may from thence very eaſily account for ſeveral inaccuracies and errors, that are to be met with therein. One thing however deſerves particular notice, Mr Wheare tells us indeed, that Mr Camden had part of his education at Chriſt's Hoſpital, but he does not ſay that he received it from the charity; on the contrary, he ſeems to inſinuate, that he was ſent thither by his father, who from his very cradle had deſigned him a learned education; it is neceſſary to produce his own words. *Eum pater à primis incunabulis rei literariæ deſtinavit, cujus prima ſemina ſub magiſtro neſcio quo, in paidotrophio illo ampliſſimo quod Ædis Chriſti, Londini appellatur, inbibit, inde Scholam Colettianam, ad Divi Pauli ſitam petiit.* Dr Smith gives a different

(84) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 57, 70, 79, 82.

(85) A Collection of curious Diſcourſes written by eminent Antiquaries, in the Append. No. 2.

(86) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(87) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 66, 67.

(88) Printed firſt at Oxford in 1628 *4to*, inſerted afterwards in the Latin Collection of ſelect Lives, by Dr W. Bates.

us in few words by an excellent writer, to which little can be added. 'In his writings 'he was candid and modeſt, in his converſation eaſy and innocent, and in his whole life 'even and exemplary (*g*).' The high reputation his writings acquired him amongſt foreigners, is at the ſame time a tribute to his merit, and to the glory of this nation, which owes to few of her worthies in the Republick of Letters, more than to him, whoſe fame extended throughout Europe, and yet eſcaped the rage of Criticks wherever it came. This was certainly owing, in a great meaſure, to the ſweetneſs and candour of his temper, which ſo qualified his learning, that in foreign nations all were ready to commend, and none cared to diſpute with, him. All this might be eaſily taken for fond partiality, or for downright flattery, if all who are acquainted with the writings of our author, were not fully ſenſible, that if we had ſaid even more than this, it might have been ſupported by indiſputable evidence, and alſo by the teſtimony of a cloud of witneſſes, from amongſt thoſe, who, in that age, were eſteemed firſt-rate writers (*h*) [*Y*]. But notwithſtanding all

(*g*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(*h*) Cenſura Celebrium Authorum, p. 619.

a different turn to this; and on the very circumſtance of his having been at this ſchool infers, that he muſt have loſt his father early, and have been educated there on the foundation as an orphan (89). That he was educated there, ſeems to be a fact out of doubt; for otherwiſe, I cannot imagine, that Degory Wheare, would have advanced it; but that he was upon the foundation as an orphan of the city of London, is not agreeable to what Wheare ſays, ot to many other circumſtances. But to proceed; the Univerſity, out of regard to the benefaction they had received from him, directed, that a publick oration ſhould be made to his honour, before the whole Univerſity; to which office, Zouch Townly of Chriſt-Church was aſſigned, a man remarkable for his parts and eloquence, as well as his perfect poſſeſſion of the Latin tongue in it's utmoſt elegance and purity. There was upon this occaſion, a prodigious concourſe of the learned of all ranks, many drawn by the fame of the ſpeaker, but more by their reſpect for the memory of that great man, of whom he was to ſpeak. He diſcharged his duty upon this occaſion, in a manner worthy of himſelf and of Camden; it is a lofty and magnificent piece of eloquence, which carries the glory of it's ſubject as high as human genius could raiſe it, and has been therefore always eſteemed as laſting a monument to the praiſe of Camden, as that in Weſtminſter-Abbey (90). The Univerſity went ſtill farther, the verſes written to celebrate the praiſe of the deceaſed by the diſciples of the Muſes in her precincts, were collected into a book, and publiſhed in the ſucceeding year, together with the oration laſt mentioned, under the title of *Inſignia Camdeni* (91). But even this was not all, they were deſirous of honouring him to the very utmoſt of their power; and therefore, in a full and ſolemn Convocation, held on the 18th of December, it was decreed by the unanimous conſent of the whole Academical Senate, that Camden, for his moſt noble munificence towards the Univerſity of Oxford, ſhould be inſerted into the roll of their benefactors, in order to be commemorated at the ſtated ſolemnities, with the reſt of the benefactors to this ancient ſource of Literature, whether Kings, Queens, Prelates, or Nobles, who were in this manner remembred; and who, however unlike in other reſpects, and unequal in rank to each other, were in this both like and equal, that they laboured to promote piety and virtue, by encouraging learning and facilitating ſtudy (92). It is very remarkable, that, on the one hand, Mr Camden, who had not been over kindly uſed by the Univerſity, when he was a member of it, who does not ſeem to have taken much notice of the offer of a degree, when he went thither on account of Sir Thomas Bodley's funeral (93), and who ſeems to have declined the title of Doctor, as he did of Knight afterwards (94), ſhould contribute in ſo generous a manner, and by ſo uſeful a foundation, to the ſplendor of that illuſtrious body; and, on the other hand, it deſerves our notice, that the ſame Univerſity which had been ſo frugal, I had like to have ſaid ſomething more, of her favours to him, when a young man, who had no other claim to them than from his merit, ſhould afterward be ſo profuſe of them to his friend when he waived accepting them himſelf, and think no honour too great for the memory of one who it is true had enriched them by his benefaction; and which was ſtill more, had done them ſo much credit by his education.

(89) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 2.

(90) Ibid. p. 83.

(91) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 485.

(92) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 69.

(93) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 482.

(94) Epiſt. Camdeni, p. 188. Ibid. p. 329.

[*Y*] *Were eſteemed firſt rate writers.*] It may not be amiſs to ſet down a very few only out of the almoſt numberleſs authorities, that without any difficulty might be aſſembled in proof of this point. The famous Juſtus Lipſius, upon a certain occaſion, ſpeaks thus to our author (95). 'I take thee, William Camden, 'for my Judge, who lately, by the clear ſun of thy un- 'derſtanding, hath diſpelled the miſts which over- 'whelmed thy Britain.' The celebrated Joſeph Scaliger, in one of his moſt learned works, and which will preſerve his memory as long as any reſpect is paid to learning, ſpeaking of a certain point in Antiquity, ſays (96), 'It may be proved by a ſtone that was lately 'digged up in Britain, and which is produced by the 'moſt learned Camden, in his admirable performance.' In his Epiſtles alſo, he ſpeaks with raptures of our author, and tells his Engliſh friend to whom his Epiſtle is addreſſed, 'That he wanted time to inform that 'learned man himſelf (97), how much he thought 'himſelf obliged to him for his benevolence in ſend- 'ing it him.' The moſt celebrated Iſaac Caſaubon, writes to him in the following terms (98). 'It is not only 'the Engliſh, moſt learned man, who are for ever bound 'to you for this great work (*Britannia*), but all, 'and every one, let them reſide where they will, who 'are friends and lovers of ancient Hiſtory. Amongſt 'which, ſince I have preſumed to inſert my name, I 'would have you perſuaded, that no man can be 'more ſtudious in the peruſal of your works. All 'things in your writings pleaſe me extremely, the 'good ſenſe, diligence, learning, but above and be- 'yond all, the ſagacity of your judgment.' Paulus Merula, ſpeaking of the aſſiſtance he had received from the learned, expreſſes himſelf thus (99): 'Out of Ger- 'many I returned home, through France and England, 'where William Camden was to me of more uſe than 'all the reſt.' Thuanus writing to him for the helps that he expected from him, makes uſe of theſe very ſtrong expreſſions (100); 'Write, and do not deny your 'counſel to a friend that ſtands in need of it. Hints 'are ſufficient from you, nor is it neceſſary that you 'ſhould be at any pains in digeſting them. Whatever 'you write will not only have the weight of advice, 'but the force of a command; the next part of my 'hiſtory, which is already printed, will ſhew you 'how much I value, as indeed I ought, your inſtruc- 'tions.' The induſtrious Andrew du Cheſne, ſpeaking of the aſſiſtance he received from him, ſays (101), 'I received from that worthy Engliſhman, whoſe name 'ſtands ſo high in the liſt of men of letters, William 'Camden, ſeveral MSS. *&c.*' Inſtead of extending this note farther, we will conclude in the words of a great Prelate of our own (102); 'To be particular, 'ſays he, in his acquaintance, would be to reckon up 'all the learned men of his time. When he was 'young, learned men were his patrons; when he grew 'up, the learned men were his intimates; and when 'he came to be old, he was a patron to the learned. 'So that learning was his only care, and learned men 'the only comfort of his life. What an uſeful and 'honourable correſpondence he had ſettled, both at 'home and abroad, does beſt appear from his letters; 'and with what candour and eaſineſs he maintain- 'ed it, the ſame letters may inform us. The work 'he was engaged in for the honour of his native 'country, gained him reſpect at home, and admiration 'abroad, ſo that he was looked upon as a common 'oracle; and for a foreigner to travel into England 'and return without ſeeing Mr Camden, was thought 'a very greſs omiſſion. He was viſited by ſix Ger- 'man Noblemen at one time, and at their requeſt wrote 'his Lemma in each of their books, as a teſtimony 'that they had ſeen him.'

(95) In Comment. l. xii. Annalium Taciti.

(96) In Animadverſionibus in Chronologica Euſebii ad an. 1213, Amſtelodami, 1658, p. 228.

(97) Epiſt. ad Richard. Thomponem, Lugduni Batav. p. 500.

(98) Epiſt. Camd. p. 60.

(99) In Præfatione ad Ennii fragmenta, Lugd. Batav. 1595.

(100) Epiſt. Camd. p. 68.

(101) In Præfat. ad Hiſtoriæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiquos. Lutet. Pariſ. fol. 1619.

(102) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

[*Z*] *At*

all his great merit, and it's being so generally, one might say universally, confessed, yet we should have known what related to him very imperfectly, and in a very superficial manner, if it had not been for the pious care, and indefatigable labour, of the worthy Dr Thomas Smith (*i*); who not only published a very curious and comprehensive Life of our author, but, with incredible pains and industry, collected a great number of letters written to Mr Camden, by the most judicious, as well as most learned, men, of other nations, besides our own; and who likewise drew together abundance of small pieces that fell from our author's pen, and which well deserved to be transmitted to posterity, and of which, as it is very requisite, some notice shall be taken at the bottom of the page [*Z*]. That we might give an article of such consequence with all the advantage possible, we have been careful in perusing what had been hitherto done in this way, and by comparing the facts with his own writings, have detected and rectified various mistakes which hitherto have passed current even with the learned world. But besides these, we have met with some other circumstances, memorials, and remarks, that may deserve the reader's attention, and yet could not well be reduced into the general representation of his

(*i*) He not only published our author's Life and Letters, but left his Annals, corrected by his own hand, to Mr Hearne, who published them.

[*Z*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The first of the pieces of Mr Camden, published by Doctor Smith, is in Latin, and bears the title of (103) *Gulielmi Camdeni Annales, ab anno* 1603, *ad ann.* 1623; but the running title is, *Gul. Camdeni regni regis Jacobi* I, *annalium apparatus*, i. e. A draft of William Camden's Annals of the reign of King James I. We have the following account of this work from Mr Anthony Wood (104). 'The Annals of King James, reach from the death of 'Queen Elizabeth, 24th of March 1602-3 to 18th of 'August 1623, and no farther, because the author be-'ing then very ill in body (remaining in that condi-'tion 'till his death) he could not well continue them any 'farther: so that these memoirs want more than for 'a year, to the end of the reign of James I. These 'Annals are written with the author's own hand in 'fol. being only a skeleton of a history, or bare 'touches, to put the author in mind of greater matters 'that he had in his head; had he lived to have di-'gested them in a full history, as that of Queen 'Elizabeth. The original came after his death into 'the hands of Mr John Hacket, afterwards D. D. and 'at length Bishop of Lichfield; who, as I have been 'divers times informed, did privately convey it out of 'the library of the author; Hacket being then a 'Master of Arts of some years standing. This ori-'ginal being communicated by the said Dr Hacket, 'while he was living at Lichfield, to Mr (afterwards 'Sir) William Dugdale, then Norroy King at Arms; 'he, contrary to the Doctor's knowledge, took a copy 'of it, which I have seen and perused at Sir William's 'house, called Blith-hall in Warwickshire; but there-'in I found many mistakes, as it afterwards more 'evidently appeared to me, when that transcript was 'put into the *Ashmolean Musæum*; another copy I 'have seen in the hands of Sir Henry St George, 'Clarenceux King at Arms, which having been tran-'scribed by one that understood not Latin, there are 'innumerable faults therein, and therefore not at all 'to be relied upon. After Dr Hacket's death, the 'original was put into the library of Trinity-College 'in Cambridge, where it now remains.' It appears plainly from hence, that Mr Wood really thought these were Mr Camden's materials for the writing the Annals for King James's reign; but whoever shall consider them attentively, will perceive, that he had no such intention, amongst many others, for these reasons. In the first place, they are very unequal; in some years there are memoranda to every month, and almost to every day of the month; in others, there are only a few months; and in the year 1609, the dates are in February, March, and June only, and there are not above ten articles in the whole year. In the next place, they are very improperly digested for such a purpose; many things of great moment are omitted; many of little importance are set down. In those years, in which he is most copious, these trivial matters abound most. As for instance, in the year 1615, he sets down, that in the month of February there was hard frost (105), and a great deal of snow; more especially on the 12th, and on the 14th; and that the frost did not break 'till on the 26th. March 13, the first part of his Annals went to the press; on June 8, they were published (106). The month of July was very dry throughout, to the 31st, when it rained very hard (107). One sees plainly from hence, that he did not intend this for a publick history. As he had more leisure, he enlarged his Diary; but then it appears, that he set down only those things that concerned himself, his friends, or his office, as King at Arms; as he grew infirm, he set down when he was taken ill, when he went out of town, when he returned to it: and, in a word, whatever else occurred to him, that he thought worth remembring; as for instance, 'April 8, 1618, 'there was a great foot-race run, at which, tho' it 'was a dull day, the King was present, the mob was 'very great, and one J. Hubbard, son to the Lord 'Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who married 'Viscount Lisle's daughter, was very much hurt (108).' It is true, that to give these more the air of Annals, almost all the passages of this sort are thrown out in the English translation; but by this means the cheat, or at least the mistake is carried on, and unwary people are led to believe, that from such notes as these, our author intended to compose the Annals of the reign of King James, which is equally injurious to truth and to the memory of Mr Camden. What they really were, and how far they may be of use, that judicious Prelate we have so often quoted, has told us (109). 'From the end of Queen Elizabeth to his 'own death, he kept a Diary of all (rather, of many of) 'the remarkable passages in the reign of King James. 'Not that he could so much as dream of living to 'make use of them himself at that age, and under 'those many infirmities, which a laborious life had 'drawn upon him. But he was willing, however, 'to contribute all the assistance he could to any that 'should do the same honour to the reign of King 'James, which he had done to that of Queen Elizabeth. 'If this were practised by persons of learning and 'curiosity, who have opportunities of seeing into the 'publick affairs of a kingdom, what a large step 'would it be towards a history of the respective times? 'For after all, the short hints and strictures of that 'kind, do very often set things in a truer light than 'regular histories, which are but too commonly written 'to serve a party, and so draw one insensibly out of 'the right way. Whereas, if men are left themselves 'to make their own inferences from simple matters of 'fact, as they lay before them; tho', perhaps, they 'may often be at a loss how to make things hang 'together; yet their aim shall still be true, and they 'shall hardly be mistaken in the main. One single 'matter of fact, faithfully and honestly delivered, is 'worth a thousand comments and flourishes.' To this piece we find annext, a leaf of an English Diary, for the years 1603, 1604, and 1605; but it is remarkable, that they do not at all agree with the Latin Diary. There is a loose leaf also of very short hints, relating to his own life. Then follow two short discourses, upon the etymology, antiquity, and office of the Earl Marshal of England. His verses come next; and first his Latin Poem, in praise of the famous Roger Ascham, written in compliment to his friend Dr Grant. Another Latin Poem follows, intitled, *Hibernia*; then his excellent Epigram, in praise of Hakluyt's Voyages; and lastly, an Epigram on Sir Clement Edmund's translation of Cæsar's Commentaries; all these are in Latin, as are also the collection of Epitaphs, written by him; which are ten in number. The most remarkable, is that for Mary Queen of Scots, which probably was intended for her tomb in Westminster-Abbey; on which there is now a larger, but far less elegant inscription.

(103) In the same Volume with Camden's Life and Letters.

(104) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(105) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 11.

(106) Ibid. p. 12.

(107) Ibid. p. 13.

(108) Ibid. p. 31.

(109) Bishop Gibson's Life of our author.

his life and writings, and therefore, that they might not be loſt, we have thrown them into a note [*AA*]. The great pains taken by the accurate Mr Bayle, the judicious Father Niceron,

[*AA*] *We have thrown them into a note.*] There is great reaſon to believe, that notwithſtanding our author's warm love of Antiquities, the firſt work he projected, was a regular Hiſtory of England, from the Norman Conqueſt, in Latin. He tells us ſo himſelf pretty plainly; and from the ſpecimen he has given us (110) of his abilities in that way, we have the greateſt reaſon to regret, that he did not proſecute his deſign; for if he had, we ſhould certainly have ſeen an Engliſh Hiſtory equal in point of compoſition to Buchanan's boaſted Hiſtory of Scotland; and much ſuperior to it, in all other reſpects. His turn for Latin Poetry was admirable, and the marriage of *Tame* and *Iſis*, inſerted in the *Britannia*, and which is certainly his own, does as much honour to the quickneſs of his fancy, the beauty of his expreſſion, and the harmony of his numbers, as the reſt of that noble work does to his judgment, induſtry, and learning. But it ſeems he was afraid of being thought to apply himſelf to theſe kind of lighter ſtudies, which might be thought inconſiſtent with the gravity of his employments, and the ſerioufneſs of his temper. At leaſt, this we may have leave to gueſs from what his worthy and grateful ſcholar, Benjamin Johnſon, tells him in the Dedication of one of his Comedies (111). 'There are, no doubt, 'a ſupercilious race in the world, who will eſteem all 'offices done you in this kind an injurie; ſo ſolemn 'a vice it is with them, to uſe the authoritie of their 'ignorance, to the crying down of poetry or the pro- 'feſſors of it. But my gratitude muſt not leave to correct 'their error, ſince I am none of thoſe that can ſuffer 'the benefits conferred upon my youth to periſh with 'my age. I pray you accept this, ſuch wherein, nei- 'ther the confeſſion of my manners ſhall make you 'bluſh, nor of my ſtudies repent you to have been the 'inſtructor.' The reverence and gratitude of Mr Johnſon, was farther expreſſed in other of his works; and indeed, there have been few men of learning, who met with ſuch general reſpect from their contemporaries, as Camden did. The famous Spenſer, in an excellent poem of his, intitled, *The Ruins of Time* (112), has a very fine ſtanza, to the honour of this learned man, which was written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and is therefore referred to the fame that he acquired by his *Britannia*; it runs thus:

Camden, the nourice of Antiquity,
And lanthorn unto late ſucceeding age
To ſee the light of ſimple verity,
Buried in ruines, through the great outrage
Of her own people led with warlike rage:
Camden, though time all monuments obſcure,
Yet thy juſt labours ever ſhall endure.

Nor does it appear, that he was leſs reſpected by perſons, who perhaps in ſome things differed from him in opinion; as for inſtance, the famous Mr Bolton (113), ſo well known to the world, by his excellent book, intitled, *Nero Cæſar*; a good Hiſtorian himſelf, and a profound Antiquary, but withal a Papiſt, complimented him in the following manner, upon Sir William Segar's and Sir Richard St George's being knighted, who were Garter and Norroy Kings at Arms.

'Right worthy Sir,
'THO' your brother Kings have outgone you 'in the honour of Knighthood, they ſhall ever 'come behind you very far in the greater honour of 'immortal fame. Some aſcribe it to ambition in you, 'that you are not a knight (for you know how pre- 'poſterouſly witty the wits of our time are on other 'men's actions and abſtinencies) as thinking the neg- 'lect thereof an higher point than the acceptance. 'Others to puſillanimity; and we your friends to your 'modeſty; which I am angry with, notwithſtanding, 'becauſe it hath deprived us of ſome ſplendour, and 'comfort in our friend's advancement.'

In another work of his, intitled, *Hypercritica* (114), in which, without queſtion, he has advanced as many judicious obſervations, in reference to Engliſh Hiſtory, as are any where to be met with, very juſtly reproves a great error of ſome learned men, in altering proper names, that they might make a more claſſical appearance in their Latin; and takes an opportunity from thence, to pay a very handſome compliment to our author, for his wiſe caution, in this particular; the paſſage is curious, and the book ſcarce, the reader therefore will not be diſpleaſed to ſee it. 'He who 'would compoſe a *Corpus Rerum Anglicarum*, a ge- 'neſal *Hiſtory* of *England* in Latin, hath no other 'rules to follow, but ſuch as he who writes it in Eng- 'liſh. One thing nevertheleſs, is primely needful by 'our Latin Hiſtoriographer to be conſulted of and 'determined, becauſe I have obſerved much perplexity 'riſing out of the right or erroneous practice thereof. 'The difficulty therefore is, what to do in our Latin 'Hiſtory, with names of perſons, things, or places, 'which are not filed down to the ſmoothneſs of Latin 'ſounds, or rules of termination. *Lucian* notes a ri- 'diculous curioſity in one Hiſtorian, who affecting 'Attick elegancy, would needs faſhion Latin names to 'the Greek garb, either by tranſlation, by alluſion, or 'tranſportation of letters. By tranſlation, as in call- 'ing *Saturninus Chronius*; by alluſion, as in calling 'Fronto, *Frontis*; by *Metatheſis*, or tranſportation of 'ſyllables or letters, in calling *Titianus*, *Titanius*. In 'this fine and meer ſchooliſh folly, after that, *George* 'Buchanan is often taken, not without caſting his 'reader into obſcurity. For in his Hiſtories, where 'he ſpeaketh of one *Wiſehart*, ſo little was his ear 'able to brook the name, as that tranſlating the ſenſe 'thereof into Greek, of *Wiſehart*, comes forth unto 'us, *Sophocardius*: and *Wiſehart*, whoſe name it was 'intended ſhould live, was quite loſt, or muſt be ſought 'for out in Lexicons. The better care of that polite 'and eloquent *Scot*, had been of truth and loyalty. 'All our Hiſtorians, *ad unum*, (for ought I can re- 'member) follow the plain prolation and truth of pro- 'per names; and ſo doth the moſt approved and learn- 'ed Philologer and Antiquary of our nation, Mr *Cam- 'den*.' His friends alſo who had given him countenance and aſſiſtance in the earlier part of his life, maintained the ſame warmth of affection for him, even in their own old age and hi, which might appear from Sir Henry Savile's earneſt invitation of him to Eaton, that they might ſpend their declining years together; from the letters of the Biſhop of Glouceſter, and from thoſe of Mr Thomas Allen, both his ancient and conſtant friends. We will however content ourſelves, with tranſcribing only a ſhort one, from Dr Francis Godwin, then Lord Biſhop of Hereford (115), which, though written in Engliſh, is penned in the true ſpirit of Antiquity, and would have made no inconſiderable figure in the collections of Cicero or Pliny. 'Laſt *Eaſter* 'term I was in *London*, and ſought you, but had not 'the good hap to find you. It diſcontented me not a 'little, I had no other errand but to ſee you. I love 'you, nay, I honour you. We now grow old and 'fickly. I am afraid we ſhall never meet. *Fiat* 'voluntas Domini. But what becomes of your ſecond 'part of *Elizabetha?* How fain would I ſee it out? 'Let it not die. Live you long *Faxit*. You ſhall 'live the longer, if the world may ſee it, if per- 'chance the world hath not already ſeen that of you, 'which ſhall make you immortal even in this world, 'except ſo far forth, as the world itſelf is mortal. Al- 'though, why do I put in that *perhaps* of that which 'is *extra aleam?* You ſee how delighting to talk 'with you, I had rather to talk idle, than to ſay no- 'thing. *Camdeno meo ſalutem plurimam. Vale.* Whit- 'borne, October 9, 1620.' As to his reputation in his laſt profeſſion, that of a King at Arms, he carried it ſo high, that ſuch as meant to recommend their labours to the world in matters of that nature, knew no better or more ſucceſsful method, than by courting his protection, as appears from the following words of Mr Milles (116), in his Dedication of Glover's, alias Somerſet's, Account of the Nobility; 'Learned William 'Camden, whom vertue her ſelf for piety and probity, 'and honouring *Greate Britaine*, hath crowned a King 'of Arms.' But in all probability, this complement coſt Mr Milles very dear, for one may reaſonably ſuppoſe it put Brooke upon attacking him, ſo that all that followed

(110) Britan. in Norman.

(111) See the Dedication of Ben. Johnſon's play, *Every man in his Humour.*

(112) Spenſer's Works, Vol. VI. p. 1466.

(113) Epiſt. Camd. p. 188.

(114) Addreſs the 4th, Sect. v.

(115) Epiſt. Camd. p. 308.

(116) Catalogue of Nobility, Lond. 1610. fol. in his Dedication to Robert Earl of Saliſbury.

Niceron, the ſeveral editors of Moreri's Dictionary, and other foreign writers, ſeem to lay us under a neceſſity of endeavouring to improve to the utmoſt, an article which has been, and ever will be, an ornament of every collection of this ſort, at the ſame time that it contributes not a little to illuſtrate, various important points relating to our Civil Hiſtory, to the memoirs of other learned perſons, and other valuable purpoſes that naturally coincide with a deſign of doing juſtice to the memory of a man, diſtinguiſhed not by the excellence only, or by the extent, but by the variety alſo of his knowledge.

followed was but a continuation of the old quarrel, which was kept on foot, from firſt to laſt, for very near thirty years. The induſtrious John Stowe, was alſo a client of Mr Camden's, who afforded him both countenance and aſſiſtance in the proſecution of his labours, for which reaſon he had a plentiful ſhare of abuſe beſtowed upon him in Booke's writings (117), who, charges him with making a tranſcript of Leland's Itinerary, for the uſe of Mr Camden, who, as he pretends, allowed him an annual penſion for this as long as he lived. His favours to John Philpot and Auguſtine Vincent, have been already remembered; and indeed it muſt be allowed, that no man was more communicative to his friends, or more ready to do them honour upon all occaſions, as appears from the frequent mention he makes of John Johnſton, an excellent Poet and learned Antiquary of Scotland; many of whoſe verſes with high commendations he has inſerted in his *Britannia*. But neither his extenſive learning, or his high reputation, could defend him from the envy of his enemies while living, or his memory from inſults after his death. A Church Hiſtorian (118), without naming him, has taken great pains to inſinuate things to his prejudice; and though he lay directly in his way, has avoided mentioning his name with praiſe, which to a degree of fulſomneſs he has beſtowed upon perſons of far leſs merit. Dr Smith gives us a much ſtronger inſtance of an extravagant and ill grounded reſentment, which induced a certain young gentleman (119) of very good family, who thought the reputation of his mother hurt by ſomewhat that Camden hath delivered of her in his Hiſtory, could find no other way to be revenged, than by breaking off a piece from the noſe of his ſtatue in Weſtminſter-Abbey. An action as mean and baſe, as it was wicked and unjuſt. It ſeems, that Anthony Wood (120) had not taken notice of this circumſtance, for he ſeems to attribute the injury done to Camden's ſtatue to ſome accident that happened at the ſolemnity of the pompous funeral of the laſt Earl of Eſſex, General of the army raiſed by the Parliament againſt Charles I. But poſterity hath done ample juſtice to his merit, paying the higheſt credit as well as reverence to his works, and looking with a juſt indignation on ſuch low attempts as theſe to tarniſh his reputation. Whoever would ſee an elegant panegyric in the form of a monumental inſcription, worthy of Camden's learning, prudence, and impartiality, may find it drawn by the pen of that admirable maſter of Latin eloquence, Thomas Farnaby (121); or if verſes be more agreeable, in the poetical inſcription under an original picture of our author beſtowed on the Univerſity of Oxford by Degory Wheare (122), in memory of his patron, and placed in the ſchool (123) where the Hiſtory Lecture by him founded, is ſtill publickly read; and may it be 'till all Hiſtories fail!

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(117) Ses his Second Diſcovery of Errors in the much-commended Britannia, p. 97.

(118) Fuller's Ch Hiſt. under the year 1535, p. 198.

(119) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 75.

(120) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 485.

(121) Prefixed to the third Vol. of Mr Hearne's edit. of Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

(122) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 71.

(123) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 43.

CAMPBELL, an ancient and noble family in the kingdom of Scotland, the preſent chief of which is his Grace the Duke of Argyll, and of which family are beſides, the Earls of Loudon and Braidalbane; as there were anciently Earls of Athol, and Irvine, of this name, to which alſo the earldom of Iſlay belonged, in the perſon of the preſent Chief, who by his own merit acquired it, 'till ſwallowed up in his ſuperior title of Argyll. As to the antiquity of this houſe, the beſt proof of it, is the difficulty that occurs in ſpeaking of the origin of this illuſtrious line. It is very well known, that the Bards and Sanachies were the ancient Heralds of that, and indeed of this country, and that they preſerved the memory of families, the Chiefs of which had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in war, in their ſongs; or to give them a better title, of which they are not at all unworthy, their lyrick odes, and tranſmitted an account of their deſcents by tradition. That this kind of authority is evidence ſufficient to eſtabliſh hiſtorical facts, is what we dare not determine, but we may be permitted to ſay, without being ſuſpected of partiality for ſuch kind of teſtimony, that if it ought to be admitted in any caſe, this of genealogies may claim the preference, as being that, of all others, in which they were moſt ſcrupulous, and therefore beſt deſerved to be believed. By theſe then it has been remembered, one dares not ſay recorded, that this family were Lords of Lochow in Argyleſhire, in the reign of Fergus II, the reſtorer of the monarchy of Scotland, in the very beginning of the fifth century. It is not, however, pretended, that they were then diſtinguiſhed by the ſame ſurname as now, on the contrary we are told, theſe old Lords of Lochow were known to the world by the name of O-Dwbin, or rather O-Dwin, or Macdwine; for which laſt name there is ſome authority, ſince, by a charter granted to Colin Campbell of Lochow, by King David II, ratifying the alienation made by Chriſtian, daughter and heir of Sir Dougal Campbell, his great uncle, of the lands of Craigniſh, it is declared, that the ſaid Colin Campbell ſhall hold thoſe lands of the King and his heirs, in as ample a manner as his anceſtor Duncan Macdwine held the barony of Lochow. We are told, on the authority of the Sanachies beforementioned, that this appellation was aſſumed by Diarmed O-Dwin, one of their anceſtors, a brave and warlike man, and in the Iriſh language his deſcendants are called to this time Scol Diarmed, that is, the poſterity and offspring of Diarmed. From this Diarmed O-Dwin the Bards have recorded a long ſeries of the Barons of Lochow, who, they tell us, were very renowned both for conduct and valour. Paul O-Dwin, Lord of Lochow, called Paul in Spuran, ſo denominated from his being the King's Treaſurer, having no male iſſue, his eſtate went to his daughter Eva, who married Gileſpick O-Dwin, a relation of her own, who changed the name firſt from O-Dwin to Campbell, to perpetuate the memory of a noble and heroic piece of ſervice performed by him to the crown of France, in the reign of King Malcom Canmoir. By this Lady he left a ſon Duncan, who was Lord of Lochow, and was the father of Colin, and he again of Archibald, and he of Duncan Baron of Lochow. His ſon and

ſucceſſor

ſucceſſor was Archibald Campbell, Knight, Lord of Lochow, who was the father of Sir Colin Campbell, a perſon who diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as well by the acquiſitions he made to his eſtates, as by his great actions in war, from whence he obtained the ſurname of Moor, and from this Colin it is, that the head of this illuſtrious family is ſtiled by the Iriſh Mac Collan More. He was ſlain in a conflict with a powerful neighbour of his, the Lord of Lorn, which created a feud between the two families, that laſted 'till they were united by marriage. His ſon, Sir Nicol or Neil, was honoured with that dignity by King Alexander III, and was one of the great men of Scotland, ſummoned to Berwick by King Edward I, and ſubmitted for a time to John de Baliol, as did alſo his brother Sir Donald Campbell of Redhouſe, from whom the noble family of Loudon is lineally deſcended. But when Robert Bruce aſſerted his title to the Crown, Sir Neil Campbell joined him very early, and notwithſtanding all the efforts of the Lord of Lorn, reduced that country to his obedience. He was amongſt that handful of loyal ſubjects, who were preſent at the coronation of King Robert at Scoon in 1306, and when many deſerted him, Sir Neil Campbell, to his immortal honour, entered into an aſſociation with Sir Gilbert Hay and Sir Alexander Seton, wherein, in a moſt ſolemn manner, they bound themſelves to defend, 'till the laſt period of their lives, the liberties of their country, and the right of Robert Bruce their King, againſt all mortals, French, Engliſh, and Scots, to which they appended their ſeals at the abbey of Cambuſkenneth, 9 Sept. 1308. He was appointed alſo one of the Commiſſioners on the part of Scotland, to treat of a peace in 1314 with the Engliſh, which negociation, though it was not altogether ſucceſsful, procured however a releaſe or exchange of priſoners, and amongſt the reſt, of the Lady Mary Bruce, the King's ſiſter, whom Edward I. had not only impriſoned, but cauſed to be carried about in a cage, for Walter Cumine. Sir Neil Campbell, Lord of Lochow, was the next year preſent in the parliament held at Air, in which the Crown was entailed upon Robert Bruce and his heirs, at which time Sir Neil obtained a grant of ſeveral lands for his good ſervices, and as a ſtill higher mark of his Sovereign's confidence and eſteem, his ſiſter, the Lady Mary Bruce before mentioned, in marriage, but he did not long ſurvive this high honour. He left two ſons, of whom the ſecond, John Campbell, was, by King David II, honoured with the high title of Earl of Athol, but he dying without iſſue, the title became extinct in his family. Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow attended Edward Bruce in his expedition into Ireland in 1316, when he took the title of King of that country. He alſo faithfully adhered to King David Bruce during all his troubles, and re-taking for him the caſtle of Dunoon, which for ſome time was in the hands of the Engliſh, he was made hereditary governor of that fortreſs, which ſtill remains in his family. He deceaſed in 1340, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Archibald, who was alſo remarkably attached to the houſe of Bruce. His eldeſt ſon, Colin, was in great favour with King Robert II, and was employed by him to reſtrain the Highlanders, who infeſted the weſtern provinces of Scotland, which he did ſo effectually, that he obtained a grant of ſeveral lands for that ſervice. He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Sir Duncan Campbell, a man equally famous for his valour and wiſdom, who married the lady Margery Stewart, daughter of Robert Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland, and by his intereſt with Murdoch, Duke of Albany, he prevailed upon him to ranſome and reſtore King James I, who had been many years priſoner in England. This ſignal ſervice, the dignity of the perſon to whom it was rendered, will not allow us to ſtile it an obligation, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the King's mind, that he conſidered him ever after as one of the moſt deſerving of his ſubjects, received him into his Privy-Council, and made him Lord Juſtice and Lieutenant of the ſhire of Argyll. He was continued in his offices by King James II, to whom he adhered faithfully in all the troubles which diſturbed the beginning of his reign, in conſideration of which he was honoured with the title of Lord Campbell, *Anno Domini* 1445. He was the firſt that took the title of Argyle, though he as often uſed his old title of Lochow, and was a very charitable and religious perſon. He had by the Lady Margery Stewart beforementioned, three ſons; the eldeſt, Cæleſtine, died without iſſue in his father's life-time; the ſecond, Archibald, alſo died before him, but left iſſue by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Somerville, a ſon who ſucceeded his grandfather; his third ſon was Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchie, anceſtor to the Earls of Braidalbain. He had alſo three ſons by his ſecond wife, Margaret Stewart, daughter of Sir John Stewart, natural ſon to King Robert III. This Duncan, Lord Campbell, died in 1453, and was ſucceeded by his grandſon Colin, who, being in his minority, had for his guardian, his uncle Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchie beforementioned. King James II. as well out of regard to the exemplary loyalty of his family, and the ſingular ſervices of his father, as for the promiſing parts of this young Nobleman, raiſed him to the title of Earl of Argyle in 1457. In the ſucceeding reign of James III, he was ſent Ambaſſador to Edward IV. of England in 1465, being then Maſter of the Houſhold, and was afterwards honoured with the higheſt offices in the State, being conſtituted Lord Privy-Seal, and Lord High Chancellor. He was alſo Ambaſſador at the Court of France, with other perſons of the firſt quality, and was preſent at the ſealing and ſwearing to the League made with Charles VIII. at Paris, July 9, 1484. Upon his being appointed one of the Ambaſſadors to King Henry VII, to procure his interpoſition to aſſwage the troubles then broke out in Scotland, he reſigned his office of Lord Chancellor. He had

no

no ſhare or concern in the Civil War, in which his Royal Maſter fell; but after things were in ſome meaſure ſettled, he was again made Lord Chancellor, and continued to the time of his death, which happened in 1493, in poſſeſſion of that high office. He married the Lady Iſabel Stewart, one of the daughters and co-heireſſes of John, Lord Lorn, upon which he took that title and the arms of the family; and, as a confirmation of his title, procured the reſignation of Walter Stewart of Innermeath; and by deed, dated the 17th of April 1470, entailed that honour on Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchie and his heirs male in caſe his own failed, on account, not only of his being inſtrumental in procuring him that marriage, but alſo becauſe the ſaid Sir Colin had before married another of thoſe co-heireſſes. His eldeſt ſon, Archibald, Earl of Argyle, was in great favour with his ſovereign King James IV, by whom he was made Lord Chamberlain and Maſter of the Houſhold; and having the honour to command the van-guard of the Royal army, fell valiantly fighting with his moſt gracious Maſter, in the fatal battle of Flowden, September 9, 1513. His eldeſt ſon, Colin, Earl of Argyle, was one of the four Counſellors of the Regency to King James V, in 1525; and in 1528, he was conſtituted Lieutenant of the Borders and Warden of the Marches, and had alſo an ample confirmation of the hereditary Sheriff-ſhip of Argyleſhire, Juſticiary of Scotland, and Maſter of the Houſhold, by which thoſe honours became veſted in his family. He deceaſed in 1542, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Archibald, who was one of the Lords that entered into an aſſociation to oppoſe the intended match, between the young Queen Mary and King Edward VI of England, dated July 4, 1543. On the breaking out of the war with England, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in the battle of Pinky, and at the ſiege of Haddington. He was the firſt of this noble family who embraced the Proteſtant Religion, of which he was a moſt ſincere and zealous profeſſor, and recommended the promoting thereof and the ſuppreſſing Popiſh ſuperſtition, to his ſon and ſucceſſor, when he was upon his death-bed. He married firſt, Lady Helen Hamilton, daughter of James, Earl of Arran, by whom he had his eldeſt ſon and heir, Archibald; his ſecond wife was, Mary, daughter to William Graham, Earl of Monteith, by whom he had Sir Colin Campbell of Buchuan. Archibald, Earl of Argyle, ſucceeded his father in 1558, being a perſon of great parts and prudence, he was ſent over to the Queen in France, the year after his father's death, to ſupplicate her in favour of the Proteſtant Religion. He concurred with other perſons of quality and diſtinction, in taking ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary for promoting the Reformation, and was very inſtrumental in procuring it to be ſettled by authority of Parliament; and by the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth, Queen of England, he was alſo very ſucceſsful in obliging the French to quit Scotland. In the year 1561, when Queen Mary returned from France, and conſtituted a new Privy-Council, of which the Earl of Argyle was a member, it is very obſervable, that he had no concern whatever, in any of thoſe intrigues and inſurrections, which happened ſoon after, He did indeed, upon the Queen's marriage with the Earl of Bothwell, enter into a bond or aſſociation, for the defence of the Prince, afterwards King James VI, and was preſent at his coronation, when he carried the ſword of State. But being afterwards informed, that the Queen's reſignation was far from being voluntary, he laboured to reſtore her, and was General of her forces in the battle of Langſide, near Glaſgow, in 1568, where they were defeated; but however, his Lordſhip remained firm to the Queen, as long as there was any probability of doing her ſervice. After the death of the Earl of Lenox, who was Regent, and the election of the Earl of Mar to that high office, the Earl of Argyle was conſtituted Lord High Chancellor, by whoſe great moderation, as well as through the high eſteem in which he ſtood with men of all parties, the peace of the kingdom was reſtored. His Lordſhip died poſſeſſed of this great office, September 12, 1575, without leaving any iſſue, and was ſucceeded by his brother, Sir Colin Campbell beforementioned, who, having always diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by a cloſe and ſteady attachment to the cauſe of King James VI, and having been very inſtrumental in ſecuring to him the full and free adminiſtration of the government, when he was of fit age to take it into his own hand, His Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to admit him of his Privy-Council; and on the 16th of Auguſt 1579, he took the oath of office, as Lord High Chancellor, which he executed with the univerſal approbation of the whole kingdom, to the time of his deceaſe, in 1584; he married firſt, Jane Stewart, daughter of Henry, Lord Methven, by whom he had no iſſue; and after her deceaſe, the widow of James, Earl of Murray, Regent of Scotland, by whom he had two ſons, Archibald and Colin. Archibald, Earl of Argyle, was diſtinguiſhed by his military genius, as well as by his conſtant and loyal adherence to his ſovereign, whoſe forces he commanded at the battle of Glenlivet, in 1594, againſt the Earls of Huntley and Errol; he afterwards ſuppreſſed the Mac-Gregors, and a more formidable inſurrection of the Macdonalds in 1614, for which ſervices he had a grant made him of the country of Kintyre, which was confirmed by an Act of Parliament. In 1618, he went over to Spain, and entered into the ſervice of that Crown, remaining abroad many years, 'till at length, he obtained His Majeſty's permiſſion to return, and died at London, in 1638. This noble Earl was twice married, firſt, to Anne, daughter and heir of William, Earl of Morton, by whom he had his ſucceſſor and four daughters. His ſecond wife was, Anne, daughter to Sir William Cornwallis, by whom he had a ſon, James, who, in 1622, was created Lord

Kintyre by King James VI; and afterwards by Charles I, by letters patents bearing date, March 28, 1642, created, Earl of Irvine (*a*); of his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor, Archibald, Earl of Argyle, and afterwards Marquis; we ſhall ſpeak in the next article.

(*a*) This article is extracted from ſeveral manuſcript accounts in the hands of the author, and has been compared with the article in Collier's Dictionary, tranſmitted by direction of the Duke of Argyle, father to the late and preſent Duke, as alſo with Crauford, Neſbit, &c.

CAMPBELL (ARCHIBALD) Earl and Marquis of Argyle, was the ſon of Archibald Earl of Argyle, by the Lady Anne Douglas, daughter of William Earl of Morton (*a*). He was born ſome time in the year 1598, and was very carefully educated, ſuitable to his high birth and great intereſt in his country. He was, though very young, with his father in the field, when the dangerous inſurrection of the Macdonalds was ſuppreſſed (*b*), and after his father went abroad, the care of the Weſt Country, and more eſpecially of the Proteſtant intereſt therein, devolved in a great meaſure on the Lord Lorn, the conſtant title of the apparent heirs of this noble family. As he came very early into the world, and had the eyes of many upon him, ſo he was extreamly cautious in his conduct; and having been educated in the profeſſion of the Proteſtant religion, according to the ſtricteſt rules of the Church of Scotland, as it was eſtabliſhed immediately after the Reformation, he was ſincerely and ſteadily devoted thereto, perhaps with a degree of zeal rather too fervent; but however, he neither changed, or ever pretended to change, his ſentiments, but made it the great buſineſs of his life to ſupport that Church, and the conſtitution of his country, as he underſtood it to be ſettled by law (*c*). In theſe principles he was ſtrongly confirmed by the advice, concurrence, and aſſiſtance, of many perſons of great quality and fortune, who afterwards changing their ſentiments, were obliged to ſuſtain their own characters at the expence of his (*d*). It is a clear and full proof of his great parts and wiſe conduct in that ſeaſon of life, when men are uſually famed for other qualities than diſcretion, that in the year 1626, his Majeſty was pleaſed to call him to the high office of a Privy-Counſellor, his father being then living, and himſelf, conſequently, no Lord of Parliament (*e*). At this time there is no doubt that he made great profeſſions of loyalty to his Prince, by which muſt be underſtood, ſuch attachment to his perſon, and ſubmiſſion to his will, as was conſiſtent with the laws of the land, and might contribute to the good of the people. It is alſo clear, that his Lordſhip was not at all tainted with the predominant vice of thoſe times, that of aggrandizing himſelf at the expence of his neighbours, or of the Crown, for in 1628, we find he ſurrendered to the King, as far as in his power lay, the office of Juſtice-General of Scotland, which was hereditary in his family, reſerving to himſelf and his heirs, the office of Juſticiary of Argyle, and the Weſtern Iſles, and wherever elſe he had lands in Scotland, which agreement was afterwards ratified and confirmed by Act of Parliament (*f*). It does not appear, that his Lordſhip took any great ſhare in the differences and diſputes that happened in Scotland from that time, 'till the year 1633, when His Majeſty came to viſit his native and hereditary kingdom, at which time, it is certain, that the Lord Lorne ſtood as high in His Majeſty's favour, as any man of quality in his country, and higher marks of duty and ſubmiſſion to the Royal will, could be hardly expected, than was ſhewn by his father and himſelf, in ſubmitting the deciſion of the differences unhappily raiſed between them to the King's pleaſure; of which, a certain great Hiſtorian (*g*), has given a very guarded and circumſpect account, which, when fully explained, will not appear ſo much to this noble perſon's diſcredit, as at firſt ſight it ſeems [*A*]. It is on all hands

(*a*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 354.

(*b*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 539.

(*c*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 42.

(*d*) See the Inſtructions from his Majeſty's Council to the Lord Juſtice Clerk, in Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 36.

(*e*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 20.

(*f*) See the article of Argyle in Collier's Dictionary. Collins's Peerage of England, p. 444. Cauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 20.

(*g*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 42.

[*A*] *As at firſt ſight it ſeems.*] There is no doubt, that ſo much of the Earl of Clarendon's Hiſtory, as relates to facts, that fell immediately under his own cognizance, may be writ with great exactneſs, and much regard to truth; but without any imputation on his character, it may be affirmed, that where he took things upon the credit of other people, he might be impoſed upon, or miſtaken. He does not mention the Earl of Argyle 'till after the firſt Pacification, and then he gives us an account of things that happened ſeveral years before, when his Lordſhip was only Lord Lorne; and the account he gives us is ſuch a one, as ſhews us he had received it in converſation from thoſe who were of a party oppoſite to Argyle; but as this ſeems to be the foundation of all the reflections caſt upon this Nobleman, we will examine it more particularly. The Earl of Clarendon then writes thus (1). 'The people 'of Scotland being now reduced by them to a more 'implicit obedience, and no body daring to oppoſe the 'moſt extravagant proceedings of the moſt violent perſons in power, they loſt no time, as hath been ſaid, 'to make all preparations for a war they meant to purſue. Moſt of the King's Privy-Council, and great 'Miniſters, who (though they had not vigorouſly performed their duty in ſupport of the regal power) 'till 'now had been ſo reſerved, that they ſeemed not to 'approve the diſorderly proceedings, now as frankly 'wedded that intereſt as any of the leaders, and quickly became the chief of the leaders. As the Earl of 'Argyle, who had been preſerved by the King's immediate kindneſs, and full power, and reſcued from 'the anger and fury of his incenſed father, who being 'provoked by the diſobedience and inſolence of his 'ſon, reſolved ſo to have diſpoſed of his fortune, that 'little ſhould have accompanied the honour after his 'death. But by the King's interpoſition, and indeed 'impoſition, the Earl, in ſtrictneſs of the Law in Scotland, having need of the King's grace and protection, 'in regard of his being become Roman Catholick, and 'his Majeſty granting all to the ſon which he could 'exact from the father, the old man was in the end 'compelled to make over all his eſtate to his ſon, reſerving only ſuch a proviſion for himſelf as ſupported 'him according to his quality, during his life, which 'he ſpent in the parts beyond the ſeas. The King 'had too much occaſion afterwards to remember, that 'in the cloſe, after his Majeſty had determined what 'ſhould be done on either part, the old man *declared* 'he would ſubmit to the King's pleaſure, though he be'lieved he was hardly dealt with*; and then with ſome 'bitterneſs put his ſon in mind of his undutiful carriage 'towards him, and charged him *to carry in his mind* 'how bountiful the King had been to him, which yet, 'he told him, he was ſure he would forget; and there'upon

(1) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 42.

hands agreed, that the King had then, ſo good an opinion of his Lordſhip, as to think the power and influence of his family in Scotland, could not be repoſed in ſafer hands than his, otherwiſe, he would not in juſtice to himſelf and his poſterity, having it ſo much in his power as he had, have diſpoſed of it, as he did (*b*). The part his Lordſhip afterwards acted, was that of a good patriot, which he all his life-long underſtood to be that of a good ſubject; and if he did not give into all the projects of the King's Miniſters, it muſt be allowed, that his conduct was both open and uniform, and that he concurred with the greateſt and wiſeſt men, in that kingdom (*i*). It is alſo very certain, that ſome of thoſe Miniſters acted a very double part; and while they made the King believe, that the ſcheme of Archbiſhop Laud, for introducing an abſolute uniformity in religion, was a thing very practicable in Scotland; they not only knew it not to be ſo, but even put the King upon theſe meaſures, with a deſign to render it more impracticable (*k*). How juſtifiable ſuch a conduct as this might be, is not our buſineſs to determine; but moſt certainly the conduct of Lord Lorne, was infinitely more agreeable to the ordinary rules of juſtice and morality; for he adhered conſtantly and ſteadily to the principles he profeſſed; and openly and fairly oppoſed thoſe deſigns, which the Miniſters meant ſhould miſcarry, while they ſeemed to approve and promote them (*l*). It is very likely, that in ſuch a ſituation of things, the method his Lordſhip took, might expoſe him to miſrepreſentations to his ſovereign, and that his behaviour, however open and candid, might be liable to miſconſtruction; but at this diſtance of time, when all prejudices, either are or ought to be buried, it is not eaſy to conceive upon what grounds it ought to be cenſured or condemned. He was far from being very active or buſy; on the contrary, he took no greater ſhare in the management of publick affairs, than the poſt which His Majeſty had aſſigned him, rendered abſolutely neceſſary; and though his name be found to ſeveral Remonſtrances of the Privy-Council, and other acts of a like publick nature (*m*); yet at a time, when he had neither power nor influence, and when his enemies were poſſeſſed of both, in the higheſt degree, he challenged them to ſhow, that he had any concern in thoſe ſecret conſultations, or any ſhare in the political intrigues, which created the higheſt diſputes of thoſe times, and which brought ſo many miſeries and misfortunes upon his country (*n*). It is indeed true, that there were great feuds and jealouſies in Scotland; and therefore, it cannot be wondered, that notwithſtanding all his care and caution, a man of his great quality ſhould have both open and ſecret enemies;

(*b*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 468.

(*i*) Crauford's Lives of the Officers of the Crown and State in Scotland, p. 180.

(*k*) Biſhop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 16.

(*l*) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 38.

(*m*) See moſt of thoſe acts in the book laſt cited.

(*n*) Appendix to the firſt Vol. of Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 24.

'*upon ſaid to his Majeſty, Sir, I muſt know this young* '*man better than you can do; you have brought me low* '*that you may raiſe him, which, I doubt, you will live* '*to repent, for he is a man of craft, ſubtlety, and falſe-*'*hood, and can love no man; and if ever he finds it* '*in his power to do you miſchief, he will be ſure to do it.*' The King conſidered it only as the effect of his paſſion, and took no other care to prevent it, but by heaping every day new obligations upon him, making him a Privy-Counſellor, and giving him other offices and power to do hurt, thereby to reſtrain him from doing it, which would have wrought upon any generous nature the effect it ought to have done. The Earl (for his father was now dead) came not to Edinburgh during the firſt troubles; and though he did not diſſemble his diſpleaſure againſt the Biſhops, becauſe one of them had affronted him in truth very rudely, yet he renewed all imaginable profeſſions of duty to the King, and a readineſs to engage in his ſervice, if thoſe diſorders ſhould continue, but after the Pacification, and diſbanding of the King's army, and the Covenanters declaring, that they would adhere to the Acts of the Aſſembly at Glaſgow, he made haſte to Edinburgh with a great train of his family and followers, and immediately ſigned the Covenant, engaged for the proviſion of arms, and raiſing forces, and in all things behaved himſelf like a man that might very ſafely be confided in by that party.' In the firſt place it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the old Earl of Argyle had been the beſt part of his life a very warm and zealous Proteſtant, had fought againſt the Huntley family, and afterwards againſt the Macdonalds, partly on account of religion (2); yet drawn aſide by his Engliſh lady, who was a Papiſt herſelf, and deſcended of a rebellious family, he went abroad into the Spaniſh ſervice commanded their troops in the Low-Countries, and was even ſuſpected of carrying on ſome correſpondencies with the Macdonalds, whom he had diſpoſſeſſed of their lands for treaſon, and had received ſome grants of them from the Crown (3). By this means he totally loſt King James's favour, who, as Archbiſhop Spotſwood ſays, could not endure an apoſtate Papiſt, and was publickly denounced a rebel (4). It might very well happen, that when this old Lord returned home, which he did after an abſence of ten years, he might be very angry with his ſon, and yet that ſon be in no great fault, unleſs adhering to the Proteſtant Religion, and the Conſtitution of his Country, were faults. It is not eaſy to conceive, when or where this diſcourſe happened. If it happened at all, it is moſt probable in the year 1628, when Lord Lorne reſigned his Poſt of Juſtice-General (5), which might be a good reaſon for the King's being very kind to him. Neither had the Earl his father any reaſon to complain of his Majeſty, who, though his ſon, by his ſecond marriage, was then in foreign ſervice, honoured him with a title, and ſecured to the Earl himſelf a rent-charge, which, conſidering the circumſtances he was then in, was all he could expect (6). Biſhop Guthrie, who ſeldom miſſes an occaſion of ſpeaking ill of the Earl of Argyle, mentions the King's favours to him largely (7); but ſays not one word of his father's quarrel with him; which, had it been true, he was the moſt likely man in the world to have heard; and had he heard it, no man ſo likely to repeat it. On the whole therefore, there is great reaſon to doubt the fact, which muſt have been related upon hearſay, and is related without any mention of the author; and in words too that viſibly belong to the perſon who tells the ſtory. But ſuppoſing the fact to be true, the King made a very right judgment of it, in ſuppoſing it the effect of paſſion, for the Earl had not ſeen his ſon for many years; and his Majeſty knew enough of Lord Lorne, before this could poſſibly happen, to make him a Privy-Counſellor (8), which it does not appear that he ever repented of, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter. As to the craft and cunning charged upon this Nobleman, it muſt be referred to the opinion that the writer had of him, for his Lordſhip never acted a double part, but openly declared his principles from the beginning, and adhered to them to the ſcaffold. Biſhop Guthrie, who knew his Lordſhip very well, is ſo far from charging him with craft, that at the cloſe of theſe tranſactions (for Lord Clarendon's period takes in the compaſs of ten years), that is, when the Earl joined the Covenanters, he obſerves, that he declared himſelf more poſitively than could have been expected from a man of his prudence (9). This is ſo true, that ſome of his Lordſhip's Letters, lately come to light, very fully prove, he made no ſecret of his ſentiments, but very plainly told the great Earl of Strafford (10), That as he meant all duty to the King, ſo he thought that duty beſt ſhown by maintaining the Conſtitution of his Country in Church and State.

(2) Balfour's Annals, under the year 1614.

(3) Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, p. 540.

(4) Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, ubi ſupra.

(5) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 20.

(6) Supplement to Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland.

(7) Guthrie's Memoirs of Charles I. p. 12.

(8) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 38.

(9) Biſhop Guthrie's Memoirs p. 41.

(10) Strafford's Letters, Vol. II. p. 187, 220, 290.

enemies; and very certain it is, that he did not want for both (o). The latter were moſt dangerous, for they were continually ſuggeſting, that his Lordſhip was a Covenanter in his heart, which was a neceſſary diſtinction; for though it might ſeem ſtrange to an Engliſh reader, yet it is undoubtedly true, that his Lordſhip never ſigned any Covenant, 'till the King commanded him ſo to do (p). When by his father's death, he became Earl of Argyle, his ſuperior title gave him ſomewhat greater authority, but he employed it the ſame way; and that was, in keeping the country quiet, and ſeeing the laws put in execution. He ſtill acted and conferred with the Council, and did there as much ſervice to His Majeſty, as any of them, notwithſtanding he was repreſented as the very chief of the Covenanters. The Marquis of Hamilton, was then the King's Commiſſioner in Scotland; he was directed by, and correſponded ſolely with, Archbiſhop Laud; and in appearance, at leaſt, he laboured to introduce that Prelate's ſcheme of government (q), againſt the voice of the whole nation; and when this could not be effected, the King was induced to enter into a war againſt them, which, as it was calculated to bring great diſtreſs upon the nation in general, ſo great care was taken by Laud's party, that the Earl of Argyle ſhould have his ſhare of it in particular [B]. But notwithſtanding their projects were well laid, yet it

(o) The Biſhop of Dunkeld's Memoirs, p. 19. Supplement to Archbiſhop Spotſwood's Church Hiſt. MS.

(p) See the Marquis of Argyle's Anſwer to the indictment againſt him before the Parliament of Scotland, in 1661.

(q) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 52.

[B] *Should have his ſhare of it in particular.*] It muſt be very evident, to any who will take the pains to enquire into the tranſactions of thoſe times, that the cauſe of all the diſputes in Scotland was Archbiſhop Laud's being deceived (11), as to the ſtate of that kingdom, and reſolving to force upon them forms and ceremonies in religion, to which they were averſe. In order to this, the King was perſwaded to make war upon that nation; and though the Earl of Argyle had conducted himſelf ſo cautiouſly, as to have given far leſs provocation than many others of the nobility of that country had done; yet the Earl of Antrim, an Iriſh Papiſt, was encouraged to raiſe an army of his own people to attack the Weſtern Iſlands, and the countries under the influence of the Earl of Argyle; which, if he could conquer, he was to have all, or at leaſt the beſt part of them, for his pains (12), One ought to have good authority to ſupport ſuch an aſſertion; and I think ſuch a one is produced, when one names the Earl of Strafford, who, in a letter dated April 16, 1639, directed to Sir Henry Vane, ſpeaks thus (13): 'It is 'over evident his Majeſty hath been wofully ſerved by 'his Miniſters in Scotland; and if thoſe play'd their 'parts ill which ſurrendered the caſtle of Edinburgh, 'they did ſtill worſe who have on this ſide done the 'like for that of Dumbarton, a place, indeed, of infinite great conſequence, all rightly conſidered. It is 'reported to have been taken by the wiles of the Earl 'of Argyle, who now is, they ſay, poſſeſſed of it, 'and I believe will thence intend all the conduct of 'thoſe affairs on this ſide the kingdom. I will warrant you, the Earl of Antrim's tenants wiſh themſelves, with all their hearts, well ſecured from the 'ill of him, for all their own Lord's profeſſions to invade and beat that other Earl, forth of the Iſles this 'inſtant ſummer. It ſhould ſeem to me, for I was 'not of this council, my Lord Marquis of Hamilton, 'and my Lord of Antrim, had to his Majeſty undertaken the buſineſs before the Earl of Antrim's coming 'forth of England, conſequently before Argyle was declared Covenanter. My Lord of Antrim was, for 'his reward, to have had a ſhare of his eſtate. What 'other ſhares there were, any, or none, in truth I 'know not. Now, howbeit, this was carried very ſecretly to us on this ſide, yet Argyle got knowledge of it 'there, and certainly occaſioned him to declare himſelf 'ſooner for the Covenant, than otherwiſe, perchance, 'he would have done: But whether that had been 'better or worſe for his Majeſty's ſervice, I am not 'able to judge.' What ſort of an undertaking this was, and what were the conſequences likely to follow on it, we may gather from another letter of the ſame noble perſon's, in which he gives Secretary Windebank a very large detail of a converſation that paſſed between himſelf and the Earl of Antrim, upon this buſineſs (14). 'His Lordſhip, ſays he, mentioned certain propoſitions by his Lordſhip made, and directions and authority 'by his Majeſty given, at his laſt being in England, concerning his Lordſhip's going upon the Iſles of Scotland; 'that in conformity thereunto he had quietly expected 'the ſignification of his Majeſty's pleaſure, nor ſtirred 'at all 'till the receipt of my letter, complained of the 'ſuddenneſs and ſhortneſs of the warning, but told me, 'that inſtantly, upon the receipt of his Majeſty's letter 'he had ſent to the O Neales, O Haras, the O Lurgans (if I miſtake not that name) the Mac Genniſſes, 'the Mac Guyres, the Mac Mahons, the Mac Donnels, '(as many Oe's and Mac's as would ſtartle a whole 'Council-board on this ſide to hear of) and all his 'other friends, requiring them, in his Majeſty's name, 'to meet him with their forces, ſo as this buſineſs is 'now become no ſecret, but the common diſcourſe, 'both of his Lordſhip and the whole kingdom. That 'he had bought boards, and given order for making 'of long boats for the tranſportation of his men, and 'was now come to aſk my advice and counſel.' What the ſentiments of this great Stateſman were, of Antrim's undertaking, and how wiſe a ſcheme he took this of the enemies of the Earl of Argyle's to be, may be ſeen by another paragraph in the ſame letter. 'In, ſum, I muſt needs ſay, his Lorſhip ſhuffles the 'pack dexterouſly enough, if pretending to make a war 'at his own coſt he can thus preſently and totally ſhift 'off the charge upon the King, deal himſelf a General-ſhip at ſea and land, a Command of the King's 'armies, his ordnance, his arms, his ſtores, his ſhipping; make all his own officers, new levies as like 'him beſt, and procure a good horſe troop for his 'brother. Old *Ned Coke* would have here ſaid, *God 'is my witneſs, theſe are ſtrange things to me.* But 'now, all this for what? Marry, for ought I either 'hear, or can foreſee, to enable his Lordſhip, to go 'upon the Iſles there, to recover for himſelf thoſe 'great Seigniories belonging unto his anceſtors, and 'ſay all the new poſſeſſors be Covenanters, which yet 'appears not; and that he do conquer the country '(for not a leſs word than conqueſt comes from us), 'what ſhall his Majeſty, or any other man, ſave himſelf, be the better? Indeed it troubles me to imagine, how his Lordſhip may think of us, all his Majeſty's Miniſters, whilſt he feeds himſelf with the 'hopes to carry out from amongſt us his own ends and 'benefits, thus in ſovereignty, and under a colour of 'doing a ſervice to the Crown, apply all to his own 'private uſe.' To theſe obſervations this very great and very knowing man, adds ſeveral queries, of which we will take notice only of three. 'What ſudden 'outrage may be apprehended from ſo great a number of 'the native Iriſh, children of habituated rebels, brought 'together without pay or victual, armed with our own 'weapons, ourſelves left naked the whilſt? What ſcandal to His Majeſty's ſervice, it might be in a time 'thus conditioned, to employ a General; and a whole 'army, in a manner Roman Catholicks? What 'affright or pretence this might give for the Scotiſh, 'who are at leaſt fourſcore thouſand in thoſe parts, 'to arm alſo under colour of their own defence, to 'ſet the whole kingdom into a tumult, which might 'be the matter of ſad and deſperate effects?' Theſe remarks will appear ſtill more pertinent, when we conſider, that within two years after the great Iriſh Rebellion broke out; which without doubt, was chiefly owing to that indulgence given the Papiſts, under the latter part of the Earl of Strafford's government, much againſt that great man's will, and to the much greater indulgence that was allowed them afterwards, by which they came to know and feel their own ſtrength; at the ſame time, that they perſuaded many people in the adminiſtration, that none were better friends to the government, than themſelves; which, beſides the diſmal

(11) Biſhop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 16.

(12) Balfour's Annals, Vol. II. in the Univerſity Library at Glaſgow.

(13) Strafford's Letters, Vol. II. p. 325.

(14) Ibid.

it was disappointed. The Earl of Argyle, wrote a large vindication of his own conduct, and sent it to Court; the only answer which the King gave it was, that he should be glad to receive his vindication from his own mouth (*r*). The Marquis of Hamilton, was then sent with a force by sea; but finding that it was no way capable of dealing with a nation, that were in a manner united against the measures he was to impose, he first entered into some conferences with the Earl of Argyle, and other Lords, himself, and then advised a treaty with the King, who was in the field. This brought about the first Pacification in the month of June 1639, to which, by the advice of Laud, the King consented (*s*). It was not long after this, that His Majesty sent for the Earl of Argyle, and ten or twelve more of the principal Nobility to London. This was thought an extraordinary thing in Scotland; and those intrusted with the government there, would not on any terms suffer all the Lords to go, but sent up the Earls of Montrose, Loudon, and Lowthian, which was very ill taken by the King, who was persuaded by some about him to think, that it was showing a great disrespect to, and want of confidence in, him (*t*). It is very possible, that the Lords might not wholly confide in the honour and sincerity of those who had then the King's ear; and some small reason they had for this diffidence, from the usage the Earl of Loudon met with, who very narrowly escaped losing his life, and was actually imprisoned in the Tower of London (*u*), notwithstanding the King's safe conduct. These violent measures brought on another war with Scotland, to which the King is said to have been principally excited by the Earl of Traquair, who was then the King's Commissioner to the Parliament; and in the spring of the year 1640, the King marched against the Scots with a great army; but the Scots were well provided, and instead of waiting 'till they were attacked, marched into England with an army, and were so successful, that a new treaty was set on foot at Rippon, in the month of September (*x*); and this produced a second Pacification, in which the king granted all the demands of the Covenanters, yet in all these affairs, it does not appear, that the Earl of Argyle took any great share (*y*). By this time, the discontents in England were risen to a great height, and His Majesty being desirous to see one of his kingdoms thoroughly settled, took a sudden resolution of going to Scotland, where, with his nephew, the Elector Palatine, he arrived on the 12th of August 1641 (*z*). At this time, he directed the Marquis of Hamilton, whom he greatly trusted, to enter into a close correspondence with the Earl of Argyle, in which he seems to have formed a right judgment of both their tempers; for though the Marquis always professed the highest loyalty to his Master, yet he had a great concern for his country; and the Earl, though he avowed the utmost steadiness to the Constitution, yet at the same time affirmed, he had the warmest affection for his Prince (*a*). This conjunction had very probably brought about an entire and effectual settlement in that kingdom, if some persons who were willing to have the entire managment of it, had not formed a design against the lives of both these Noblemen, in the middle of the month of October, which obliged them to quit Edinburgh for their own safety (*b*). It is on all hands agreed, that the King had nothing to do with this strange action; but it is also agreed, that the matter of fact is out of dispute, and that such a design there really was [*C*]. This gave great interruption

(*r*) Supplement to Archbishop Spotswood's Ch. Hist.

(*s*) Warwick's Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I. p. 135.

(*t*) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 43.

(*u*) Sir John Scot's staggering State of the Scotch Statesmen, from 1550 to 1650. Crauford's Lives of the great Officers of State, p. 201.

(*x*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 131.

(*y*) Appendix to Wodrow's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 24.

(*z*) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 512.

(*a*) Supplement to Archbishop Spotswood's Ch. History.

(*b*) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 98.

dismal consequence it had, in amusing the King and his Ministers, produced an evil still more dangerous; that of giving a reasonable jealousy, that either they secretly favoured the Papists, or were deluded and amused by them (14); so that in either case, those that meant sincerely well to the Protestant cause, saw they were under an absolute necessity of taking care of themselves; and as this was a just and reasonable, so it is the real and true apology for the Earl of Argyle, and the Covenanters in Scotland; so far as they acted according to law, and by that authority, which His Majesty himself had established, when he was last in that kingdom (15).

(14) Enquiry into the Share King Charles I. had in the conduct of the Earl of Glamorgan, p. 300, &c.

(15) Sir James Balfour's Annals, 1641.

[*C*] *That such a design there really was.*] We have three very different accounts of this matter of fact; the first is that of Bishop Guthrie (16), who says, That the Earl of Argyle had information given him by one Colonel Stewart, that the Earl of Crawford and some other persons had framed a design against the life of the Marquis of Hamilton and his own; and upon this these two Lords retired from Edinburgh, with a view, as he would have it, to make the Parliament rise in confusion; and he adds, that this was prevented by the King's going to the House, where he made a bitter speech against the Marquis of Hamilton. The second is from Bishop Burnet (17), who says, That the two Lords had an account of such a design; but without naming the authors, and having this account only from one witness, they had it not in their power to prove it in a legal manner; and this made them retire from Edinburgh, that they might provide for their own safety, as having no other way to provide for it. He also agrees that this had very ill consequences with respect to publick affairs; but that upon enquiry the fact was justified, and it plainly appeared those two Noblemen had good reason for what they did; and if they had not, the Parliament that continued sitting in their absence, would have called them to a severe reckoning for it. The third is that of the noble Historian, who is very clear in it; and after showing, that Montrose deserted the Covenanters, because the Earl of Argyle had more interest with them than he, goes on to relate the whole story with great plainness and perspicuity (18). 'After His Majesty's arrival in 'Scotland, says he, by the introduction of Mr William 'Murray of the Bed-chamber, Montrose came privately to the King, and informed him of many particulars, from the beginning of the Rebellion; and '*that the Marquis of Hamilton, was no less faulty and false towards His Majesty, than Argyle*; and 'offered to make proof of *all in the Parliament*; but 'rather desired *to have them both made away*, which 'he frankly undertook to do: but the King abhorring 'that expedient, though for his own security, advised '*that the proofs might be prepared for the Parliament.* 'When suddenly, on a Sunday morning, the city of 'Edinburgh was in arms; and Hamilton, and Argyle, 'both gone out of the town to their own houses; 'where they stood upon their guard; declaring publickly, *That they had withdrawn themselves, because 'they knew that there was a design to assassinate them*; '*and chose rather to absent themselves, than by standing upon their defence in Edinburgh* (*which they could 'well have done*) *to hazard the publick peace, and security of the Parliament*; *which thundered on their behalf.* The Committee at Edinburgh dispatched 'away an express to London, with a dark and perplexed account, in the morning that the two Lords 'had left the city; with many doubtful expressions, 'what

(16) Bishop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 86, 87.

(17) Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 186.

(18) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 98.

interruption to the King's affairs, and put a ſtop to the ſettlement between him and the nation; but as the Hiſtorian of the Hamilton family acknowledges, the deſigns of the two Lords were perfectly ſincere; and as the Marquis meant nothing but the King's ſervice, ſo, to uſe that Hiſtorian's own words, Argyle expreſſed a hearty concurrence in it (*c*). At this juncture, His Majeſty had Preſbyterian Divines about him, profeſſed a willingneſs to ſettle the Church of Scotland according to the deſires of that nation; and was ſo well pleaſed with the openneſs and plainneſs of Argyle's behaviour, that, by letters patent bearing date November 16, 1641, he created him Marquis (*d*). It is very true, that ſome of our Hiſtorians ſay, the King went at this time down to Scotland, to make a deed of gift of that kingdom with his own hands (*e*), which is an expreſſion not eaſily to be underſtood; another has been uſed, which is much plainer, and I believe nearer the truth; that in the end of November, when he quitted that kingdom, he went from thence a contented King, and left behind him a contented people (*f*). How the ſcene was afterwards changed, is another affair. At this juncture, there happened a tranſaction, which ſhows, beyond all manner of doubt, that the Marquis was underſtood by the whole world, not only to be in the King's favour, but to be thoroughly and heartily inclined to his ſervice. The Iriſh Rebellion was juſt broke out, upon which the Scots, as well as the Engliſh Parliament, reſolved to ſend forces thither to ſuppreſs it; and the former determined the Marquis of Argyle ſhould command theirs; but that firſt, in conjunction with the Earl of Loudon, he ſhould go to London, to mediate between the King and the Engliſh Parliament; with both which meaſures His Majeſty was perfectly well pleaſed; but the Parliament being jealous of the Marquis's attachment to the King, civilly declined it, by declaring, that they looked upon the Marquis's preſence in Scotland, to be then indiſpenſably neceſſary. At the beginning of the enſuing year, the Scots, as a nation, had very much in their power; for in the differences between the King and the Parliament of England, that ſide to which they joined themſelves unanimouſly, was ſure to prevail. This was a thing ſo plain, and withal ſo certain, that both His Majeſty and the Parliament ſaw and knew it; and therefore both ſides began to court the Scots, with all the pains imaginable (*g*). The Marquis of Hamilton very prudently repreſented to the King, that this was an affair of a very nice nature; that His Majeſty's having a party in Scotland, would be the ruin of him; but if His Majeſty could gain the whole nation, the Parliament muſt ſubmit to reaſonable terms; and when he had ſtated this difficulty, he offered to go and make uſe of his beſt endeavours to get over it (*h*). The King accepted his ſervice, and ſent a letter by the Earl of Lanerick, brother to the Marquis, to his council in that kingdom, who in the laſt Parliament had been declared Conſervators of the peace, dated September 18, 1642. The Marquis of Hamilton, according to his promiſe to the King, addreſſed himſelf to the Marquis of Argyle, with whom he was then in great friendſhip; and by their joint labours a reſolution was obtained, to ſend the Marquis of Hamilton to Holland, to engage the Queen to come over to Scotland, on a promiſe of ſecurity for her perſon, and the free exerciſe of her religion, for herſelf and family, offering to aſſiſt Her Majeſty in mediating with both Houſes; and in caſe they refuſed to make a ſettled and ſolid peace upon reaſonable terms, they undertook, that the whole force of Scotland ſhould engage for the King againſt them (*i*). The King at firſt, ſeemed not only ſatisfied but overjoyed with this, but ſome about him ſoon filled his head with jealouſies, that the Scots took too much upon them, upon which the King let this propoſition fall; and tho' the Queen, who was extremely pleaſed with it, procured the Marquis of Hamilton to be created a Duke, on the merit of this ſervice, which was the greateſt he ever did, or indeed could do, yet ſhe could not hinder his being perſecuted afterwards, and ſent priſoner to Pendennis-caſtle, as a traytor (*k*). After this, the

(*c*) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 187.

(*d*) Appendix to Wodrow's Ch. Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 14.

(*e*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 101. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 513.

(*f*) Balfour's Memoirs, Vol. II. in which it is aſſerted, that this was a common ſaying in Scotland at that time.

(*g*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 265. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 195. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion.

(*h*) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 200.

(*i*) Idem, ibid. p. 201.

(*k*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 387. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 124.

' what the end of it would be; not without ſome dark ' inſinuations, as if the deſign might look farther than ' Scotland. And theſe letters were brought to Lon- ' don, the day before the Houſes were to come toge- ' ther, after the receſs; all that party taking pains to ' perſuade others, that it could not but be a deſign to ' aſſaſſinate more men than thoſe Lords at Edinburgh. ' And the morning the Houſes were to meet, Mr Hyde ' being walking in Weſtminſter-hall, with the Earl of ' Holland and the Earl of Eſſex, both the Earls ſeem- ' ed wonderfully concerned at it; and to believe, ' *that other men were in like danger of the like aſſaults*; ' the other, not thinking the apprehenſion worthy of ' them, told them merrily, *That he knew well what* ' *opinions they both had of thoſe two Lords, a year or* ' *two before, and he wondered how they became ſo* ' *altered*; to which they anſwered ſmiling, *That the* ' *times and the Court was much altered ſince.* And the ' Houſes were no ſooner ſat, but the report being ' made in the Houſe of Commons, and the Committee's ' letter from Scotland being read, a motion was made, ' *To ſend to the Houſe of Peers, that the Earl of Eſſex,* ' *who was left by the King General on this ſide Trent,* ' *might be deſired to appoint ſuch a guard, as he* ' *thought competent for the ſecurity of the Parliament,* ' *conſtantly to attend while the Houſes ſate; which was* ' *done accordingly*; and continued 'till they thought fit ' to have other guards.' We ſee plainly from hence, what terrible conſequences attended theſe over-forward and violent reſolutions, which were not put in execution, merely from the juſtice and tenderneſs of the King's nature; for it is very obſervable, that though the Hiſtorian does not in the leaſt diſpute the fact, yet he acknowledges, that himſelf treated it at the time, as a very light matter; and would have perſuaded the Lords, that there was a time, when they would not have been ſo much concerned for the ſafety of theſe Scotch Noblemen; which, not to ſay a barſher thing of it, is a very extraordinary expreſſion; and very plainly ſhews, what ſtrange expedients ſome Politicians at that time thought not altogether unjuſtifiable to carry their points; and if by degrees, others were either taught or forced to follow their examples, they could not, upon their own principles, judge it inexcuſable. In the former note, we have ſhown, that there were thoughts of ſtripping the Earl of Argyle of his eſtate; in this, it has been proved, that a deſign was formed againſt his life; when he was ſo far from having forfeited the King's confidence, that after this he created him, in publick teſtimony thereof, a Marquis.

[D] *With*

the affairs of Scotland took the worſt turn poſſible for the King; he had owned the Conſervators by the letter beforementioned, notwithſtanding which, he was prevailed upon to grant a Commiſſion to the Earl of Montroſe, which threw that kingdom into a Civil War; the King's authority being claimed on both ſides (*l*). The ſhare the Marquis of Argyle had in this, belongs to the General Hiſtory of thoſe times; and therefore, we ſhall not meddle with it here, farther than to obſerve, that in 1644, Antrim, who was created a Marquis for that very purpoſe, ſent over a great body of his Iriſh Papiſts, who waſted and deſtroyed all Argyle's eſtate; and, which was worſt, killed moſt of his people (*m*). In the courſe of this period, Argyle was conſtantly employed by the Parliament, and had their authority for every thing he did, particularly in reſpect to a journey he made to Ireland; at his return from which, he found the King in the hands of the Scots army at Newcaſtle, in which it is certain that he had no hand; but upon his repairing thither, he had acceſs to (*n*), and was very kindly received by, His Majeſty. This was in 1646, and upon that occaſion it was thought neceſſary by the Parliament of Scotland, that he ſhould repair to London, with inſtructions to their Commiſſioners. At this very time, he was intruſted by his Royal Maſter with a ſecret commiſſion of the greateſt importance, which he executed with much dexterity, diligence, and fidelity (*o*) [*D*]. Yet his conduct at this very time has been grievouſly cenſured by thoſe who, it ſeems, were not in the ſecret, and were unacquainted that the meaſures he took, were not only moſt for the King's ſervice, but had alſo his Majeſty's approbation (*p*). As to what afterwards paſſed with reſpect to the terms made with the army from Scotland, and the meaſures taken in reference to the diſpoſal of the perſon of King Charles I. we find many things ſaid in our hiſtories, as to the conduct of the Marquis of Argyle, but they are aſſerted only without any proofs (*q*); and this noble perſon himſelf, at a time when, if there had been any ſuch proofs in the power of the perſons who have aſſerted theſe things, or of any other, they might certainly have been produced, declared in terms the cleareſt and moſt poſitive that could be framed, he had no intereſt or concern in them whatever, but ſtudiouſly avoided interfering in any manner, in matters which he foreſaw it was impoſſible in the nature of things ſhould ever end otherwiſe than they did, or be by him wrought to produce what he could wiſh. His Lordſhip's declaration under ſuch circumſtances as to his own behaviour, which he muſt certainly beſt know, will, to any reaſonable man, ſeem as much deſerving of credit, as what others have aſſerted from their own notions and conjectures, and without pretending to produce any kind of evidence whatever [*E*]. In the ſucceeding year, when the Duke of Hamilton undertook to lead an army

(*l*) Hiſt. of the Civil War, p. 395.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 439. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 141.

(*n*) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 283.

(*o*) See a large account of this in note [*D*].

(*p*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 496. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 181, 184. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 294, 295.

(*q*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 537. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 645. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 215.

[*D*] *With much dexterity, diligence, and fidelity.*] The account which the Earl of Clarendon gives of what paſſed after the King came to Newcaſtle, is ſuch a one as might be expected from a perſon who was not an eye-witneſs of the things about which he writes, who took his accounts from men of his own party, and, to make his work all of a piece, repreſents the Scots in the blackeſt colours (19). As to Duke Hamilton's and the Marquis of Argyle's conferences with the King, he is ſilent, which is a plain indication that he was not acquainted with them. Biſhop Guthrie is very particular, and the particulars he gives us are ſuch, as ſhow him to have been a very credulous man, and very unfit for writing hiſtory. He ſays, that on July 17, 1646, when Duke Hamilton arrived at Newcaſtle, the day was perfectly fair and pleaſant, but at the very inſtant he kiſſed the King's hand, there began a terrible thunder, with lightning and rain, which continued all night. Upon the 24th came the Marquis of Argyle, and as he kiſſed the King's hand, juſt the like thunder, lightning, and rain, began, and continued all the night alſo; theſe are the Prelate's own words; and a little after he tells us, that upon the 2d of Auguſt, the Engliſh Commiſſioners removed from Newcaſtle; and the next day, the Chancellor, the Marquis of Argyle, and the Earl of Dumferling, offered to go up and treat with the Parliament for a mitigation of the articles, which they had ſent by their own Commiſſioners; and with ſome of which, the King had expreſſed himſelf diſſatisfied; upon all which he makes this wiſe reflection (20), 'Whether or not 'His Majeſty truſted them, and expected any good from 'them, is doubtful: but the Royaliſts (who well knew 'their ways) ſpared not to ſay, that their treating 'would end in a bargain.' Biſhop Burnet gives us alſo an account of the acceſs which theſe Lords had to the King, and of a commiſſion with which the Marquis of Argyle was charged, in conjunction with the Chancellor, in which he was enjoined ſecrecy; at the ſame time he tells us, what this commiſſion was, and aſſures us the ſecret of it, was but very ill kept (21); whereas, in truth, it was ſo well kept, that it clearly appears from his account, that at the time he writ his book it had not reached his knowledge. The truth of the matter then was this, the Marquis of Argyle might if he had ſo pleaſed, reſided at London, as a Commiſſioner from the Parliament of Scotland, but he liked not of the office, and therefore very carefully declined it. That he went up now was at the King's requeſt (22), and the Commiſſion he was charged with, this, That he ſhould conſult the Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Hertford, as to the expediency of the Scots Parliament and army declaring for him, what effects they judged this would have, and what part his friends in England would take, if ſuch a thing happened. Argyle honeſtly executed the truſt repoſed in him, and received from theſe noble perſons the following anſwer, That His Majeſty well knew, his beſt friends at Oxford never wiſhed to ſee him bring his Parliament under by an abſolute conqueſt; and that if at this juncture the Scots ſhould declare for him, it might prove his ruin, by turning it into a national diſpute, in which all parties of the Engliſh would unite to prevent their being conquered. The King having received this anſwer from the Marquis of Argyle's own mouth, remained ſatisfied, and took other meaſures. When the Marquis of Argyle was ſent to the Tower in 1661, he deſired that Lord Hertford's depoſition might be taken to this point; which was refuſed him, and probably kept from that nobleman's knowledge. Thus the reader ſees, that while the Marquis was dning his duty with the utmoſt diligence, he was bafely ſuppoſed to be *driving a bargain*. One thing more is very remarkable, that it was propoſed in the Engliſh Houſe of Commons to give thanks to the Scotch Commiſſioners for their *great civilities* and *good offices*, while at Newcaſtle; but when it came to be put to the vote, the words *good offices* were left out, ſo far were they from thinking theſe Commiſſioners did their buſineſs with the King (23). Theſe are facts, and facts are ſtubborn things, ſo are not conjectures and characters, which every man may mould or model according to his own inclinations.

(19) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 490, 495.

(20) Biſhop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 184.

(21) Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 283, 284.

(22) State Trials, Vol. II. p. 429.

(23) Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 309.

[*E*] *Any kind of evidence whatever.*] It would take up more room than the nature of this work will allow, to enter into a particular diſcuſſion of every important

army out of Scotland into England for the relief of the King. the conduct of the Marquis of Argyle is very much cenſured, becauſe himſelf and his friends differed in a debate, from the majority of that Parliament, and proteſted againſt the vote (*r*), after it was carried. But if it be conſidered, that the Marquis of Argyle had in his own breaſt the deciſion of the Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Hertford, that if Scotland took part with the King, the Engliſh would riſe as one man againſt him (*s*); and that Sir Philip Warwick tells us, Hamilton had no engagements with the Nobility that roſe about this time in England (*t*); it may be eaſily conceived, why Argyle had ſo indifferent an opinion of an enterprize, at the head of which Hamilton was ſet, a man, of all the Scotch Nobility, more obnoxious to the Engliſh than any. It is certain that he was very right in his judgment, for the Duke very ſoon threw away both himſelf and the army (*u*); and the Marquis of Argyle, by ſeeming to have oppoſed his conduct, had intereſt enough thereby to hinder Cromwell from entering Scotland with his army, and making an abſolute conqueſt of it, which he might have eaſily done (*w*). Upon his marching ſouthwards, all our Hiſtorians agree that Scotland was left entirely in the hands of Argyle and his friends; and therefore, from their conduct at this time, we may form a true judgment of their real ſentiments and principles (*x*). The firſt thing they did, was to declare fully and plainly againſt the proceedings in England, and to order the Scots Commiſſioners to proteſt againſt them; which they did in terms, the moſt clear and explicit, ſhowing, that they looked upon the Parliament of England, as no longer ſubſiſting after the Houſe of Lords was taken away, and ſo many members of the Houſe of Commons excluded; that they had no power over the perſon of the King: and that whatever they pretended to do, was arbitrary, unjuſt, and illegal (*y*). It was not at that time in the power of the Scots to do more, the Duke of Hamilton's precipitate attempt having weakened them extremely, but they took the beſt meaſures they could to put themſelves again in a poſture of defence; and as ſoon as they were informed of the King's murder, they proclaimed his ſon (*z*); and it cannot be denied, that the Marquis of Argyle employed all his intereſt and influence to procure his being invited into Scotland, which ſufficiently refutes that groundleſs and ſcandalous aſperſion, as if Cromwell had communicated to Argyle his deſign againſt the King's life, and that it had been approved of by the latter (*a*). It is indeed true, that the Marquis of Argyle and thoſe who had then power in Scotland, inſiſted on the King's complying with their terms; which if they had not done, it would have been impoſſible for them to have brought the nation to adhere to him (*b*). As to what happened afterwards to Montroſe, the Marquis of Argyle had no immediate hand in it. He had formerly made an agreement with him, which the Committee of Eſtates refuſed to ratify; and now, when he was brought to a tryal for being in arms, as the Scots conſidered it, againſt his country, the Marquis declared, that he was too much a party to be a judge (*c*), and therefore declined any ſhare in thoſe proceedings. What he meant by this, and how far he was juſtified in this ſtep of his conduct, the reader may learn from ſome Hiſtorians, not at all inclined to be partial in Argyle's favour (*d*) [*F*]. At laſt, with much perſuaſion in ſome meaſure againſt his own will,

(*r*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 526.

(*s*) See the Marquis of Argyle's Anſwer to the Charge againſt him in the Parliament of Scotland, in 1661.

(*t*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 316.

(*u*) Bates, Elenchus Motuum, p. 101.

(*w*) Whitelock's Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, p. 343.

(*x*) Bates, Elenchus Motuum, p. 102. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion.

(*y*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iv. p. 1390. Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 577. Bates, Elenchus Motuum, p. 142.

(*z*) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 437.

(*a*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 541. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 249. Echard's Hiſt. of England.

(*b*) Bates, Elench. Motuum, p. 93, 94.

(*c*) See the Marquis of Argyle's Anſwer to the Charge againſt him in the Scotch Parliament of 1661.

(*d*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 579.

portant matter of fact; and thoſe we have already examined, are inſtances ſufficient of what might be done in this way; at preſent we will content ourſelves with citing a paſſage from the Marquis's defence, when he was charged in general terms, in a judicial way, with the crimes that are imputed to him by certain Hiſtorians. Thus then it ran (24), 'As for what was done in 'the years 1646 and 1647, concerning the diſpoſal of 'his late Royal Majeſty's perſon, the return of the 'Scottiſh army, and the agreement for the money to 'be paid for their arrears, it is well known, that in'ſtructions were ſent to and again in theſe affairs, both 'from Committees and Commiſſioners in Scotland and 'England. Yet it ſhall never be found, that ever 'either my hand or preſence was at any Committees, 'where any thing was debated or reſolved, concerning 'the diſpoſal of his late Royal Majeſty's perſon, or 'upon any treaties or concluſions for return of the 'Scots army, or for the money for the ſatisfaction of 'their arrears. So that, I hope, when it is ſeriouſly 'conſidered, that I was one of the laſt in Scotland, 'who ſubſcribed the national Covenant, and never did 'the ſame 'till commanded by His Majeſty; and that 'I was of all thoſe who acted in publick affairs, 'one of thoſe who had leaſt acceſſion to thoſe 'things, though I be moſt blamed by common re'port, that your Lordſhips will not find my carriage, 'during the late troubles, to have deſerved to have 'been put in ſo ſingular a condition.' And to the ſame purpoſe, the Marquis delivered himſelf in his ſpeech before the Parliament of Scotland, April 16, 1661. 'I have but only a few words to ſay, in re'membring your Lordſhips of three things obſervable 'in my carriage, during the late troubles. Firſt, my 'never joining in the national Covenant, 'till com'manded by his late Royal Majeſty. Secondly, my 'never receiving any pay during all the troubles, either 'as Committee-man, Commander in Chief, Colonel, 'or Captain, in all the ſervices of England, Scotland, or 'Ireland, 'till in a Parliament of the year 1646, which 'was after all I had was deſtroyed by the Iriſh rebels 'and their aſſociates: and what I got from the Par'liament 1647, was after my eſtates and lands were ruin'ed, and was only for my family's ſubſiſtance and pay'ing ſome neceſſitous creditors ſome annual rents, as the 'Act of Parliament, 1647, and order to the Scots Com'miſſioners at London the ſame year, can ſhow. And 'for the firſt negative part, Sir William Thomſon's 'hand will prove it, who was either Depute or Prin'cipal Receiver and Layer out of all publick monies all 'that time. Thirdly, my being free of any actings 'in the years 1646 and 1647, anent the diſpoſing of 'His Majeſty's Royal father's perſon, never having 'concurred on Committees in Scotland or England, nor 'as a Commiſſioner at London anent the ſame, nor in 'any reſolutions concerning the return of the Scots 'army, nor the money for their arrears agreed to in 'theſe times, except that I might be preſent in the Par'liament 1647, which I do not well know. By all 'which it is evident, how clearly and freely I may 'ſay, that I do not deſerve to be the ſingle ſufferer in 'all His Majeſty's dominions, for my carriage during 'the late troubles, His Majeſty having (to his eternal 'praiſe) pardoned all but ſome of the murderers of his 'late Royal Father.'

(24) Appendix to Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 24.

[*F*] *To be partial in Argyle's favour.*] It is certainly a very difficult thing to come at truth, in reſpect to any of theſe tranſactions; and the only way to come at it is, to examine, without prejudice, what different authors have delivered, and make ſuch allowances

will, but certainly contrary to the advice of the noble Hiſtorian, and others of his moſt favoured Counſellors, the King determined to accept the repeated invitations of the Parliament of Scotland, and to go over thither upon their terms (*e*). It is allowed, that this return of His Majeſty, was ſingly and entirely owing to the Marquis of Argyle; and the Hiſtorian of the Hamilton family tells us, that Duke William, the laſt heir male of that race, when he found himſelf excluded by the Parliament of Scotland from having any ſhare in publick affairs, thought fit, notwithſtanding, out of pure loyalty to the King, to preſs him to cloſe with the propoſitions that were made him, and to rely upon the Marquis of Argyle (*f*) as the only perſon, who, as things then ſtood, could ſerve him effectually, which is a convincing argument, that the fact was really ſo; for had it been otherwiſe, the Duke of Hamilton would never have attempted to make His Majeſty believe ſuch great things of a man, he then held to be his enemy. Upon His Majeſty's arrival, he was very dutifully received by the Marquis, and the utmoſt reſpect was paid to his perſon, by all ſuch as approached him (*g*). It is true, that the King took the Covenant, and complied in all other reſpects, with the terms agreed on in Holland, which we find ſome writers repreſenting as a great hardſhip, and aſcribing it ſolely to the Marquis of Argyle. But granting this to be true, even theſe authors acknowledge, that the voice of the nation was with him (*h*); and if the Marquis meant to reſtore the King, he could not diſcover the ſincerity of his meaning more plainly, than by urging him to make good his promiſes at the beginning, and to ſatisfy the people of that nation, that he meant to keep his word with them; neither was there any thing blameable in the Marquis's conduct, ſuppoſing it to have proceeded merely from his zeal for the Church of Scotland, ſince this

(*e*) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 459.

(*f*) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.

(*g*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 604.

(*h*) Bates, Elenc. Motuum, p. 95.

allowances as is neceſſary on the ſcore of that partiality, in favour of their own parties, with which almoſt all of them are known to write. It is evident from the whole tenor of Biſhop Guthrie's Memoirs, that he was ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt the Marquis of Argyle; yet he acknowledges, that, in 1643, this nobleman ſet on foot a negotiation for compromiſing his differences with Montroſe (25); and at the ſame time owns, that the latter gave him a dilatory anſwer, with a view to gain time, having already taken a ſettled reſolution to begin the war, as ſoon as thoſe of his party about the King could procure him a commiſſion. It is alſo neceſſary to obſerve, that Argyle and his friends, whom Burnet ſtiles the Church party (26) in Scotland, had very clearly the King's authority on their ſide, as appears, beyond contradiction, from His Majeſty owning them upon many occaſions, and treating with them to the laſt, at the Iſle of Wight, as a legal Parliament, and repreſentatives of his ſubjects; and as ſuch, after his death, they were owned by King Charles II. Yet notwithſtanding this, in 1644, Montroſe was employed in Scotland to raiſe a war on that ſide, and Antrim promiſed to ſend aſſiſtance from Ireland; and for their encouragement, both were created Marquiſſes (27). By this means the war began in Scotland, and was carried on with great violence and fury, more eſpecially by the Iriſh that Antrim ſent over. The Marquis of Argyle and the Earl of Lothian were employed by the Parliament to command their forces againſt Montroſe, when they acted for ſome time on the defenſive, and at laſt laid down their command; of which Biſhop Guthrie gives this account (28); 'without more ado (ſays he) 'they went to Edinburgh and delivered up their commiſſions to the Committee of Eſtate, receiving from 'them an act of approbation of their ſervice, which 'many ſaid they deſerved the better, becauſe *they 'had ſhed no blood.*' It is to be hoped this Prelate himſelf was among the *many*; for ſurely avoiding to ſhed blood in ſuch times as theſe, was a very heroic, as well as Chriſtian diſpoſition. Yet ſome time after, this right reverend author ſeems to take a pleaſure in relating the calamities that befel the countries belonging to the Marquis of Argyle; obſerves, without any teſtimony of compaſſion, that the people were driven to hide and lurk about, ſo that multitudes periſhed by famine; and aſſerts, that, at laſt, the Marquis's great power was ſo far reduced, that he could ſcarce muſter fifteen hundred of his tenants, ſuch rivers of blood had been ſhed in the Civil War (29). The Earl of Clarendon (30) alſo acknowledges, that upon enquiring what foul offence the Marquis of Montroſe had ever committed that ſhould hinder the Lords, who now (1650) were returned to their duty from acting in conjunction with him, the Earl of Lauderdale 'told him, that he 'could not imagine or conceive the barbarities and inhumanities Montroſe was guilty of, at the time he 'made war in Scotland, that he never gave quarter to 'any man, but purſued all the advantages he ever got, 'with the utmoſt outrage and cruelty; that he had in 'one battle killed fifteen hundred of one family of the 'Campbells, of the blood and name of Argyle, and 'that he had utterly rooted out ſeveral names and entire noble families.' It muſt therefore be allowed, that it was a mark of much moderation and greatneſs of mind in the Marquis of Argyle, to refuſe having any ſhare in the proceedings againſt this unfortunate Nobleman; neither is any thing ſaid of him here, or elſe where, intended as the leaſt aſperſion upon his character. It was the unhappineſs, the ſignal unhappineſs, of thoſe diſmal times, that men of honour, of virtue, and of religion, were drawn by the different colours given to the cauſes of ſeveral parties, to ſhed the blood of their countrymen, to deſtroy and to depopulate their native ſoil, and to purſue even their old acquaintance, nay and near relations, with unrelenting fury. The Marquis of Argyle appears to have had as little of this ſpirit as any, and yet when he had leiſure to recollect, and to reflect upon his own actions, we find him profeſſing with an ingenuity worthy of his noble nature, his concern for what had happened. Theſe are his words (31). 'I confeſs it was my 'great misfortune to be too deeply engaged in theſe 'fatal times. I know the Nobility of Scotland have 'always bickered with their Princes; and from the inſolency of that cuſtom, not any of our Kings have 'been free. 'Tis alſo true, the perpetual family 'feuds among us, which by all the induſtry and authority of our Princes could never be ſo pacified, but 'that they revived again, and took upon themſelves, as 'they had advantage, to revenge their quarrel; (and 'yet like ſudden floods which violently over-run, and 'as peaceably return within their banks, abated to their 'due allegiance) did eaſily perſuade me, that there was no 'ſuch apparent danger in the firſt beginnings of the 'conteſt between the King and my nation of Scotland. 'I had laid it for a maxim, that a reformation was 'ſooner effected, *per Gladium Oris*, then *per Os Gladii*; 'and certainly true religion is rather a fettler than a 'ſtickler in policy, and rather confirms men in the 'obedience to the government eſtabliſhed, than invites 'them to the erecting of new, which they neither do 'nor can know 'till it be diſcovered and declared. 'Wherein I did not look upon our intended reformation as any way taxable, ſince it had the whole ſtream 'of univerſal conſent of the whole nation; I never 'thought of thoſe dire conſequences which preſently 'followed, 'till by that confuſion my thoughts became 'diſtracted,' and myſelf encountred ſo many difficulties 'in the way, that all remedies that were applied did 'the quite contrary operation: whatever therefore 'hath been ſaid by me and others, in this matter, you 'muſt repute and accept them as from a diſtracted 'man, of a diſtracted ſubject, in a diſtracted time 'wherein I lived; and this ſhall ſerve to let you know, 'how far I waded unwarily in that buſineſs.'

(25) Memoirs of the Conſpiracies and Rebellion againſt King Charles I. p. 110, 111.

(26) In his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, throughout.

(27) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 331.

(28) Memoirs of the Conſpiracies and Rebellion againſt King CharlesI. p. 134.

(29) Idem, ibid. p. 151, 152, 171.

(30) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 579.

(31) The Marquis of Argyle's Inſtructions to his ſon, p. 4, 5, 6, 7.

this was agreeable to the whole tenor of his life, and the very principle upon which all that influence was grounded, which hitherto he had so effectually used for the King's service and support (*i*). It is also allowed, that the Marquis's conduct in Scotland had a very great effect upon his countrymen in Ireland, who thereupon immediately and unanimously declared for the King (*k*). It is very certain, that as the Marquis of Argyle had brought the Scotch nation to own and receive His Majesty upon the foundation of their constitution; so he was very sollicitous, that the King should keep his promises with them, and that he should act in such a manner as might extinguish all their fears and jealousies, in which impartial people will allow, that he acted like an able Statesman and a good subject (*l*). Upon Cromwell's entering Scotland, it is confessed, that he met with effectual and obstinate resistance, and that he was never in so great danger of being defeated, as in that expedition. There are very different accounts of the battle of Dunbar, which was fought, September 3, 1650, in which, tho' Cromwell gained a great yet it was an unexpected victory; and, notwithstanding the Marquis of Argyle had been very instrumental in raising that powerful army, which fought there in the King's cause, yet never any blame was charged upon him, in respect to the defeat (*m*). He adhered to the King as steadily afterwards as he did before it, attended him at Perth, or St Johnstoun, with the same diligence and duty (*n*), and was so instrumental in the steps taken there for His Majesty's service, that out of a full persuasion of the uprightness of his intentions and the justice of his conduct, the King, of his own motive, was pleased to give him such a testimony under his hand, as ought to convince posterity, that what some men have written, in reference to this noble person, proceeded either from partiality or want of sufficient lights (*o*). This paper alone is of more weight than all the private Memoirs or General Histories of those times put together; as King Charles II. is known to have formed very right judgments of men, and as he hath given us therein his judgment of the Marquis's behaviour to this time [*G*]. Such of the English as were about the King, and more especially the

(*i*) See his Answer to the Charge against him before the Scotch Parliament, in 1661.

(*k*) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 605. Bates, Elenc. Mot. P. ii. p. 95.

(*l*) Crauford's History of the Great Officers of State in Scotland, p. 417.

(*m*) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 607, 608. Whitelock's Memorials, p. 476. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 356. Bates, Elenchus Mot. Part ii. p. 105, 106.

(*n*) Wodrow's Hist. of the Ch. of Scotland, in the Appendix, p. 25.

(*o*) See Echard's third Vol. of the Hist. of England, in the Appendix.

[*G*] *Of the Marquis's behaviour to this time.*] The defeat at Dunbar was a very trying circumstance, in respect to the King's affairs; and it seems, that the Committee of Estates were not extremely attentive to the concern His Majesty was under on this occasion. He was at that time at Perth, from whence he dispatched the Marquis of Argyle to the States, with a message, which was soon after followed by a most gracious letter, dated the 12th of September; the very same day the Lord Lorne was sent with another letter, in reference to recruiting the regiments of guards (32). The pains taken, both by the Marquis and his son upon this occasion, might very naturally make a strong impression upon His Majesty's mind, more especially as he could not but be sensible, that it was chiefly owing to their influence the Ministers were kept to his party; and that the advice given him by the Marquis, how little soever it might be agreeable to his age and temper, was, notwithstanding, of the utmost consequence to his affairs, and the fittest for him to follow at that juncture. Upon these motives, he was inclined to give the Marquis a signal testimony of his royal favour, which at the same time, that it expressed his sense of past and present services, might bind him to him, for the future. He drew up, therefore, the following paper with his own hand, and presented it to the Marquis, under his Sign-Manual (33).

(32) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 163, 164.

(33) Printed by the Rev. Mr Echard, in the Appendix to the third Vol. of his Hist. being communicated to him by the late Duke of Argyle.

'HAving taken into my consideration the faithful endeavours of the Marquis of Argyle, for restoring me to my just rights, and the happy settling of my dominions. I am desirous to let the world see how sensible I am of his real respect to me, by some particular marks of my favour to him, by which they may see, the trust and confidence, which I repose in him: and particularly, I do promise, that I will make him Duke of Argyle and Knight of the Garter, and one of the Gentleman of my Bed-Chamber; and this to be performed, when he shall think it fit. And, I do further promise him, to hearken to his counsels ——— (worn out) ——— Whenever it shall please God to restore me to my just rights in England, I shall see him paid the forty thousand pounds sterling, which is due to him. All which, I do promise to make good, upon the word of a king.'

St Johnstoun, September 24, 1650. CHARLES R.

There can be but two constructions put upon this paper, for, either it must have proceeded entirely from the kindness and good will of the King; and then it must be allowed, to be the clearest demonstration of his high opinion of the Marquis's abilities and fidelity, which over-turns all the conjectural accounts of those Historians, who pretend, that he looked upon himself, as under a kind of government and restraint from the Marquis; or it must have been owing to the ambition of that Nobleman himself, who was willing to have a security from the King, for the hazards he run in his service; and taken in this light, it is as clear a proof of his sincere intention to contribute all in his power to his Restoration, without which this paper was a thing of no value. If therefore, we either allow, which by the way, no-body ever denied, that the King had parts or the Marquis prudence, we cannot doubt, that they perfectly understood each other, tho' it is highly probable, from the profound secrecy with which this transaction was attended, that neither inclined the world should know how perfect an understanding there was between them. It would be no very difficult matter to show the truth of this observation from matters of fact. The King, tho' he did not follow the Marquis's advice in protracting the war in Scotland, yet testified his respect and regard for him at his departure. It appears from the Earl of Clarendon's account, that the Queen-Mother had always a very good opinion of the Marquis (34), as had such of the King's English Counsellors as wished to see him truly a Monarch, the sovereign of all his subjects, of what religious or political sentiments soever they might be, and to which in his own nature the King himself was inclined. The conference with Don John of Austria, five years after this, shews His Majesty's thorough sense of the Marquis's real attachment, notwithstanding appearances (35). On the other hand, he was the last man that capitulated in Scotland, he did it when sick and a prisoner, and then only promised to be quiet. He held several meetings with the loyal Nobility, to consider whether any thing might be attempted for His Majesty's service. His son was very often in arms, which made the father always suspected; and tho' he seems to have altered his conduct in the last years of the usurpation, yet it was, because he judged, that complying so far, as to sit in Parliament in the time of Richard, might be of more service to the King, as it really was, than acting in Scotland against Monk. At his very tryal, he appealed to his Grace, the Earl of Middleton (36), then High Commissioner, for the truth of his sending a message to him in the hills, when he was there in arms with a few followers for the King; to which he received no answer; and his resolution of going up to London after the Restoration, must have arisen from a consciousness of these past services.

(34) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 631.

(35) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 604.

(36) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 47.

[*H*] *To*

the Duke of Buckingham, were very well satisfied with the Marquis's conduct, and concurred with him in his measures. They knew very well, that there was no sailing against wind and tide, and thought those did the King service, that enabled him to sail with them (*p*). But after all, His Majesty was drawn to wish for a coalition of parties; and having intelligence, that the Highlanders were in arms, and that several Noblemen had joined with them, he secretly withdrew from Perth, intending to have cast himself upon them (*q*). He was however prevailed upon to return, and the Marquis of Argyle still adhering closely to him, tho' he saw His Majesty disposed to take other measures than those he thought best for his service; it was resolved, he should be solemnly crowned at Scoon with all the magnificence in the power of that distressed nation; which was accordingly done in January following, when the King, by his coronation oath, renewed all his former promises and obligations and the Crown was set upon his head by the Marquis of Argyle, who was the first Nobleman that did homage and swore allegiance (*r*). After this, His Majesty entered into measures for procuring the Act of Classes, by which Montrose's party were kept out of employments, to be repealed, which, tho' it might be against the judgment of the Marquis of Argyle, yet he did not hinder His Majesty from prosecuting that design. It is very clear from the Histories of those times, that how much soever these steps might increase the King's army, yet they added very little strength to it, or weight to his Councils (*s*). New jealousies arose, fresh struggles for power began, Cromwell pushed his successes so far, that having at last made himself master of Perth, the King found himself obliged with his army to retire to Sterling, where, however he was so strongly posted, that after several attempts to no purpose, Cromwell was obliged to lay aside his design of attacking him (*t*). It was in the month of July, that the King formed a resolution of marching into England, which, it is allowed, was opposed by the Marquis of Argyle, and which seems to be very fair dealing, is acknowledged by the Earl of Clarendon, that those he offered against it were no frivolous reasons, tho' they are not mentioned (*u*). It is highly probable, that the Marquis might think His Majesty might find it easier to deal with his enemies in a country where his authority was universally acknowledged, except in the places immediately under their power; he might also hope, by protracting the war and removing the seat of it, Cromwell's army might be lessened, separated, and perhaps drawn into the same circumstances, that they were before the fatal battle of Dunbar; neither is it all unlikely, that he might hope the English in the King's interest, would, by such a diversion, have time given them to consult and concert a general insurrection, which was like to prove infinitly more formidable than any attempts they could make to join the King upon his sudden marching into their country with several flying corps of the Parliament forces in his front, and on his flanks, and Cromwell's numerous and victorious army at his heels (*w*). But tho' the Marquis disapproved the measure, and gave his reasons against it, which were allowed to have weight by the best judges, even of the King's English friends, yet he would have accompanied His Majesty, if his Lady had not lain at the point of death, which induced him to ask the King's leave to remain behind; which was very graciously given, and he had the honour of kissing his sovereign's hand, when he took leave of him at Sterling (*x*). We are indeed told by certain Historians, that there were some about the King, who would have persuaded him to secure the Marquis's person, and to have left him, not only as he did, without trust or power, but without liberty also (*y*), when his Lady was in a dying condition in Scotland. But His Majesty had more wisdom, as well as justice, than to consent to any such thing; and the answer that he gave upon that occasion shews, how much better he was able to judge of things, than any of those about him. After the King's defeat at Worcester, the Marquis of Argyle retired to his own house at Inverary, where he continued to act as he thought best for his own defence, for a whole year (*z*); 'till falling sick, he was surprized and made prisoner by General Dean, who afterwards brought him up to Edinburgh, where he was likewise a prisoner, when Cromwell was proclaimed Protector, and having received General Monk's orders to attend the Council, he was, in consequence of that attendance, obliged to be present at the ceremeony of proclaiming the Protector (*a*). While he was a prisoner, a paper was tendered to him to sign, containing his submission to the government, as settled, without King or House of Lords; which he refused; but afterwards, when he was in no condition to struggle, he did sign a paper (*b*) promising to live peaceably under that government. His Chaplain, Mr Alexander Gordon, while the English were at Inverary, prayed constantly for His Majesty; and when the Marquis himself prayed, he always mentioned those to whom he was engaged, by natural, civil, or Christian bonds (*c*). His country was the last that submitted; and even then, his son did not submit. The Marquis did indeed use great civility towards the persons in power, which was the more necessary, because, as Whitelocke and other writers of that party tell us, he was under continual suspicions; so far is it from being true, that he was looked upon by them as a man firm in their interest, or one in whom they might confide (*d*). He opposed the Act of Union, upon plausible and just motives; but in reality, with a view to hinder it from succeeding at all (*e*). In 1656, when King Charles II. had a conference with Don John of Austria upon the state of his affairs in Scotland; and amongst other things it was objected to him, that the Marquis and his son, the Lord Lorne, had the greatest interest there, and that it was suspected they

(*p*) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 613.

(*q* Bates, Elenc. Mot. P. ii. p. 111.

(*r*) See the Ceremony of the King's Coronation at Scoon, Jan. , 1651, prefixed to Mr Robert Douglas's Sermon upon that Occesion.

(*s*) See the Preface to Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland.

(*t*) Bates, Elenc. Mot. p. 118, 119.

(*u*) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 614.

(*w*) These reasons were reported often in conversation by the old Earl of Cromartie.

(*x*) See the Marquis's Answer to the Charge against him before the Parliament in 1661.

(*y*) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 614.

(*z*) Append. to Wodrow's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 25.

(*a*) Thurloe's Letters, Vol. VI. p. 405.

(*b*) Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Append. p. 25.

(*c*) See his Defence against the Charge before the Parliament of Scotland in 1661.

(*d*) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 506, 514, 517, 519, 524, 530, 532. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 514.

(*e*) See his Defence beforementioned.

they were againſt him; His Majeſty anſwered clearly, that for the Lord Lorne, he could depend as much upon him, as upon his brother. In regard to the Marquis, he contented himſelf, with ſaying he was a very wiſe man; but at laſt confeſſed, that he had received more money from him, than from any perſon in Scotland (*f*). It is not to be inferred from hence, that the King had any doubts, at that time, about his fidelity; but knowing his cautious way of acting, he was unwilling to declare his ſentiments plainly, even to Don John. Under Richard's Protectorate, he was choſe for the ſhire of Aberdeen; and tho' he had refuſed to ſerve in Oliver's Parliament, yet he thought fit to go up then to London, and wrought there, as he told ſeveral after he came down again to Scotland, for His Majeſty's ſervice, as it was afterwards proved, for his ſervice effectually by making that breach, by which His Majeſty entered (*g*). It ſeems however, that during Monk's government in Scotland, he looked upon the country as abſolutely conquered; and his conceiving the thing in this light, very probably induced him to take many ſteps, that he would not otherwiſe have done (*h*). Upon the King's Reſtoration, he was differently adviſed by his friends, ſome perſuaded him to go immedately up to London, and congratulate His Majeſty on his return; others thought it more adviſeable, that he ſhould wait 'till the government was ſettled; there is no doubt, that he weighed very ſeriouſly both thoſe opinions; but at laſt, he determined upon the former, as the more open and honeſt, if not the moſt prudent courſe. He accordingly came up to London, where he arrived July 8, 1660 (*i*); tho' it is reported, that orders had been procured from the King to ſtop him on the road. Immediately after his arrival, he went to Whitehall; of which, when the King was informed, he ſent Sir William Fleming to carry him to the Tower, he preſſed very earneſtly, that he might be allowed to ſee the King, but his enemies prevented that; they knew his great abilities, and they knew the confidence the King had in him, they knew likewiſe the arts by which that confidence had been ruined, and therefore they cauſed him to be hurried away without ceremony, indeed without civility or decency (*k*). After he was committed to the Tower, he made application for liberty to have affidavits and declarations of ſeveral perſons in England, particularly of the Marquis of Hertford, taken upon ſome matters of fact; but this piece of juſtice was denied him (*l*). At the very time he was committed to the Tower, the Marquis of Antrim was alſo ſent thither, for affirming, that the Iriſh had acted by the late King's authority; and it will not certainly do any great honour to that adminſtration with poſterity, who thought it conſiſtent with the King's reputation to diſmiſs the latter ſo eaſily, and to proſecute the former to deſtruction without mercy (*m*). He was continued in the Tower for about five months, and in December was ſent down by ſea to Scotland, very narrowly eſcaping ſhipwreck in his paſſage by ſtorm (*n*). As ſoon as he arrived, he was ſent priſoner to the Caſtle of Edinburgh, in order to be brought to a tryal before the Parliament of Scotland, to which his capital enemy, the Earl of Middleton, was ſent down Lord High Commiſſioner; who, through the whole courſe of it, argued with a vehemency, that would have been highly indecent in an Advocate, and therefore I know not what to call it in a Judge (*o*). A long charge was exhibited againſt the Marquis comprehending a vaſt variety of facts, from the year 1638, which was done purpoſely to render him odious, and to raiſe a clamour againſt him, for moſt of them were incapable of any kind of proof; and all before the year 1651, were abſolutely pardoned (*p*) by the Act of Indemnity, which His Majeſty had paſſed in that very year (*q*). He had counſel aſſigned him to the number of ſix; and amongſt theſe, was Mr Mackenzie, afterwards the famous Sir George Mackenzie. On the 13th of February, he was brought before the Parliament, where he deſired leave to ſpeak before his indictment was read; which was refuſed him, as were alſo ſome other things, that in any caſe but his, would have been looked upon as matters of courſe (*r*). Theſe ſteps were probably taken to ſhorten the tryal, which however was very long; for tho' no pains were ſpared to ſearch almoſt every ſhire in Scotland, to find out people to blacken his character, yet, when the matters came to be looked into, they turned to no account (*s*). At laſt, they were forced to fix upon his joining with the Engliſh, as the only ſpecies of treaſon, that could affect him; and, in reference to this, the Earl of Loudon, ſo many years Chancellor, defended him with great warmth and eloquence (*t*). The Marquis himſelf ſaid, 'That what he had done, he was 'compelled to do by neceſſity, which being a thing above law; and which took place 'only where there was no law; ought, in the reaſon of things, to juſtify a man againſt law. 'That what he did, he did with a good intention, with a deſire to ſerve His Majeſty, 'and preſerve his ſubjects; and, that he bleſſed God, he had ſucceeded in both. That 'however, he had done no more than others did, even thoſe who were now his proſe-'cutors and his judges. He adviſed them, therefore to conſider, how fatal a precedent they 'were about to eſtabliſh, with reſpect to themſelves and to their poſterity. A precedent, 'that making it impoſſible for any man to be thought innocent, who ſubmitted to an 'uſurpation, muſt neceſſarily take away from every man the deſire of over-turning an uſur-'pation, as that muſt have a tendency to his own deſtruction.' On the 29th of April, the Earls of Glencairne and Rothes, and Mr James Sharp, afterwards Archbiſhop of St Andrews, were ſent up to Court to give an account of the proceedings (*u*). The Marquis alſo ſent up his ſon, Lord Niele Campbell, to act on his behalf; and it is ſaid, that the King wrote to his Commiſſioner, the Earl of Middleton requiring him to preſs no acts

(*f*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 604.

(*g*) State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 431.

(*h*) This appears throughout his Defence.

(*i*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland. Vol. I. p. 42. Kennet's Chronicle or Regiſter, p. 220.

(*k*) Kennet's Chron. p. 202.

(*l*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 42.

(*m*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 34.

(*n*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 42.

(*o*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 122.

(*p*) See that Charge in the State Tryals, Vol. VII. p. 379.

(*q*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland. Vol. I. p. 43.

(*r*) Caſe of the Marquis of Argyle.

(*s*) Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I p. 43.

(*t*) Crauford's Lives of the great Officers of State in Scotland, p. 215.

(*u*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 119.

of

of treaſon, but ſuch as happened after the year 1651, and not to proceed to ſentence before His Majeſty had reviſed the proceedings. With the former inſtruction the Commiſſioner complied, but pretended, that the latter manifeſted ſuch a diſtruſt of the Parliament (*w*), that he durſt not mention it. The depoſitions of abundance of people were taken, with reſpect to the Marquis's acting under, and owning, the government eſtabliſhed in Scotland in 1652. Biſhop Burnet tells us, that Monk ſent down his letters, that they came after the evidence was cloſed, but that the Lord Commiſſioner cauſed them to be read, upon which the Marquis's friends went out, perceiving there was then no room to ſerve him (*x*). I find nothing of this any where elſe; and tho' I very readily believe, that if Monk had any ſuch letters, he would have ſent them, and that they would have been read; yet, I think, there are good reaſons to eſteem this fact, doubtful, if not falſe [*H*]. At laſt, upon the evidence, produced on May 3d, 7th, and the 8th, they pronounced him

(*w*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 51. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 123. State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 433.

(*x*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 125.

[*H*] *To eſteem this fact doubtful, if not falſe.*] It is very clear, that what Biſhop Burnet relates, concerning the tranſactions of theſe times, he muſt have received from other people, and that ſeveral years after; for at the time of the Marquis of Argyle's death, he could not be much above eighteen years old; we need not wonder, therefore, that in the circumſtances relating to great events, before thoſe times, in which he came to have a ſhare in buſineſs, he might be miſinformed, for that is all, that either is or ought to be contended for, on this occaſion. After giving us an account of a very learned ſpeech prepared by the Earl of Loudon, and which Crauford tells us, was ſpoken by him in juſtification of the Marquis, the Biſhop proceeds thus (38): 'But while it was very doubtful, how it would have 'gone, Monk by an inexcuſable baſeneſs had ſearched 'among his letters and found ſome that were writ by 'Argyle to himſelf, that were hearty and zealous on 'their ſide. Theſe he ſent down to Scotland. And 'after they were read in Parliament, it could not be 'pretended, that his compliance was feigned or extorted 'from him. Every body blamed Monk for ſending theſe 'down, ſince it was betraying the confidence that 'they then lived in. They were ſent by an expreſs, 'and came to the Earl of Middleton after the Parliament was engaged in the debate. So he ordered the 'letters to be read. This was much blamed as contrary to the forms of juſtice, ſince probation was 'cloſed on both ſides. But the reading of them 'ſilenced all farther debate. All his friends went out: 'and he was condemned as guilty of treaſon. The 'Marquis of Montroſe only refuſed to vote. He 'owned he had too much reſentment to judge in that 'matter. It was deſigned he ſhould be hanged as the 'Marquis of Montroſe had been: but it was carried, 'that he ſhould be beheaded, and that his head ſhould 'be ſet up where Lord Montroſe's had been ſet.' It is evident from hence, that if our author's account of the matter be right, the Marquis of Argyle had nothing to complain of, for theſe letters ſent down by Monk fixed the fact ſo fully upon him, that even his friends gave up his defence, and withdrew. But the Marquis, when he received ſentence, as well as in the whole courſe of his defence, inſiſted, that he had complied no farther than other people had done who were then his judges; and the ſame thing he ſays in his ſpeech; and hence it is, that I am apt to believe, that there is ſome miſtake or miſapprehenſion in this matter; and that tho' Monk might give his aſſiſtance to ruin a man whoſe abilities he might fear, and whoſe influence he very well knew (39); yet he neither ſent down any ſuch letters, nor had any ſuch to ſend; and in ſupport of this opinion, I ſhall offer my reaſons, and draw them into the narroweſt compaſs poſſible. I. This matter was very narrowly looked into at the time it happened; has been very carefully reviewed ſince; and accounts of it have been given by perſons of oppoſite ſentiments; yet none of theſe mention Monk's letters. The great Miniſters of thoſe times, and thoſe who were deepeſt in the taking the Marquis's life, removed, as far as they were able, all the minutes relating to his proceſs, which they would not have done, had he been convicted on the teſtimony of theſe letters, becauſe, the recording them had juſtified their proceedings (40). All things tending to juſtify the bringing the Marquis to a tryal; condemning and putting him to death, were carefully publiſhed in England, as Biſhop Kennet ſhows very largely; but nothing is ſaid of theſe letters (41). Sir George Mackenzie wrote a vindication of the government of King Charles II. in Scotland, in which he paſſes over entirely this whole tranſaction, which ſurely he would not have done, if it could have been ſo eaſily vindicated, as by tranſcribing theſe letters (42). Mr Wodrow collected every thing he could meet with relating to this proceſs, and has preſerved the names of the witneſſes that proved the Marquis's compliance, but he ſays nothing of Monk's letters, neither is there a ſyllable of them in the State Tryals, except the tranſcribing this paſſage from Biſhop Burnet. II. It ſeems to be inconſiſtent with another part of the Biſhop's own account; for he ſays, the King inſtructed his Commiſſioner not to proceed to ſentence, or at leaſt to execution, 'till he had reviewed the proceedings (43); for which there had been no occaſion if the King had known any thing of theſe letters, ſince what ſatisfied the Marquis's friends as to his guilt, would undoubtedly have ſatisfied His Majeſty alſo upon that ſubject. III. There are ſome circumſtances in the account this Prelate gives us of the Marquis, which may eaſily induce us to believe, that he might be miſled in regard to his ſtory. As for inſtance, he mentions his being upon ill terms with his ſon Lord Lorne, and having actually had thoughts of diſinheriting him (44). Under the uſurpation, it was neceſſary for the Marquis to diſclaim the conduct of Lord Lorne for his own ſafety and preſervation; but this never deceived the people in power (45); and therefore it is ſtrange, that it ſhould impoſe upon the Biſhop. In the Marquis's advice to his ſon and to the reſt of his children, there is nothing that looks that way; and in the next article, we ſhall ſee, that Lord Lorne's zeal for his father, had like to have coſt him his own life, as the Marquis's coming to London on his ſon's letter, actually coſt him his. The Biſhop ſpeaks of an attempt made by the Marquis to make his eſcape out of the Caſtle; but he ſays, that fearing it might haſten his execution, his heart failed him (46). It is not eaſy to conceive how this can be reconciled to the ſtory of Monk's letters. Before they came, the Biſhop tells us the affair was very doubtful, and in ſuch a ſituation, it is not probable the Marquis would attempt an eſcape. After ſentence was paſſed he never was in the Caſtle, and conſequently could have no opportunity of eſcaping from thence. It is however true, that he really intended an eſcape from the Caſtle, and was once in compleat diſguiſe for that purpoſe, but laid aſide his deſign, becauſe he would not deſert the ſentiments which he had eſpouſed (47). He choſe rather to die like an honeſt man, than to draw an imputation of guilt upon his character by flight, but his conduct would have been abſurd, if his letters to Monk had proved him already guilty, or even if he knew ſuch letters had been in Monk's power. The Biſhop ſays expreſsly, that the Marquis wrote his letter to the King the day before his execution (48); the letter itſelf ſhews, that the Marquis wrote it that very day (49). It ſeems therefore poſſible, that the Biſhop having this account from ſome good hand, in his opinion, might ſet it down without conſidering it very carefully. IV. We have many things ſaid by Clarendon and Echard of the Marquis's correſpondence with Cromwell and Sir Henry Vane, though neither have vouchſafed us any proofs. On the other hand, Whitelocke and other writers on that ſide, give him quite another character, and repreſent him as a perſon always ſuſpected and dreaded. We have of late years had great diſcoveries made of the correſpondence under Cromwell's government; all which clearly proves, that the Marquis of Argyle was never conſidered in any other light than that of a concealed Royaliſt, as his ſon, the Lord Lorne, was a declared one (50). There is a letter of his to King Charles II, which I have ſeen, and is now in print, that proves he had a great

(38) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 125.

(39) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 42.

(40) Ibid. p. 57.

(41) Regiſter and Chronicle, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, p. 334, 405, 407, 428, 451, 452.

(42) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 57.

(43) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 123.

(44) Ibid. p. 106.

(45) Thurloe's Letters, Vol. I. p. 514.

(46) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 124.

(47) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 53.

(48) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 125.

(49) See the Letter in the next note.

(50) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. III. p. 28.

him guilty, after debates, which laſted many days; and on Saturday, May 25, they pronounced the following ſentence, *That he ſhould be beheaded on the* Monday *following, at the* Croſs *of* Edinburgh; *that his* head *ſhould be ſet up, where the Marquis of* Montroſe's *formerly ſtood, and his coat of arms torn before the* Parliament, *and at the* Croſs. He behaved on that occaſion, with great firmneſs and conſtancy, as well as much calmneſs and dignity. The ſentence being pronounced, he was going to ſpeak, but the trumpets ſounding, he ſtopped 'till that ſtrange ceremony was over; then lifting up his eyes, he ſaid, 'I had 'the honour to ſet the Crown upon the King's head, and now he haſtens me to a better 'crown than his own; *then directing himſelf to the Commiſſioner and Parliament, he added,* 'You have the indemnity of an earthly King in your hands, and have denied me a ſhare 'in that, but you cannot hinder me from the indemnity of the King of Kings, and 'ſhortly you muſt come before his tribunal. I pray he mete not out ſuch meaſure to you 'as you have done to me, when you are called to an account for all your actions, and 'this amongſt the reſt.' He was conducted from the bar to the common goal of Edinburgh, where he remained to the time of his death. He dined on Monday at Twelve o'Clock, with his friends, with great chearfulneſs. He behaved on the ſcaffold with the intrepidity of a heroe, or rather, with the conſtancy of a Chriſtian. His laſt words, and the letter he wrote the King the morning of his execution, will ſufficiently ſhew, that as he lived, ſo he died, a much better ſubject, than thoſe who brought him to that death (*y*) [*I*]. His enemies took care that his proceſs ſhould not remain among the Parliament

(*y*) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 431, 432. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 53, 54, 55. State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 434. Heath's Chron. p. 497. Echard's Hiſt of England, p. 793.

great correſpondence with King Charles I; and in which he tells the King, that no body could reſtore him but the Preſbyterians; which the King afterwards found to be true (51). V. Laſtly, It is ſo far from being a fact, that he had any cloſe connection with Monk in the management of affairs, while he governed Scotland, that I am able to prove he was his mortal enemy, and repreſented him in the blackeſt colours to both the Protectors. He accuſed him to Oliver as not deſerving the money that was paid him (52) as a debt for maintaining the Scots troops in Ireland upon the credit of the publick faith; and the following letter will fully ſhew, that he did not conſider his going up to Richard's Parliament as a compliance with that government, but as an endeavour to overturn it. This letter is directed to Thurloe, and runs thus (53):

(51) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. B. ii. p. 26, 27.

(52) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VI. p. 341.

(53) Ibid. Vol. VII. p. 584.

'My Lord,

'MY Lord Keeper and myſelf have done our 'beſt to get thoſe men choſen you have wrote 'for; but my Lord of Argyle and ſome others whom 'my Lord Keeper will acquaint you with, have endeavoured all they can to get all Scotchmen choſen. 'But, I doubt not, but there will be three choſen of 'thoſe five you ſent the names of; and I have taken 'care, that as many as come out of this country, ſhall 'be there with the firſt: and if the writs come in 'time, which I hope they will, they ſhall be all ſent 'to Dr Clarges. The Marquis of Argyle himſelf endeavours to be choſen, notwithſtanding he is Sheriff 'of Argyleſhire; neither do I gueſs he will do his 'Highneſs's intereſt any good; but when my Lord 'Keeper comes up, he ſhall acquaint you with the 'buſineſs. Which is all at preſent from

'Your Lordſhip's

'Very humble Servant,

'Dalkeith December 30, 1658. GEORGE MONCK.'

[*I*] *Than thoſe who brought him to that death.*] There are ſome variations in the printed copies of the Marquis's ſpeech, which perhaps, may be owing to a deſire of giving an Engliſh turn to ſome of the Scotch expreſſions (54); but whoever peruſes it muſt confeſs, that it is grave and manly, and at the ſame time, loyal and pious. He gives a full and clear account of his actions, aſſerts the uprightneſs of his conduct and the ſincerity of his affection, both to King Charles I. and King Charles II. he owns and juſtifies his zeal for the religion in which he was bred, and with true Chriſtian charity forgives his enemies, and prays that God would forgive them. His laſt words immediately before he laid his head upon the block, were the vindication of his innocency from that horrid crime of the King's murder, in theſe words:

(54) Appendix to Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 28. State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 434.

'I deſire you, gentlemen, and all that hear me, again 'to take notice and remember, That now, when 'I am entring on eternity, and am to appear before 'my Judge, and as I deſire ſalvation, and expect 'eternal happineſs from him, I am free from any 'acceſſion, by knowledge, contriving, counſel, or any 'other way, to His late Majeſty's death; and I pray 'the Lord to preſerve the preſent King His Majeſty, 'and to pour his beſt bleſſings upon his perſon and 'government, and the Lord give him good and faithful Counſellors.'

The Marquis's letter to the King, written by his Lordſhip, the morning of his execution (55).

(55) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 54, 55.

'Moſt Saered Sovereign,

'I Doubt not but your Majeſty hath an account 'given you from others, of the iſſue of that ſtrange 'proceſs and indictment laid againſt me before this can 'come to your Royal hands; of which, if I had been 'guilty according to the charge, I ſhould have eſteemed myſelf unworthy to breathe upon the earth, much 'leſs would I have preſumed to make any application 'to your Majeſty. But of all thoſe great crimes 'which have been charged upon me, there hath nothing been proven, exeept a compliance with the prevalent uſurping rebels, after they had ſubdued all 'your Majeſty's dominions, whereby, I was forced, 'with many others, to ſubmit unto their unlawful 'power and government, which was an epidemick diſeaſe and fault of the time.

'What meaſure ſoever I have met with, and whatever malice or ealumny hath been eaſt upon me, yet 'it is inexpreſſible joy and comfort, under all theſe 'ſufferings, that I am found free and acquit of any 'acceſſion to that execrable murder eommitted againſt 'the life of your Royal Father, which (as I deſire a 'comfortable appearance before the Judge, both of 'the quick and the dead) my ſoul did ever abominate; 'for death, with the inward peace of my innocency, 'is much more acceptable to me, than life itſelf, with 'the leaſt ſtain of treachery.

'And now I am confident, that your Majeſty's 'diſpleaſure will be ſatisfied, and you will ſuffer my 'failings to be expiate with my life, which, with all 'humility and ſubmiſſion, I have yielded up; and in 'this ſmall period that remains of my life, no earthly 'thing ſhall be more cordially deſired by me, than 'your happineſs, and that your Majeſty and your 'ſucceſſors to all generations may ſway the Sceptre of 'theſe nations, and that they may be a bleſſed people 'under your government.

'And now, hoping that the humble ſupplication 'of your Majeſty's dying ſubject, may find ſome 'place within the large extent of your princely goodneſs and clemency, I have taken the boldneſs to caſt 'the deſolate condition of my poor wife and family 'upon your Royal favour; for whatever may be your 'Majeſty's diſpleaſure againſt myſelf, theſe I hope 'have not done any thing to procure your Majeſty's

'indignation.

Parliament Regiſters. Sir George Mackenzie, who wrote a Vindication of the Government of Scotland during this reign, does not ſo much as mention the Marquis's proceſs, though, as his advocate, he had defended him with great learning and ſpirit; nay, thoſe who paſſed the ſentence upon him did not think fit to ſign a dead warrant; ſo that in the letter of the law, as well as in the eye of reaſon, this could be accounted no better than a murder committed with much form (z). As the Lord High-Commiſſioner diſobeyed his Majeſty's command in precipitating the death of the Marquis, ſo for this, and other acts of violence, he was quickly diſgraced. At his firſt appearance in the world he had ſerved the Parliament of England againſt his Prince; he afterwards deſerted that ſervice, and was employed in Scotland in a manner which prejudiced him againſt the Marquis of Argyle, and induced him to act as he did, equally againſt the laws of the land, and the inſtructions of his maſter (a). At that time his conduct was univerſally condemned, and the behaviour of the Marquis generally applauded, as indeed it deſerved; for in the whole courſe of his life he never changed his ſentiments, but died with the ſame religious and political principles which he had always profeſſed while he lived, and practiſed alſo from firſt, to laſt.

(z) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 56, 57.

(a) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 335.

'indignation. And ſince, that family have had the 'honour to be faithful ſubjects and ſerviceable to your 'Royal progenitors, I humbly beg my faults may not 'extinguiſh the laſting merit and memory of thoſe 'who have given ſo many ſignal proofs of conſtant 'loyalty, for many generations. Orphans and widows, 'by ſpecial prerogative and command from God, are 'put under your protection and defence, that you 'ſuffer them not to be wronged: they will owe their 'preſervation ſo entirely to your Majeſty's bounty and 'favour, that your countenance, and nothing elſe that's 'human, can be a ſhield againſt their ruin.'

'I ſhall add no more, only being addebted to 'ſeveral of your Majeſty's good ſubjects, and your 'Royal juſtice being the ſource and fountain of all 'equity, whereby, all your people are preſerved in 'their juſt rights and intereſts, I humbly beg, that 'none of them may ſuffer for my fault, but that you 'would allow them ſatisfaction and payment of what 'is juſtly owing unto them, of thoſe ſums and debts which 'are truly reſting to my ſon and me. And, as it is 'my ſerious and laſt deſire to my children and poſterity, 'next to their duty to Almighty God, that they may 'be faithful and ſerviceable to your Majeſty; ſo were 'I to enjoy this frail life any longer, I would endeavour before all the world, to evidence myſelf to 'be,

'Your Majeſty's

'Moſt humble, devoted,

'And obedient Subject and Servant,

'From your priſon, Edinburgh, May 27, 1661. ARGYLE.'

E

CAMPBELL (ARCHIBALD) Earl of Argyle, ſon to the former, and himſelf one of the worthieſt Noblemen, and one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Patriots of the age in which he lived. He was educated under his father's eye in the true principles of loyalty and of the Chriſtian Religion (a), and came to be very early diſtinguiſhed in the world by his perſonal merit, as well as by his titles and the high rank he held in his country. When King Charles II. was invited home to receive the Crown of his ancient and hereditary kingdom in 1650, he was conſtituted Colonel of His Majeſty's foot-guards, in which there happened ſomething very particular; for whereas all commiſſions were then granted by the Parliament of Scotland, and they affected a kind of ſovereign authority, the Lord Lorne refuſed to act without a commiſſion from the King; which was accordingly granted him (b). In this command he ſerved with great bravery at the battle of Dunbar, where his regiment ſuffered exceedingly (c); and he continued in this command ſo long as His Majeſty remained in Scotland, behaving himſelf with ſuch tenderneſs and affection, as well as fidelity and duty, to that Prince, as gained him a high place in his favour, more eſpecially as he was always ready to obey his Maſter's commands, and did every thing to alleviate that conſtraint, which, from the rigid ſeverity of the Clergy, His Majeſty was for ſome time under (d). Neither was his zeal for the King's ſervice at all abated by the fatal defeat at Worceſter; on the contrary, he remained in arms, kept up a party in the Highlands, joined readily with the moſt inveterate enemies of his family for the King's ſervice, even tho' he found himſelf very ill uſed by them, and more than one attempt was made to impriſon him (e). But neither the hardſhips he went through, nor the treachery to which he was expoſed, could induce him to quit the Royal cauſe, and the teſtimonies of favour he had received from His Majeſty, made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on his mind, that he continued active when the King's affairs were deſperate, until he brought his own into the ſame condition (f). This conduct made him ſo obnoxious to Cromwell, that there was no perſon in Scotland whom he purſued with greater animoſity, as appears by his excepting him out of his general pardon, in 1654 (g). Yet, even this, did not at all diſcourage him or prevail upon him to deſiſt from giving that Uſurper all the trouble that was in his power, 'till he received General Middleton's orders, by the King's authority, to capitulate, which were dated December 31, 1655 (h). He then ſubmitted to live quietly and peaceably, but never owned either Oliver or Richard's government, but remained obnoxious to thoſe ſort of men who derived their power from them ſo long as it continued (i); of all which, many and inconteſtible proofs might be given, if the nature of this work would allow us to enlarge upon the ſubject [A]. Upon the King's Reſtoration

(a) See the Marquis of Argyle's Inſtructions to his ſon, p. 2, 3.

(b) This Commiſſion was in the hands of Archibald the firſt Duke of Argyle, and is probably ſtill preſerved by the family.

(c) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 164.

(d) Hiſt. of the King's Exile, p. 195.

(e) Crauford's Lives of the great Officers in Scotland, p. 214. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 58.

(f) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 21. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 57, 58.

(g) See a farther account of this in note [A].

(h) Theſe are ſtill preſerved in the Archives of the Argyle Family; See alſo State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 449, 450.

(i) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 609.

[A] *To enlarge upon the ſubject.*] It is very much to be regretted, that a ſincere deſire of diſcovering truth does not prevail as much in the world, as that ſpirit of curioſity which ſometimes wears the appearance of it; if ſuch a deſire could be excited, it would certainly engage lovers of Engliſh Hiſtory, to prefer the knowledge of facts to the

Reſtoration he came up to London to congratulate him, and brought with him a letter from his father containing aſſurances of his duty; which the King received in ſuch a manner, as gave that unfortunate Nobleman thoſe hopes, which proved the cauſe of his deſtruction (*k*). All the time of his father's proſecution Lord Lorne remained at Court, and laboured indefatigably to do him ſervice; and tho' this inſtance of filial piety ought certainly to have endeared him to all ranks of men, yet ſuch was the ſtrange diſpoſition of thoſe times, that it ſerved only to ſharpen the edge of their reſentments who were enemies to his family, and laboured the deſtruction of it, that they might raiſe their own (*l*). Theſe men who were ready to take any advantage, and were not either afraid or aſhamed to commit any act of violence neceſſary to ſerve their purpoſes, tho' the Royal authority was ever ſo much proſtituted, or the conſtitution of their country ever ſo much weakened thereby, ventured upon ſuch a ſtep to remove this noble and innocent perſon, as will appear to be full as ſingular, as it was iniquitous and cruel. Lord Lorne had diſcovered that theſe people had by the baſeſt intrigues and blackeſt calumnies hindered His Majeſty from extending to him his Royal favour, as he was naturally inclined; and having by the aſſiſtance of the Earl of Berkſhire convinced the Earl of Clarendon, upon

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 106.

(*l*) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, from the Reſtoration to the Revolution.

the florid repreſentation of them, as this again would engage others to labour for their ſatisfaction, and to make it their buſineſs to deſcribe the real characters of great men from their actions, and not truſt to ſuch draughts of them as are given by authors, guided rather by fancy than by authority, and who at beſt give us only their conceptions of men for what ought to be thought of them. The noble Hiſtorian is pleaſed to ſpeak of the Lord Lorne's commanding the King's guards (1), as if it had been a truſt committed to him by his father, and that the King was rather delivered to his cuſtody, than had in him a faithful officer and an obedient ſervant; Mr Echard follows, or rather copies, this account (2), which is entirely inconſiſtent with that we have given in the text, as it is with Biſhop Burnet's relation, that the Lord Lorne (3) won upon His Majeſty by the ſmoothneſs of his behaviour and by admitting whoever the King deſired to his preſence. Moſt certainly his Lordſhip behaved all the time the King was in Scotland with great zeal and duty; and he preſerved the ſame diſpoſition during the whole time of His Majeſty's being abroad; of which it may not be amiſs to add ſome particular inſtances here. He was in the Iſles in 1653, where he had a difference with Glengary, which might be probably owing to the feuds between their families, but this did not however hinder him from aſſiſting that Highland Chief in the King's quarrel (4). In the year following, notwithſtanding the ſeeming difference between him and his father the Marquis of Argyle, he brought a body of near one thouſand men into the field and joined the Earl of Glencairne (5). That noble Lord, as Biſhop Burnet tells us, had a notion of becoming another Montroſe (6); and he ſeems to have had as ſtrong an averſion to the houſe of Argyle, for he firſt took from Lord Lorne a regiment of foot he had raiſed, and gave him a troop of horſe; afterwards he took away that troop of horſe; and laſtly, out of mere partiality and private pique, would have ſecured his perſon, if he had not made his eſcape (7), which ruined this deſign for the King's ſervice, at a time, when, as the Oliverians themſelves confeſs, they had a great probability of aſſembling a very numerous army (8). Yet the King was ſo well ſatisfied of Lord Lorne's fidelity, and was ſo deſirous to free him from theſe diſcouragements, that he ſent him a commiſſion to be Lieutenant-General (9): of which, as of moſt other of His Majeſty's meaſures, Cromwell had ſo good an account, that it was very probably one reaſon for his excepting Lord Lorne out of his pardon. That pardon I have ſeen as it paſſed in his Parliament, April 12, 1654 (10), and in it is excepted the Queen-Dowager, the King, the Duke of York, the two Dukes of Hamilton, both dead, the Earl of Crawford and Lindſey, the Earl of Callander, the Earl Marſhal, the Earl of Kelly, the Earl of Lauderdale, the Earl of Loudon, the Earl of Seaforth, the Earl of Athol, Viſcount Kenmure, Lord Lorne, Lord Mackling, ſon to the Earl of Loudon, the Earl of Glencairne, and many others. Towards the end of that year, Lord Lorne was ſo diſtreſſed, that he retired to an iſland with only four or five perſons about him (11); whence it appears, that he did not ſubmit, 'till he was no longer in a condition of oppoſing. But his ſubmiſſion did not exempt him, either from ſuſpicions or hardſhips, as appears from an information againſt him in September 1655, by the Lord Broghill (12); and by another letter of Monk's in November following, in which he ſays, that he had taken ſecurity for his peaceable behaviour, as good as could be had in Scotland, to the amount of five thouſand pounds; and adds, that conſidering the very ill uſage he had received from the King's friends, he apprehended he would not be very ready to ſtir again (13). But it appears by an examination taken at the cloſe of the ſame year, that the King had ſtill as great a confidence in him as in any man in that kingdom (14). In 1656, Lord Broghill gave freſh informations againſt him in the month of May (15); and in Auguſt, Lockhart, who was Cromwell's Miniſter in France, charged Lord Fairfax and Lord Lorne with being engaged in new deſigns for the King's ſervice (16); of which, about the ſame time, Lord Broghill gave ample accounts, and adds alſo ſome very odd inſtances of his own watchings over Lord Lorne's conduct, and corrupting perſons in his ſervice (17). In the ſpring of the year 1657, General Monk thought fit to commit Lord Lorne to priſon, which was a very uſual thing whenever any ſtirs were apprehended in Scotland (18). But Lord Broghill did not think even this enough, and therefore he recommended the bringing him priſoner into England (19). Thus it very plainly appears, that if ſuffering be a proof of loyalty, no man's loyalty had better and more frequent teſtimonies to ſupport it than Lord Lorne's. But this is not all, in one of his impriſonments an accident befel him, which brought him to the very brink of the grave. It was a cuſtom then, as indeed it ſtill is in Scotland, more eſpecially in cold weather, for the ſoldiers to play at what they call long bullets; and while the guards were thus employed, a bullet thrown with all the force a man's arm could give it, glanced from a ſtone and ſtruck the Lord Lorne on the head, by which his ſcull was terribly fractured, ſo that he was forced to undergo the hazardous operation of the trepan, from which it was thought a miracle that he recovered (20). After all this, there is no great reaſon to wonder, that his Lordſhip ſhould expect to be welcome to King Charles II. upon his Reſtoration, or that he might preſume on his having ſome influence in favour of his father, if the Marquis of Argyle's conduct had ſtood in any need of it more than many others, who had not only ſubmitted to the uſurpers, but had laboured to eſtabliſh their authority, and expreſſed the higheſt diſreſpect towards the King, who yet found ways and means afterwards to obtain a large ſhare in his favour, while thoſe who had ſerved him from principles of conſcience, in the way that their conſcience would allow, were treated with relentleſs ſeverity, or rather were delivered up to the fury of their enemies. For it is moſt certain, that the Marquis of Argyle's death was brought about, and his ſon's was very near being brought about, by a faction, which abuſed the King's authority, not only contrary to his inclination, but in expreſs repugnance to his inſtructions (21); ſo that hardly ſuch a ſcene of violence, under ſanction of law, and covered by the approbation of a Parliament, ever appeared in any country, as there did in Scotland for the two years that ſucceeded the King's Reſtoration, when the Earls of Middleton and Glencairne were at the head of the adminſtration, which they managed entirely for the ſervice of their private intereſt, and the gratification of their reſentments.

(1) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 608.

(2) Hiſt. of England, p. 682.

(3) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 57.

(4) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 478.

(5) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 564. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 27.

(6) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 59.

(7) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 580. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 4. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 58.

(8) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 4 Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 58.

(9) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 574.

(10) It is printed in Scobell's Collections, and alſo by itſelf in a ſingle ſheet.

(11) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 609.

(12) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 49.

(13) Ibid. p. 162.

(14) Ibid. p. 245.

(15) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 13.

(16) Ibid. p. 319.

(17) Ibid. p. 323.

(18) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VI. p. 81.

(19) Ibid. p. 436.

(20) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 106.

(21) See the Earl of Lauderdale's Charge againſt the Earl of Middleton in *Miſcellanea Aulica*, p. 206.

upon whom they chiefly depended of the injuries and injuſtice that was done him, he thought fit to communicate the ſucceſs that had attended his endeavours to his friend the Lord Duffus by a letter (*m*). This letter was intercepted and carried to the Earl of Middleton, who finding his own and his friends views entirely diſconcerted, exhibited this letter to the Parliament of Scotland as a libel upon their proceedings, and projected thereupon a new method of bringing things round again, by taking his Lordſhip's life, as he had done his father's (*n*). The Parliament of Scotland at that time, wholly at his devotion, concurred in this ſcheme; and June 24, 1662, ſent up a repreſentation to the King, ſetting forth, that the eldeſt ſon of the late Marquis of Argyle, had both ſpoken and written againſt their authority, and requeſted that he might be ſent down to ſtand his tryal (*o*). The King upon reading the letter, on which this accuſation was founded, acknowledged it to be indiſcreet, but thought there was nothing criminal in it, which induced him to comply with their requeſt, and to lay his commands upon Lord Lorne to go down to Edinburgh; which he did; and on the very day of his arrival, which was July 17, he appeared in Parliament, and made a handſome ſpeech in his own juſtification; notwithſtanding which, he was immediately committed cloſe priſoner to the Caſtle, and a proceſs commenced againſt him, for what in the Scotch laws is ſtiled leaſing-making, that is, for creating diſſention between the King and his ſubjects, by giving the former falſe and lying informations (*p*). Lord Lorne inſiſted in his own defence, that there was nothing in his letter of that nature, that he ſpoke only of his juſtifying himſelf againſt lies that had been told the King to his prejudice, but had accuſed no body, or pretended to have grounds for accuſing any. But thoſe he had to do with ſhowed very little regard to his defence, for on the 26th of Auguſt following, they condemned him to loſe his head and to forfeit all his eſtate; but they were ſo merciful, as to leave the day of his execution to the King's pleaſure (*q*), which, yet perhaps they had not done if His Majeſty by his letter to the Earl of Middleton had not poſitively commanded him not to proceed to any ſentence whatever, for he had no conception that any ſet of men would have turned ſo ſlight a thing into a capital offence without his approbation and conſent. When this news came to England it filled the Court with aſtoniſhment, and the Earl of Clarendon was the firſt perſon to declare, that if the King ſuffered ſuch a precedent to take place, he would get out of his dominions as faſt as his gout would let him (*r*). Yet his Lordſhip ſuffered a long and ſevere impriſonment, for he was not diſcharged out of the Caſtle 'till the 4th of June 1663, after the Earl of Middleton had loſt his power, and his own friends were come into favour (*s*). Soon after he was reſtored to his grandfather's title and eſtate, and part of his father's was ordered to be ſold for the payment of debts (*t*). The King having once taken this ſtep, returned to his natural inclination for a perſon in whom he had formerly ſo entire a confidence; and as a farther mark of his favour, was pleaſed to order that he ſhould be ſworn a Privy-Counſellor (*u*). In this capacity he was a great ſupport to the Earl of Lauderdale, ſo long as his adminſtration was carried on with any kind of temper or diſcretion, but he never concurred in any of his violences; but on the contrary, ſtudied all he could to ſoften, if not prevent them (*w*). The principles of both Earls were very near alike; the only difference was, that the Earl of Argyle acted as cloſe to his as poſſible; whereas the conduct of the Earl of Lauderdale was directly oppoſite to his ſentiments. He made it his buſineſs to carry the Prerogative high, becauſe he had the ſole power of directing it; and he maintained the Biſhops in Scotland with a high hand, tho' a rigid Preſbyterian in his heart, becauſe he thought this neceſſary to ſuſtain his influence at Court (*x*). It is inconceivable what troubles this created in Scotland, where Dr Sharp, Archbiſhop of St Andrews, was in a manner at the head of the domeſtick adminiſtration, who had much of Laud's ſpirit, only he had better parts, with regard to his publick character. This management drove the zealous Preſbyterians in 1666 into a rebellion in the Weſt, upon which the Earl of Argyle to ſhow his loyalty raiſed fifteen hundred men, but the Archbiſhop took care they ſhould not be employed; and the rebels being defeated by the King's regular troops on the 27th of November the ſame year, many were executed for this weak and fooliſh inſurrection, and many more had been executed if the King had not interpoſed, and poſitively commanded that ſuch as would promiſe to live quietly, ſhould not only be ſpared, but be ſet at liberty (*y*). The adminſtration proceeded afterwards with ſtill greater violence, and Lauderdale, who was now created a Duke, began to forſake his old friends who were not inclined to go all the lengths he would have them. Amongſt theſe was the Earl of Argyle, who, tho' he loſt the confidence of the Miniſter for ſome time, yet was known to ſtand ſo well with the King, and had ſuch an intereſt in his country, that it was not thought proper to remove him, either from the board as a Privy-Counſellor, or from his place as one of the Lords of the Treaſury (*z*). In 1678, things came to a great criſis, the Weſtern part of the kingdom was grown univerſally diſaffected; and to root out this bad diſpoſition, the Duke of Lauderdale contrived, or at leaſt conſented, to an odd remedy, which was bringing down the Highlanders upon them; this had ſuch dreadful effects, that ſome who had been hitherto his friends, could not help complaining of it, and even ſuggeſting, that they would carry their complaints to the throne; upon which a proclamation was publiſhed, forbidding men of quality to go out of the kingdom without licence; but, notwithſtanding this, the Earls of Athol and Perth, who were both Privy-Counſellors, went up to London to ſet forth their grievances, where, however, they were but indifferently received, tho' the King took a reſolution to put the government of that

(*m*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 148.

(*n*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 135.

(*o*) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 121.

(*p*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 151. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 135.

(*q*) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 131. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 135. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 149.

(*r*) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 133. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 149.

(*s*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 188.

(*t*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 305.

(*u*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 21. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 205.

(*w*) Memoirs of Scotland from the Reſtoration to the Revolution, p. 215. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 211.

(*x*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 255. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 101.

(*y*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 250. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 237. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 827.

(*z*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 259. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 292.

kingdom into other hands (*a*). In the midſt of all theſe diſturbances, the Earl of Argyle maintained his wonted moderation, he ſent no troops to the Highland army, nor did he join in attacking the Miniſtry. Publick affairs being in a great confuſion in England, His Majeſty thought fit to ſend his brother, the Duke of York, in 1681, down to Scotland; where, upon his firſt arrival, he behaved with ſuch mildneſs and modeſty, with ſo good a temper, and with ſo much moderation, that the Nobility were extremely pleaſed, and the greateſt part of the nation perfectly ſatisfied (*b*). His Royal Highneſs was particularly obliging to the Earl of Argyle; he was well acquainted with the great power he had, ſaw the general eſteem he was in, and from thence formed ſuch a notion of his influence, that there is but too much reaſon to believe, he took a reſolution, either to delude or to deſtroy him (*c*). In order to this, he took pains to ſift him on ſeveral heads, but chiefly with reſpect to the government in Scotland, and the part he would take, in caſe the King was either inclined to or forced upon an Act of Excluſion. The Earl anſwered him candidly and fairly; he gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his ſervice, ſo long as the Proteſtant Religion was not ſtruck at; if any ſuch thing ſhould happen he frankly declared he would oppoſe him. On the other hand, he intimated, that his duty to the King was entire, and ſhould be ſo to him, when he became ſo; but 'till that happened, he would always adhere to his Royal Maſter (*d*). The Duke, upon this grew cold towards him, but was ſtill as civil, or rather more civil than ever. Upon the opening of the Parliament, two laws were propoſed; the firſt, for confirming thoſe in being againſt Popery; the ſecond, making it High-Treaſon to propoſe any alteration in the ſucceſſion; the former, was intended to pleaſe the people; the latter, for the ſecurity of his Royal Highneſs (*e*). In the firſt, the Earl concurred as might well be expected; but he went into the latter, with a warmth, ſomewhat unuſual to him; and many thought, that this would have perfectly eſtabliſhed him with the Duke, who ſpoke of his conduct on that occaſion, in terms of the higheſt gratitude and reſpect (*f*). There was a third Act paſſed for eſtabliſhing a teſt, by which all who were in employment, or ſhould be ſo, were obliged to take an oath, not to attempt any change in the conſtitution of Church or State. What the real intention and deſign of this law was, is very hard to ſay; but certain it is, that it became the occaſion of much diſcontent and confuſion; the Earl of Argyle oppoſed it in Parliament, where he behaved himſelf with the greateſt ſteadineſs and conſtancy, tho' he could not help ſeeing that very deep and dangerous deſigns were formed againſt him (*g*) [*B*]. After the law was paſſed, many of the Nobility expreſſed their ſcruples about the oath; others, abſolutely refuſed it; and the Marquis of Queenſbury would not take it without an explanation. The Earl of Argyle thought the ſame thing neceſſary; and being ſummoned to take the oath as a Privy-Counſellor, he drew up a ſhort explanation, which he ſent to the Duke of York for his approbation; and having received it, gave it as his ſenſe of the oath, November 3d, 1681, when he took and ſigned it as a Privy-Counſellor (*h*). The Privy-Council themſelves explained the oath that very day, in terms not very different from Argyle's. He took his ſeat at the board afterwards, and his Royal Highneſs ſeemed very well pleaſed with him, and ſpoke more kindly than he had done for ſome time before. The next day, the Earl was ſummoned to take the oath again as a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, where he offered the ſame explanation, when he was deſired to ſign it, which he refuſed to do (*i*). The next day, he went to wait upon the Duke, who appeared diſpleaſed, and deſired him not to go out of town; the ſame command was repeated by the Privy-Council, and the term fixed to their next meeting, which was on the eighth. They then ſent up a complaint of the Earl's explanation to the King; and the ſame day ordered the Earl to ſurrender himſelf priſoner to the Caſtle of Edinburgh; which he did (*k*). In the next place, without ſtaying for His Majeſty's anſwer, they commenced a proſecution at firſt, as it ſeems, for a high miſdemeanour, but ſoon after, they changed their reſolution and cauſed him to be indicted before the Juſticiary for high-treaſon (*l*). At this time, ſome perſons having repreſented to the Duke, that it would look ſtrange to take away ſo great a man's life and fortune, upon ſuch a pretence; he anſwered as in a ſurprize, *Life and fortune! God forbid* (*m*)! What he meant by this is very uncertain, nor is it poſſible to diſcover, whether he made others his tools to deſtroy this noble perſon, or whether thoſe who meant to deſtroy the Earl made him theirs (*n*). However it was, the proſecution was driven on with the moſt indecent fury, and notwithſtanding the general exclamation it occaſioned, the Earl was brought to his tryal on the twelfth of December, where, notwithſtanding his own and Sir George Lockhart's moſt admirable ſpeeches, he was found guilty, to the eternal reproach of all who had any concern in that moſt infamous mockery of juſtice (*o*) [*C*]. The

(*a*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 496. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 418, 419. Memoirs of Scotland, p. 395.

(*b*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 400. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1015. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 510.

(*c*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 195. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 512.

(*d*) From the information of the firſt Earl of Cromarty, grandfather to the Earl condemned for the laſt Rebellion. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 520.

(*e*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1015. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 513.

(*f*) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 513. See alſo the Earl's Speech at his trial.

(*g*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 195.

(*h*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 519, 520. Echard's Hiſt of England, p. 1015.

(*i*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 206, 207. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 520. The Caſe of the Earl of Argyle.

(*k*) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 463.

(*l*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 210. Burnet's Hiſt of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 520.

(*m*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 210.

(*n*) This is a point, that even Biſhop Burnet does not ſeem willing to decide, though, at that time, he was as converſant in publick affairs as moſt men.

(*o*) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 464.

[*B*] *Were formed againſt him.*] In the debating the Teſt Act, the Earl of Argyle oppoſed the proviſo for exempting the lawful brothers and ſons of the reigning King, from taking the oath preſcribed thereby, which, as the Biſhop of Edinburgh told him, provoked his Royal Highneſs extremely (22). The pretence of falling upon him was, to deprive him of his heretable offices, in which he had been twice confirmed by Parliament; and to this purpoſe, two attempts were made in that Seſſion, but without effect (23). It was given out, that nothing more was intended by this capital proſecution, than to force him to ſurrender them; but this was probably contrived to amuſe the King; and granting it to be true, is the cleareſt proof of the wickedneſs of the whole proceeding (24).

(22) Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 209.

(23) Ibid. p. 205.

[*C*] *In that moſt infamous mockery of juſtice.*] In order to have a due conception of the manner in which this affair was carried on in as narrow compaſs as it is poſſible, it is neceſſary to ſee the Earl's explanation, made before his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York,

(24) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 521; which compare with what is ſaid by the Prelates Sprat, Parker, and Kennet, in their accounts of this tranſaction.

The Privy-Council, upon this, wrote for the King's leave to proceed to ſentence, of which the Earl having private intelligence, ſent up a gentleman to Court, in order to procure him the beſt account he could of the King's diſpoſition (*p*). Before he could have any return from this meſſenger, his Lordſhip received many notices from his friends in Scotland, of circumſtances no way favourable; ſuch as, that the Duke refuſed to hear any interceſſion; that few of his friends had any farther credit with his Royal Highneſs; and that orders were given for preparing rooms for him in the common goal, to which Noblemen were ſometimes removed a few days before their execution (*q*). Theſe notices induced him to think of his eſcape, and of contriving the means of it, but he was not abſolutely fixed in his reſolution 'till the twentieth of December, when he had letters from London, that did not give him any great hopes of the King's being unalterable in his deſire of ſaving him, and as he was apprehenſive of being removed the very next day, he reſolved not to delay his eſcape a moment. Accordingly, about eight o'clock at night, not without ſome difficulty, he got out of the caſtle, and in a few days ſafely out of Scotland into the South of England, and from thence to London (*r*). Upon receiving the King's letter of permiſſion, the Council thought fit to direct that ſentence ſhould be publickly proclaimed at the Croſs, notwithſtanding the Earl's abſence, and the application of the Counteſs of Argyle upon that account. The ſentence was accordingly publiſhed, and his arms torn at the Croſs of Edinburgh, as if he had been in open rebellion and had fled from juſtice (*s*). While the Earl was at London, he was not ſo cautious in concealing himſelf as might have been expected; ſo that the Court had frequent accounts of him, of which no great notice was taken. It is certain that the King had a very good opinion of him, and diſcouraged all ſearch after him. A perſon who thought he had done a mighty thing, put into his Majeſty's hand a note, ſignifying that the Earl of Argyle might be eaſily found. The King tore it with ſome indignation, ſaying, *Poh, poh, hunt a hunted partridge, for ſhame* (*t*)! As ſoon as he had an opportunity, the Earl went over to Holland, where he continued during the remaining part of that reign. Upon the acceſſion of King James, many of the gentlemen of Scotland, that had been obliged to fly their native country, by the violent proceedings of the perſons entruſted with power there, began to preſs the Earl of Argyle to make ſome attempt upon that kingdom, which he might the more probably be inclined to do, becauſe he looked upon his attainder to have diſſolved entirely all the obligations he was under as a ſubject. Beſides, he conſidered the government in Scotland as unſettled, the King not having as yet taken the coronation oath, and therefore he thought himſelf at liberty to make ſome attempt, for recovering the conſtitution by force of arms (*u*). He concerted his deſign with the Duke of Monmouth, who was at the ſame time to try what impreſſion he could make in England, but he promiſed the Earl of Argyle, that he would not declare himſelf King, which however he did, and this proved very prejudicial to them both (*w*). The Earl carried on his preparations with great ſecrecy, and bought up arms in the name of a perſon who was an agent for the State of Venice,

(*p*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times. Vol. I. p. 522.

(*q*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 212.

(*r*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 523. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 212.

(*s*) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 465, 466. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1016. Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 401.

(*t*) From private information by a perſon of indubitable credit.

(*u*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 431. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1058. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 630.

(*w*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1060. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 633.

York, and the whole Privy-Council; it was in theſe words (25):

(25) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 442.

'I have conſidered the teſt, and I am very deſirous to give obedience as far as I can. I am confident, the Parliament never intended to impoſe contradictory oaths; therefore, I think no man can explain it, but for himſelf. Accordingly, I take it, as far as it is conſiſtent with itſelf and the Proteſtant Religion. And I do declare, that I mean not to bind up myſelf in my ſtation, and in a lawful way, to wiſh and endeavour any alteration, I think, to the advantage of Church and State, nor repugnant to the Proteſtant Religion and my loyalty. And this, I underſtand, as a part of my oath.'

It is very remarkable, that Queenſbury, who was then Lord Juſtice General of Scotland, and who preſided in the Judicature, before which the Earl of Argyle was tried for High-Treaſon, had himſelf ſcrupled the teſt, and had explained himſelf, precifely to the ſame purpoſe, before he would take it (26). It was no wonder, therefore, that he was unwilling to give his caſting vote againſt the Earl, as to the relevancy of the libel; and therefore, two of the Judges, men of very fair characters, and firmly attached to the Court, declaring directly againſt the legality of the indictment, as two other Lords of very different characters were for it; it was found neceſſary, to call the old Lord Nairn out of his bed, who was ſo deaf, that he could hear little of it, and ſo infirm, that he could not ſit the cauſe out, who joining the other two Lords, this difficulty was got over (27). The Aſſize or Jury that paſſed upon the Earl, were the perſons following: Marquis Montroſe, Earl of Middleton, Earl of Airlie, Earl of Perth, Earl of Dalhouſie, Earl of Roxburgh, Earl of Dumfries, Earl of Linlithgow, Lord of Lindores, Lord Sinclair, Lord Bruntiſland, Laird of Goſford, Laird of Claverhouſe, Laird of Balnamon, Laird of Park-Gordon. The verdict they gave, was as follows. 'The Aſſize, having elected and choſen 'the Marquis of Montroſe to be their Chancellor '(equivalent to our Foreman) they all in one voice 'find the Earl of Argyle guilty, and culpable of the 'crimes of treaſon, leaſing-making and leaſing-telling; 'and find by plurality of votes, the ſaid Earl innocent, 'and not guilty of Perjury (28).' The latter part of the verdict was intended to qualify the former, and to give the world ſome notion of the probity and fair dealing of this Jury, who would not find the Earl guilty in the lump, of High-Treaſon and Perjury both. There was however, nothing due to them, for the Lords of the Juſticiary had before determined, that the Earl having propoſed his declaration previous to his taking the oath, could not be guilty of Perjury (29). The whole of this buſineſs was diſpatched at one ſitting December 12, 1681, and the verdict given in after ten o'Clock at night, without ſo much as calling upon the Earl, or hearing him in his own defence, after the evidence produced, which he expected, and had prepared a long ſpeech for the occaſion (30). It has been pretended, that the Earl was frighted into his eſcape, by thoſe, who, tho' they wanted not good will, durſt not have executed this ſentence, if he had ſtaid; but there is little reaſon to believe this, ſince, upon the King's letter to allow their publiſhing their ſentence, but requiring them to ſtay the execution of any part of it, 'till his pleaſure was known; they not only proclaimed the ſentence at the Croſs, December 23, 1681, but alſo cauſed the Earl's Coat of Arms to be torn, which was part of their ſentence, and an illegal part (31) of it too; ſo that they executed it to the utmoſt of their power, and in direct diſobedience to the King's command. It was upon this ſentence, that by King James IId's expreſs command, the Earl afterwards ſuffered (32).

(28) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 464.

(29) Idem, ibid.

(26) Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 196.

(30) Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 212.

(27) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 211.

(31) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 466. Sir G. Mackenzie's Criminals, p. 61.

(32) Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, p. 539. The King's Order is dated Whitehall, Jun. 22, 1685.

Venice, but his ſtock did not go any great way, and the number of perſons he carried over, was far from being conſiderable. He ſailed North about, and had a very proſperous voyage; but ſending a boat aſhore to the Orkneys, and being obliged to leave her by the winds changing, the government had very early intelligence at Edinburgh of his being at ſea; upon which, orders were immediately ſent for ſecuring ſuch gentlemen in Argyleſhire, as were ſuſpected by them (*x*). By this precaution, the Earl's deſign, was in a manner ruined; for he looked upon it, that after his landing, he ſhould very ſoon be five thouſand ſtrong; whereas, he was never able to collect above half that number; and even theſe, were not all of them determined, for the face of things, and the temper of mens minds, were by this time very much changed, the ſeverity of the government having frighted ſome, and diſpirited all; ſo that thoſe who joined him, were far from having the courage and alacrity that he expected. He had ſtill hopes of increaſing his body of men; and this led him into Kintyre; but his endeavours were ineffectual (*y*). On the 27th of May, he came with his forces, which were not above fifteen hundred men to the Tarbet; and there he publiſhed his Declaration. His own intention was, to have marched from thence to Inverary, but the principal perſons about him differing from him in opinion, his meaſures were diſconcerted, and ſoon after all things fell into confuſion; and he endeavouring to make his eſcape, was taken by five country fellows, who carried him priſoner to Glaſgow; from whence, on the 20th of June, an order came for carrying him up to Edinburgh; where it was very ſoon reſolved to put him to death upon his former ſentence; and he was accordingly beheaded, June 30, 1685 (*z*). He ſhowed great calmneſs, conſtancy, and courage under his misfortunes; he eat his dinner, the day of his death very chearfully; and, according to his cuſtom, ſlept after it, a quarter of an hour, or more, very ſoundly. At the place of execution, he made a ſhort, grave, and religious ſpeech; and after declaring ſolemnly, that he forgave all his enemies, he ſubmitted to death, with as much firmneſs and compoſure of mind, as ever man did (*a*). His epitaph, written by himſelf, not long before his death, the reader will find in the notes [*D*]. After the Revolution, his ſon, who came over with the Prince of Orange, was admitted into the Convention, as Earl of Argyle, tho' his father's attainder was not reverſed; and in the Claim of Rights, the ſentence againſt him, was declared to be, what moſt certainly it was, *a reproach upon the nation* (*b*). That noble perſon was afterwards raiſed by letters patents dated June 23, 1701, to the title of Duke of Argyle; and at the ſame time, was created Marquis of Kintyre, and Lorne, Earl of Campbell and Cowel, *&c* (*c*). He was the father of the late Field-Marſhal, John, Duke of Argyle, created Baron of Chatham and Earl of Greenwich by Queen Anne in 1705 (*d*); and raiſed to the title of Duke of Greenwich, April 30, 1719, by his late Majeſty King George I (*e*); as alſo of his Grace, Archibald, now Duke of Argyle.

(*x*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 531, 532. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p 1059. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 631.

(*y*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 433. Wodrow's. Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 532, 533, 534. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 632.

(*z*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 433. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1016. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p 541. State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 466. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 463.

(*a*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 441, 442; as well as from private informations of perſons who were eye-witneſſes.

(*b*) Compleat Hiſt. of England Vol. III. p. 537.

(*c*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 22.

(*d*) Pointer's Chronolog. Hiſt Vol. II. p. 533

(*e*) Collins's Peerage of England Vol. I. p. 452.

[*D*] *The reader will find in the notes.*] It is aſſerted, that this noble perſon wrote theſe lines that follow, upon the day before his execution; ſo that, in that light, they may be conſidered, as a very ſtrong inſtance of the quiet of his conſcience, and of the ſerenity of his mind. But beſides this, they may be read to another end; for in them, we ſee plainly his ſentiments of the cauſe in which he died, and that to his very laſt moment, he remained perſuaded, that he had done nothing contrary to the laws of his country, or conſequently to the laws of God. For it appears, as well from theſe verſes, as from his declaration, that the Earl of Argyle did not look on himſelf as a rebel, or upon the perſon he oppoſed, as a King. His opinion was, that the Royal authority and the Conſtitution, went together; and that the violation of the latter, took away the former; ſo that the allegiance of the ſubject was no longer due to the Prince, than he continued to him that protection ſtipulated by the Conſtitution. Biſhop Burnet, in his account of the Earl's expedition (33), repreſents the miſcarriage of it, as owing to his aſſuming too much power. Mr Wodrow has ſhown, that it was really brought about by his not having power enough (34); and that this was the Earl's own ſentiment, the following lines moſt clearly diſcover, which are ſtill to be ſeen on his monument, in the Gray-Friers church-yard, at Edinburgh.

(33) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 632, 633.

(34) Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 531, 532, 533.

Thou paſſenger, that ſhalt have ſo much time
To view my grave, and aſk what was my crime;
No ſtain of error, no black vice's brand
Was that which chas'd me from my native land.
Love to my country, twice ſentenc'd to die,
Conſtrain'd my hands forgotten arms to try,
More by friends frauds my fall proceeded hath,
Than foes; tho' now they thrice decreed my death.
On my attempt, tho' Providence did frown,
His oppreſs'd people, God at length ſhall own.
Another hand, by more ſucceſsful ſpeed,
Shall raiſe the remnant, bruiſe the ſerpent's head.
Tho' my head fall, that is no tragick ſtory,
Since going hence, I enter endleſs glory.

This epitaph was tranſlated into the following elegant Latin verſes, by the reverend Mr William Jamiſon, Hiſtory Lecturer in the Univerſity of Glaſgow. It is to be obſerved, that the two laſt are Mr Jamiſon's own, and contain his character of the noble perſon to whom they relate, and his ſentiments alſo of the cauſe in which he ſuffered. It muſt be allowed, that the ſenſe is ſtrong, and the language ſmooth and claſſical.

Audi hoſpes, quicunque venis, tumulumque reviſis,
Et rogitas quali crimine tinctus eram.
Non me crimen habet, non me malus abſtulit error,
Et vitium nullum me pepulit patria.
Solus amor patriæ, verique immenſa cupido,
Diſſuetas juſſit ſumere tela manus.
Opprimor, en! redieus, vi ſola, & fraude meorum,
Hoſtibus & ſævis victima terna cado.
Sit licet hic noſter labor irritus, haud Deus æquus
Deſpiciet populum ſecula cuncta ſuum.
Namque alius veniet fatis melioribus ortus,
Qui toties ruptum fine beabit opus.
Sat mihi credo datum (quamvis caput enſe ſecetur)
Hinc petor ætherei lucida templa poli.

Hic ſitus eſt heros indigna morte peremptus,
Heu! decus hic patriæ, proditur a patria. G. J.

Theſe two lines have been thus tranſlated.

A hero's duſt, theſe ſacred ſtones contain;
Shameful his death, his live, without a ſtain,
He fell alas! thro' fortune's fierce aſſault,
His country's glory, by his country's fault.

CAPEL (ARTHUR) created Baron Capel of Hadham in 1641, was the ſon of Sir Henry Capel, Knt. [*A*] and Theodoſia, ſiſter to Edward Lord Montagu of Boughton, and to Henry Earl of Mancheſter (*a*). What ſchool and Univerſity he was educated in, is no were mentioned; but there is all the reaſon to think, that he had an education ſuitable to his quality and fortune. At his firſt appearance into the world, he became very eminent for his piety [*B*], hoſpitality to his neighbours, and great charity to the poor; which ſo endeared him to the people, that he was choſen one of the Knights for Hertfordſhire (*b*), in the Parliament which met at Weſtminſter April 13, 1640 (*c*). The ſixteenth of that month, he delivered a petition from the free-holders of the county of Hertford, complaining of ſhip-money, projects, monopolies, Star-Chamber, High-Commiſſion-Courts, *&c.* being the firſt of that kind which was preſented to the Houſe (*d*). From whence it may be inferred, that he was a true lover of his country, and an enemy to oppreſſions of all ſorts. This Paliament being ſoon after (*e*) abruptly diſſolved, Mr Capel was unanimouſly choſen again one of the Knights for the county of Hertford, in the Long Parliament, which began November 3, 1640 (*f*). When the city of London promiſed to advance an hundred thouſand pounds, for the payment of the Engliſh and Scotch armies, and wanted ſecurity for that ſum, 'till an Act was paſſed for the raiſing of it; he ſtood up in the Houſe, and offered his ſecurity for one thouſand pounds, and above a hundred more of the Houſe did the like (*g*). He was one of thoſe who voted for the Earl of Strafford's attainder, April 21, 1641 (*h*); of which he very much repented afterwards [*C*]. Hitherto, he had acted againſt the Court, but now he began to alter his inclinations, and to act in favour of it: either becauſe he was gained by the King, or could not come into all the violent meaſures which the Houſe of Commons were running into. In conſequence of this change, he was, on the ſixth of Auguſt 1641, advanced to the dignity of a Baron of this realm, by the title of Lord Capel of Hadham (*i*). On the fifteenth of June 1642, he ſubſcribed, at York, among ſeveral other Lords, a Declaration wherein they teſtified, they were fully perſuaded that his Majeſty had no intention to make war upon his Parliament (*k*). Two days after, he entered into an engagement, to raiſe a hundred Horſe [*D*] for his Majeſty's uſe (*l*). In 1643, the King ſent him to Shrewſbury, with a Commiſſion of Lieutenant-General of Shropſhire, Cheſhire, and North-Wales; and his Lordſhip quickly brought thoſe parts into an Aſſociation, and raiſed a body of horſe and foot, which gave Sir William Brereton great trouble at Nantwich (*m*). The ſame year, he was named one of the Counſellors to the Prince of Wales; being deſigned to attend his perſon, with a regiment of horſe, and one of foot, which the Lord Capel was to raiſe upon his own credit and intereſt, and to have the command of (*n*). In 1644-5 he was one of the Commiſſioners for the King at the treaty of Uxbridge (*o*). The ſummer following, he was employed in the King's and Prince's ſervice in the Weſt of England, chiefly at Briſtol and Exeter, and about the ſiege of Taunton (*p*). He prevented a deſign that was formed of ſeizing the Prince (*q*); and was very inſtrumental in preſerving and ſecuring his perſon in Pendennis-caſtle, and afterwards in Scilly-iſland (*r*): where he waited upon his Highneſs, on the eleventh of April, 1646 (*s*), and the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth of that month, ſailed along with him to Jerſey (*t*). From thence he was ſent with the Lord Colepeper to Paris, to diſſuade the Queen from ſending for her ſon, the Prince of Wales, out of Jerſey (*u*). And ſo bent was he againſt that Prince's going to France, that he offered to take a journey himſelf to Newcaſtle (where King Charles then was in the hands of the Scots) to receive the King's poſitive commands about that affair (*w*): But, notwithſtanding the very material reaſons he gave againſt his Highneſs's going to France [*E*], the Queen's

(*a*) Peerage of England, *&c.* by A. Collins, Lond, 1735, 8vo, Vol. II. P. i. p. 272. Hiſt. of Eſſex by N. Tindal, in Rayne parva, No. ii. p. 82. Britiſh Compen. in Capel Earl of Eſſex.

(*b*) Collins, and Tindal, ibid.

(*c*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, *&c.* Part ii. Vol. II. edit. 1680, p. 1107.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 1127, 1128.

(*e*) *Viz.* May 5.

(*f*) Ruſhworth, Part iii. Vol I.

(*g*) Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament, *&c.* Lond. 1641, 4to, p. 6.

(*h*) See Trial of the Earl of Strafford, by J. Ruſhworth. State Worthies, by D. Lloyd, ſecond edit. 1679, p. 1022.

(*i*) Pat. 17 Car. I. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 465. Peerage of England by Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 273.

(*k*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, *&c.* by Edward Earl of Clarendon, Vol. I. Part ii. edit. 1731, 8vo, p. 655, 656.

(*l*) See Liſt, at the end of the King's Anſwer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons preſented to his Majeſty at York, June 17, 1642. Printed at London, 1642, 4to.

(*m*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. II. Part i. p. 146.

(*n*) Clarend. Vol. II. Part ii. p. 560—602.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 575. Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 125. Relation of the Treaty at Uxbridge, at the end of Sir William Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles in Engl. Oxon. 1681.

(*p*) Clarend. Vol. II. Part ii. p. 634, 637, 645, 703, 704, 705,

(*q*) Ibid. p. 732.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 734.

(*s*) Clarend. Vol. III. Part i. p. 2.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 4.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 7.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 14, 15.

[*A*] *Was the ſon of Sir Henry Capel, Knt.*] The firſt that laid the foundation of riches, for ſupporting the honour of this family, was, *William Capel* of London, Draper, knighted in 1485, Sheriff in 1489, and Lord Mayor of London in 1503 (1); being the ſecond ſon of John Capel, of Stoke-Neyland in the county of Suffolk, Eſq; deſcended from an ancient family, who were Lords of the manor of Capel in that town for ſeveral ages. Sir William ſuffered, among others, from the extortions of Empſon and Dudley, to whom he was forced to pay 2000*l.* and refuſing to pay them 1000*l.* more, was committed to the Tower, but ſoon after releaſed upon the death of King Henry VII. He died, immenſely rich, September 6. 1515, and was buried in a chapel built by him on the ſouth-ſide of St Bartholomew's church, near the Royal Exchange in London (2). His deſcendants, were, Sir *Giles* Capel, Knt. who reſided at Raines-hall in Eſſex; and was a brave warrior: Sir *Henry* Capel: Sir *Edward*, Knts. Sir *Henry*, Knt. who had ten children: Sir *Arthur*, Knt who had nineteen. The eldeſt of them, was Sir *Henry*, Knt. father of *Arthur* Lord Capel, who is the ſubject of this article. Sir Giles, Sir Edward, Sir Henry, and Sir Arthur, were ſucceſſively Sheriffs of Hertfordſhire (3).

(1) Stow's Survey of London with Strype's Additions, edit. 1720, Book v. p. 127. Vol. II.

(2) Ibid. p. 182. and Peerage of England by A. Collins, edit. 1735, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 270, 271.

(3) Collins, ibid. and Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, by N. Salmon, Lond. 1728, p. 364.

[*B*] *He became very eminent for his piety.*] As a proof of which, he writ a Book of *Meditations*, publiſhed after his death (4); wherein much judicious piety may be diſcovered.

(4) Fuller's Worthies, in Hertfordſhire, p. 29.

[*C*] *He —— voted for the Earl of Strafford's attainder —— of which he repented afterwards,*] As appears by his ſpeech on the ſcaffold, in which he thus expreſſes himſelf upon that point, ‘ —— I do here profeſs to you, that truly I did give my vote to that ‘ bill of the Earl of Strafford; I doubt not but God ‘ Almighty hath waſhed that away with more precious ‘ blood, and that is, with the blood of his own ſon, ‘ and my dear Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; —— truly this I ‘ may ſay, I had not the leaſt part, nor the leaſt degree of malice, in the doing of it; but I muſt confeſs ‘ again to God's glory, and the accuſation of mine ‘ own frailty, and the frailty of my nature, that truly ‘ it was an unworthy cowardize, not to reſiſt ſo great a ‘ torrent as carried that buſineſs at that time. And ‘ truly, this I think I am moſt guilty of, of not courage ‘ enough in it, but malice I had none ——(5).’

(5) Speeches of Duke Hamilton, Lord Capel, *&c.* upon the Scaffold, *&c.* Printed at London in 1649, 4to.

[*D*] *He entered into an engagement to raiſe an hundred horſe.*] He raiſed in all for the King about 900 horſe at his own charge, and lent him twelve thouſand pounds in money and plate (6).

(6) Hiſt. of Eſſex, ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *He gave material reaſons againſt the Prince's going to France.*] In the firſt place he thought it adviſable, to take no final reſolution, 'till farther notice was received of the King's pleaſure. Next, he obſerved,

Queen's and Lord Digby's arguments prevailed (x). After the Prince's departure to France, Lord Capel remained in Jerſey, to expect the King's pleaſure, and to wait for an opportunity of appearing again in his Majeſty's ſervice (y). In the mean time the Houſe of Commons voted, that his eſtate ſhould be ſold to raiſe money for Ireland (z). In the year 1647 he left Jerſey, and made a journey to Paris to the Prince, that he might receive his Higneſs's approbation of his going for England: which having obtained, he came to Zealand, his friends having adviſed him to be in thoſe parts before they endeavoured to procure a paſs for him, which they eaſily did as ſoon as he came thither (a). Whereupon he croſſed over into England, and having made his compoſition with the uſurping powers, retired to his manor of Hadham in Hertfordſhire (b), where he was exceedingly beloved, and hated no where (c). Some time after, he took an opportunity to wait upon the King at Hampton-Court; and gave him a particular account of all that had paſſed at Jerſey, before the Prince's remove from thence, and of the reaſons which induced thoſe of the Council to remain ſtill there, and of many other particulars, of which his Majeſty had never before been thoroughly informed. The King imparted to him all his hopes and all his fears; and what great overtures the Scots had made to him. That he did really believe, it could not be long before there would be a war between the two nations; in which the Scots promiſed themſelves an univerſal concurrence from all the Preſbyterians in England: and that, in ſuch a conjuncture, he wiſhed his own party would put themſelves in arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by the ſucceſs of the other: and therefore deſired Lord Capel to watch ſuch a conjuncture, and draw his friends together, which he promiſed to do effectually (d). Accordingly that Lord was, from the firſt, made privy to the Scots deſigns, of entering England with a powerful army, in order to ſet the King at liberty, and reſtore him to his throne (e); being entirely truſted by thoſe who would not truſt any of the Preſbyterians, nor communicate their purpoſes to them (f). When he thought the project was in good forwardneſs, he writ, in the beginning of May 1648, to Sir Edward Hyde, to ſend for the Prince of Wales to Jerſey, that he might be in a readineſs to paſs over to England (g). At the ſame time he was very active in Hertfordſhire, in raiſing forces for the King's ſervice (h), with which he joined the Earl of Norwich, and Sir Charles Lucas, in Eſſex (i). Thoſe brave gentlemen having gathered together a body of about four thouſand men, went and ſhut themſelves up with them in Colcheſter (k), where they endured a long and cloſe ſiege from the twelfth of June to the twenty-eighth of Auguſt (l). During which, the Lord Capel was one of the moſt reſolute [F], and indefatigable in the defence of that place (m). Upon the ſurrender of it, he was forced to yield himſelf to the mercy of the Lord General [G], and afterwards was aſſured of quarter (n). Whereupon he was remitted to the Parliament for further publick juſtice and mercy, to be uſed as they ſhould ſee cauſe (o). But not behaving with ſo much condeſcenſion as was expected from a man in his circumſtances [H], he was, on that account chiefly, ſacrificed to his enemies paſſion and revenge (p). From Colcheſter he was ſent priſoner to Windſor-caſtle (q); where whilſt he remained (on the twenty-fifth of September, 1648) an Act of Attainder was ordered by the Houſe of Commons to be brought in againſt him (r). Hearing of it, he ſent and informed the Houſe, that quarter was given him by the General, who had writ to the Houſe to that purpoſe (s). Whereupon, the Lord Fairfax being

(x) Ibid. p. 27.

(y) Ibid. p. 29.

(z) Whitelock, ubi ſupra. p. 223. In 1644 they granted 300*l.* out of his woods to the widows of two perſons ſlain in the Parliament's ſervice. Idem, p. 98.

(a) Clarend. ubi ſupra, p. 70.

(b) Peerage of England by A. Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 273.

(c) Clarend. ibid.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Ibid. p. 72.

(f) Ibid. p. 130.

(g) Ibid. p. 131.

(h) Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 311.

(i) Ibid. and Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 154.

(k) Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 312. Clarend. Vol. III. P. i. p. 154, 155.

(l) See Relation of the honourable and unfortunate Expedition of Kent, Eſſex, and Colcheſter, by M. Carter, 1650, Reprinted in 1740.

(m) See Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 313, 315, 318, 321.

(n) Letter from Lord Fairfax to the Houſe of Lords, concerning the Surrender of Colcheſter, Aug. 29, 1648.

(o) Ibid. Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 333.

(p) Clarend. Vol. III. Part i. p. 178, 179.

(q) Ibid. p. 179.

(r) Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 338.

(s) Ibid. p. 341.

ſerved, that if the Court of France had ſo great a deſire, as was pretended, that the Prince of Wales ſhould repair thither, it was a wonder, in the two months his Highneſs had been in Jerſey, they had never ſent a gentleman to ſee him, and invite him to come over; nor had thoſe who came to him from the Queen, brought ſo much as a paſs for him to come into France. That all they had hitherto propoſed to themſelves from France, had proved in no degree anſwerable to expectation; as the five thouſand foot which the French had promiſed to ſend into the Weſt of England, before the Prince's departure from thence. That they had more reaſon to be jealous than ever, ſince in had been by the advice of France, that the King had put himſelf into the hands of the Scots; and therefore they ought to be more watchful in diſpoſing of the perſon of the Prince, by their advice, likewiſe (7).

(7) Clarendon, Vol III. P. i. p. 26.

[F] *The Lord Capel was one of the moſt reſolute.*] Mr Whitelock informs us (8), That he, and the Lord Goring, carried things very high: And that once, General Fairfax having ſent a ſummons to them, to ſurrender the town to the ſervice of the Parliament, they returned for anſwer, That if any more letters of that kind were ſent to them, they would hang up the meſſenger (9). The Lord Capel in particular, during the ſiege, marched himſelf a-foot, with a halberd on his ſhoulder, at the head of his company to the guard, that none might make any ſcruple or exception againſt the ſervice (10).

(8) Memorials, p. 318.

(9) Ibid. p. 321.

(10) Relation, &c. as above, by M. Carter, edit. 1650, p. 167.

[G] *He was forced to yield himſelf to the mercy of the General.*] When Lord Fairfax demanded, in one of his letters, That the perſons of all the officers, above the quality of a Lieutenant, ſhould render themſelves to mercy; the Lord Capel, and the reſt, unanimouſly reſolved, not to yield to the mercy of any other, but that of God alone (11). However, a mutiny, and great diſcontents, ariſing among the beſieged, as if the Officers, and the reſt of the gentlemen, were reſolved to break through the beſiegers, and leave the private ſoldiers behind, expoſed to the fury of their incenſed enemies (12); the commanding officers were at length forced to ſubmit to thoſe hard terms, which they had at firſt ſo ſcornfully rejected. Though, as appears, by the ſequel, they expected, and thought they had reaſon to expect, that their lives would be ſafe.

(11) Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 332.

(12) Relation, &c. as above, by M. Carter, p. 184.

[H] *Not behaving with ſo much condeſcenſion*, &c.] After the execution of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle, the Lord Fairfax, with the chief Officers, went to the Moot-hall to viſit the priſoners, and told them, 'That having done what the military juſtice 'required, all the lives of the reſt were ſafe, and they 'ſhould be well treated, and diſpoſed of as the Parliament ſhould direct.' But the Lord Capel telling them with ſome roughneſs, 'That they ſhould do well 'to finiſh their work, and execute the ſame rigour to 'the reſt;' there paſſed two or three ſuch ſharp and bitter replies between him and Ireton, as coſt him his life in few months after (13).

(13) Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 178, 179.

[I] *That*

being called upon by the Commons, to explain his letter of the twenty-ninth of Auguſt to them, as to that point; anſwered, That it did not extend to any other but the military power, and that they were, notwithſtanding, liable to trial and judgment by the Civil Power (*t*). The tenth of November following, the Houſe voted, That he, and ſome others, ſhould be baniſhed out of the kingdom (*u*). But that puniſhment not being thought ſevere enough, he was removed to the Tower of London (*w*); and on the firſt of February 1648-9, it was voted, that he, the Lord Goring, and ſome others, ſhould be the next perſons to be proceeded againſt for juſtice (*x*). That ſame evening he eſcaped out of the Tower [*I*]: but ſtrict ſearch being made after him, and a hundred pounds reward offered for re-taking him; he was diſcovered and apprehended, two days after, at Lambeth, and committed again to the Tower (*y*). The tenth day of that month, he was brought before a High Court of Juſtice in Weſtminſter-Hall (*z*), to be tried for treaſon and other high crimes (*a*). And though he ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that he was a priſoner to the Lord General, that he had conditions given him, and was to have fair quarter for his life [*K*], ſo that if all the magiſtrates in Chriſtendom were combined together, they could not call him in queſtion (*b*); yet his plea was over-ruled. The thirteenth he was brought again before the Court [*L*], when the Counſel moved, that he ſhould be hanged, drawn, and quartered (*c*). However, on the ſixth of March being brought a fifth time before the Court [*M*], he was condemned only to be beheaded (*d*). After his condemnation his Lady petitioned the Parliament, which occaſioned a long debate (*e*), but at length it was voted [*N*], That he ſhould not be reprieved (*f*). Accordingly, on the

(*t*) Ibid. p. 344.
(*u*) Idem, p. 348.
(*w*) Clarend. Vol. I. P. i. p. 269.
(*x*) Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 376.
(*y*) Ibid. p. 377. and Clarendon, ubi ſupra.
(*z*) Whereof about fifty of the members were preſent. Whitelock, p. 380. See alſo Clarendon, Vol. I. P. i. p. 266, 267.
(*a*) Whitelock, ibid.
(*b*) Ibid.
(*c*) Ibid. p. 381.
(*d*) Ibid. p. 386.
(*e*) March 8.
(*f*) Ibid. p. 386. Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 270.

[*I*] *That ſame evening he eſcaped out of the Tower.*] Having a cord, and all things neceſſary conveyed to him, he let himſelf down out of the window of his chamber in the night, over the wall of the Tower; and had been directed through what part of the ditch he might beſt wade. Whether he hit upon the right place, or there was none ſafer, he found the water and the mud ſo deep, that, if he had not been by the head taller than other men, he muſt have periſhed, ſince the water came up to his chin. The way was ſo long to the other ſide, and the fatigue of drawing himſelf out of the mud ſo intolerable, that his ſpirits were near ſpent, and he was once ready to call out for help. But he got at laſt to the other ſide, where his friends expected him, and carried him to a chamber in the Temple, where he remained two or three nights ſecure from any diſcovery. At length, a friend whom he truſted much, conceiving he might be more ſecure in a place to which there was leſs reſort, and not ſo many harboured that were every day ſought after, provided a lodging for him in a private-houſe in Lambeth-marſh. Calling upon him in an evening, when it was dark, to go thither, they choſe rather to take any boat they found ready at the Temple-ſtairs, than to truſt one of that people with the ſecret; and it was ſo late, that there was only one boat left. In that the Lord Capel (as well diſguiſed as he thought neceſſary) and his friend, put themſelves, and bid the waterman row them to Lambeth. Whether, in their paſſage thither, the other gentleman called him *My Lord*, as was confidently reported, or whether the waterman had any jealouſy who he was, or knew him; when they were landed, the warterman, undiſcerned, followed them 'till he ſaw into what houſe they went. And then he went to an officer, and demanded, 'What he would give 'him, to bring him to the place where the Lord Ca-'pel lay.' The officer promiſing to give him ten pounds, he led him preſently to the houſe, where his Lordſhip was ſeized upon, and the next day carried to the Tower (14). Mr Whitelock ſays (15), that it was two watermen who diſcovered and apprehended him, for which they received forty pounds.

(14) Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 270.

[*K*] *Was to have fair quarter for his life.*] The articles were, 'That the Lords, and all Captaines, and 'ſuperiour officers, ſhould render themſelves to the mer-'cy of the Lord General.' Which was thus explained at that time, 'That they be rendred, or render them-'ſelves, to the Lord General, or whom he ſhall ap-'point, without certaine aſſurance of quarter, ſo as the 'Lord General may be free to put ſome immediately 'to the ſword, if he ſee cauſe, although he intends 'chiefly, and for the generality of thoſe under that 'condition, to ſurrender them to the mercy of the Par-'liament and General (16).' The Lord Capel had afterwards quarter granted him. See above.

(15) Memorials, ubi ſupra, p. 377.

(16) Articles for the Surrender of Colcheſter, Aug. 28 1648.

[*L*] *The 13th he was brought again before the Court.*] And then it was made appear, by General Fairfax's Letter to the Parliament upon the ſurrender of Colcheſter, and the articles, with the explanation, of that ſurrender; as alſo by the teſtimony of Lord Fairfax himſelf, and of Ireton, Whaley, and Barkſted, then preſent, 'That the Lord Capel was to have *fair* '*quarter* for his life,' which was explained to be, 'a 'freedom from any execution of the ſword, but not 'any protection from the judicial proceedings of a Ci-'vil Court;' and *Mercy* was explained to be only 'from the promiſcuous execution of the ſword, but 'that he might be tried by a Council of War.' *But of this Learning*, as Mr Whitelock there rightly obſerves, *I hope none of this nation will have uſe hereafter.* It was alſo proved, 'That the articles were only 'to free him from the preſent power of the ſword to 'take away his life.' And Colonel Barkſted ſwore, 'That he told him, the day after the articles, that 'he believed the Parliament would proceed againſt 'them that were taken at Colcheſter, as traitors (17).'

(17) Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 381. See alſo Clarendon, Vol. III. P. i. p. 266, 267.

[*M*] *Being brought a fifth time before the Court.*] He was brought before it, for the third time, February 17, when he was queſtioned for his eſcape out of the Tower; and then he pleaded, 'That he did not eſcape 'as he was a priſoner of war, but as he was ſent to the 'Tower in another condition.' The fourth time of his appearance before it, was the 21ſt of the ſame month, when he pleaded, 'That he was to be com-'prehended wholly in the martial law; and urged the 'Articles again, which excepted trial after by Parlia-'ment: That divers that were in Colcheſter in his 'condition, had compounded: That breaking priſon 'for Treaſon, by Common Law, was but Felony, and 'benefit of Clergy might be had.' When he could not be allowed to be tried by Martial Law, then he moved, 'That he might not be barred of additional 'defence; and that, if he muſt be judged by the Com-'mon Law, he hoped he might have the full benefit 'of it.' He recommended to the Court Magna Charta, and the Petition of Right, &c. Moreover, he deſired to ſee his Jury, and that they might ſee him, and to be tried by his Peers, and ſaid, 'He believed, that a 'precedent could not be given, of a ſubject tried for 'his life, but either by bill in Parliament, or by a 'Jury.' But all he could ſay, was diſregarded and rejected (18).

(18) Whitelock, p. 383.

[*N*] *His Lady's petition occaſioned a long debate,* &c.] When it was read, many gentlemen ſpoke on his behalf, and mentioned the great virtues which were in him; 'that he had never deceived them, or pretended 'to be of their party; but always reſolutely declared 'himſelf for the King.' Cromwell, who had known him very well, ſpoke ſo much good of him, and profeſſed to have ſo much kindneſs and reſpect for him, that all men thought he was now ſafe;—but then he concluded——'That his affection to the publick ſo 'much weighed down his private friendſhip, that he 'could not but tell them, that the queſtion was now, 'whether they would preſerve the moſt bitter and moſt 'implacable enemy they had: that he knew the Lord 'Capel very well, and knew that he would be the laſt 'man in England, that would forſake the royal inte-'reſt;

the ninth of March, the day appointed for his execution, he was carried from St James's (†) in a ſedan, with a guard, to Sir Thomas Cotton's houſe at Weſtminſter; where he continued about two hours, which he ſpent moſtly in religious conference with Dr Morley, who attended him (*g*). Then being brought to the ſcaffold erected before Weſtminſter-hall, he made a ſpeech to the people [*O*]. After which, ſubmitting to the block, as Duke Hamilton and the Earl of Holland had done immediately before, he ſuffered death with great reſolution (*h*). His body being carried to Little-Hadham in Hertfordſhire, where he had a ſeat and eſtate, was buried in the chancel of that church (*i*). And a black marble was ſoon after laid over his grave, with an inſcription [*P*]. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Charles Moryſon, Knt. of Caiſhiobury in Watford, Hertfordſhire, by whom he had four ſons; Arthur, of whom we ſhall give an account in the next article; Henry created Baron of Tewkſbury in 1692, and who died Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1696. Edward; and Charles: and four daughters (*k*). His character is thus given by the Earl of Clarendon (*l*). He was a man in whom the malice of his enemies could diſcover but very few faults, and whom his friends could not wiſh better accompliſhed; whom Cromwell's own character well deſcribed (*m*), and who indeed would never have been contented to have lived under that government. His memory all men loved and reverenced, though few followed his example. He had always lived in a ſtate of great plenty and general eſtimation, having a very noble fortune of his own by deſcent, and a fair addition to it by his marriage with an excellent wife, a Lady of very worthy extraction, of great virtue and beauty, by whom he had a numerous iſſue of both ſexes, in which he took great joy and comfort: ſo that no man was more happy in all his domeſtick affairs; and he was ſo much the more happy, in that he thought himſelf moſt bleſſed in them. And yet the King's honour was no ſooner violated, and his juſt power invaded, than he threw all thoſe bleſſings behind him; and having no other obligations to the Crown, than thoſe which his own honour and conſcience ſuggeſted to him, he frankly engaged his perſon and his fortune from the beginning of the troubles, in all actions and enterprizes of the greateſt hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one falſe ſtep. In a word, he was a man, that whoever ſhall, after him, deſerve beſt of the Engliſh nation, he can never think himſelf undervalued, when he ſhall hear, that his courage, virtue, and fidelity, is laid in the ballance with, and compared to, that of the Lord Capel.

(†) Where he, and the two other Lords, had been confined after their condemnation. Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 268.

(*g*) Account of the Execution, with the ſeveral Speeches of Duke Hamilton, Lord Capel, &c. publiſhed by authority. Lond. 1649, 4to. Whitelock, p. 387, 388. Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 271, 272.

(*h*) Ibid. He ſeemed rather to fright death than to be frighted with it, as Fuller obſerves. Worthies in Hertfordſhire, p. 29.

(*i*) The Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire by N. Salmon, Lond. 1728, fol. p. 282.

(*k*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 466. Peerage of England by A. Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 273.

(*l*) Hiſt. Vol. III. Part i. p. 273.

(*m*) See note [*N*]

'reſt; that he had great courage, induſtry, and gene-
'roſity; that he had many friends who would always
'adhere to him; and that as long as he lived, what
'condition ſoever he was in, he would be a
'thorn in their ſides, and therefore, for the good of
'the Commonwealth, he ſhould give his vote againſt
'the petition.' Ireton's hatred was immortal: he ſpake of him, and againſt him, as of a man of whom he was heartily afraid. And ſo, after a long debate, though there was not a man who had not a value for him, and very few, who had a particular malice, or prejudice againſt him, he was caſt (19).

(19) Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 270.

[*O*] *He made a ſpeech to the people*] In which he firſt prays the God of all mercies, that thoſe who were the cauſe of his violent death, might be partakers of his ineſtimable and boundleſs mercies in Jeſus Chriſt, and beſeeches the God of Heaven, to forgive any injury they had done to him, 'From my ſoul, ſays he, I wiſh
'it.' Then he declares, 'That he was a Proteſtant,
'and very much in love with the profeſſion of it, after
'the manner as it was eſtabliſhed in England by the
'XXXIX Articles; a bleſſed way of profeſſion, and ſuch a
'one, as truly, ſays he, I never knew none ſo good.'—
Soon after he ſays, 'Something I ſhall ſay to you as a
'citizen of the whole world, and in that conſideration
'I am here condemned to die, contray to the law that
'governs all the world, that is, the Law of the Sword;
'I had the protection of that for my life, and the ho-
'nour of it.——You that are Engliſhmen, behold
'here an Engliſhman now before you, and acknow-
'ledged a Peer, not condemned to die by any law of
'England; nay, which is ſtrangeſt of all, contrary to
'all the laws of England that I know of.——I die, I
'take it, for maintaining the fifth Commandment, in-
'joined by God himſelf, which injoins reverence and
'obedience to Parents, that is, to Magiſtracy and Or-
'der.'——Then ſpeaking of King Charles I.——
'Truly, in my opinion, ſays he, there was not a more vir-
'tuous, and more ſufficient Prince known in the world,
'than our gracious King Charles that died laſt.' After which, he gives a very great character of King Charles II. and beſeeches God to give him much happineſs, and to his ſubjects. He concludes, as he had begun, by praying, That God Almighty would confer of his infinite and ineſtimable grace and mercy, to thoſe that were the cauſers of his coming thither, and give them as much mercy as their own hearts could wiſh. 'Truly, ſays he, for my
'part, I will not accuſe any one of them of malice,
'truly I will not, nay I will not think there was any
'malice in them: what other ends there is, I know
'not, nor I will not examine, but let it be what it
'will, from my very ſoul I forgive them every one:
'And ſo the Lord of Heaven bleſs you all,' &c. And, after a little ſtop, he concluded, 'God Almighty
'bleſs all this people, God Almighty ſtench this blood,
'God Almighty ſtench, ſtench, ſtench this iſſue of
'blood; this will not do the buſineſs, God Al-
'mighty find out another way to do it.'——Dr Morley attended him from the time ſentence was paſſed upon him; but the ſoldiers ſtopping the Doctor at the foot of the ſcaffold, his Lordſhip took his leave of him, and ſaid he ſhould go no farther, apprehending that he might receive ſome affront from the populace (20).

(20) Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 272.

[*P*] *A black marble was laid over his grave with an inſcription.*] Which runs thus. 'Here under lieth
'interred the Body of Arthur Lord Capel, Baron of
'Hadham, who was murthered for his Loyalty to
'King Charles I. March 9, 1648 (21).

(21) Hiſtory of Hertfordſhire by N. Salmon, ubi ſupra, p. 282.

C

CAPEL (ARTHUR) eldeſt ſon of Arthur Lord Capel, mentioned in the laſt article, ſucceeded his father in his honour; and, after the reſtoration of King Charles II, on account, both of his father's loyalty and ſufferings, and his own perſonal merit, was advanced to the dignity of Viſcount Maldon, and Earl of Eſſex, April 20, 1661 (*a*), with remainder of the ſame honour, for want of iſſue male, to Henry Capel, Eſq; his brother, and the heirs male of his body; and, for want of ſuch iſſue, to Edward Capel, Eſq; his younger brother (*b*). He was alſo made *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, and Lord Lieutenant of the county of Hertford; and, ſome time after, of the county of Wilts, during the minority of the Duke

(*a*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 466. Peerage of England by A. Collins, Eſq; Vol. II. P. i. edit. 1735, 8vo p. 274.

(*b*) Collins, ibid.

of

of Somerset (c). In his younger years, his education was neglected, by reason of the civil wars; but, when he came to man's age, he learned the Latin tongue, and made a great progress in Mathematicks, and in all the other parts of learning. He knew our law and constitution well, and was a very thoughtful man. As he appeared early against the Court, King Charles imputing it to his resentments, resolved to make use of him; and accordingly, in 1670, sent him Embassador to Denmark (d), where his behaviour in the affair of the Flag gained him much reputation [A]. At his return, in 1672, he was sworn of the Privy-Council (e), and made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. How he came to be raised to this post he could never understand; for he had not pretended to it; and he was a violent enemy to Popery, not so much from any fixed principle in religion, in which he was too loose, as because he looked on it as an invasion made on the freedom of human nature (f). He began his journey towards Ireland July 22, with a very noble equipage, and arriving at Dublin, had, on August 5, the Sword of State delivered to him (g). In his government of that kingdom, he exceeded all that had gone before him, and was a pattern to all that should come after. He studied to understand well the constitution and interest of the nation. He read over all their council-books, and made large abstracts out of them, to guide him, so as to advance every thing that had been at any time set on foot for the good of the kingdom. He made several volumes of tables of the state, and persons that were in every county and town; and got true characters of all that were capable to serve the publick. And he preferred men always upon merit, without any application from themselves; and watched over all about him, that there should be no bribes going among his servants (h). But notwithstanding these noble qualifications, and his great services, he was recalled in 1677 (i), for complaining that payments were not regularly made in Ireland [B], and refusing to pass the accounts of the Earl of Ranelagh, who had the management of the revenue in that kingdom (k). Upon his return to England, he became one of the leading men in the House of Lords (l); and one of those that declared against the Earl of Danby (m). That Lord being soon after displaced, the Earl of Essex was admitted into the new Privy-Council, which was formed upon Danby's disgrace, and was one of those four leading members of it, who had the direction of affairs: the treasury likewise being put in commission, he was appointed first and chief Commissioner of it [C], on the twenty-first of April 1679 (n). But he resigned that office [D] the nineteenth of November following (o), and continued however still of the Privy-Council (p). When the exclusion of the Duke of York was debated in the House of Lords, the Earl of Essex appeared against it; and he, and the Earl of Halifax, proposed such limitations of the Duke's authority, when the crown should devolve on him [E], as would disable him from doing any harm in Church or

(b) Burnet's Hist. his own Time, it. fol 1724, ol. I. p. 396.

(c) Collins, ubi pra; and Burnet.

(d) Burnet, 397.

(e) Compleat ist. of England, Kennet, edit. 19, Vol. III. 316.

(f) Burnet, ubi pra, p. 397.

(g) Letter, in e 2d Vol. of Cox's Hist. of eland; before e Appendix, 14.

(h) Burnet, ubi pra, p. 398.

(i) Ibid. p. 431.

(k) History of Hertfordshire, by N. Salmon, ond. 1728, p. 81.

(l) Burnet, ubi upra, p. 396, 397.

(m) Salmon, ubi upra.

(m) Rapin's Hist. of Eng'. edit. 1733, fol. Vol. II. p. 697, 704. He joined with the Duke of Monmouth and Earl of Sunderland to press the King to change his counsels; for which he was much blamed. Burnet, ubi supra, p. 454.

(n) The Historian's Guide, in 1679. Kennet, ubi supra, p. 357. Burnet, ubi supra, p. 454.

(o) Historian's Guide, in 1679.

(p) Kennet, ubi supra, p. 367. Rapin, ubi supra, p. 704.

[A] *His behaviour in the affair of the Flag gained him great reputation.*] The King of Denmark had ordered the Governor of Croonenburgh to make all ships that passed strike to him. So when Lord Essex was sailing by, the Governor sent to him, either to strike to him, or to sail by in the night, or to keep out of his reach: otherwise he must shoot, first with powder, but next with ball. Lord Essex sent him a resolute answer, 'That the Kings of England made others 'strike to them, but their ships struck to none: He 'would not steal through in the dark, nor keep out of 'his reach; and if he shot at him he would defend 'himself.' The Governor did shoot at him, but on design shot over him: Or, according to some (1), tore his rigging. This was thought great bravery in his Lordship: Yet he reckoned, it was impossible the Governor would endeavour to sink a ship that brought an Embassador. Lord Essex's first business was to justify his behaviour in refusing to strike. Now, at his going from England, Sir John Cotton had desired him to take some volumes of his library that related to Danish affairs; which he took, without apprehending that he should have great occasion to use them: But this accident made him search into them. And he found very good materials to justify his conduct; since by formal treaties it had been expressly stipulated, that the English ships of war should not strike in the Danish seas. This raised his character so high as Court, that it was writ over to him, he might expect every thing he should pretend to at his return (2). The Governor of Croonenburgh was ordered to beg his pardon upon his knees in the open street, which he did, the Earl standing in a balcony of his lodgings (3).

(1) History of Hertfordshire, by N. Salmon, Lond. 1728, p. 81.

(2) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 396, 397.

(3) Salmon, ubi supra.

[B] *He was recalled —— for complaining that payments were not regularly made in Ireland.*] The Earl of Ranelagh, who then managed the revenue of that kingdom, had undertaken to furnish the King with money, for the building of Windsor, out of the revenue of Ireland. And it was believed, the Duchess of Portsmouth had a great yearly pension out of his office. By this means, payments in Ireland were not regularly made, of which the Earl of Essex complained. The King would not own how much he had from Lord Ranelagh, but pressed Lord Essex to pass his accounts. He answered, He could not pass them as accounts: But if the King would forgive Lord Renelagh, he would pass a discharge, but not an ill account. The King was not pleased with this, nor with his exactness in that government; it reproached his own too much. So he took a resolution about this time to displace the Earl of Essex, and to put the Duke of Ormond again, in his room (4).

(4) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 398.

[C] *He was appointed First Commissioner of the Treasury.*] Wherein he applied himself to the regulating the King's expence, and the improvement of the revenue. His clear, though slow, sense made him very accceptable to the King (5).

(5) Burnet, Hist. ubi supra, p. 456.

[D] *He resigned that office.*] Upon the discovery of the Meal-Tub plot, he and the Earl of Halifax pressed the King vehemently to call a Parliament immediately. But the King thought, that if a Parliament should meet while all mens spirits were sharpened by this new discovery, he would find them in worse temper than ever: When the King could not be prevailed on to do that, the Earl of Essex left the Treasury. The King was very uneasy at this. But Lord Essex was firm in his resolution, not to meddle with that post more, since a Parliament was not called: Yet, at the King's earnest desire, he continued, for some time, to go to Council (6).

(6) Idem, p. 476.

[E] *He proposed —— limitations of the Duke of York's authority.*] Such as, The taking out of his hand all power in Ecclesiastical matters; the disposal of the publick money; with the power of peace and war, and the lodging these in both Houses of Parliament; and that whatever Parliament was in being, or the last that had been in being at the King's death, should meet without a new summons, upon it, and assume the administration of affairs. The Lords Essex, Sunderland, and Halifax, three of the leading members in the new Privy-Council, were for these limitations; but the Earl of Shaftsbury, the fourth of the managers, declared highly against any limitations: which occasioned a breach between those Lords; and the three first,

or State (*q*). He was also thus far subservient to the Court, as to be for the dissolution, rather than the prorogation, of the Parliament, in July 1679 (*r*). And was one of the chief persons that occasioned the Duke of Monmouth's, and the Earl of Shaftsbury's, disgrace (*s*). But seeing what violent measures were going on, and particularly being named as an accomplice in the meal-tub-plot (*t*), he resigned his place, and turned against the Court. Accordingly, when the Bill of Exclusion was brought a second time into the House of Lords, he argued vehemently for it (*u*): and made an extraordinary proposal (*w*), for securing the expedients offered in the room of that bill [*F*]. In February 1680-1, attended by fifteen Peers, he presented to the King a petition (*x*), subscribed by himself and them, wherein they requested, that the Parliament might not sit at Oxford, but at Westminster [*G*]. Also, he had an interview with the Earl of Shaftsbury, before he set out for Holland (*y*): and generally conversed with him, and the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Russel, Algernoon Sidney, and other persons that were thought disaffected (*z*). All which steps rendered him so obnoxious to the Court, that he was struck out of the list of the Privy-Counsellors (*a*). And, in June 1683, being accused by the Lord Howard of Escrick, of being concerned in the Rye-house-conspiracy, called otherwise the Phanatic or Protestant-plot (*b*), he was committed to the Tower [*H*]. On the thirteenth of July following, he was found in a closet in his lodgings there, about nine o'clock in the morning, with his throat miserably cut (*c*). The Coroner's Jury brought in their verdict, the next day, that he had voluntarily and feloniously killed and murthered himself (*d*); but it was then, and hath since been, thought, that he was murdered by Paul Bomeney, a French servant who attended him [*I*]. His body was carried into Hertfordshire, and interred in a vault belonging

(*q*) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 455.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 468.

(*s*) Rapin, ubi supra, p. 711.

(*t*) See that Plot in Col. Mansel's Narrative, printed at London in 1680, fol. p. 19. and Burnet, p. 476. Rapin, ubi supra, p. 711.

(*u*) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 482.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 486.

(*x*) Kennet, ubi supra, p. 383; and Rapin, ubi supra, p. 720.

(*y*) Burnet, p. 537.

(*z*) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 537, 538.

(*a*) Rapin, ubi supra, p. 720.

(*b*) Account of that Conspiracy, by Bishop Sprat. Kennet, ubi supra, p. 400.

(*c*) Pomeny's and Russel's Informations in the Coroner's Inquest. Lond. 1683, fol.

(*d*) Edward Farnham's the Coroner's Account, &c. Printed at Lond. fol. 1683.

first, joining together, were called the Triumvirate (7).

(7) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 455, 456.

[*F*] *And made an extraordinary proposal, for securing the expedients*, &c.] He moved in the house of Lords, That an association should be entered into to maintain those expedients, and that some cautionary towns should be put into the hands of the Associators during the King's life, to make them good after his death But though this was agreed to, in a thin house it came to nothing; the King looking upon it as a deposing of himself (8).

(8) Idem, p. 486.

[*G*] *He presented a petition*, &c.] At the presenting of it, he made a speech to the King, in the name of himself, and the Lords by whom it was subscribed; wherein he declares, That observing from history and records, how unfortunate many assemblies had been, when called at a place remote from the capital city [of which he brings instances]. And considering the present posture of affairs, the many jealousies and discontents that were among people, they had great cause to apprehend, that the consequences of a Parliament at Oxford might be as fatal to his Majesty and the nation, as those he had mentioned. —— The grounds and reasons which they gave for their opinions in the petition itself were, That the Lords and Commons could not be in safety at Oxford, but would be daily exposed to the swords of the Papists, and their adherents, of whom too many were crept into his Majesty's guards: The liberty of speaking, according to their consciences, would be thereby destroyed; and the validity of all their acts and proceedings, concerning it, lest disputable. The streightness of the place did not way admit of such a concourse of persons as now follows every Parliament. The witnesses that were necessary to give evidence against the Popish Lords, Judges, and others, whom the Commons had impeached, or had resolved to impeach, could neither bear the charge of going thither, nor trust themselves under the protection of a Parliament, that was itself evidently under the power of guards and soldiers (9).

(9) Kennet, ubi supra, p. 383, 384.

[*H*] *Being accused —— of being concerned in the Rye-house conspiracy —— he was committed to the Tower.*] Before he was impeached, he staid for some time at his house in the country, and seemed so little apprehensive of danger, that his own lady did not imagine he had any concern on his mind. He was offered to be conveyed away very safely; but he would not stir. His tenderness for Lord Russel was the cause of it: For he thought his going out of the way might incline the Jury to believe the evidence the more, for his absconding. He seemed resolved, as soon as he saw how that went, to take care of himself. When a party of horse, that was sent to fetch him up, came to his house, he was at first in some disorder, yet he recovered himself. But when he came before the Council, he was in much confusion. He was sent to the Tower; and there he fell under so great a depression of spirit, that he could not sleep at all. He had fallen before that twice under great fits of the spleen, which returned now upon him with more violence. He sent by a servant, whom he had long trusted, a very melancholy message to his wife; 'That what he was charged with 'was true: He was sorry he had ruined her, and her 'children.' —— But when he found, how she took his condition to heart, without seeming concerned for her own share in it, he was much calmer (10). As to this plot, very few now believe that the Earl of Essex, Lord Russel, &c. had so great a share in it, as the Court then affirmed. 'Tis very possible, that the evident violations of Liberty and Property, improved by the nearer prospects of Popery, might provoke many of the Nobility and Gentry to enter into some measures for stopping the torrent of the Court, and providing for the enjoyment of their established Laws and Religion. But still without having recourse to those violent and bloody means, which a few rash and inconsiderate desperadoes perhaps ran headlong into.

(10) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 552.

[*I*] *It was then, and has since been, thought, that he was murdered*, &c.] The world was very much divided about this Lord's murder, at the time when it happened, and hath been so ever since. One side maintained, *That he murdered himself*; and so the Coroner's Inquest found it. The information given by Bomeney in favour of this opinion, was as follows (11): 'That when my Lord Essex came to the Tower, which 'was the 11th of July, he asked him (Bomeney) for a 'penknife to pare his nails as he was wont to do; to 'which Bomeney answered, Being come in haste he 'had not brought it, but he would send for one; and accordingly sent the footman with a note for several 'things for my Lord, amongst which the penknife was 'inserted; and the footman went, and gave the bill to 'my Lord's steward, who sent the provisions, but not 'the penknife, and told the footman he would get one 'next day. —— Accordingly, *on the 12th* in the morning, before my Lord was up, Bomeney sent the footman home with a note to the steward, in which, 'amongst other things, he asked for a penknife for my 'Lord: When the footman was gone, about, or a little 'after eight o'Clock, my Lord sent Mr Russel, his 'warder, to Bomeney, who came, and then he asked 'him, If the penknife was come? Bomeney said, "No, "my Lord, but I shall have it by and by;" to which 'my Lord said, "That he should bring him one of "his razors, it would do as well:" And then Bomeney went and fetched one, and gave it my Lord; 'who began to pare his nails, and then Bomeney 'went out of the room into the passage by the door, '*on Friday the 13th*, and began to talk with the warder, and a little while after he went down stairs; and 'soon after came the footman with the provisions, and 'brought also a penknife, which Bomeney put upon 'his bed, and thought my Lord had no more need of 'it, because he thought he had pared his nails; and 'then Bomeney came up to my Lord's chamber, about 'eight or nine in the forenoon on Friday the 13th, 'with

(11) It is printed before the Coroner's Inquest, intituled, 'An 'Account how 'the Earl of Es- 'sex killed him- 'self in the Tow- 'er of London, 'the 13th of 'July 1683.' Lond. fol. 1683.

longing to the family, in the parish church of Watford (*e*). As to his character; he was a person of an agreeable stature, slender in body, adorned with a comely countenance, mixed with gravity and sweetness, and was easy of access; his mind was sedate, but his discourses were generally free and pleasant, and his demeanour very civil; his promises were real and sincere; his reprimands smart and ingenious, having a quick apprehension, good elocution, sound judgment, great courage, and resolution unalterable; he was always wary and circumspect in Council, where he endeavoured to obstruct all arbitrary power, and the increase of the Popish interest; having a particular regard for the established religion of his country (*f*): tho' others affirm, that he was too loose in point of religion (*g*); and that he had an odd set of some strange principles (*h*). With regard to his political notions, he thought, the obligation between Prince and Subject was so equally mutual, that upon a breach on the one side, the other was free (*i*). He was very temperate in his diet, strict in his justice, tender of his honour, and constant to his friend; he delighted much in his library, which enabled him to speak on all occasions with great applause, and would spend his vacant hours in viewing of Records, and learning the Mathematicks; these were his diversions together with recreating himself in his fine gardens, and pleasant groves, which were of his own plantation (*k*). He married Elizabeth, daughter of Algernon Earl of Northumberland, by whom he had six sons, and two daughers. But, only *Algernon*, the fifth son, and the youngest daughter, survived him. Her name was *Anne*, and she was married to Charles Earl of Carlisle.

(*e*) Peerage, &c. by A. Collins, p. 274.

(*f*) Collins, ibid.

(*g*) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 397.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 570.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 540.

(*k*) Collins, ubi supra, p. 275.

Algernon

'with a little note from the steward; but not finding 'his Lord in the chamber, went to the close-stool 'closet door, and found it shut; and he thinking his 'Lord was busy there, went down and staid a little, 'and came up again, thinking his Lord had been come 'out of the closet; and finding him not in the cham-'ber, he knocked at the door with his finger, thrice, 'and said, "My Lord?" But no body answering, he 'took up the hanging, and looking through the chink, 'he saw blood, and a part of the razor; whereupon he 'called the warder, Russel, and went down to call 'for help; and the said Russel pushed the door open, 'and there they saw my Lord of Essex all along the 'floor, without a peruke, and all full of blood, and 'the razor by him.'——Thomas Russel's information, printed at the end of this, is to the same purpose, except, that it mentions only *the 13th of July*. And to render this account the more probable, it is said, That Lord Essex had got into an odd set of some strange principles: And in particular he thought, a man was the master of his own life; and seemed to approve of what his wife's great-grandfather, the Earl of Northumberland, did, who shot himself in the Tower after he was arraigned. He had also very black fits of the spleen (12).

(12) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 570, 553.

But, on the other hand, in order to prove, *That the Earl of Essex did not murder himself*, it is alledged, 1. That he was a Nobleman of most virtuous and religious principles; of the greatest sedateness of mind, least subject to the undue agitation of unruly passions, and most under the conduct of a calm, steady, strong, clear, and well poised reason, of any man: That the persons, who were reported to have heard him say what is mentioned above, concerning his great-grandfather, being asked about it, declared, They never heard any such thing from him: That his Lady in particular affirmed, That he used to speak against self-murder with an emotion beyond what was customary to him, and that he often declared, That no circumstances whatsoever could extenuate the guilt, or lessen the infamy, of so unnatural and wicked a fact (13). 2. That he could have no such premeditated design. For, the day before his murder, he had ordered his servants to bring up out of the country several vessels of silver, necessary for dressing of victuals. And had laid in a considerable quantity of the best of wines. Moreover, that he had given private directions to his steward, to place himself as conveniently as he could at the Lord Russel's trial, the better to take the evidence against him in short hand, and convey it to him (14). 3. That the news of the Earl of Essex's murder were publickly talked of at several distant places, before it was perpetrated; namely, two days before, at Andover in Hampshire: the day before, at Warminster in Wiltshire: and the same day it was committed, at Froom in Somersetshire, ninety miles from London (15). And, therefore, that it was contrived and done by others. 4. That Jane Lodeman, a young woman about thirteen; and William Edwards, a youth between thirteen and fourteen years of age, being at the Tower that morning the Earl of Essex was found murdered, they saw a bloody razor thrown out of his chamber window: Which the boy going to take up, a short woman, in a white hood, came out of Captain Hawley's house, where the Earl lodged, and snatching up the razor, carried it in; immediately after which, murder was cried out. The boy denied this afterwards, but is said to have been terrified by one of his sisters, who told him, that he would ruin his father (who had a place in the Custom-house) and the rest of the family, if he persisted in it, and would bring both himself and his father to be hanged (16). The prevarication of Chief Justice Jefferies and Captain Hawley was very glaring upon this point (17). For they insisted, That nothing could be well thrown *out of the closet-window* where the Earl was found murdered; whereas the boy and girl both spoke *of the chamber*, not of the closet, *window*. 5 That the print of a bloody foot appeared upon one of my Lord's stockings. 6. That the neck, or middle of his cravat was cut in four pieces; and tied so hard, that there was reason to guess, an attempt had been made to strangle him with it (18). 6. That his Lordship's body was taken out of the closet, where it was found; stripped, and washed, and the cloaths carried away; and, also, the closet and room were washed, before the Coroner's Inquest was permitted to sit upon the body. which was not 'till the day after the murder was committed. One of the Jury desiring to see the clothes, the Coroner told him, 'They were called to sit upon my Lord's body, and 'not on his clothes; and that it was sufficient they 'had seen the body, and received an account upon 'oath how it was found (19).' 7. That it was impossible the Earl should cut his own throat in the manner it was found done. The two Chirurgeons, who viewed the body with the Coroner, deposed, 'That the throat 'was cut from one jugular to the other, and through 'the wind-pipe and gullet, unto the vertebres of the 'neck, both jugular veins being also quite divided (20).' Now, the razor wherewith he was said to have killed himself, being a small French razor, about four inches and a half long at most, without spill or tongue at the end of the blade, it could not be held with strength and steadiness sufficient to make such a wound, a wound eight inches long and four inches deep, unless the hand and fingers grasped two inches of it at least; and how the other two inches and a half of the razor, could make such a long and deep wound, as described by the Chirurgeons, is incredible (21). 8. In short, it is said, That this murder was committed by the Duke of York's contrivance and direction, and perpetrated by the Earl of Sunderland, Lord Feversham, and Paul Bomeney my Lord's valet de chambre (22). In proof of which it is observed, 9. That the King and Duke of York were that morning in the Tower, from six o'clock 'till nine, where they had not been for twelve years before. 10. That the centinels, which used to be changed every two hours, continued upon duty from four to ten o'clock in the morning (23); being, probably, persons that could best be trusted. However, that the day but one after the murther, they were called together, and strictly charged not to speak of what

(13) An Enquiry into, and Detection of, the barbarous Murther of the late Earl of Essex, &c. said in my copy to be written by Hugh Speake, Gent. Lond. 1689, 4to, p. 5, 6.

(14) Ib. p. 8, 11.

(15) Ibid. p. 16, 17, 18, 19.

(16) Ibid. p. 65. Edwards, the father, was afterwards turned out of his place, for witnessing at Mr Bradd n's tryal what he had heard from his son. ibid. p. 28.

(17) At Mr L. Braddon's tryal, p. 58, &c.

(18) Enquiry, &c. as above, p. 54, 55.

(19) Enquiry, &c. as above, p. 53—61.

(20) Informations of Robert Sherwood, and Rob. Andrews, Chirurgeons, printed with the Coroner's Inquest. Lond. 1683, fol.

(21) Enquiry, &c. as above, p. 44, 45.

(22) Ibid. p. 23, 35, 41.

(23) Ibid. p. 37.

Algernon Earl of Eſſex, was Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to King William, Colonel of a regiment of dragoons, ſerved under him in Flanders, diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle of Landen, and attended at the great Congreſs in 1690. In the reign of Queen Anne, he was Conſtable of the Tower of London, Lieutenant-General of her armies, and Colonel of Dragoons. He was alſo, in both reigns, Lord Lieutenant, and Cuſtos Rotulorum, of Hertfordſhire and St Albans. He died January 10, 1709-10, leaving iſſue, by the Lady Mary Bentinck, eldeſt daughter of William Earl of Portland, *William* the late Earl of Eſſex, and two daughters, the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Lady *Mary* (*l*). *William*, the preſent Earl of Eſſex is under age.

(*l*) Collins, ibid.

what they had ſeen or heard (24). But Captain Hawley, having whiſpered ſomething about it, was found murdered (25): And Robert Meak, one of the centinels, not having been ſo ſilent as deſired, was murdered, and thrown into the Tower-ditch (26). 11. That a gate, at the lower-end of thoſe apartments where my Lord Eſſex was confined, which uſed to ſtand open from morning 'till night, was all that morning kept ſhut, by a ſpecial order, 'till his Lordſhip was dead. 12. That the King and Duke having been at the Lieutenant's houſe, about the middle of the alley where the Earl was impriſoned, did ſoon after, with ſeveral waiting upon him, withdraw from the King, down into the alley, the gate whereof was ſtill kept ſhut. 13. That the Duke having withdrawn from the King, ſeveral perſons were immediately ſent from his ſide towards the Earl of Eſſex's lodgings, which returned not 'till after his death (27). 14. That P. Bomeny was juſtly ſuſpected by the reſt of my Lord's ſervants, by the laſt Earl of Eſſex, and many other perſons, to be the author of his maſter's death. Upon that ſuſpicion, the Counteſs diſmiſſed him out of her family. But be was, thereupon, cheriſhed and entertained by the Court, and made one of the Life-guards (28). As an evidence of his guilt, he was extremely frightened at the enquiry that was made into his maſter's death. 15. But that the Court was alſo acceſſary to this murder, is ſtrongly ſuſpected; becauſe they ſo earneſtly diſcouraged all manner of enquiry into it (29). For one Mr Laurence Braddon, who was very active in diſcovering the true authors of this barbarous murther, was fined 2000*l.* in the King's-Bench; and Mr Hugh Speke 1000*l.* (30). After all, by whom it was committed, is one of thoſe ſecrets, which cannot be fully revealed 'till the laſt great day of accounts. C

(24) Ibid. p. 26.
(25) Ib. p. 39, 40.
(26) Ibid. p. 37, 38, 70.
(27) Ib. p. 62, 63.
(28) Ibid. p. 41, 42, 43.
(29) Ib. p. 24, &c.
(30) See the Tryal of Laur. Braddon and Hugh Speke. Lond. 1684.

CAREW. The ſurname of an ancient family in Devonſhire and Cornwall, which hath produced ſeveral illuſtrious and eminent perſons. Some (*a*) fetch the original of that family from the Dukes or Kings of Suevia, now Schwabia, in High Germany: But others (*b*) with more probability, derive it from France [*A*], and think they came into England with William the Conqueror; that name occurring in Battle-Abbey-roll (*c*), though that roll is of little authority. The firſt of this line in England, was *Walter de Windſor*, ſo called from his being Caſtellan or Governor of the caſtle of Windſor: He had two ſons, William from whom the Lords Windſors are deſcended; and Gerald, from whom the Carews and Fitzgeralds. This Gerald was Caſtellan or Governor of the caſtle of Penbroke in Wales; and in great favour with King Henry I, who granted him the lordſhip of Mullesford in Berkſhire (†). He married Neſta, daughter of Rees, Prince of South-Wales; whoſe dowry was the caſtle of Carew in thoſe parts [*B*]. By this Lady he had three ſons, William, Maurice, and David. David, the youngeſt, was Biſhop of St David's. From Maurice Fitz-gerald, the ſecond ſon, are iſſued the noble families of Kildare and Deſmond in Ireland. William, the eldeſt, Lord of Carrio, had iſſue Raymond who died without iſſue, Otho, and others. Otho had iſſue William, the firſt that took the ſurname of *de Carrio*, or *Carru* (*d*). His ſucceſſors, for ſome generations, were, William; Nicolas; William; Sir Nicolas, Knt; and Sir Nicolas, Baron of Carru and Mullesford, ſummoned by writ to Parliament, in the reign of King Edward I. This Sir Nicolas married the ſiſter and heir of Sir John Peverel, of Weſton-Peverel near Plymouth, by whom he had a large eſtate in thoſe parts, as Weſton-Peverel, Aſhford-Peverel, Manhead, and other places. He had iſſue by this Lady four ſons, Sir John, Thomas, Nicolas, and William. From Nicolas deſcended the family of *Carew*, of Beddington in Surrey. Sir John, the eldeſt ſon, married firſt, Eleanor, daughter and heir of Sir William Mohun of Mohun's-Ottery, Knt. by whom he had Nicolas: he married, to his ſecond wife, Joan daughter of Gilbert Lord Talbot, by which he had Sir John, to whom his brother Nicolas, dying without iſſue, left his eſtate (*e*). On this Sir John I ſhall enlarge a little in the next article

(*a*) Weſtcot's Deſcript. of Devonſhire in Bicklegh. MS. cited by Mr Prince, Worthies of Devonſh. &c. Exeter, 1701, p. 148.
(*b*) R. Carew, Survey of Cornwall, edit. 1602, 4to, p. 103, B. ii.
(*c*) Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 105.
(†) Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722, Vol. I. col. 165.
(*d*) Prince, Worthies, ubi ſupra, p. 149.
(*e*) Ibid.

[*A*] *Others, with more probability, derive it from France.*] Particularly Richard Carew, Eſq; in the place cited above, ſpeaks thus:

Carew, of ancient, Carru was;
And Carru is a plow †:
Romans the trade, Frenchmen the word;
I do the name avow.

(†) *Viz.* in old French; for the preſent French word is *Charuë*.

[*B*] *Whoſe dowry was the caſtle of Carew in thoſe parts.*] This caſtle ſtands in Penbrokeſhire; and either gave name to, or took it's name from, the family of Carew. Which of the two it was, cannot eaſily be determined at this diſtance of time. Mr Camden inclines to the latter opinion (1), and affirms, that it 'gave both name and original to the illuſtrious family 'of Carew.' So doth alſo Mr Wood (2), *A Carew caſtro in agro Pembrochienſi Cognomen ſortitus eſt.* viz. *Georgius Carew.* i. e. He took his ſurname from Carew caſtle in Penbrokeſhire. C

(1) Britan. edit. 1722, fol. Vol. II. col. 754.
(2) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 63.

CAREW (Sir JOHN) Knt. Baron of Carew and Mullesford, was born at Mohun's-Ottery, ſo called from it's Lords the Mohuns (*a*); and which paſſed unto the Carews in the manner abovementioned. He was a great ſoldier, and valiantly ſerved King Edward III. in his wars in France (*b*). Very probably, he was preſent at the ever-memorable battle of Creſſy; in which was ſlain his brave ſon, Sir John Carew, whoſe courage and conduct had preferred him to the honour of Knighthood (*c*). In the year 1348, John, Baron of Carew, was appointed Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and after having continued in that honourable poſt about two years, returned to England (*d*). He died May the 16th, 1363 (*e*). Beſides his ſon, who was ſlain as is above related, he had another named Leonard, who had iſſue Sir Thomas Carew, of whom in the next article. C

(*a*) Prince, p. 148.

(*b*) Riſdon, Survey of Cornwal, in Mohun's-Ottery.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Campion's Hiſt. of Ireland, Dublin, fol. 1633. p. 90.

(*e*) Sir W. Pole, under the head F. Soldiers, MS. in Prince, ubi ſupra, p. 149, 150.

CAREW (Sir THOMAS). This Sir Thomas was alſo a brave ſoldier. He had the charge of the navy, and three thouſand Engliſh ſoldiers committed to him, for ſecuring the Emperor Sigiſmund, during his abode in England (*a*). In the beginning of the reign of King Henry V. he valiantly ſerved that heroic Prince in his wars in France, and was undoubtedly at the battle of Agincourt (*b*). In the year 1418, he was appointed to keep and defend the paſſage over the river Seine, and was made Captain of Harfleur (*c*). He died January 25, 1430-1, leaving iſſue Sir *Nicolas*, Baron Carew: who married Joan, daughter of Sir Hugh Courtenay of Haccombe, Knight, by Philippa his wife, daughter, and one of the heirs of Sir Warren Ercedecon, or Archdeacon (*d*), of that place, Knight. Sir Nicolas had, by his ſaid Lady Joan, theſe ſons; Sir *Thomas*, Knight, Nicolas, Hugh, Alexander (*e*). Sir Thomas happening to diſoblige his mother in a very high degree, ſhe ſettled ſeventeen manors on her younger ſons, which proved the foundation of three great families, that have flouriſhed ever ſince. *Haccombe* [*A*], with four manors, ſhe ſettled on Nicolas, her ſecond ſon, to whom fell, by entail, the third brother's inheritance. To Hugh, ſhe gave *Biry*, from whom is deſcended Carew of *Stodelegh*. And to Alexander ſhe gave *Anthony* in Cornwal (*f*). Sir Thomas abovementioned, was the father of Sir *Nicolas* Carew; who married Margaret, eldeſt daughter of Sir John Dinham, Knight, ſiſter and one of the heirs of John, Lord Dinham of Nutwel in Devonſhire, Lord High-Treaſurer of England; and left iſſue, Sir *Edmund* Carew, Knight (*g*), who was a brave ſoldier. Among other children, he had Thomas Carew, of whom in the next article.

(*a*) Riſdon, ubi ſupra.

(*b*) Prince, ubi ſupra, p. 150.

(*c*) Sir W. Pole, ubi ſupra, as cited by Mr Prince, p. 150.

(*d*) Or Lerchdeckne; as he is called elſewhere by Mr Prince, p. 178.

(*e*) Prince, p. 150, 178.

(*f*) Prince, p. 178. See alſo Camden's Britannia in Devonſhire.

(*g*) Prince, p. 150.

[*A*] *Haccombe.*] Mr Prince informs us (1), That, as to number of dwellings, this pariſh of Haccombe is the ſmalleſt in England; conſiſting but of two dwellings, the Manſion or Manor-houſe, and the Parſonage. But it enjoys privileges beyond the greateſt: for it is out of any hundred, and beyond the precincts of any officer, civil or military, to take cognizance of any proceedings therein. And, by a royal grant from the Crown, is exempted from all duties and taxes, for ſome noble ſervices done by ſome of the anceſtors of this family, towards its ſupport. The Rector of that Church hath alſo great privileges; namely, a ſine-cure in Cornwal of good value; and, as Rector of Haccombe, he is Archprieſt; and, it is ſaid, may claim the privilege of wearing lawn-ſleeves, and of ſitting next the Biſhop; and is under the viſitation only of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. C

(1) Worthies of Devon. ubi ſupra, p. 178.

CAREW (THOMAS), his ſecond ſon; and the firſt of the name of Carew, who ſettled at *Bicklegh*, in the County of Devon (*a*). He was born at Mohuns-Ottery, and became poſſeſſed of Bicklegh, by marrying the only daughter and heir of Humphrey Courtenay, Eſquire [*A*]. He was, like his father, a perſon of a martial ſpirit, and got great honour and renown in the wars. In the year 1513, he attended Thomas, Earl of Surrey in his expedition againſt Scotland; and was at the battle of Floddenfield, fought the ninth of September the ſame year, wherein the Scots were defeated, and their King James IV. ſlain (*b*). Before this battle, a Scottiſh Knight, having made a challenge to any Engliſh gentleman to fight with him for the honour of his country, Mr Carew deſired to anſwer the challenge (*c*), and conquered this bragging adverſary; which brought him into great favour with his General, the Earl of Surrey. But, after the battle, he had another opportunity of gaining further his eſteem and affection. For his Lordſhip taking Mr Carew along with him, as he rode out upon ſervice, deſcried a band of Scots coming towards them. Having a very ſtrait paſſage over a bridge to croſs, the Earl was in great danger of being there entrapped and taken. To prevent that, Carew perſuaded him to exchange armour and dreſs with him, that he might, if occaſion were, make his eſcape the more eaſily, which the General readily conſented to. The enemy coming on to this narrow paſs, Mr Carew, in his rich habit, well mounted, croſſed the bridge with his horſe; and for a time ſo valiantly defended it, that no man could paſs; by which means he gained time, and provided for his General's eſcape. However, Mr Carew himſelf was at laſt taken priſoner to the great joy of the enemy, who imagined they had taken the General himſelf. But finding themſelves diſappointed, they carried him

(*a*) Prince, p. 176.

(*b*) Buchanan in James IV. Hollingſhed's Chron. ed. 1587, p. 825, &c. Prince, ubi ſupra, p. 177.

(*c*) Weſtc. Surv. of Devon. in Bicklegh, MS. cited by Mr Prince, ubi ſupra, p. 177.

[*A*] *He became poſſeſſed of Bicklegh, by marrying the only daughter and heir of Humphrey Courtenay, Eſq;*] Bicklegh was formerly the inheritance of the honourable family of the Courtenays of Powderham-caſtle (1,) and uſed to be a portion for a younger ſon of that houſe. At length it came to be ſettled upon Humphrey, the youngeſt ſon of Sir Philip Courtenay; which Humphrey dying before his father, left his only daughter and heir under Sir Philip's care. Sir Philip intruſted her to Sir William Carew (eldeſt brother to this Thomas whom we are now about) who had married his eldeſt ſon's daughter, couſin-german to this Lady. Mr

(1) Sir W. Pole's deſcript. of Devonſh. in Bicklegh.

him to the Caſtle of Dunbar, where he remained a priſoner for ſome time. At length he was redeemed, and the Earl of Surrey never forgot the noble ſervices he had done him, but entertained him, ever after, with all courteſy and friendſhip; made him his Vice-Admiral, and aſſiſted him in all his affairs (*d*). The time of this Mr Carew's death is unknown (*e*). He out-lived his firſt wife, the heir of Courtenay, who ſettled on him and his heirs for ever, all her eſtate (*f*). For his ſecond wife, he had the daughter of——— Smart, by whom he had iſſue, *Humphrey* Carew, Eſquire. He left a ſon, named *Peter*, who, by the daughter of George Cary of Clovelly, Eſq; had iſſue, Sir *Henry* Carew, the laſt heir male of this line. He married one of the daughters of Sir Reginald Mohun of Cornwal, Knight, by whom he had iſſue, two daughters and heirs; the eldeſt of which was married to Sir *Thomas* Carew of Haccombe, Baronet, and ſo theſe two houſes of *Bickleigh* and *Haccombe* came to be united (*g*). This honourable family hath flouriſhed in thoſe parts ever ſince.

(*d*) Prince, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Idem, p. 178.

(*f*) Idem, p. 177.

(*g*) Idem, p. 178.

Thomas Carew living with his brother, became very familiar with this young fortune, courted her, and having obtained her good will, carried her away ſecretly by night, and married her. This being highly reſented by Sir Philip, the young Lady's grandfather, and alſo by Sir William, Mr Thomas Carew's brother, Mr Carew, to avoid the effects of their indignation, and to give them time to cool, reſolved to go into the wars; and ſo entered himſelf into the army, that was then preparing to march againſt the Scots (2). C

(2) Prince, ubi ſupra, p. 176, 177.

CAREW (GEORGE), afterwards Earl of Totnes, (deſcended from an ancient family in the Weſt of England, originally ſo named from Carew-Caſtle (*a*) in Penbrokeſhire) was born in 1557 (*b*). His mother was Anne, daughter of Sir Nicolas Harvey, Knight (*c*), and his father, George, Archdeacon of Totnes, and ſucceſſively Dean of Briſtol, of the Queen's Chapel, of Windſor, of Chriſt-Church Oxon, and of Exeter; beſides ſeveral other preferments (*d*), moſt of which he reſigned before his deceaſe. Mr George Carew, in 1572, at the age of fifteen, was admitted Gentleman Commoner of Broadgate-Hall (now Penbroke-College) in Oxford; where he made a good proficiency in learning, particularly in the ſtudy of Antiquities (*e*). But being of an active temper, he left the Univerſity without a degree; and applying himſelf to military affairs, went and ſerved in Ireland againſt the Earl of Deſmond (*f*). In the year 1580, he was made Governor of Aſketten-Caſtle (*g*). In 1589, he was created Maſter of Arts at Oxford, being then a Knight (*h*). And, ſome time after being conſtituted Lieutenant-General of the Artillery, or Maſter of the Ordnance in Ireland, he was one of the Commanders at the expedition to Cadiz, in 1596. And again, the next year, in the intended expedition againſt Spain (*i*). Having in 1599, been appointed Preſident of Munſter (*k*), he was in 1600, made Treaſurer of the army, and one of the Lords Juſtices of Ireland (*l*). When he entered upon his government, he found every thing in a deplorable condition; all the country being in open and actual rebellion, except a few of the better ſort, and himſelf having for his defence but three thouſand foot and two hundred and fifty horſe. However, he behaved with ſo much conduct and bravery, that he reduced to the Queen's obedience the Caſtles and Forts of Loghguyre, Cahir, Ballitrarſnie, Crome, Clyn, Carrigfoyle, Lixnaw, Rathowin, Tralee, Mayne, Ardart, Liſtoell, Dingle, &c. Took James Fitz Thomas, the titular Earl of Deſmond, and Oconner, priſoners: and brought the Bourkes, Obriens, and many other Iriſh rebels, to ſubmiſſion (*m*). He did alſo very good ſervice againg thoſe ſix thouſand Spaniards, who landed at Kinſale, October 1, 1601, and had ſo well eſtabliſhed the province of which he was Preſident, by apprehending the chief of thoſe he miſtruſted, and taking pledges of the reſt, that not any one perſon of conſideration joined the Spaniards (*n*). In 1602, he made himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle of Donboy, which was a very difficult undertaking, and reckoned almoſt impracticable. But the taking of it was of great conſequence, for it ſtopped the coming of an army of Spaniards, which were ready to ſail for Ireland (*o*). He had for ſome time been deſirous of quitting his burthenſome office of Preſident of Munſter [*A*], but he could not obtain permiſſion to do it 'till the beginning of the year 1603, when, leaving that province in a firm and univerſal peace, he arrived in England the 21ſt of March, three days before his miſtreſs, Queen Elizabeth's death (*p*). His merit was ſo great, that he was taken notice of by the new King, and made by him, in the firſt year of his reign, Governor of the Iſle of Guernſey, and Caſtle Cornet (*q*). And having married Joyce, the daughter and heir of William Clopton of Clopton, in the county of Warwick, Eſq; he was, on the 4th of June 1605, advanced to the degree of a Baron, by the title of Lord Carew of Clopton (*r*). Afterwards he was made Vice-Chamberlain and Treaſurer to King James's Queen; and in 1608, conſtituted Maſter of the Ordnance throughout England for life; and ſworn of the Privy-Council to the King, as he had before been to Queen Elizabeth (*s*). Upon King Charles Iſt's acceſſion to the Crown, he was by him created, on February 1, 1625, Earl of Totnes. At length, being full of years

(*a*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 423, col. 1.

(*b*) See Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. II. col. 529. He was entered in the Univerſity in 1572, aged 15.

(*c*) Dugdale, ibid.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra, Faſti, col. 32, and Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 254.

George Carew, who is the ſubject of this article, was his ſecond ſon. - Prince, Worthies of Devon. Exon. 1701, p. 204.

(*e*) See Life of W. Camden.

(*f*) Camden's Annal. Eliz. ad ann. 1579.

(*g*) Ibid. ad an. 1580.

(*h*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Camden, Ann. under thoſe years. Stow, p. 772, 783.

(*k*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Part. i. p. 425. Pacata Hibernia, p. 3.

(*l*) Camden, ad ann. 1600.

(*m*) Pacata Hibernia.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 197.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 291, 327.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 390. This ſhews A. Wood's miſtake, who ſays that he was called home, after King James came to the crown, Vol. I. col. 529.

(*q*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 423.

(*r*) Ibid.

(*s*) Ibid. and Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He had been —— deſirous of quiting his —— office of Preſident.*] As appears from the following paſſages in a letter of his to the Queen, dated June 3, 1601. —— 'I live like one loſt to himſelf, and wither out 'my days in torment of mind, untill it ſhall pleaſe 'your Sacred Majeſtie to redeem me from this exile, 'which I doe humbly beſeech your Majeſtie to commiſerate, and to ſhorten the ſame as ſpeedily as may 'be, —— for better than a baniſhment I cannot 'eſteeme my fortune, that deprives me from beholding your Majeſty's perſon ——— (1).'

(1) Pacata Hiber. p. 141.

[*B*] *A*

years and honours, he departed this life at the Savoy in London, March 27, 1629, aged seventy-three years and ten months; and was buried at Stratford upon Avon, near Clopton abovementioned: leaving behind him the character (*t*) of a faithful Subject, a valiant and prudent Commander, an honeſt Counſellor, a genteel Scholar, a lover of Antiquities, and a great Patron of Learning [*B*]. A ſtately monument was erected to his memory, by his widow (*u*), with a long inſcription reciting his actions abovementioned.

(*t*) Wood, ibid. Prince, Worthies of Devon. p. 198.

(*u*) See the figure of it in Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickſhire, edit. 1730, Vol. II. p. 686, 687.

[*B*] *A lover of Antiquities*, &c.] He writ, or cauſed to be writ under his direction and appointment, a book entituled, *Pacata Hibernia*, or The Hiſtory of the Wars in Ireland, eſpecially within the province of Mounſter, in the years 1599, 1600, 1601, and 1602. Which, after his death, was printed at London, in 1633, fol. with ſeventeen maps; being publiſhed by his natural ſon, Thomas Stafford. ——— Sir George Carew collected alſo, in four large volumes, ſeveral Chronologies, Charters, Letters, Monuments, Maps, &c. relating to Ireland; which are preſerved in the Bodleian library. ——— And made Collections, Notes, and Extracts, for writing *The Hiſtory of the reign of King Henry* V. which were inſerted in J. Speed's Chronicle (2). C

(2) Wood, ubi ſupra. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 423.

CAREW (Sir ALEXANDER) of Anthony in Cornwal, beheaded for endeavouring to deliver Plymouth to King Charles I, was born at Anthony. He had a very good education (*a*); and being a gentleman of a conſiderable fortune, was choſen one of the Knights for the county of Cornwal, in the Parliament, which met at Weſtminſter, November 3, 1640 (*b*). In this Parliament he ſided with thoſe members who oppoſed the Court-meaſures; and was one of the moſt violent amongſt them (*c*): and afterwards very active in ſettling the militia in Cornwal (*d*). He voted for the Earl of Strafford's attainder, in 1641, tho' he was preſſed to the contrary by Sir Bevil Greenville [*A*], the other Knight of the ſhire for Cornwal (*e*). When Plymouth was ſecured by the Parliament, Mr Carew was intruſted with the cuſtody and government of St Nicolas's iſland and fort, which command the harbour, and were looked upon as the ſecurity of the town, eſpecially as they had a ſufficient garriſon (*f*). But after the battle of Stratton, when the forces of King Charles I. prevailed ſo far over the Weſt, that Briſtol was taken by them, and Exeter cloſely beſieged, Sir Alexander Carew [*B*] began to think, his iſland and fort would hardly ſecure his own eſtate in Cornwal; and underſtood the law ſo well, as to know, that the ſide he had choſen, would be no longer the better, than it ſhould continue the ſtronger: and having originally followed no other motives, than of popularity and intereſt, reſolved now to redeem his errors. So, he found means to correſpond with ſome of his old friends and neighbours in Cornwal, and by them to make a direct overture to ſurrender that fort and iſland to the King, upon the aſſurance of his Majeſty's pardon, and a full remiſſion of his offences (*g*). Sir John Berkley, who then lay before Exeter, what the next ſupreme officer, qualified to entertain ſuch a treaty; and he, inſtantly, by the ſame conveyance, returned him as ample aſſurance of his own conditions as could be; with advice, That he ſhould not upon any defect of forms (which, upon his engagement, ſhould be ſupplied with all poſſible expedition, to his own ſatisfaction) defer conſummating the work, which hereafter, poſſibly, might not be in his power to effect. But Sir Alexander was ſo careful of his own ſecurity, that he would not proceed, 'till he was ſufficiently aſſured, that his pardon was paſſed the great ſeal. Before which time, though all imaginable haſte was made, by the treachery of a ſervant whom he truſted (*h*), or elſe by his own ſoldiers (*i*), his treaty and deſign were diſcovered to the Mayor of Plymouth, and the reſt of the Committee there: whereupon, he was ſuddenly, and without reſiſtance, ſurprized in his fort, and carried priſoner to Plymouth (*k*); in which place the women were ſo enraged with him, that it was difficult to reſcue him from their execution (*l*). From Plymouth he was ſent by ſea to London (*m*); where the Houſe of Commons voted him diſabled from being a member (*n*): and being tried at Guildhall, by a Court Martial (*o*), or Council of War (*p*) [*C*], he was beheaded on Tower-hill, the twenty-third day of December, 1644 (*q*); on purpoſe to deter others from attempts of the like nature.

(*a*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. Book v. p. 395. edit. 8vo, Oxon. 1731.

(*b*) Notitia Parliamentaria, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. edit. 1716, p. 13.

(*c*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 128.

(*e*) Short View of the late Troubles in England, &c. by Sir William Dugdale, Oxford, 1681, p. 198. The Rebellion of England, &c. by Sir Rog. Manley, Knt. 8vo. Lond. 1682, p. 80.

(*f*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Whitelocke's Memorials, &c. edit. 1732. p. 72.

(*k*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Whitelocke, ibid.

(*m*) Clarendon, ib.

(*n*) Whitelocke, ibid.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

(*q*) Ibid. Whitelocke, p. 121 Memorable Occurrences in 1644, at the end of Mercurius Ruſticus.

[*A*] *Tho' he was preſſed to the contrary by Sir Bevil Greenville.*] Who ſat next to him in the houſe; and thus ſpoke to him: 'Pray, Sir, let it never be ſaid, 'that any member of our county ſhould have a hand 'in this fatal buſineſs; and therefore, pray ye, give 'your vote againſt the bill.' But Mr Carew inſtantly replied, 'If I were ſure to be the next man that 'ſhould ſuffer upon the ſame ſcaffold, with the ſame 'ax, I would give my conſent to the paſſing of it.' And it ſeems he was afterwards beheaded with the ſame ax (1). But this, tho' related as ſomething wonderful, was really but accidental. And it ſhows the ſincerity of Mr Carew, however miſtaken he might be.

(1) Dugdale's Short View, &c. ubi ſupra, and Manley, ubi ſup.

[*B*] *Sir Alexander Carew*, &c.] He is named in Br. Willis (2), only Alexander Carew, Eſq; and by Whitelocke (3), Mr Carew. But Sir by William Dugdale, and Sir Roger Manley (4), he is named from the firſt, Sir Alexander Carew, even when he voted againſt the Earl of Strafford. So great is the negligence and inaccuracy of Hiſtorians! His father, Richard Carew, Eſq; was created a Baronet, Auguſt 9, 1641 (5), and in all likelihood was dead before 1644. For then Mr Whitelocke (6) ſtyles the perſon whom we are ſpeaking of, Sir Alexander Carew; as doth alſo the Earl of Clarendon.

(2) Ubi ſupra.

(3) Memorials, edit. 1732. p. 72.

(4) Ubi ſupra.

(5) See Liſt of Baronets in ſeveral authors.

(6) Ubi ſupra, p. 112, 114.

[*C*] *Being tried by a Court-Martial*, &c.] After he was condemned, his Lady petitioned the Parliament, alledging, That he was diſtracted and unfit to die, and prayed a reprieve for him, which was granted (7). C

(7) Whitelocke, p. 114.

CAREW (Thomas) a celebrated Poet of the laſt Century, *famed*, as Anthony Wood expreſſes it (*a*), *for the charming ſweetneſs of his Lyric odes and amorous ſonnets*, was younger brother of Sir Matthew Carew, a great Royaliſt in the time of the great Rebellion, of the family of the Carews in Glouceſterſhire, but deſcended from the ancient family of that name in Devonſhire. The year of his birth is not known. He had his academical education at Corpus-Chriſti College in Oxford, but was not matriculated as a member of that houſe, nor took any degree. Afterwards improving his parts by travelling, and converſation with men of learning and ingenuity at London, he became *reckoned among the chiefeſt of his time for delicacy of wit and poetic fancy*. His abilities recommending him to the Court, he was made Gentleman of the privy chamber, and Sewer in ordinary to his Majeſty King Charles I, who always eſteemed him as one of the moſt celebrated wits of his Court. He was much reſpected, if not adored, by the Poets of his time, particularly Ben Johnſon and Sir William Davenant [*A*]. This ingenious gentleman died in the prime of his life, about the year 1639, leaving behind him ſeveral poems, and a maſque called *Cœlum Britannicum* [*B*].

(*a*) Athen. Oxon. Vol I. col. 630.

[*A*] *He was much reſpected, if not adored, by the poets of his time, particularly Ben Johnſon and Sir William Davenant.*] Sir William addreſſed ſome ſtanzas to Mr Carew, celebrating his wit and talent in poetry, among which are theſe lines (1):

Not but thy verſes are as ſmooth and high
As glory, love, and wine from wit can raiſe;
But now the devil take ſuch deſtiny!
What ſhou'd commend them turns to their diſpraiſe.

Thy wit's chief virtue is become it's vice;
For ev'ry beauty thou haſt raiſed ſo high,
That now coarſe faces carry ſueh a price,
As muſt undo a lover that wou'd buy.

(1) See Langbaine's Account of the Dramatick Poets, Oxf. 1691, p. 45.

Sir John Suckling, that gay wit, who delighted to rally the beſt poets, and ſpared not Ben Johnſon himſelf, has thus played upon our author in his *Seſſion of the Poets* (2).

Tom Carew was next, but he had a fault,
That wou'd not well ſtand with a *Laureat*:
His muſe was hide-bound, and iſſue of's brain
Was ſeldom brought forth, but with labour and pain.
All that were there preſent did agree,
That a Laureat Muſe ſhould be eaſy and free;
Yet ſure 'twas not that; but 'twas thought that his Grace
Conſider'd he was well, he had a cup-bearer's place.

(2) See Sir John Suckling's Poems, p. 8.

[*B*] *Several poems, with a maſque called* Cœlum Britannicum.] They have been ſeveral times re-printed, the fourth edition being in 8*vo* Lond. 1670. The maſque was performed at Whitehall on Shrove-tueſday night, the 18th of February 1633, by the King's Majeſty, the Duke of Lenox, the Earls of Devonſhire, Holland, Newport, &c. with ſeveral other young Lords and Noblemens ſons. Mr Carew was aſſiſted in the contrivance by Mr Inigo Jones, the famous Architect; and all the ſongs were ſet to muſick by the celebrated Mr Henry Lawes, Gentleman of the King's Chapel, and one of the private muſick to King Charles I. As this piece was written by the King's eſpecial command, our author put this diſtich in the front, when printed:

Non habet ingenium; Cæſar ſed juſſit; habebo:
Cur me poſſe negem, poſſe quod ille putat?

This maſque was formerly, through a miſtake, aſcribed to Sir William Davenant, and is therefore not mentioned, either by Mr Philips or Mr Winſtanley in their Lives of the Poets (3). T

(3) Langbaine, ubi ſupra, p. 44.

CARLETON (George) a learned Biſhop in the XVIIth Century, ſon of Guy, ſecond ſon of Thomas Carleton, of Carleton-hall in Cumberland (*a*), was born at Norham in Northumberland, of whoſe important caſtle his father was then Governor (*b*). By the the care of the moſt eminent Bernard Gilpin, ſtiled the northern Apoſtle, he was educated in Grammar-learning; and, when fit for the Univerſity, ſent by the ſame generous perſon to Edmund-Hall in Oxford, in the beginning of the year 1576, by whoſe liberal hand he was encouraged and chiefly maintained in his ſtudies (*c*). On the 12th of February 1579-80, he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts; at the compleating of which, he exceeded all that performed their exerciſes, at that time (*d*). The ſame year, namely 1580, he was elected probationer Fellow of Merton-College, and remained in that Society about five years before he proceeded in his faculty, not taking the degree of Maſter of Arts, 'till June the 14th, 1585 (*e*). While he remained in that College he was eſteemed a great Orator and Poet; and in proceſs of time became a better diſputant in Divinity, than he had before been in Philoſophy (*f*). What preferments he had is not mentioned any where; nor doth it appear that he was poſſeſſed of any dignity in the Church, 'till he became a Biſhop (*g*). After having continued many years in the Univerſity (*h*), and taken the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, May 16, 1594 (*i*), and that of Doctor, December 1, 1613 (*k*), he was advanced to the Biſhoprick of Landaff; to which he was elected, December 23, 1617, confirmed July 11, 1618, and conſecrated at Lambeth the next day (*l*). The ſame year he was ſent, by King James I, with three other Engliſh Divines (*m*), and one from Scotland (*n*), to the Synod of Dort; where he ſtood up in favour of Epiſcopacy [*A*], and behaved ſo well in every reſpect, to the credit

(*a*) Wood Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 517. He was born in 1559, as being 17 years old in 1576. Ibid.

(*b*) Ibid. Camden's Britan. in Northumberland, edit. 1722. Vol. II. col. 1099. Fuller's Church Hiſtory, B. xi. p. 131.

(*c*) Wood, ibid.

(*d*) Ibid. and Faſti, Vol. I. col. 118.

(*e*) Ibid. Athen. and Faſti, col. 128.

(*f*) Athen. ubi ſupra, col. 517.

(*g*) His name no where occurs in J. Le Neve's Faſti, Br. Willis's Surveys, Newcourt, nor any ſuch authors.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Idem Faſti, Vol. I. col. 148.

(*k*) Ibid. col. 195.

(*l*) Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, by J. Le Neve, edit. 1716. p. 522. Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 1029.

(*m*) *Viz.* Joſeph Hall, afterwards Biſhop of Exeter, and then of Norwich; John Davenant, afterwards Biſhop of Sarum; and Samuel Ward, Maſter of Sidney-college, Cambr. Fuller's Church Hiſt. Book x. p. 77. and Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. edit. 1714, p. 716.

(*n*) Namely, Dr Walter Balcanquall, afterward Dean of Durham, Ibid.

[*A*] *He ſtood up, at the ſynod of Dort, in favour of Epiſcopacy.*] For, it being aſſerted in that ſynod (1), 'That the Miniſters of the word of God, in 'what place ſoever ſettled, have the ſame advantage 'of character, the ſame juriſdiction and authority, in 'regard they are all equally Miniſters of Chriſt, the 'only univerſal Biſhop, and head of the Church.' In oppoſition to that, Biſhop Carleton made the following proteſtation. — 'That, whereas in the Confeſſion there 'was inſerted a ſtrange conceit of the parity of Mi'niſters to be inſtituted by Chriſt, I declared our diſ'ſent utterly in that point. I ſhewed, that by Chriſt a 'parity was never inſtituted in the Church: That he 'ordained twelve Apoſtles, as alſo ſeventy Diſciples: 'That the authority of the Twelve was above the 'other: That the Church preſerved this order, leſt by 'our

(1) Seſſ. CXLIV. Art. 31.

credit of our nation; that after his return, he was, upon the translation of Dr Harsnet (or Hasnoth) to Norwich, elected to succeed him in the See of Chichester, September 8, 1619, and confirmed the 20th of the same month (*o*). He was a man of considerable learning, and writ several books, of which we shall give an account in the note [*B*] Having at length arrived to the age of sixty-nine, he departed this life in May 1628; and was buried, the 27th of that month, in the choir of his Cathedral Church at Chichester, near the altar (*p*). He was a person of solid judgment, and of various reading; well versed in the Fathers and Schoolmen; wanting nothing that could render him a compleat Divine. But withal, he was a bitter enemy to the Papists, and in the point of Predestination a rigid Calvinist (*q*). 'I have loved him, says Mr Camden (*r*), for his excellent 'proficiency in Divinity, and other polite parts of learning.' A valuable character, coming from so great a man!

(*o*) J. Le Neve ubi supra, p. 59. Wood, Athen. ubi supra.

(*p*) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 519.

(*q*) Idem, col. 517, 518.

(*r*) Britannia, ubi supra.

'our Saviour. And therefore, when the extraordinary 'power of the Apostles ceased, yet this ordinary au- 'thority continued in Bishops, who succeeded them, 'who were by the Apostles left in the government of 'the Church, to ordain Ministers, and to see that 'they who were so ordained should preach no other 'doctrine: That in an inferior degree the Ministers, 'who were governed by Bishops, succeeded the seventy 'Disciples: That this order hath been maintained in 'the Church from the times of the Apostles. And 'herein I appeal'ed to the judgment of Antiquity, 'and to the judgment of any learned man now living '(2).'—— At this learned Bishop's return to England, the States sent a letter to King James, wherein they highly extolled him, and the rest of the Divines, for their virtue, learning, piety, and ardent desire of peace. *In Theologis porro utriusque Regni vestri omnibus, & singulis, quorum agmen ducit vere Reverendissimus Dominus Georgius Landavensis Episcopus, imago, atque expressa virtutis effigies; eam eruditionem, pietatem, pacis studium, eumque zelum deprehendimus, ut, cum ipsius beneficii causâ Majestati Tuæ multum debeamus, magna pars ipsius beneficii nobis videatur,* [*q. debeatur*] *quod ipsi ad nos missi sint* (3).

(2) Collier's Eccl. Hist. ubi supra, p. 717.

(3) Fuller's Ch. Hist. Book x. p. 83, 84.

[*B*] *He writ several books*, &c.] Which are as follow: I. *Heroici characteres, ad illustriss. equitem Henricum Nevillum*; i. e. Heroic characters, addressed to Sir Henry Nevil. Oxon. 1603, 4*to*. Several of his Latin verses are also in the University-book of verses made on the death of Sir Philip Sidney, in *Bodleiomnema*, and in other books. II. 'Tithes examin- 'ed, and proved to be due to the Clergy by a Divine 'Right.' Lond. 1606, and 1611, 4*to*. III. 'Juris- 'diction Regal, Episcopal, Papal: Wherein is declared 'how the Pope hath intruded upon the jurisdiction of 'Temporal Princes, and of the Church, &c.' Lond. 1610, 4*to*. IV. *Consensus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ contra Tridentinos, de Scripturis, Ecclesiæ, fide, & gratia*, &c. i. e. The consent of the universal Church against the Counsil of Trent, on the Scriptures, the Church, Faith, &c. Lond. 1613, 8*vo*. Dedicated to the members of Merton-College. V. 'A thankfull Remembrance 'of God's Mercy. In an Historicall Collection of the 'great and mercifull Deliverances of the Church and 'State of England, since the Gospel beganne here to flou- 'rish, from the beginning of Queene Elizabeth.' Lond. 1614; the third edition came out, in 1627; and the fourth, in 1630. It contains, a thankful enumeration of the several deliverances of this Church and State, from the cruel plots of the Papists; from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign to the Powder-treason, in 1605. The historical part is chiefly extracted from Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth: and the book is adorned, at the beginning of each chapter, with figures engraved in copper, representing the most material things contained in the ensuing description. VI. 'Short Directions to 'know the true Church.' Lond 1615, &c. 12*mo*. VII. 'Oration made at the Hague before the Prince 'of Orange, and the Assembly of the High and 'Mighty Lords, the States General.' Lond. 1619, in one sheet and a half, 4*to*. VIII. *Astrologimania*: 'or, the Madness of Astrologers: or, an Examination 'of Sir Christopher Heydon's Book, entitled, *A De- 'fence of judiciary Astrology*.' Written about the year 1604, and published at London 1624, 4*to*. By Thomas Vicars, B D. who had married the author's daughter. It was reprinted at London 1651 (4). IX. 'Examination of those things, wherein the Au- 'thor of the late Appeal (5) holdeth the Doctrine of 'Pelagians and Arminians, to be the Doctrines of the 'Church of England.' Lond. 1626, and 1636, 4*to*. X. 'A joynt Attestation avowing, that the Discipline 'of the Church of England was not impeached by 'the Synod of Dort.' Lond. 1626, 4*to*. XI. *Vita Bernardi Gilpini, viri sanctiss famaque apud Anglos aquilonares celeberrimi* Lond. 1628, 4*to*. inserted in Dr W. Bates's collection of Lives. Lond. 1681, 4*to*. It was also published in English, under this title, 'The Life of Bernard Gilpin, a man most holy and 'renowned among the Northerne English.' Lond. 1629, 4*to*. and 1636, 8*vo*. XII. 'Testimony con- 'cerning the Presbyterian Discipline in the Low- 'Countries, and Episcopal government in England.' Printed several times in 4*to* and 8*vo*. and at London in particular, in 1642, in one sheet. XIII. Latin Letter to Mr Camden, containing some Notes and Observations on his Britannia. Printed by Dr T. Smith, amongst *Camdeni Epistolæ*. No. 80. XIV. Several Sermons. XV. He had also a hand in the Dutch Annotations, and in the new translation of the Bible, undertaken by order of the Synod of Dort, but not compleated and published, 'till 1637 (6) Dr Fuller observes, That his good affections appears in his treatise, intitled, *A thankful Remembrance of God's Mercy*; solid Judgment in his *Confutation of judicial Astrology*; and clear Invention in other juvenile Exercises (7).

(4) See below in the article of CHAMBER (JOHN).

(5) *Viz.* Rich. Montague, author of *Appello Cæsarem*, and afterwards Bishop of Chichester.

(6) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 518, 519.

(7) Worthies of England, in Northumberland, p. 305.

C

CARLETON (DUDLEY) afterwards knighted, and created Baron and Viscount, was a younger son (*a*) of Anthony Carleton of Baldwin-Brightwell in Oxfordshire, Esq; and born in that place the 10th of March 1573 (*b*). He received his education in Christ-Church College Oxon, of which he became a Student about the year 1591 (*c*), being a young man of parts, and towardly expectation (*d*). Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, on the 2d of July 1595 (*e*), he went and travelled beyond sea for his improvement, and became Secretary to Sir Henry Neville, Embassador in France (*f*). At his return, on the 12th of July 1600, he was created Master of Arts (*g*). Soon after he came to Court, where he seems to have had a place of Gentleman-Usher quarterly-waiter [*A*]. He was also one of the Members of the Parliament which met at Westminster, March 19, 1603-4, wherein he made himself much known (*b*). We are told (*i*), that he was Secretary to Sir Ralph Winwood, Embassador in the Low-Countries; but

(*a*) Hist. of the Rebellion, &c. by the Earl of Clarendon, edit. Oxford, 1732, in six Vols 8*vo*, Part. i. p. 64.

(*b*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 453. and Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 563.

(*c*) Wood, ibid. Fuller's, Worthies, in Oxfordshire, p. 334.

(*d*) Clarendon, ubi supra.

(*e*) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 149.

(*f*) Clarendon, ib.

(*g*) Wood, ibid. col. 158.

(*b*) Memorials of Affairs of State, collected from Sir R. Lph Winwood's Papers, Lond. 1725, fol. Vol. II p. 54.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

[*A*] *A place of Gentleman-Usher quarterly-waiter.*] This I infer from the following passage, in a letter of his to Mr Winwood (1),— 'In Mr Chamberlain's ab- 'sence, I come *in quarter*, and have waited so dili- 'gently at Court this Christmas, that I have matter 'enough, if the report of masks and mummings can 'please you (2).'

(1) Dated Jan. 1604, from London.

(2) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. chiefly from Sir Ralph Winwood's Papers, &c. published by Edm. Sawyer, Lond. 1725, fol. Vol. II. p. 43.

but that is not so certain, as that he attended the Lord Norris into Spain (*k*), in the year 1605, upon very advantageous conditions. After that, he was for some time out of employment; and in 1609, came and settled in London [*B*], in order to set himself forward in the world, and keep himself in sight (*l*), that he might not slip out of the minds of those who could promote him. In 1610, June 25, he was knighted by King James I. at Windsor (*m*), and had an employment given him in Ireland. His journey thither was in that forwardness, that he had taken a house, and made his provisions at Dublin; but he was stopped upon a favourable consideration of the poorness of the place, and the small use there would be had of his service. Shortly after, he was appointed Embassador at Brussels, and so near his dispatch, that his Privy-Seal was drawn, and an hour appointed for his taking leave of the King (*n*): but a reason of State stopped that voyage [*C*]. Thereupon, he was nominated Embassador to Venice, for which place he set out towards the end of August 1610 (*o*), and resided five years there with good reputation (*p*). From thence, he was sent Embassador extraordinary to Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, in which station he continued half a year: and afterwards Embassador in ordinary to Holland, where he was resident ten years (*q*); during which period, he was employed in giving up the Cautionary towns to the Dutch (*r*), and was also very active and busy with relation to the Synod of Dort [*D*]. Towards the letter end of King James I, he was made Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, which office he holding in the reign of King Charles I, his commission was renewed by his Majesty for the latter part of those ten years that he was resident in Holland. This term being expired, he was sent Embassador extraordinary at two several times to Lewis XIII. King of France (*s*), and likewise Embassador Extraordinary to the United Provinces [*E*]. We are told (*t*), that he gave King James I. an important advice for his safety [*F*]. He was burgess for Hastings in Sussex in the Parliament, that began June 18, 1625 (*u*), and was also made one of the Privy-Council (*w*). On the 22d of May 1626, King Charles I. created him Baron Carleton of Imbercourt in Surrey (*x*); and the next year, being accompanied by Sir William Seagar, Knight, then King at Arms, he went into Holland, and presented the Garter to Henry, Prince of Orange, with the Ensigns belonging to that most noble order. Upon the 25th of July 1628, he was created Viscount of Dorchester [*G*] in Oxfordshire: and the 18th of December following, in the room of the Lord Conway, was constituted one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State (*y*). He died at his house in Westminster, February 15, 1631-2, and was buried in the Chapel of St Paul in Westminster-Abbey (*z*). Over his grave was soon after erected

(*k*) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 54, 57.

(*l*) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 6.

(*m*) Dugdale and Wood, ubi supra; ex lib. certific. in Offic. Armor.

(*n*) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 200.

(*o*) Ibid. and p. 213.

(*p*) Wood, Ath. and Lord Clarendon, ubi supra.

(*q*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*r*) The Hist. of the Worthies of England, by T. Fuller, in Oxfordshire, p. 334.

(*s*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(*t*) Bishop Burnet's Hist. of his own Time edit. 1724. Vol. I. p. 12.

(*u*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*w*) Clarendon, ubi supra, p. 63.

(*x*) He, and the Lords Mandeville and Grandison, were created Peers, in order to ballance the Duke of Buckingham's enemies in the house of Lords. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 910.

(*y*) Wood; and Dugdale's Baronage, ubi supra.

(*z*) Ibid. and Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's addit. edit. 1720. B. vi. p. 19. Vol. II.

[*B*] *He came and settled in London.*] Upon which occasion, he gave the following Account of himself to Sir Ralph Winwood 'You may well think, that 'unless I were under the protection of some little 'Saint, I would not so venturously set up for myself 'with such an army of difficulties, as a dear year, a 'plaguy town, a growing wife, and a poor purse. 'But of hard beginnings many times ensue good 'effects; and of the two parts of happiness which 'the Phylosopher required in *patrifamilias*, the master 'of a family (that is *quies & abundantia*, quiet and 'plenty) the defects of the one are supplied with the 'overplus of the other.' In the same letter he complains, that he was afflicted with the stone (3).

(3) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 6.

[*C*] *But a reason of State stopped that voyage.*] Because, as the Archduke of Austria had first withdrawn his Embassador from England, it was therefore resolved he should first send (4).

(4) Ibid. p. 200.

[*D*] *He was employed in giving up the Cautionary towns to the Dutch, and was also very active with relation to the Synod of Dort.*] The towns here meant, were, the Brill in Holland, and the town of Flushing with the castle of Ramakins in Zealand; which the States had mortgaged, or given by way of *caution*, to Queen Elizabeth, in 1585, 'till they repaid her the sums she had advanced in maintaining five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, for their defence against the Spaniards (5). They continued in the hands of the English, 'till the year 1616, when King James, who was always in want of money, gave them up to the States for two hundred and forty-eight thousand pounds, instead of six millions, which they owed to the Crown of England, besides eighteen years interest at ten *per Cent* (6).——As to the Synod of Dort; the Earl of Clarendon, says (7), That Sir Dudley was not thought to be so equal a spectator, or assessor, as he ought to have been; but by the insusions he made into King James, and by his own activity, he did all he could to discountenance the Arminians, and to raise the credit and authority of the Calvinists. His Chaplain at this place, was the ever memorable Mr John Hales of Eaton, who sent him an account of the Synod's transactions, by letters, printed in his Golden Remains.

(5) Conventiones, Acta Publ. &c. published by T. Rymer, Vol. XV. p. 793, &c. Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1585.

(6) Detection of the Court and State of England, by R. Coke, Esq; edit. 1719, Vol. I. p. 89, 90. Rapin's Hist. edit. 1733, fol. Vol. II. p. 191.

(7) Part i. ubi supra, p. 65.

[*E*] *He was Embassador Extraordinary to the United Provinces.*] And the last who was admitted to be present and vote in the general Assembly of the States, under the character of Embassador; of which great privilege the Crown had been possessed ever since the treaty made between Queen Elizabeth and the States, in 1585 (8).

(8) Clarendon, ib.

[*F*] *He gave King James an important advice for his safety.*] When he came home from Spain, he found King James at Theobald's hunting in a very careless and unguarded manner: upon that, in order to put him on a more careful looking to himself, he told the King, he must either give over that way of hunting, or stop another hunting that he was engaged in, which was Priest-hunting: for he had intelligence in Spain, that the Priests were comforting themselves with this, That if he went on against them, they would soon get rid of him. — The King sent for him in private to enquire more particularly into this: And he saw it had made a great impression on him. But instead of making him leave off hunting, it occasioned his putting a stop to the prosecution against the Papists (9). Bishop Burnet is mistaken, when he affirms (10), that Sir Dudley Carleton had been Embassador in Spain; for he never was so.

(9) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, ubi supra, p. 12.

(10) Ibid.

[*G*] *The 25th of July* 1528, *he was created Viscount Dorchester.*] And through the Duke of Buckingham's interest, as the Lord Clarendon observes in the following words (11). 'The making him Secretary 'of State, and a Peer of the realm, when his estate 'was scarce visible, was the last piece of workman-'ship the Duke of Buckingham lived to finish, who 'seldom satisfied himself with the conferring a single 'obligation.' It was probably after his being created a Viscount, That he proposed in Parliament the laying an *Excise* upon the nation: which was taken so heinously ill, that tho' he was a Privy-Counsellor, and Principal Secretary of State, he hardly escaped being committed to the Tower. So odious, as D. Lloyd remarks (12), was that Dutch Devil in King Charles; which was raised by the Parliament in 1643, with many more than were conjured up in three or four years, but not likely to be laid in three or four score.

(11) Ubi supra, p. 65.

(12) State Worthies, p. 912, 913.

[*H*] *He*

erected againſt the Eaſt wall, a well compoſed plain monument of black and white marble, having a half canopy ſupported by Doric pillars, with the image of a man in his robes of eſtate, and Viſcount's Coronet, leaning on a pedeſtal, made of the like black and white marble. He writ ſeveral things, moſt of which have been publiſhed ſince his deceaſe [*H*]. As to his character: he was a learned and ingenious man; maſter of ſeveral languages; an exact Stateſman, acquainted with the intrigues of Courts, and with the Laws, Conſtitutions, and Manners of moſt States in Europe (*a*): he underſtood all that related to foreign employments, and the condition of other Princes and nations very well; but was unacquainted with the Government, Laws, and Cuſtoms of his own country, and the nature of the people (*b*). However, he behaved himſelf in all employments ſo well-becoming a man that underſtood ſo many languages, that was ſo well verſed in ancient and modern Hiſtory, that had compoſed ſo many choice pieces of Politicks, that was ſo well verſed in the Mathematicks; and added to theſe a graceful and charming look, a gentle and a ſweet elocution; that, notwithſtanding his rigidneſs in ſome points, he continued to his dying day in great favour and moſt eminent ſervice; and failed in nothing but his French embaſſy, becauſe there he had to do with women (*c*). Together with his great abilities and capacity, he was juſt in his dealings, and on that account beloved by moſt men, who much miſſed him after his death (*d*).

(*a*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 563.

(*b*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 64.

(*c*) D. Lloyd's State Worthies, 2d edit. 1679, 8vo, p. 911, 912.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*H*] *He writ ſeveral things.*] Viz. I. *Balance, pour peſer en toute equité & droicture la Harangue faite nagueres en l'aſſemblee des illuſtres & puiſſans Seigneurs, Meſſeigneurs les Etats generaux des Provinces Unies des Pais Bas*, &c. i. e. A balance, or ſcales, to weigh juſtly the ſpeech lately made before their High Mightineſſes the States of the United Provinces, *&c. Harangue faite au Conſeil de Meſſieurs les Eſtates generaux des Provinces Unies, touchant le diſcord & les troubles de l'Egliſe & la Police, cauſés par la doctrine d'Arminius*, October 6, 1617, ſtil. nov. *i. e.* A ſpeech made in the Aſſembly of the United Provinces, concerning the troubles and differences in Church and State, occaſioned by the doctrine of Arminius. Printed in 1618, 4*to*. II. Letters in *Cabala, or Scrinia Sacra*. p 183, *&c.* edit. Lond. 1663, fol. III. Several French and Latin Letters to the learned Ger. Jo. Voſſius, printed in *Ger. Jo. Voſſii & clarorum Virorum ad eum Epiſtolæ*. Lond. 1690, fol. publiſhed by *Paulus Colomeſius* IV. Several Letters to Sir Ralph Winwood, printed in the three volumes of Memorials above-mentioned (13). V. Several Speeches in Parliament, in 1626. One of them is printed in the firſt volume of Ruſhworth's Collections, edit. 1659, p. 558, 359. In this ſpeech he ſays, In his voyage to Venice, the ſhip he was in, ſtruck thrice upon a ſand. VI. Memoirs for diſpatches of political affairs relating to Holland and England, in 1618, with ſeveral propoſitions made to the States, MS. VII. Particular Obſervations of the military Affairs in the Palatinate and the Low-Countries, in 1621 and 1622, MS VIII. Letters relating to State-Affairs, written to the King, and Viſcount Rocheſter, from Venice, in 1613, MS (14).

(13) London, 1725.

(14) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 564.

C

CARPENTER (RICHARD), a Divine and Poet of the laſt age, had his education at Eaton-College near Windſor, and from thence was elected Scholar of King's-College in Cambridge, in the year 1622: where continuing about three years, he afterwards went out of England, and ſtudied in Flanders, Artois, France, Spain, and Italy; and at length received holy orders at Rome from the hands of the Pope's ſubſtitute. Soon after, having taken upon him the order of St Benedict, he was ſent into England to make proſelytes; in which employment having continued ſomewhat above a year, he returned to the Proteſtant Religion, and, thro' the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's intereſt, obtained the ſmall vicarage of Poling by the ſea-ſide, near Arundel Caſtle, in Suſſex. Here he was expoſed to the inſults and abuſes of the Romiſh party, particularly one Francis à S. Clara, living in that neighbourhood under the name of Hunt, who would be very free with him, and expoſe him to ſcorn before his pariſhioners. In the time of the Civil War, he quitted his living, and retired to Paris, where, reconciling himſelf to the Romiſh Church, he made it his buſineſs to rail againſt the Proteſtants. Afterwards returning to England, he ſettled at Ayleſbury in Buckinghamſhire, where he had ſome relations; and, being once more a Proteſtant, he would often preach there in a very fantaſtical manner, to the great mirth of his auditors. He was living there in 1670; but, before his death, he returned a third time to Popery, cauſing his pretended wife to embrace that perſuaſion; and in that faith he died. He publiſhed ſome *Sermons* and a *Comedy*, called *The Pragmatical Jeſuit* [*A*]. He was generally eſteemed a man of the moſt fantaſtical character, one that changed his opinions as often as his cloaths, and, for his juggles and tricks in religion, a Theological Mountebank (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 515, 516.

There

[*A*] *Some* Sermons, *and a* Comedy *called* The Pragmatical Jeſuit.] His ſermons are theſe following. I. *The perfect Law of God, being a Sermon and no Sermon, preached and yet not preached.* Printed in 1652, in 8*vo*. II. *Aſtrology proved harmleſs, uſeful, pious*; on *Geneſ.* i. 14. *And let them be for ſigns.* Lond. 1657, in 4to. Dedicated to Elias Aſhmole. At the end of the Epiſtle Dedicatory is Richard Carpenter's picture, with a face looking towards him, out of the mouth of which iſſues a ſerpent, and out of the ſerpent's mouth fire. Underneath are written theſe words: *Ricardus Carpenterus porcello cuidam Geraſenorum, ſcilicet in omnia præcipiti, fluctibuſque devoto, eidem porco loquaci pariter et minaci mendacique indicit ſilentium, et obmuteſcit.* III. *Rome in her fruits.* Preached the 1ſt of November 1662, near the Standard in Cheapſide; in anſwer to a Pamphlet intitled, *Reaſons why the Roman Catholicks ſhould not be perſecuted.* Lond. 1663. 4to. on *Matth.* vii. 16. There is extant by the ſame author, a treatiſe intitled, *Experience, Hiſtory, and Divinity, in five books.* Lond. 1642, in a thick *octavo*. Dedicated to the Parliament then ſitting; with his picture before it. This book was republiſhed in 1648, under the title of *The Downfall of Antichriſt.* His comedy, called *The Pragmatical Jeſuit*, came out after the Reſtoration. The picture before it repreſents him in a very genteel lay-habit; whereas that before his *Experience*, &c. exhibits him in the dreſs of a formal clergyman, with a mortified countenance (1). Mr Langbaine (2) ſpeaks with ſome commendation of this play. He ſays 'it is very inſtructive, tending chiefly to morality, ſhewing the difference between true religion and hypocriſy; the author having made it his buſineſs to expoſe all the ſubtilties and inventions of the Romiſh Clergy to gain proſelytes, and promote their religion.'

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 515.

(2) Account of the Dramatick Poets, Lond. 1691, 8*vo*, p. 50.

[*B*] *He*

There was another RICHARD CARPENTER, a Divine, of a very different character from the above, and prior in order of time: he was a Corniſh man, and become a Batler in Exeter-College in Oxford, in 1592, and four years after Fellow of that houſe, being then Bachelor of Arts. By the advice and direction of the Rector Dr Holland, he applied himſelf to Theological ſtudies, and, in few years, proved a learned Divine, and an excellent Preacher. In 1611, he was admitted to the reading of the ſentences; and about that time was made Rector of Sherwill, and of Loxhore adjoining, in Devonſhire; and afterwards obtained the benefice of Ham near Sherwill. He died the 18th of December 1627, aged fifty-two, and was buried in the chancel of the Church of Loxhore (*b*) [*B*]. He publiſhed ſome *Sermons* [*C*]. Langbaine (*c*) confounds theſe two *Carpenters* [*D*].

(*b*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 514.

(*c*) In his Account of the Dramatick Poets, Lond. 1691, 8vo, p. 50.

[*B*] *He was buried in the chancel of the church of Loxhore.*] Over his grave is a large epitaph in proſe and verſe, beginning thus: *Richardus Carpenter S. Theol. D. ab eruditione multiplici venerandus, pietate vitæ, integritate, morumque comitate valde clarus: hujus et eccleſiæ Sherwillenſis paſtor fidus*, &c. i. e. 'Richard Carpenter, Doctor in Divinity, reſpectable 'for his extenſive learning, famous for piety of life, 'integrity, and courteous manners: and a faithful 'Paſtor of this and the Church of Sherwill, *&c.*'

[*C*] *He publiſhed ſome* Sermons.] I. *The Soul's Centinel.* Preached at the funeral of Sir Arthur Acland, Knt. 9. *Jan.* 1611. *on* Job xiv. 14. *Lond.* 1612. 8vo. II. *A Paſtoral Charge, faithfully given and diſcharged at the Triennial Viſitation of* W. *Biſhop of* Exon, *at* Barnſtaple, 7 *Sept.* 1616. *on* Acts xx. 28. London, 1616. 8vo. III. *Chriſt's Larum-bell of Love reſounded*, &c. *on* John xv. 12. London, 1616, 8vo. IV. *The conſcionable Chriſtian*, &c. Being three Aſſize Sermons at Taunton and Chard in Somerſetſhire, 1620, *on Acts* xxiv. 16. Lond. 1623. 4to (3).

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 514, 515.

[*D*] Langbaine *confounds theſe two* Carpenters.] Speaking (4) of the play called *The Pragmatical Jeſuit*, written by the firſt-mentioned Richard Carpenter, he ſays: 'I know not whether or no it might not be writ 'by a Divine of that name, the author of ſeveral ſermons, particularly three, of keeping a good con'ſcience, printed in *quarto*, London, 1623.' Theſe are the three *Aſſize Sermons*, mentioned in the laſt remark.

(4) Ubi ſupra.

T

CARPENTER (GEORGE, Lord) Baron Carpenter of Killaghy, in the county of Kilkenny, in the kingdom of Ireland; one who by his military atchievements greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf through the whole courſe of the late wars in Ireland, Flanders, and Spain; whoſe courage and prudence raiſed him, by gradual promotions, through the ſeveral ſtations and degrees of the army to almoſt the higheſt pitch of military honours (*a*); he was deſcended from an ancient family in Herefordſhire [*A*], and born at Pitchers Ocull, in that county, on the 10th of February 1657, was the ſon of Warncomb Carpenter, ſixth ſon of Thomas Carpenter, Eſq; Lord of the manor of the Homme or Holme, in the pariſh of Dilwynne, near Weobley in this county; which manor with a conſiderable eſtate has been in this family, and lineally deſcended from father to ſon for above four-hundred years, and is now in the poſſeſſion of the preſent Lord Carpenter, it falling to him in the year 1733, at the death of the late poſſeſſor (who was grandſon to the eldeſt ſon of the above named Thomas Carpenter) all the elder branches dying without iſſue (*b*). —— Mr Warncomb Carpenter married Eleanor, daughter of William Taylor, Eſq; of the ſame county, and widow of John Hill, Eſquire [*B*], by whom ſhe had only one ſon [*C*]. But by Mr Warncomb Carpenter ſhe had ſeven, of whom, George (Lord Carpenter) was the youngeſt; he had his education at a private Grammar-ſchool in the country, where he made much improvement in claſſical learning, and was upon his arrival in London, ſoon recommended as well by the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, his behaviour and accompliſhments as by friends, to be Page to the Earl of Montague, whom he attended in his embaſſy to the Court of France in 1671, at the age of fourteen. Upon his return in 1672, he rode as a private gentleman in the third troop of guards, which was then looked upon as an honourable poſt, none but the youngeſt ſons of noblemen and gentlemen of fortune being admitted. He was ſhortly after appointed Quartermaſter to the regiment of horſe, commanded by the Earl of Peterborough, and paſſed through all

(*a*) See his epitaph in note [*H*].

(*b*) This, and great part of this article, is taken, from Memoirs communicated by the family.

[*A*] *Deſcended from an ancient family in Herefordſhire.*] We alſo find the name, and, in all probability, the ſame family, of great antiquity and repute, in other parts of England, particularly in the Weſt. In 1303, the 33d of Edward I. John Carpenter was Member of Parliament for the Borough of Leſkard in the county of Cornwall; as in the 35th of that reign, was Stephen le Carpenter for the borough of Crediton in the county of Devon; and in the 19th of Edward II. 1325, Henry le Carpenter was Member for the town of Derby (1).

(1) The Iriſh Compendium, p. 359.

[*B*] *Mr Warncomb Carpenter (Lord Carpenter's father) married Eleanor Daughter of William Taylor, and widow of John Hill, Eſq;*] With this Lady he had a conſiderable jointure, beſides fifteen hundred pounds his own private fortune, given him by his father; a large patrimony at that time for a younger ſon, eſpecially a ſixth. This enabled him to ſupport himſelf, and his large family, in a handſome and genteel manner, to give all his ſons a proper education, and to purſue the bent of his own natural inclinations, in eſpouſing the Royal Cauſe, to which he was moſt zealouſly attached; and by which, in all probability, he was a great ſufferer, as moſt of thoſe loyal gentlemen were, loſing not only great part of his fortune, but even his life, in defence thereof; for being an active officer in the King's army, and a man of great ſpirit, he was, in the heat of the battle of Naſeby, June 14, 1645, wounded by a muſket-ball, which went through both his legs; this, though not the cauſe of him immediate death, the wound being curable, proved ſo however at laſt, for breaking again out ſome years afterwards, it became incurable, and ſo was the occaſion of his death.

[*C*] *Widow of John Hill, Eſq; by whom ſhe had only one ſon.*] Named William, who being a favourite ſervant of his Royal Highneſs James Duke of York, then Lord High-Admiral of England (2), and afterwards King James II. he gave him the command of the ſhip Coventry; and not long afterwards made him Governor, and Captain-General of the Leeward Iſlands, which being afterwards taken by the French, he bravely re-took them, and continued Governor of them to the time of his death.

(2) The Duke of York's Naval Memoirs, 8vo, p. 125, 126.

[*D*] *And*

all the commiſſions of Cornet, Lieutenant, and Captain (*c*), 'till he was advanced to be the Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment, in which he continued thirteen years, 'till 1685, though the regiment was almoſt conſtantly in ſervice. In the year 1693, he married Alice, daughter of the Right Honourable William Baron Cawfield, afterwards created Viſcount Charlemont (and always known by the memorable epithet of the good Lord Charlemont) who had a conſiderable jointure by her firſt huſband, James Margetſon, Eſq; by the ſale of part of which, he was enabled to purchaſe the King's own regiment of dragoons, which he commanded 'till he died. He ſerved through the whole courſe of the laſt wars with France, in Ireland, Flanders, and Spain, with unblemiſhed honour and reputation; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf to great advantage, by his courage, conduct, and humanity (*d*). For the particulars of his military atchievements we muſt refer the reader to the ſeveral Hiſtories of thoſe wars, in which, all his actions are recorded greatly to his honour. At the unfortunate battle of Almanza in 1707, by his prudent conduct in bringing up the rear in the laſt ſquadron of the retreat, he preſerved the baggage of the whole army (*e*). In the action at Almenara, July 27, 1710, he was wounded, and had, among the other Generals, the honour of receiving the compliments of his Majeſty Charles III. King of Spain, for their judicious conduct and bravery in that engagement (*f*). In defending the breach at Brihuega, he was again wounded moſt deſperately, and had his advice been followed, the town had certainly held out 'till relieved by Count Staremberg [*D*]; inſtead of which, all our forces were, after an obſtinate reſiſtance againſt the whole French and Spaniſh army, taken priſoners here. The wound which Col. Carpenter received was by a muſket ball, which broke part of his jaw-bone, beat out all his teeth on one ſide, and lodged itſelf in the root of his tongue, where it remained a whole year before it was extracted; during which time he underwent the moſt exquiſite pain, and his life was deſpaired of, wholly ſubſiſting by liquids, being incapable of ſwallowing any other food. In 1705, he was made Brigadier-General, and in 1708 Major-General, and in 1710 Lieutenant-General. In 1714 he was choſen Member of Parliament for Whitchurch in Hampſhire, and the year following was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Vienna, having acquired the perſonal regard and eſteem of the Emperor, by ſerving under him in Spain; but as he had prepared all things in readineſs, and was juſt ſetting out for his embaſſy, the rebellion in 1715 broke out, and he was ſent into the North, where he not only prevented the rebels from ſeizing upon Newcaſtle, and marching into Yorkſhire, but having overtaken them at Preſton, where they were inveſted by Major-General Willes, he, by altering the diſpoſition which that General had made, cut off entirely both their eſcape and receiving any freſh ſupplies, and obliged them to ſend out hoſtages, that they ſhould raiſe no works for the defence of the town, nor endeavour to eſcape themſelves, or ſuffer any of their party to do ſo 'till the next morning, when they were to determine whether they would ſurrender at diſcretion or not, which, however, they accordingly did in the morning (*g*). This was all the treaty the General made with the rebels, nor were any hopes of pardon or mercy ſo much as ſuggeſted to them [*E*]. At the beginning of February 1716, General Carpenter ſent a challenge

(*c*) See his epitaph in note [*H*]. Alſo, The Preamble to his patent in note [*G*].

(*d*) See the Preamble to his patent, note [*G*].

(*e*) Annals of Queen Anne, Vol. IX. p. 89.

(*f*) Annals of Queen Anne, Vol. IX. p. 94.

(*g*) See an Account of his conduct in this affair, in *A True Relation of the Purſuit of the Rebels in the North, and of their Surrender at Preſton to Lieutenant-General Carpenter, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Forces there*; joined to a Plan publiſhed under this title, *An exact Plan of the town of Preſton, with the Barricadoes of the Rebels, and the Diſpoſitions of the King's Forces under the Command of Lieutenant-General Carpenter, and Major-General Willes.* See likewiſe, The Political State of Great Britain, for Febr. 1715-16, Vol. XI. p. 179, &c.

[*D*] *And had his advice been followed, the town had certainly held out 'till relieved by Count Staremberg.*] In the Council of War, called upon the imminent danger in which they found themſelves, upon being inveſted by the French and Spaniſh armies, Lieutenant-General Carpenter was of opinion, that all the horſe and dragoons ſhould march out of the town over the bridge, and that the foot, with the heavy baggage, ſhould be left, where, by caſting up entrenchments and barricadoes, they might hold out two or three days, 'till they could get ſuccour from Count Staremberg. This counſel was the more to be regarded, in that they had not a ſufficient quantity of powder and ſhot for all the troops; they who ſhould have taken care of it, having neglected to provide them before the armies ſeparated. But whether, upon expectation of being timely relieved, or out of fear of loſing their baggage and plunder, the majority reſolved, that all the troops ſhould ſtay in and defend the town. Count Staremberg, upon notice of their danger, marched with all poſſible expedition to their reſcue: but before he could come up, they had been forced to yield priſoners of war for want of ammunition (3).

(3) Boyer's Reign of Queen Anne, p. 495.

[*E*] *This was all the treaty the General made with the rebels, nor was any hope of pardon or mercy ſo much as ſuggeſted to them.*] As is, without foundation, aſſerted by ſome favourers of thoſe unhappy ſufferers in that rebellion. Upon this account, we think it incumbent upon us to clear the General's conduct in this reſpect, which we cannot better do, than by giving the circumſtances of theſe proceedings from the trial of Lord Wintoun (4).

(4) State Tryals, Vol. VI. p. 38.

'*Sir J. Jekyll.* Mr Carpenter, pleaſe to inform my 'Lords what paſſed at Preſton after you came there?

'*Gen. Carp.* After I came, the rebels ſent out to 'know, what terms they might expect? and were 'anſwered, None, but at diſcretion. They ſoon af'ter ſent out one Captain Dalziel, to deſire a ceſſation 'till next morning; upon which I ſent in Colonel 'Churchill, to tell them I agreed to a ceſſation, pro'vided they ſent out an Engliſh Lord, and a Scotch 'Lord, as hoſtages: ——— and he brought out my 'Lord Derwentwater, and Colonel Mackintoſh, as 'hoſtages, that they ſhould make no attempt to eſcape, 'nor any works for defence in the town.

'*Att. Gen.* Pray, Sir, acquaint my Lords who you 'ſent in with Colonel Churchill?

'*Gen. Carp.* Colonel Cotton.

'*Att. Gen.* When did they agree to ſurrender the 'place?

'*Gen. Carpenter.* Not 'till the next morning. The 'hoſtages were, That none ſhould attempt to eſcape, 'nor any defences ſhould be made in the town, 'till 'the next morning; at which time they would deter'mine, whether they would ſurrender, or not.

'*Att. Gen.* I deſire you to acquaint my Lords, 'whether theſe were all the terms offered; or whether 'there were any hopes of mercy given them?

'*Gen. Carp.* I gave them none at all myſelf, and it 'is very unlikely any body elſe ſhould. I commanded 'in Chief his Majeſty's forces there: No body ought 'to have done it; and if any officer took upon him 'ſo to do, without my order or leave, it was very 'unanſwerable by the rules and diſcipline of war, and 'what he cannot anſwer: I hope no body did: I am 'ſure, I gave no ſuch directions: Colonel Churchill 'can acquaint your Lordſhips, whether I directed him 'to mention any other conditions to them, than at diſ'cretion.

'*Sir*

challenge by Col. Churchill to General Willes [F]; the motives reported for this were some words which had paſſed between them in Spain, and were revived again at Preſton. But this duel was honourably compromiſed, by the generous interpoſitions of the Dukes of Marlborough and Montague. In 1716 he was conſtituted Governor of Minorca, and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's forces in Scotland; and in 1719, was created Baron Carpenter of Killaghy in the county of Kilkenny in the kingdom of Ireland [G]; in the year 1722, Lord Carpenter was choſen member of Parliament for the city of Weſtminſter, and was now as diligent in the ſervice of his country in the Houſe, as he had before been in the field, on all occaſions voting for what he thought the good of his country, without any regard to party, from the ſtricteſt principles of honour, juſtice, and integrity,

'*Sir J. Jekyll.* Did you hear any other officer give them any hope or expectation of mercy?

'*Gen. Carp.* No, I did not.

[*In relation to General Carpenter's evidence, Colonel Churchill was ſworn, and aſked*, viz.]

'*Mr Cowper.* The queſtion propoſed is, Whether you was ſent into Preſton, and by whom?

'*Col. Churchill.* I came up to Preſton on Sunday morning, under General Carpenter's command, about ten o'clock; about one, they ſent out to capitulate; about five, I was ſent in by General Carpenter; their requeſt being, that they might have 'till next morning to conſider whether they would ſurrender, or not. My directions were they ſhould have that, upon condition they ſent out hoſtages that none ſhould attempt to eſcape, and that no defence ſhould be made in the town. The people named to me by General Carpenter, were my Lord Derwentwater, or my Lord Widdrington; and my Lord Kenmure, or Mackintoſh, was mentioned for the Scotch. I directed them to ſend hoſtages to me. They could not find my Lord Derwentwater nor Widdrington, and Mackintoſh was gone to bed. A little before eight I went with them, and told them the terms I was to deliver to them, that they were to throw up no works to fortify themſelves; and ſhould anſwer that none of them ſhould eſcape. My Lord Derwentwater and Mackintoſh went out with me: I carried them to the two Generals there, and at ſeven o'clock next morning they ſurrendered themſelves.

'*Mr Cowper.* Pleaſe to give me leave to aſk you, whether you had any commiſſion from the General that ſent you into the town; or whether you of yourſelf, without ſuch commiſſion, gave them any hopes of mercy?

'*Col. Churchill.* I had not any power to do it; and was ſo far from doing it, that I don't remember a ſingle ſyllable was mentioned either on our ſide, or theirs, about it.

'*Mr Cowper.* Did you at any other time hear any other officers give them ſuch aſſurance?

'*Col. Churchill.* I never heard a ſingle word like it.'

Surrendering at diſcretion between an enemy and an enemy (ſaid the General to a friend in the Court of Requeſts who aſked him the queſtion) *always implies mercy, and is never refuſed; but*, added he, *the Law of Arms is the very reverſe in caſes of inteſtine commotions*; thus illuſtrating the caſe: *If a robber attempted my life, and miſſing his aim, threw himſelf at my feet, I would ſhew him mercy: but if my ſervant attempted my life, and miſſed his aim, were he ever ſo ſubmiſſive, I would ſhoot him through the head* (5).

(5) The Life of the late Right Hon. George Lord Carpenter, a pamphlet publiſhed in 1736.

[F] *In the beginning of February* 1715-16, *he ſent a challenge to General Willes.*] We ſhall repreſent this affair in the words of Mr A. Boyer, the author of *The Political State of Great Britain* (6). 'On Monday, February 6, the town was ſurprized, and all the well-affected concerned, to hear that Lieutenant-General Carpenter and Lieutenant-General Willes, two officers, who on all occaſions had diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their bravery and conduct, were like to fight a duel. The truth is, a challenge was ſent for that purpoſe from General Carpenter to General Willes; and Colonel Churchill, who carried it, was to be ſecond to the firſt, and Brigadier Honeywood to the other. But this affair having taken vent, and reached the ears of the Duke of Montague, his Grace prevented the combat, by ſending a guard into the field. After which, the Duke of Marlborough interpoſed in, and allayed this unhappy quarrel, at which all the enemies of the government did heartily rejoice. The ſubject-matter of it is not yet fully known, but was then, and is ſtill, reported to be, an old grudge upon a diſpute that happened between theſe two great men in Spain, and which having bled a-freſh at Preſton upon the competition of the command, they wiſely thought fit to defer the deciſion of it, 'till they met in London, and in the mean time, to act with all the chearfulneſs and unanimity againſt the rebels.'

(6) The Political State of Great Britain, for Feb. 1715-16, Vol. XI. p. 168.

[G] *In* 1719, *he was created Baron Carpenter of Killaghy, in the county of Kilkenny, in the kingdom of Ireland.*] The preamble to his patent is as follows, in Engliſh (7). 'Since we and our predeceſſors have liberally beſtowed titles of honour on perſons eminent for arts and qualifications proper to a peaceable reign; we judge it moſt reaſonable, that military virtue, which ſeems, for many years paſt, to have been a principal ſupport of the government, ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by due rewards: For this reaſon eſpecially, we have thought fit to advance our faithful and well-beloved GEORGE CARPENTER, Eſq; Lieutenant-General of our armies, to the peerage of this kingdom; a perſon who, having applied himſelf early to the profeſſion of arms, has paſſed through all the military employs, to the rank he now bears, by ſlow and gradual promotions, his ſervice always preceding his advancement. When Britain was delivered from arbitrary power, he readily embraced the intereſt of the Revolution, and ſerved under King William of glorious memory, and afterwards in Flanders, behaving himſelf as a brave and induſtrious officer. After a ſhort interval of an unſafe peace, the war breaking out again with greater violence, and ſpreading itſelf almoſt through all Europe, Spain was the ſcene of his ſervices. Earl Stanhope, Chief Commander of the Britiſh forces in that kingdom, freely imparted to him his deſigns, and in the execution of them ſucceſsfully experienced his courage and conduct. And when that General's preſence was required in England, he intruſted him with the command of his troops, as being fully aſſured that the public cauſe would ſuffer no diſadvantage by his management; for his diligence and circumſpection in performing the duties of his employment were not leſs remarkable, than his conſtancy and preſence of mind in the time of action and moſt imminent danger. By his integrity, prudence, and evenneſs of temper, he not only gained the affections of his countrymen, but the eſteem and regard of the Generals of the Allies, and even of his Imperial Majeſty. We having had a proof of his loyalty and abilities in an inſtance very beneficial to the publick; for when ſedition, which was ſeaſonably repreſſed in other places, had taken root in the county of Northumberland, and there broke out into an open rebellion, he, by our command, haſtened thither to extinguiſh this flame of civil war, though with unequal numbers. He prevented the rebels ſeizing Newcaſtle, intended by them for their place of arms; hindered their march into Yorkſhire; and at laſt having overtaken them at Preſton, where they were inveſted by other parts of our troops, blocked them up more cloſely, and obliged them to ſurrender, by which ſucceſs peace was reſtored to England, which greatly conduced to the ſubduing the rebels in Scotland. For theſe reaſons, that a perſon ſo well deſerving of Great Britain and Ireland, allied by marriage to a noble family of that kingdom, may from himſelf tranſmit an honour to poſterity, we create him a Peer, as being every way worthy of that honour, &c.'

(7) The Iriſh Compendium, p. 359.

[H] *Where*

integrity, never giving a vote 'till upon the matureſt deliberation he was fully convinced of it's equity; after ſeven years conſtant attendance in Parliament, age came upon him, and he declined apace. In October 1731, being near ſeventy-four years of age, he began to labour under a failure of appetite, and having had a fall, by which his teeth were looſened on that ſide, which had not been wounded, he was capable of receiving but little nouriſhment, which, together with old age, and a gradual decay of nature, ended his life on the 10th of February 1731-2, his body was interred, purſuant to his own directions in his will, at *Owſelbury* in Hampſhire, near his Lady, where a neat monument of white and blue-veined marble is erected to his memory, by his ſon [*H*] the preſent Lord Carpenter, which was all the iſſue he left.

[*H*] *Where a neat monument of white and blue-veined marble is erected to his memory by his ſon.*] Having the following inſcription. 'Here lies the Right 'Honourable George Lord Carpenter, Colonel of his 'Majeſty's own regiment of Dragoons, Governor of 'the iſland of Minorca, Lieutenant-General and Com'mander in Chief of his Majeſty's forces in North'Britain; deſcended from an ancient family in Here'fordſhire, and bred in arms; having been fifty-nine 'years in the army, and paſſed through all the mili'tary employs, from a private gentleman in the Horſe'guards, to the rank in which he died, by ſlow and 'gradual promotions; his ſervices always preceding 'his advancement. He ſerved through the whole 'courſe of the laſt wars of England with France, in 'Ireland, Flanders, and Spain, with honour and repu'tation; was never abſent from his poſt, when there 'was any action, or that action was expected; and 'was as remarkable for his great humanity, as for his 'courage and preſence of mind in time of ſervice and 'moſt imminent danger. By his prudence, integrity, 'and evenneſs of temper, during the Spaniſh war, he 'not only gained the affections of his countrymen, but 'the eſteem and regard of the Generals of the Allies, 'and of the Emperor himſelf; to whom he was ap'pointed Envoy-Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in '1715. He married Alice daughter of the Lord 'Charlemount, by whom he left iſſue only one ſon; 'who erected this monument to the memory of the 'beſt of fathers. *Obiit* 10 *die Februarii* 1731 *ætat.* '74.' R

CARTWRIGHT (William) an eminent Divine and Poet of the XVIIth Century, was born at Northway near Teukſbury in Glouceſterſhire, in September 1611, and baptized the 26th of the ſame month. His father, Mr William Cartwright, having run out a fair eſtate, was obliged, for a ſubſiſtence, to keep a publick inn at Cirenceſter in the ſame county; where living in a middling condition, he cauſed this his ſon, a youth of great hopes, to be educated under Mr William Topp, Maſter of the Free-School in that town. From thence he was removed to Weſtminſter-School, being choſen a King's Scholar; where compleating his former learning under the care of Mr Lambert Oſbaldeſton (*a*), he was elected a Student of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, in 1628, under the tuition of Mr Jerumael Terrent. Having gone thro' the claſſes of Logic and Philoſophy, with unwearied diligence, he took the degrees in Arts, that of Maſter being compleated in 1635. Afterwards he went into holy orders, and became (as my author expreſſes it) a moſt florid and ſeraphical Preacher [*A*] in the univerſity. In 1642, he had the place of Succentor in the Church of Saliſbury conferred on him by Biſhop Duppa (*b*), and, in 1643, was choſen junior Proctor of the univerſity (*c*). He was alſo metaphyſical Reader [*B*] to the univerſity; and it

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 34.

(*b*) Ibid. col. 35.

(*c*) Langbaine's Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, in 8vo, Lond. 1691. p. 52.

[*A*] *A florid and ſeraphical preacher.*] Hear how Dr Jaſper Mayne celebrates Mr Cartwright's preaching (1).

(1) Among the Copies of Verſes prefixed to Mr Cartwright's Works.

But theſe thy looſer raptures muſt ſubmit
To thy rare ſermons and much holier wit;
In whoſe rich web ſuch eloquence is ſeen,
As if the Roman Orator had been
Sent forth to preach the Goſpel, and had ſtood
In our aſſemblies pouring out his flood.
Thou wert a Poet, but thy ſermons do
Shew thee to be the beſt of preachers too;
Who to thy rhetorick did'ſt ſuch ſkill impart,
As if thou heir to ſome Apoſtle wert,
Who, taking wing for Heav'n, behind him left
His fiery tongue to thee, and that tongue cleſt
Into as many ways to ſave, as they
Who are worſt ſinners uſe to err and ſtray.
What holy craft did in thy pulpit move?
How was the ſerpent mingled with the dove?
How have I ſeen thee caſt thy net, and then
With holy coz'nage catch the ſouls of men?
Preach'd ſin out of their boſoms, made them ſee
Both what they were, and what they ought to be?
Made them confeſs the ſtrait way, by thee ſtrow'd
With flow'rs, was far more pleaſant than the broad.
Indeed, we ſcripture-wonders oft did ſpy,
Camels by thee drawn thro' a needle's eye.

(2) Ibid. Mr John Fell wrote theſe lines (2):

Or view him, when his riper thoughts did bear
His ſtudies into a diviner ſphere.
When that his voice did charm th' attentive throng,
And every ear was link'd unto his tongue,
The numerous preſs, cloſing their ſouls in one,
Stood all transform'd into his paſſion.

I ſhall only add, under this remark, the following lines by Mr Ralph Bathurſt (3). (3) Ibid.

But who cou'd hear without an extaſy,
When, with a graceful conquering preſence, He
Stood forth, and, like Almighty Thunder, flung
His numerous ſtrains among th' amazed throng?
A pleaſing horor ſtruck thro' ev'ry limb,
And ev'ry ear was cloſe chain'd up to him:
Such maſculine vigour raviſh'd our aſſent,
What he perſuaded, was commandement:
A ſweeter plenty Rhetorick ne'er knew
In Chryſoſtom's pulpit, nor in Tully's pew.

[*B*] *Metaphyſical Reader.*] His Panegyriſts have not failed to celebrate his lectures in the Metaphyſicks. Mr Ralph Bathurſt has theſe lines (4): (4) Ibid.

How may we then admire bis ſerious time,
Tbat wrote ſo well, yet drove no trade in rhime!
If from the ſcene and walks ſuch praiſe he ſhare,
What muſt he from his Metaphyſick Chair?
There he unriddled that myſterious book,
Which Ariſtotle made to be miſtook;

And

it was generally ſaid, thoſe Lectures were never performed better than by Mr Cartwright and his predeceſſor Mr Thomas Barlow (*d*) of Queen's College (*e*). This ingenious gentleman died, the 23d of December 1643, in the thirty-third year of his age, of a malignant fever, called the Camp Diſeaſe, which then reigned in Oxford, and was fatal to many of his contemporaries; and was buried, December the 1ſt, towards the upper end of the ſouth iſle of the Cathedral of Chriſt-Church. His death was generally lamented, and particularly by the King and Queen, then at Oxford, who anxiouſly enquired after him all the time of his ſickneſs (*f*). Mr Cartwright was extremely remarkable for both external and internal endowments, his body (as Langbaine expreſſes it) being as handſome as his ſoul. He was an expert linguiſt, underſtanding, not only Greek and Latin, but French and Italian as perfectly as his mother tongue: an excellent Orator, and at the ſame time an admirable Poet [*C*]; a quality (my author obſerves) which Cicero with all his pains could never attain to (*g*). The editor of his works (*h*) applies to him the ſaying of Ariſtotle concerning Æſchron the poet, that *he could not tell what Æſchron could not do.* And Dr Fell, Biſhop of Oxford, ſaid of him, *Cartwright is the utmoſt man can come to.* Ben Johnſon had ſuch an opinion of his genius, that he ſaid; *my ſon Cartwright writes all like a man* (*i*). There are extant of this author's Four Plays, beſides other Poems [*D*]; all which were printed together in 1651, accompanied by above fifty copies of

(*d*) Afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln.

(*e*) Preface to Mr Cartwright's Plays and Poems in 8*vo*. Lond. 1651.

(*f*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Langbaine, ubi ſupra, p. 52.

(*h*) In the Preface.

(*i*) Preface to his Works.

And his deep ſenſe did ſo exactly tell,
Great Alexander knew't not half ſo well:
So were thoſe oracles utter'd clear and good,
Which rude interpreters make leſs underſtood.

Mr Thomas Vaughan gives us the following encomium (5).

(5) Ibid.

When he did read, how did we flock to hear?
Sure ſome Profeſſors became pupils there.
He wou'd refine Abſtractions: it was He
That gave the text all it's authority;
As if the Stagyrite reſign'd his pen,
And took his cenſure, not his comment, then.
And tho' with ſome the ſcience goes for pelf,
His Lectures made it to *tranſcend* itſelf.

(6) Ibid.

Mr Francis Palmer, theſe lines (6):

He Ariſtotle has unbent,
Made muſick, what he riddles meant;
Cloath'd his own reaſon like his Plays:
His Metaphyſicks claim the Bays.

[*C*] *An admirable Poet.*] We ſhall ſelect a few only of the numerous atteſtations of our author's poetical merit (7). The firſt ſhall be that of Sir Robert Stapylton.

(7) See the copies of Verſes prefixed to his Works.

If time be meaſur'd by an *Hour-glaſs* run,
He may be Johnſon's grandchild, Fletcher's ſon,
If by *deſert*, a Muſe might be his mother,
He Homer's heir, and Heſiod's elder brother.

Dr Jaſper Mayne addreſſes the deceaſed author thus:

For thou to nature had'ſt join'd art and ſkill:
In thee *Ben Johnſon* ſtill held *Shakeſpear*'s quill;
A quill rul'd by ſharp judgment, and ſuch laws,
As a well-ſtudied mind and reaſon draws.
Thy lamp was cheriſh'd with ſupplies of oil
Fetch'd from the *Roman* and the *Grecian* foil —
Hence twin perfections, in thy writings knit,
Preſent us with ſtrange contraries of wit:
Strength mix'd with ſweetneſs, vigorous with fair,
Lucan's bold heights match'd with ſtaid *Virgil*'s care;
Martial's quick ſalt join'd to *Muſæus*' tongue;
Soft thorns of fancy, which from roſes ſprung.

John Leigh, Eſq; in a copy of verſes to the Stationer Mr Moſely, on his printing Mr Cartwright's poems, after mentioning other poets, whoſe works he had publiſhed, has theſe lines:

But after all thou bring'ſt up in the rear
One that fills ev'ry eye, and ev'ry ear;
Cartwright, rare *Cartwright*, to whom all muſt bow,
That was beſt preacher and beſt poet too;
Whoſe learned fancy never was at reſt,
But always labouring, yet labour'd leaſt.
His wit's immortal, and ſhall honour have,
While there's or ſlaviſh Lord, or *Royal Slave*.

We ſhall only add here, as to Mr Cartwright's poetical character in general, what Mr Ralph Bathurſt ſays of his ſtyle.

His Style ſo pleaſes the judicious Gown,
As that there's ſomething too for Wits o' th' town:
Rough-handed Criticks do approve, and yet
'Tis treaſure for the Ladies cabinet.

[*D*] *Four Plays, beſides other Poems.*] The firſt of his Plays is *The Lady Errant*. We are told, it was eſteemed to be a good Comedy; but where acted, is not known (8). The ſecond is *The Royal Slave. A Tragi-Comedy. Preſented to the King and Queen by the Students of Chriſt-Church in Oxford*, Aug. 30. 1636. *Preſented ſince to both their Majeſties, at Hampton-Court, by the King's ſervants.* This Play, Mr Langbaine tells us (9), gave ſuch content to their Majeſties and the whole Court, as well for the ſtately ſcenes, the richneſs of the Perſian habits, the excellency of the ſongs (which were ſet to muſick by that admirable Compoſer Mr Henry Lawes) as for the noble ſtyle of the Play itſelf, and the ready addreſs, and graceful carriage, of the actors (among whom Dr Buſby, the famous Maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool, approved himſelf a ſecond Roſcius) that they unanimouſly acknowledged that it did exceed all things of that nature which they had ever ſeen. The Queen in particular ſo much admired it, that in November following ſhe ſent for the habits and ſcenes to Hampton-Court; ſhe being deſirous to ſee her own ſervants repreſent the ſame Play (whoſe profeſſion it was) that ſhe might the better judge of the ſeveral performances, and to whom the preference was due. The ſentence was univerſally given, by all the ſpectators, in favour of the *Gown*, though nothing was wanting on Mr Cartwright's ſide to inform the players as well as the ſcholars, in what belonged to the action and delivery of each part. This play is particularly celebrated by Dr Jaſper Mayne (10), in theſe lines:

(8) Langbaine's Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, in 8*vo*, Lond. 1691. p. 53.

(9) Ibid. p. 54. See alſo Wood's Hiſt. Antiq Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 344, 345.

(10) Among the commendatory Verſes.

Witneſs thy *Royal Captive*, where we do
Read thee a poet, but fad prophet too:
A Play, where virtue ſo well-languag'd ſhines,
That Slaves are there made Princes by thy lines.

Mr Cartwright's third Play is *The Ordinary*. A Comedy. When, and where acted, is not ſaid. Part of the ſecond Scene of the Firſt Act, between the widow *Potluck*, *Slicer*, and *Hearſay*, is tranſcribed by the author of *Wit's Interpreter*, in his Love-dialogues, under the title of *The Old Widow* (11). The fourth and laſt is *The Siege, or Love's Convert*. A Tragi-Comedy. When, and where acted, not ſaid. It is dedicated to King Charles I. by an epiſtle in verſe. The ſtory of *Miſander* and *Leucaſia* is founded upon that of *Pauſania* and *Cleonice* in Plutarch's life of *Cymon*. The injunction

(11) Langbaine, ib. p. 53.

of commendatory verſes by the moſt eminent Wits of the univerſity. There are alſo ſome other pieces, mentioned by Anthony Wood [*E*].

injunction, which the rich widow *Pyle* lays upon her lovers, is borrowed from Boccace's *Novels. Day* 9. *Nov.* 1. This Play is humorouſly commended by Mr Joſ. Howe, in a copy of verſes (12), in which are theſe lines:

(12) Among the commendatory verſes

Had this Scene-wit not met an age
That frowneth down the mourning Stage,
That all Dramatick Laws confutes,
And maketh all the actors mutes;
How had it crackt the rooms, and made
Play-ſeeing th' only London trade?
When if ſome cloſe-lan'd citizen,
Zealous for his labouring hen,
Had panting for a midwife run,
To help into th' dark his coming ſon,
Theſe Bills had made him ſtop, and ſend
To bid her groan till th' *Siege* did end,
Tho' of a Boy he loſt the hope,
To heir his prunes and Caſtile-ſoap.

(13) Ubi ſupra.

(14) See a book intituled, Ayres and Dialogues for one, two, and three Voices, Lond. 1653, fol. compoſed by Mr Henry Lawes. Alſo another intituled, Select Ayres and Dialogues to ſing to the Theorbo, Lute, and Baſs Viol. Lond. 1669, fol. compoſed alſo by the ſaid Henry Lawes.

[*E*] *Some other pieces, mentioned by Anthony Wood.*] That author tells us (13), Mr Cartwright wrote alſo, I. *Poemata Græca et Latina* i. e. 'Greek and Latin 'Poems.' II. *An Offspring of Mercy iſſuing out of the Womb of Cruelty.* A Paſſion Sermon, preached at Chriſt Church in Oxford, on *Acts* ii. 23. *Lond.* 1652. 8vo. III. *On the ſignal days in the month of November, in relation to the Crown and Royal Family.* A Poem. Lond. 1671. in one ſheet, 4to. IV. *Poems* and *Verſes*, containing *Airs* for ſeveral voices (14), ſet by Mr Henry Lawes. T

CARY (HENRY) afterwards created Viſcount Falkland, and deſcended from the family of the Cary's of Cockington in Devonſhire [*A*], was the ſon of Sir Edward Cary of Berkhamſted and Aldenham in the county of Hertford, Knight, Maſter of the Jewel-office to Queen Elizabeth and King James I (*a*), by Catherine his wife, daughter of Sir Henry Knevet, Knight, and widow of Henry Lord Paget (*b*). He was born at Aldenham juſt now mentioned (*c*); and, when about ſixteen years of age, was ſent to Exeter-College in Oxford, where by the help of a good Tutor, and extraordinary parts, he became a moſt accompliſhed gentleman (*d*). It doth not appear he took any degree [*B*]: but, however, when he quitted the univerſity, he left behind a celebrated name (*e*). Soon after, he was introduced to Court (*f*); and, in the year 1608, made one of the Knights of the Bath at the creation of Henry Prince of Wales (*g*). In 1617, he was ſworn in Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſhold [*C*], and one of his Privy-Council (*h*). And on the 10th of November 1620, was created Viſcount of Falkland in the county of Fife in Scotland (*i*). King James I. knowing his great abilities and experience, conſtituted him Lord Deputy of Ireland; into which high office he was ſworn, September 18, 1622 (*k*); and continued in it 'till the year 1629 (*l*). During his adminiſtration, he kept a ſtrict hand over the Roman Catholicks in that kingdom [*D*]; which gave them occaſion to ſend complaints to the Court of England againſt him. And tho' he proceeded as honourably, juſtly, and nobly, as any man could do (*m*); tho' the Council did, on the 28th of April 1629, write a kind and true letter in vindication of his innocence (*n*); yet by the clamour of the Iriſh, and the prevailing power of his Popiſh enemies, he was removed in diſgrace. But his innocence being afterwards vindicated, this affront was in ſome meaſure atoned for by the ſubſequent favour of the King (*o*). At his return to England, he lived in honour and eſteem, 'till the year 1635; when having the misfortune to break one of his legs, on a ſtand in Theobald's-park, he died of that unhappy accident, in September (*p*); and was buried at Aldenham [*E*]. He

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 585. Peerage of Engl. by Arth. Collins, Eſq; Lond. 1735. 8vo, Vol. III. p. 170.

(*b*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 397. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) State Worthies by David Lloyd, edit. 1679. 8vo, p. 938; from Fuller's Worthies, in Hertfordſhire, p. 23.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Wood, as above.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 991. The Scottiſh Compendium, &c. by F. Nicholls, 3d edit. 1729, p. 383. It was not at the Creation of Charles Prince of Wales; as Wood ſays by miſtake.

(*b*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland; and The Scottiſh Compend. ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Ibid. and Hiſt. of Ireland, by R. Cox. P. ii. fol. Lond. 1690, p. 39.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 53.

(*m*) As was atteſted by his ſucceſſor the Earl of Strafford. See his Tryal by Ruſhworth, p. 160.

(*n*) R. Cox, as above, p. 52. (*o*) Idem, Preface to Part ii. of his Hiſtory. *N. B.* It is not paged. (*p*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 586. Fuller, and Lloyd, ubi ſupra. Theſe two laſt by miſtake, ſay, that it was in 1620.

[*A*] *Deſcended from the Cary's of Cockington in Devonſhire.*] Sir Philip (1) Cary of Cockington, living in the firſt of Henry VI, married to his firſt wife, Anne daughter of Sir William Poulet, Knight, from whom the family of Cockington deſcended (2). His *ſecond wife* was *Alice*, daughter of Sir Baldwin Fulford of Fulford in Devonſhire, Knight, by which he had iſſue *Thomas*, who married *Margaret*, younger daughter, and coheir, of Sir Robert Spencer of Spencer-combe in the county of Devon, by Eleanor, ſiſter and coheir to Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerſet (3). By this Lady, Thomas Cary had two ſons, *John*-anceſtor of the Lords Faulkland; and William, of the Lords Hunſdon. John was made a Knight of the Carpet, February 22, 1546. And by Joice his wife, daughter of —— Denny, Eſq; and ſiſter to Sir Anthony Denny, had iſſue Sir *Edward* Cary, Knight, father of Sir *Henry*, who is the ſubject of this article. Sir Edward died July 16, 1618 (4).

(1) Prince calls him Sir William, Worthies, p. 153.

(2) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 397.

(3) See Genealog. Hiſt. of the Kings of England, &c. by Fr. Sandford, and S. Stebbing. edit. 1707, p. 334.

(4) Collins, ubi ſupra; and Prince's Worthies of Devon. Exon. 1701, p. 153.

[*B*] *It doth not appear he took any degree.*] We are told (5), that during his ſtay in the Univerſity, his chamber was the rendezvous of all the eminent Wits, Divines, Philoſophers, Lawyers, Hiſtorians, and Politicians of that time. But, ſays Mr Wood (6), 'How 'true it is, ſeeing he was then a young man and not 'graduated, I cannot in the leaſt perceive. Had 'thoſe things been ſpoken of Lucius Cary his ſon, who 'retired ſeveral times to, and took commons in Exeter-'College, while his brother Lorenzo ſtudied there, 'in 1628, and after, I ſhould have rather believed 'it.'

(5) Worthies of England, by T. Fuller; as quoted by Mr Wood, ubi ſupra.

(6) Col. 585.

[*C*] *He was ſworn in Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſhold.*] But he was not, one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſty's bed-chamber: neither was he, the firſt who carried into Scotland the news of Queen Elizabeth's death: as the author of the Scottiſh Compendium falſely aſſerts (7). For he that carried thoſe news, was, Robert Cary fourth ſon of Henry Lord Hunſdon, created afterwards Lord Lepington and Earl of Monmouth (8).

(7) Page 383, edit. 1729.

(8) See Court and Character of King James, by Sir A. Weldon, p. 2. and Mr Oſborne's Traditional Memoirs of King James, Lond. 1658, 12mo, p. 5.

[*D*] *He kept a ſtrict hand over the Roman Catholicks in Ireland.*] For, in his time, ſeveral Popiſh magiſtrates that had refuſed the oath of ſupremacy, contrary to the Statute of 2 Eliz. c. 1. were cenſured in the Star-Chamber on the 22d of November 1622; at which time Biſhop Uſher made that excellent ſpeech about the lawfulneſs of that oath, which is publiſhed in his anſwer to Malone the Jeſuit: and on the 21ſt of January 1623, there was iſſued out a Proclamation againſt the Popiſh Clergy, Secular and Regular, ordering them to depart the kingdom within forty days; after which all perſons were prohibited to converſe with them (9).

(9) R. Cox, ubi ſupra, p. 39.

[*E*] *And was buried at Aldenham.*] Where, in the church, there is the following memorial of him, and his father. 'Edward Cary, Eſq; Lord of the manor 'of

He married Elizabeth ſole daughter and heir of Sir Laurence Tanfield, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, with whom he had the manor of Great Tew, Burford, and other eſtates in Oxfordſhire (*q*). He writ ſeveral things, which were not publiſhed [*F*]. With reſpect to his character; he was a moſt accompliſhed gentleman, and a compleat courtier (*r*).

(*q*) Wood, col. 586.

(*r*) Fuller, and Lloyd, ibid.

' of Aldenham, and Patron of this Church, afterwards ' Sir Edward Cary, Knight, whoſe body was invaulted ' in the Chancel of this Church, Auguſt 6, 1618. ' Father of Henry I. Viſcount of Falkland in Scotland, ' whoſe body was alſo invaulted in the Chancel of this ' Church, September 25. 1633 (10).'

(10) The Hiſtory of Hertfordſhire, by N. Salmon, London, 1728, fol. p. 98.

[*F*] *He writ ſeveral things which were not publiſhed.*] This we learn from Mr Wood (11), who further informs us, That there was found among his papers, and publiſhed as his, the following book, ' The Hiſtory of the moſt unfortunate Prince, King ' Edward II; with choice political Obſervations on ' him and his unhappy Favourites, Gaveſton and ' Spencer: containing ſeveral paſſages of thoſe times ' not found in other Hiſtorians.' Lond. 1680, fol. and 8*vo*. Wood ſays, it was publiſhed, when the preſs was open for all books that could make any thing againſt the then government, with a Preface to the reader patched up from very inconſiderable authors, by Sir James Harrington. —— The Lord Clarendon informs us (12), That this Lord Falkland, inſtead of enriching himſelf by his great places, waſted a full fortune at Court, in thoſe offices and employments by which other men uſe to obtain a greater

(11) Ubi ſupra, col. 586.

(12) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, edit. 1731, 8*vo*. Vol. II. P. i. p. 353.

C

CARY (Lucius) eldeſt ſon of Henry Lord Viſcount of Falkland mentioned in the laſt Article, was born, as is ſuppoſed, at Burford in Oxfordſhire (*a*), about the year 1610 [*A*]. His education for ſome years was in Ireland, where his father carried him, when he was appointed Lord Deputy of that kingdom in 1622 (*b*). He received particularly his Academical Learning in Trinity-College in Dublin (*c*); and in St John's-College in Cambridge [*B*]. At firſt he proved but a wild youth [*C*], but being ſent to travel under the care of a diſcreet Tutor, he ſoon ſhook off all levity and extravagance, and became a wiſe, ſober, and prudent perſon (*d*). Before he came to be twenty years of age, he was maſter of a noble fortune, which deſcended to him by the gift of a grandfather, without paſſing through his father or mother, who were then both alive (*e*). Shortly after that, and before he was of age, being in his natural inclination a great lover of a military life, he went into the Low-Countries, with a reſolution of procuring a Command, and to give himſelf up to it; but he was diverted from it by the compleat inactivity of that ſummer. So he returned to England, and being a man of a fine genius, ſoon entered upon a very ſtrict courſe of ſtudy (*f*). At firſt, he applied himſelf to polite Literature; and to Poetry (*g*), in which he made ſuch ſucceſsful attempts, that he gained the eſteem and admiration of the moſt eminent Poets of his time [*D*]. But afterwards giving himſelf up to

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 586.

(*b*) The Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c. by Edward Earl of Clarendon, edit. 1731, 8*vo*, Vol. II. Part i. p. 351.

(*c*) Wood, ibid.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 357.

(*g*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Was born at Burford —— about the year* 1610.] It is not quite certain, that he was born in that town; for the regiſter-book of that place which commences about the beginning of the reign of King James I, takes no notice of it. However, Mr Wood tells us, he was informed, That he was moſtly nurſed, and therefore very probably alſo born, at Burford (1). He was in the thirty fourth year of his age, September 20, 1643, when he was killed (2), and conſequently muſt have been born about the year 1610.

(1) Wood, Ath. col. 586.

(2) Clarendon, Hiſtory, Vol. II. Part i. p. 359.

[*B*] *And in St John's-College in Cambridge.*] This appears from a letter of his to Dr Beale, Maſter of St John's, which is as follows. ' I received lately a ' letter from yourſelf and others of your noble So- ' ciety; wherein, as many titles were given me, to ' which I had none, ſo that, which I ſhould moſt ' willingly have acknowledged, and might with moſt ' juſtice claim, you were not pleaſed to vouchſafe me, ' that is, that of *a St John's man*. I confeſs, I am ' both proud and aſhamed of that, and the latter, in ' reſpect that the fruits are unproportionable to the ' Seed-plot: yet, Sir, as little learning as I brought ' from you, and as little as I have ſince increaſed and ' watered; what I did bring, I am ſure, I carry about ' me, an indelible character of affection and duty to ' that Society, and an extraordinary longing for ſome ' occaſion of expreſſing that affection and that duty. I ' ſhall deſire you to expreſs this to them, and to add ' this, that as I ſhall never forget myſelf to be *a Mem- ' ber of your Body*; ſo I ſhall be ready to catch at all ' means of declaring myſelf to be, not only to the ' Body, but every Member of it,

' A very Humble Servant,

' FALKLAND (3).'

(3) Life of Dr John Barwick, in Engliſh, Lond. 1724, 8*vo*, Appendix, p. 551, 552.

However, there is no account of his admittance in St John's-College-Regiſter.

[*C*] *At firſt he proved but a wild youth.*] And for ſome error or indiſcretion was thrown into the Fleet, as is evident from the following petition of his father to the King.

The Lord Faulkland's petition to the King.

' MOST humbly ſhewing, that I had a ſonne, ' until I loſt him, in your Highneſs diſpleaſure, ' where I cannot ſeek him, becauſe I have not will to ' find him there. Men ſay, there is a wild young ' man now priſoner in the Fleet, for meaſuring his ac- ' tions by his own private fence. But now that for the ' fame your Majeſties hand hath appeared in his pu- ' niſhment, he bows and humbles himſelf before, and ' to it: whether he be mine, or not, I can diſcern by ' no light, but that of your royal clemency; for only ' in your forgiveneſs can I own him for mine. For- ' giveneſs is the glory of the ſupremeſt powers, and ' this the operation, that when it is extended in the ' greateſt meaſure, it converts the greateſt offenders ' into the greateſt lovers, and ſo makes purchaſe of ' the heart, an eſpecial priviledge peculiar and due to ' Sovereign Princes. If now your Majeſty will vouch- ' ſafe, out of your benignity, to become a ſecond ' nature, and reſtore that unto me which the firſt gave ' me, and vanity deprived me of, I ſhall keep my ' reckoning of the full number of my ſons with com- ' fort, and render the tribute of my moſt humble ' thankfulneſs, elſe my weak old memory muſt forget ' one (4).'

(4) Cabala, ed. 1663, fol. p. 2[illegible]

[*D*] *He applied himſelf —— to Poetry, —— and gained the eſteem of the moſt eminent Poets.*] Particularly of Ben Johnſon, who celebrates him in his *Underwoods*, in a Poem, *To the immortal Memory and Friendſhip of that noble Pair, Sir* Lucius Cary, *and Sir* H. Moriſon (5). Sir John Suckling pays him alſo a fine compliment, in his *Seſſion of the Poets*, as follows.

(5) See Ben. Johnſon's Wor. edit. fol. 169[illegible] p. 57[illegible].

He was of late ſo gone with Divinity,
That he had almoſt forgot his Poetry,
Though to ſay the truth (and Apollo did know it)
He might have been both his Prieſt and his Poet.

[*E*] *He*

to the more ſolid parts of learning, he frequently retired, for the ſake of books and converſation, to Oxford, and to his ſeat at Great Tew, near that Univerſity (*h*). There he contracted a familiarity and friendſhip with the moſt polite and accurate men [*E*]; who found ſuch immenſeneſs of wit, and ſuch a ſolidity of judgment in him, ſo infinite a fancy, bound in by moſt exact reaſoning, ſuch a vaſt knowledge, that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet ſuch an exceſſive humility, as if he had known nothing; that they frequently reſorted, and dwelt with him, as in a College ſituated in a purer air. So that his houſe was an Univerſity in a leſſer volume, whither they came not ſo much for repoſe as ſtudy (*i*). Among other things, he made himſelf in a very ſhort time a perfect maſter of the Greek tongue [*F*], and accurately read all the Greek Hiſtorians (*k*). Before he was twenty-three years of age, he had peruſed and read over all the Greek and Latin Fathers, and was indefatigable in looking over all books, which with great expence he cauſed to be tranſmitted to him from all parts (*l*). He alſo diligently ſtudied the controverſies; and had a memory ſo ſtupendous, that he remembred on all occaſions, whatſoever he read (*m*). About the time of his father's death, in 1633, he was made one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſty Privy-Chamber (*n*). Notwithſtanding which, he continued frequently to retire to Great Tew, and Oxford, for the ſake of the company and converſation of learned and ingenious men (*o*); and was a member of the moſt polite clubs (*p*). In 1639, he was in the expedition againſt the Scots; and though he received ſo repulſe in the command of a troop of horſe, of which he had a promiſe, he went a voluntier with the Earl of Eſſex (*q*). Upon his going to this expedition, he was complimented with fine copies of verſes, both by Mr Waller [*G*], and Mr Cowley [*H*]. He was choſen in 1640, a member of the Houſe of Commons for Newport in the Iſle of Wight, in the Parliament which began at Weſtminſter the 13th of April the ſame year (*r*); and, from the debates which were managed with all imaginable gravity and ſobriety, he contracted ſuch a reverence to Parliaments, that he thought it really impoſſible they could ever produce miſchief or inconvenience to the kingdom, or that the kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermiſſion of them. And from the unhappy and unſeaſonable diſſolution of that Parliament, he harboured ſome jealouſy and prejudice to the Court, towards which he was not before immoderately inclined. He was choſen again for the ſame place, in the Parliament which began the 3d of November following; and in the beginning of it, declared himſelf very ſharply and ſeverely againſt thoſe exorbitances of the Court, which had been thought moſt grievous to the State (*s*). For he was ſo rigid an obſerver of eſtabliſhed laws and rules, that he could not endure the leaſt breach or deviation from them: and thought no miſchief ſo intolerable, as the preſumption of Miniſters of State, to break poſitive rules for reaſons of State; or Judges to tranſgreſs known laws, upon the title of conveniency or neceſſity (*t*). This made him ſo ſevere againſt the Lord Finch [*I*], and

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 351.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Lord Clarendon's Animadverſions upon a book intituled, *Fanaticiſm fanatically imputed to the Catholick Church by Dr Stilling fleet, &c.* by S. C. Lond. 1674, p. 185.

(*m*) Idem, Hiſt. as above, p. 352.

(*n*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Account of the Life of Mr Edm. Waller prefixed to his Poems, p. xi. edit. 1711, 8vo.

(*q*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 357.

(*r*) Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collections, Vol. III. p. 1110.

(*s*) Clarendon, p. 353.

(*t*) Ibid.

[*E*] *He contracted a familiarity and friendſhip with the moſt polite and accurate men.*] Among the reſt, with William Chillingworth of Trinity-college; John Earle, and Hugh Croſſy, of Merton; George Aglionby, and Tho. Triplet, of Chriſt-church; Charles Gataker of Penhroke college, ſon of the learned Thomas Gataker of Redrith; George Sandys the poet, &c. (6).

(6) Wood, Ath. col. 587.

[*F*] *He made himſelf, in a very ſhort time, a perfect maſter of the Greek tongue.*] When he undertook to learn it, he reſolved not to ſee London, which he loved above all places, 'till he had perfectly learned it; and, accordingly going to his own houſe in the country, he there purſued the ſtudy of that language with ſuch indefatigable induſtry, that he became maſter of it in a very ſhort time (7).

(7) Clarendon, Vol. II. Part i. P. 351.

[*G*] *He was complimented with copies of verſes by Mr Waller*, &c.] Wr Waller's begin thus: *To my Lord of* Falkland. *In the year* 1638.

Brave Hollaud leads, and with him Falkland goes;
Who hears this told, and does not ſtraight ſuppoſe
We ſend the Graces and the Muſes forth,
To civilize, and to inſtruct the North?

And a little after.

Ah, noble Friend with what impatience all
That know thy worth, and know how prodigal
Of thy great Soul thou art, longing to twiſt
Bays with that Ivy, which ſo early kiſt
Thy youthful temples, with what horror we
Think on the blind events of war and thee?
To Fate expoſing that all-knowing breaſt
Among the throng, as cheaply as the reſt. &c (8).

(8) Poems, &c. by Edm. Waller, Eſq; 8th edit. 1711, p. 81.

[*H*] *And Mr Cowley.*] In his poem, *To the Lord Falkland. For his ſafe return from the Northern Expedition againſt the Scots.* The firſt lines of which run thus:

Great is thy charge, O North; be wiſe and juſt,
England commits her Falkland to thy truſt;
Return him ſafe: Learning would rather chuſe
Her Bodley, or her Vatican to loſe.
All things that are but writ or printed there,
In his unbounded breaſt engraven are.
There all the Sciences together meet,
And every Art does all her kindred greet.

And near the end.

He is too good for war, and ought to be
As far from danger, as from fear he is free (9).

(9) The Works of Mr Abraham Cowley, 7th edit. 1681, fol. p. 4, 5.

[*I*] *This made him ſo ſevere againſt the Lord Finch.*] John Lord Finch, Baron of Fordwich, and Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, was on the 14th of January 1640-1. impeached by the Lord Falkland, in the name of the Houſe of Commons, of having traiterouſly and wickedly endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental laws and eſtabliſhed government of the realm; on account, of his having hindered, when he was Speaker, the reading of ſome things in the Houſe; of his having endeavoured to enlarge the bounds of the foreſt in Eſſex; and chiefly for heing an adviſer and promoter of Ship-money, &c (10). After the reading of the articles, the Lord Falkland made a ſevere ſpeech againſt him, in which he obſerves, —— 'That his life 'appeared a perpetual warfare, by mines, and by hat- 'tery, by battle, and by ſtratagem, againſt our fun- 'damental laws.' Then, after having inſtanced in the particulars above-mentioned, he adds, —— 'That his 'crimes were in the higheſt degree of Parliamentary 'Treaſon, —— a Treaſon as well againſt the King, 'as

(10) Nalſon's Collections, Vol. I. p. 722, 723.

and the Earl of Strafford [*K*], contrary to his natural gentleneſs, and temper. But in both caſes he was only miſled by the authority of thoſe, who he believed, underſtood the laws perfectly, of which he himſelf was utterly ignorant (*u*). For, though he was ſevere, ſo far was he from being violent, againſt thoſe two noble Peers; that when it was moved in the Houſe of Commons, That the Earl of Strafford might *forthwith* (at the time he was firſt accuſed) be impeached of High-Treaſon, the Lord Falkland, tho' he was very well known not to have any kindneſs for him, modeſtly deſired the Houſe to conſider, 'Whether it would not ſuit better with the gravity of their 'proceedings, firſt to digeſt many of thoſe particulars which had been mentioned, by a 'Committee, before they ſent up to the Houſe of Lords to accuſe him? declaring him-'ſelf however to be abundantly ſatisfied that there was enough to charge him (*w*).' He had contracted a prejudice againſt Archbiſhop Laud, and ſome others of the Biſhops [*L*], which biaſſed his judgment ſo far, as to make him concur in the firſt bill to take away the votes of Biſhops in the Houſe of Lords (*x*); tho' he refuſed to be one of the Committee to draw up reaſons for it (*y*). This concurrence of his gave occaſion for ſome to believe, and

(*u*) Ibid.

(*w*) Clarendon, Vol I. Part i. p. 173, 174.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 235, and Vol. II. Part i. p. 356.

(*y*) Idem, Vol. I. Part ii. p. 303.

'as againſt the kingdom; for whatſoever is againſt 'the whole, is undoubtedly againſt the head; which 'takes from his Majeſty the ground of his rule, the 'laws, (for if foundations be deſtroyed, the pinacles 'are moſt endangered) which takes from his Maje-'ſty the principal honour of his rule, the ruling over 'freemen, a power as much nobler than over villains, 'as that is which is over beaſts; which endeavoured 'to take from his Majeſty the principal ſupport of his 'rule, their hearts and affections over whom he rules, 'a better and ſurer ſtrength and wall to the King, 'than the ſea is to the Kingdom; and by begetting a 'mutual diſtruſt, and by that a mutual diſaffection 'between them, to hazard the danger even of the de-'ſtruction of both (11).' He had, on the 5th of December before, made another *Speech againſt the Lord Finch, and the Judges*, wherein he obſerves, 'That 'the cauſe of all the miſeries they [the nation] had 'ſuffered, and the cauſe of all the jealouſies they had 'that they ſhould yet ſuffer, was, That a moſt excel-'lent Prince had been moſt infinitely abuſed, by his 'Judges telling him, That by policy he might do 'what he pleaſed.'——— And, afterwards aſſerts, 'That common fame was ground enough for the Houſe 'of Commons to accuſe upon (12).'

(11) Ibid. p. 725, 726.

(12) Ibid. p. 654—656.

[*K*] *And the Earl of* Strafford.] He hints at him, in the following paſſage which occurs in the laſt-mentioned ſpeech. ——'I will only ſay we have accuſed a 'great perſon of High-Treaſon, for intending to ſub-'vert our fundamental laws, and to introduce arbi-'trary government, which we ſuppoſe he meant to 'do.'——The Lord Clarendon obſerves (13), That they who did not know his compoſition to be as free from revenge as it was from pride, thought that his ſharpneſs againſt the Earl of Strafford, might proceed from the memory of ſome unkindneſſes, not without a mixture of injuſtice from him towards his father.

(13) Hiſt. Vol. II. Part i. p. 353.

[*L*] *He had contracted a prejudice againſt Archbiſhop* Laud, *&c.*] Having obſerved the Archbiſhop's paſſion, when it may be multiplicity of buſineſs, or other indiſpoſition had poſſeſſed him, he therefore wiſhed him leſs entangled and engaged in the buſineſs of the Court, or State.—Two reaſons induced his Lordſhip to give his conſent to the firſt bill for diſplacing the Biſhops. Firſt, His not underſtanding then the original of their right and ſuffrage there. Secondly, An opinion, that the combination againſt the whole government of the Church by Biſhops, was ſo violent and furious, that a leſs compoſition than the diſpenſing with their intermeddling in ſecular affairs, would not preſerve the order (14). However, what reaſons or inducements ſoever he might be acted by, he made, on the 9th of February 1640, as violent and bitter a ſpeech againſt the Biſhops, as any of it's moſt inveterate enemies. Some paſſages in it, are as follow.——'This king-'dom hath long laboured under many and great op-'preſſions, both in Religion and Liberty, and a man's 'acquaintance here is not great, or his ingenuity leſs, 'who doth not both know and acknowledge, that a 'great, if not a principal, cauſe of both theſe have 'been ſome Biſhops, and their adherents. A little 'ſearch will ſerve to find them to have been the de-'ſtruction of unity, under pretence of uniformity, to 'have brought in ſuperſtition and ſcandal, under the 'titles of reverence and decency, to have defiled 'our Church, by adorning our churches, to have 'ſlackened the ſtrictneſs of that union which was for-'merly between us and thoſe of our Religion beyond 'the ſea; an action as unpolitick as ungodly. We 'ſhall find them to have tithed mint and aniſe, and 'have left undone the weightier works of the Law; 'to have been leſs eager upon thoſe who damn our 'Church, than upon thoſe, who, upon weak con-'ſcience, and perhaps *as weak reaſons*, (the diſlike of 'ſome commanded garment, or ſome uncommanded 'poſture,) only abſtained from it.—We ſhall find them 'to have reſembled the dog in the manger; to have 'neither preached themſelves, nor employed thoſe 'that ſhould, nor ſuffer thoſe that would: to have 'brought in catechiſing only to thruſt out preaching; 'cried down lectures by the name of factions.——— 'To go yet further, ſome of them have ſo induſtri-'ouſly laboured to deduce themſelves from Rome, 'that they have given great ſuſpicion that in grati-'tude they deſire to return thither, or at leaſt to meet 'it half way: Some have evidently laboured to bring 'in an Engliſh, though not a Roman Popery; I mean 'not only the outſide and dreſs of it, but equally ab-'ſolute; a blind dependance of the people upon the 'Clergy, and of the Clergy upon themſelves.——— 'We ſhall find ſome of them to have laboured to ex-'clude both all perſons, and all cauſes of the Clergy, 'from the ordinary juriſdiction of the Temporal Ma-'giſtrate, and by hindring prohibitions, to have taken 'away the only legal bound to their arbitrary power.— 'We ſhall find *ſome* of them to have both kindled and 'blown the common fire of both nations,———and 'to have been the almoſt ſole abettors of my Lord of 'Strafford.'——All this he ſums up, by laying the faults of the men upon the order of the Biſhops, upon *Epiſcopacy*.——— But afterwards he ſoftens the ſharpneſs of what he had advanced, in the following manner.——'If we conſider, that if not the firſt planters, 'yet the firſt ſpreaders of Chriſtianity, and the firſt 'and chief defenders of Chriſtianity againſt Hereſies 'within, and Paganiſm without, both with their ink 'and with their blood; and the main conducers to the 'reſurrection of Chriſtianity, at leaſt here in the Refor-'mation (and we owe the light of the Goſpel we now 'enjoy, to the fire they then endured for it) were all 'Biſhops: and that even now in the greateſt perfection 'of that order, there are yet ſome who have conduced 'in nothing to our late innovations, but in their ſi-'lence; ſome, who in an unexpected and mighty 'place and power, have expreſſed an equal moderation 'and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor 'proud after, either of the Croſier's Staff, or White 'Staff: Some who have been learned oppoſers of Po-'pery, and zealous oppoſers of *Arminianiſm*; be-'tween whom and their inferior Clergy, in frequency 'of preaching hath been no diſtinction; whoſe lives 'are untouched, not only by guilt, but by malice; 'ſcarce to be equalled by thoſe of any condition, or 'to be excelled by thoſe in any Calendar.——If we 'conſider this, this conſideration will bring forth this 'concluſion, That Biſhops may be good men (15).' By what his Lordſhip ſays of *Arminianiſm*, 'tis plain, that notwithſtanding his great learning, he had never ſtudied the Predeſtinarian Controverſy; of which Arminianiſm gives a rational and conſiſtent notion, agreeable to God's infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs; whereas rigid Calviniſm repreſents God, the fountain of Goodneſs and Perfection, as the moſt cruel, arbitrary, and tyrannical Being in the world.

(14) Ib. p. 356.

(15) Nalſon, ubi ſupra, p. 768, &c. Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collect. Part iii. Vol. I. p. 184.

[*M*] *For*

and opportunity to others to conclude, that he was no friend to the Church, or the eſtabliſhed government of the ſame (z); and it cauſed many in the Houſe of Commons to imagine, and hope, that he might be brought to a further compliance with their deſigns (a). Indeed the great opinion he had of the uprightneſs and integrity of thoſe perſons who appeared moſt active againſt the Court, eſpecially of Mr Hamden, kept him for ſome time from ſuſpecting any deſign againſt the peace of the kingdom; and tho' he differed from them commonly in concluſion, he believed long their purpoſes were honeſt. But when he grew better informed what was Law, and diſcerned in them a deſire to controul that law by a vote of one, or both Houſes, no man oppoſed more thoſe attempts, and gave the adverſe party more trouble by reaſon and argumentation (b). Accordingly, about ſix months after paſſing the abovementioned bill for taking away the Biſhops votes, when the ſame argument came again into debate, he changed his opinion, and gave the Houſe all the oppoſition he could; nor was he reſerved in acknowledging, That Mr Hamden had aſſured him, if that bill might paſs, there would be nothing more attempted to the prejudice of the Church (c). Tho' he thus voted againſt the Biſhops, yet we are aſſured, that he had the order itſelf in perfect reverence, and thought too great encouragement could not poſſiby be given to learning, nor too great rewards to learned men (d). For ſome time he continued averſe to the Court, and was ſo jealous of the leaſt imagination of his inclining to preferment, that he affected even a moroſeneſs to the Court, and the Courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent or divert the King's or Queen's favour towards him (e). And therefore, when he heard that he was to be made a Privy-Counſellor, and Secretary of State, he reſolved to decline the one, and refuſe the other. But, at length, for certain reaſons [M] he ſubmitted to the King's pleaſure (f); and ſerved his Majeſty in thoſe employments, with great ability, being well verſed in languages; and with the utmoſt integrity, being above corruption of any kind: though, at firſt, he was ſo totally unacquainted with buſineſs, and the forms of it, that he did believe he could not execute the office with any ſufficiency. He was employed by the King, to demand from the Earls of Eſſex and Holland, the badges of their offices of Lord Chamberlain, and Groom of the Stole (g), and alſo to require the Seal from the Lord Keeper Littleton (h). June 15, 1642, he was one of the Lords who ſigned a Declaration, wherein they profeſſed, they were fully perſuaded that his Majeſty had no intention to raiſe war upon his Parliament (i). About the ſame time, he ſubſcribed to levy twenty horſe for his Majeſty's ſervice (k). Upon which, and other accounts, he was excepted from the Parliament's favour, in the inſtructions given by the two Houſes to their General, the Earl of Eſſex (l). He attended the King to Edgehill-fight, where, after the enemy was routed, he had like to incur great danger, by interpoſing to ſave thoſe who had thrown away their arms (m). He was alſo with his Majeſty at Oxford [N], and at the ſiege of Glouceſter, where he expoſed himſelf to danger (n). From the

(z) Vol. II. P. i. p. 356.

(a) Vol. I. P. i. p. 236.

(b) Idem, Vol II. Part i. p. 353.

(c) Idem, Vol. I. Part i. p. 236.

(d) Id. Vol. II. P. i. p. 307.

(e) Ib. p. 353, 354.

(f) Ibid. p. 355. and Vo. I. P. ii. p. 340, 366.

(g) Ibid. Vol. I. P. ii. p. 477. This harſh office might have been more naturaly and as effectually performed, by a Gentleman-Uſher; and therefore the Lord Falk Land was a little troubled at receiving the command, but however would make no excuſe, ibid.

(b) Ibid. p. 571, 573.

(i) Ib. p. 655, 656.

(k) Liſt, at the end of the King's Anſwer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons preſented to him at York, June 17, 1642, Lond. 4to.

(l) Id. Vol. II. Part i. p. 28.

(m) Ibid. p. 357.

(n) Ibid. p. 359.

[M] *For certain reaſons.*] His reaſons for accepting of the Seals, were theſe two. Firſt, The conſideration that his refuſal might bring ſome blemiſh upon the King's affairs, and that men would think he had refuſed ſo great an honour and truſt, becauſe he muſt with it have been obliged to do ſomewhat elſe not juſtifiable. The other was, Leſt he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the Houſe of Commons, who were very much troubled at the diſplacing of Sir Henry Vane. For, as he had a full deſire of fame by juſt and generous actions, ſo he had an equal contempt of it by any ſervile expedients. —— Whilſt he continued in his office, there were two things he could never bring himſelf to. The one was, employing of ſpies, or giving any countenance or entertainment to them; namely, to ſuch perſons, who by communication of guilt, or diſſimulation of manners, wind themſelves into ſuch truſts, and ſecrets, as enable them to make diſcoveries. The other, The liberty of opening letters, upon a ſuſpicion, that they might contain matter of dangerous conſeqaence. For the firſt, he would ſay, ſuch inſtruments muſt be void of all ingenuity, and common honeſty, before they could be of uſe; and afterwards they could never be fit to be credited: and that no ſingle preſervation could be worth ſo general a wound, and corruption of human ſociety, as the cheriſhing ſuch perſons would carry with it. The laſt, he thought, ſuch a violation of the law of nature, that no qualification by office could juſtify him in the treſpaſs; and tho' he was convinced by the neceſſity, and iniquity of the time, that thoſe advantages of information were not to be declined, and were neceſſary to be practiſed, he found means to put it off from himſelf (16).

(16) Clarendon, Vol. II. Part i. p. 355.

[N] *He was alſo with his Majeſty at Oxford.*] During their reſidence there, his Majeſty went one day to ſee the publick library, where he was ſhewed among other books a Virgil nobly printed, and exquiſitely bound. The Lord Falkland, to divert the King, would have his Majeſty make a trial of his fortune by the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, an uſual kind of divination in ages paſt, made by opening a Virgil. Whereupon, the King opening the book, the period which happened to come up, was that part of Dido's imprecation againſt Æneas, *Æneid.* lib. iv. ver. 615, &c. part of which is thus tranſlated by Mr Dryden.

Oppreſs'd with numbers in th' unequal field,
His men diſcourag'd, and himſelf expell'd,
Let him for ſuccour fue from place to place,
Torn from his ſubjects, and his ſon's embrace, &c.

King Charles ſeeming concerned at this accident, the Lord Falkland, who obſerved it, would likewiſe try his own fortune in the ſame manner; hoping he might fall upon ſome paſſage that could have no relation to his caſe, and thereby divert the King's thoughts from any impreſſion the other might make upon him: but the place Lord Falkland ſtumbled upon, was yet more ſuited to his deſtiny than the other had been to the King's; being the following expreſſions of Evander, upon the untimely death of his ſon Pallas, *Æneid* lib. xi. ver. 152, &c.

Non hæc, O Palla, dederas promiſſa parenti, &c. thus tranſlated by Mr Dryden.

O Pallas! thou haſt fail'd thy plighted word,
To fight with caution, not to tempt the ſword,
I warn'd thee, but in vain; for well I knew,
What perils youthful ardour would purſue:
That boiling blood would carry thee too far;
Young as thou wert in dangers, raw to war!
O curſt eſſay of arms, diſaſtrous doom,
Prelude of bloody fields, and fights to come (17)!

(17) Memoirs, &c. by J. Welwood, M.D. edit. 1718, 12mo, p. 90—92.

the beginning of the Civil War, his natural chearfulneſs and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of ſadneſs and dejection of ſpirit ſtole upon him, which he had never been uſed to. After the reſolution of the Two Houſes not to admit any treaty for peace, thoſe indiſpoſitions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of unchearfulneſs; and he, who had been exactly eaſy and affable to all men, became on a ſudden leſs communicable, and very ſad, pale, and extremely affected with the ſpleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had before always minded with more neatneſs, induſtry, and expence, than is uſual to ſo great a ſoul, he became not only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of ſuitors, ſo quick, ſharp, and ſevere, that it made him be looked upon as proud and imperious. When there was any overture, or hope for peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly ſollicitous to preſs any thing which he thought might promote it. And ſitting among his friends, often, after a deep ſilence, and frequent ſighs, he would, with a ſhrill and ſad accent, repeat the word *peace, peace*; and would paſſionately profeſs, That the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and deſolation, the kingdom did and muſt endure, took his ſleep from him, and would ſhortly break his heart (*o*). This extreme uneaſineſs ſeems to have hurried him on to his deſtruction. For, the morning before the firſt battle of Newbury, he called for a clean ſhirt, and being aſked the reaſon of it, anſwered, That 'if he were ſlain 'in the battle, they ſhould not find his body in foul linnen.' Being diſſuaded by his friends to go into the fight, as having no call to it, and being no military officer, he ſaid, 'he was weary of the times, and foreſaw much miſery to his own country, and 'did believe he ſhould be out of it e'er night (*p*).' Putting himſelf therefore into the firſt rank of the Lord Byron's regiment, he was ſhot with a muſquet, in the lower part of the belly, on the 20th of September, 1643, and in the inſtant falling from his horſe, his body was not found 'till the next morning (*q*). Thus fell that incomparable young man (*r*), much lamented by all that knew him, or heard of him (*s*), in the thirty-fourth year of his age; having ſo much diſpatched the true buſineſs of his life, that the eldeſt rarely attain to that immenſe knowledge, and the youngeſt enter not into the world with more innocency (*t*) His contemporaries have agreed to beſtow upon him the higheſt commendations imaginable. They aſſure us, that he was a man of excellent, nay, of exceeding great, and prodigious parts, both natural and acquired (*u*); of a wit ſo ſharp, and a nature ſo ſincere, that nothing could be more lovely (*w*); of great ingehuity and honour (*x*); of the moſt exemplary manner, and ſingular good-nature, and of the moſt unblemiſhed integrity (*y*); of that inimitable ſweetneſs and delight in converſation, of ſo flowing and obliging a humanity and goodneſs to mankind, and of that primitive ſimplicity and innocency of life, as could hardly be equalled (*z*). His anſwers were quick and ſudden, and tho' he had a great deal of true worth, yet he was withal very modeſt (*a*). His familiarity and friendſhip, for the moſt part, was with men of the moſt eminent and ſublime parts, and of untouched reputation in point of integrity. He was a great cheriſher of wit, and fancy, and good parts, in any man; and, if he found them clouded with poverty or want, a moſt liberal and bountiful patron towards them, even above his fortune (*b*). He was ſo great an enemy to that paſſion and uncharitableneſs, which he ſaw produced by difference of opinion in matters of Religion, that in all his diſputes with Prieſts, and others of the Roman Communion, he affected to manifeſt all poſſible civility to their perſons, and eſteem of their learning or ingenuity (*c*). As his parts were great, ſo alſo was his knowledge and learning very conſiderable. Of which he hath left ſignal proofs in his learned writings [*O*], and in the aſſiſtance he gave the immortal Chillingworth, in his book of *The Religion of Proteſtants*, &c [*P*]. To

(*o*) Ibid. p. 357, 358, 359.

(*p*) Whitelocke's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 73, 74.

(*q*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 359.

(*r*) Ibid.

(*s*) Whitelocke, p. 74.

(*t*) Clarendon, p. 359.

(*u*) Idem, Vol. I. P. ii. p. 340. and Biſhop Barlow's Genuine Remains, edit. 1693, p. 328.

(*w*) Clarendon, in the place laſt cited.

(*x*) Whitelocke, ubi ſupra.

(*y*) Clarendon's Animadverſions on *Fanaticiſm fanatically imputed to the Catholick Church*, by S. Creſſy, &c. p. 185.

(*z*) Clarendon, Vol. II. Part i. p. 350.

(*a*) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra, from Dr Triplet's Preface to Lord Falkland's Diſcourſe of Infallibility.

(*b*) Clarendon, ibid. p. 351.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 352.

[*O*] *His learned writings.*] They are, firſt *Poems*. Next, beſides thoſe *Speeches* of his mentioned above, I. A Speech, 'Of Uniformity,' as we are informed by Mr Wood (18): but if he means the ſame which is in Ruſhworth (19), under that title, it is no more than the beginning of his Lordſhip's Speech againſt the Biſhops, and Epiſcopacy, of which we have given an extract. II. A Speech, 'Of ill Counſellors about the 'King: in 1640 (20).' III. 'As for the Speech 'about Ship-money, December 5, 1640.' And, the 'Speech concerning John Lord Finch, and the Judges.' mentioned as two diſtinct ones by Mr Wood (21), they are one and the ſame: namely, that mentioned under the note [*I*]. IV. 'A Draught of a Speech, con-'cerning Epiſcopacy, found amongſt the Lord Falk-'land's papers ſince his death, written with his own 'hand.' Oxford, one ſheet, 4*to*, 1644. V. 'A Diſ-'courſe concerning Epiſcopacy.' Lond. 1660. 4*to*. VI. 'A Diſcourſe of the Infallibility of the Church 'of Rome.' Oxford 1645, 4*to*. George Holland, a Cambridge Scholar, and afterwards a Romiſh Prieſt, having written an Anſwer to this *Diſcourſe of the Infallibility*, &c. the Lord Falkland made a Reply to it, intituled, VII. 'A View of ſome Exceptions made 'againſt *The Diſcourſe of the Infallibility of the 'Church of Rome*.' Printed at Oxford 1646, 4*to*. *The Diſcourſe of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome*; and the *Reply* to the Anſwer made thereto by G. Holland; were afterwards printed together, with a Preface ſigned J P ſuppoſed to be John Pearſon (22). They were reprinted again in 1651, with this title, '*Sir Lucius Cary*, late Lord Viſcount of *Falk-'land*, his Diſcourſe of Infallibility; with an Anſwer 'to it, and his Lordſhip's Reply, never before pub-'liſhed; together with Mr Walter Montague's Letter 'concerning the changing his Religion, Anſwered by 'my Lord Falkland.' This Letter of Mr W. Montague is dated from Paris, November 21, 1635. VIII. The Lord Falkland was alſo author of 'A Letter to 'Mr F. M. *anno* 1636,' printed at the end of Mr Charles Gataker's *Anſwer to Five captious Queſtions propounded by a Factor for the Papacy, by parallel Queſtions and poſitive Reſolutions*. Lond. 1673, 4*to*. This Factor for the Papacy was the ſame Fr. M. to whom the Lord Falkland's letter is addreſſed.

[*P*] *He aſſiſted Mr Chillingworth in his book of The Religion of Proteſtants*, &c.] This particular we learn from Biſhop Barlow (23), who ſays, That 'when Mr 'Chillingworth undertook the defence of Dr Potter's 'book againſt the Jeſuit, he was almoſt continually at 'Tew with my Lord, examining the reaſons of both 'parties, *pro* and *con*, and their invalidity or con-'ſequence;

(18) Ath. Vol. I. col. 587.

(19) Hiſtorical Collections, P. ii. Vol. II. p. 1342.

(20) Ibid. p. 1351.

(21) Ubi ſupra.

(22) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 581.

(23) See his Genuine Remains, &c. Lond. 1653, 8*vo*. p. 329.

To his honour be it ſpoken, he was alſo a ſincere Chriſtian (*d*), and a true ſon of the Church of England (*e*). Some indeed have charged him with being a Socinian (*f*), but all that knew him have cleared him from that imputation (*g*). And it it is well known, how ready violent and paſſionate men are, to charge thoſe that any way differ from them, with the damnable ſin, as they think it, of hereſy. Upon the whole, therefore, he was the envy and the wonder of his time, and the greateſt ornament to this nation, that the laſt age, nay that any age hath ever produced (*h*). As to his perſon, he was little, and of no great ſtrength; his hair was blackiſh and ſomewhat flaggy; and his eye black and lively (*i*). His body was buried in the Church of Great Tew (*k*). His uſual ſaying, was, 'I pity unlearned Gentlemen, in a rainy day (*l*).'

(*d*) Dr Triplet, in Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 587.
(*e*) Barlow's Genuine Remains, p. 328.
(*f*) See Wood, col. 587.
(*g*) S. Creſſy in his Epiſtle Apologetical, printed 1674, §. 7. and Dr Triplet in his Epiſtle Dedicat. before the Lord Falkland's book of Infallibility.
(*b*) Dr Triplet, ibid. and Clarendon, in his Animadverſions, ubi ſupra.
(*i*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.
(*k*) Ibid.
(*l*) D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 941.

'ſequence; where Mr Chillingworth had the benefit 'of my Lord's company, and his good library. The 'benefit he had by my Lord's *company*, and rational '*diſcourſe*, was very great, as Mr Chillingworth would 'modeſtly and truly confeſs. And ſo was alſo that 'which he received from his *library*, which was well 'furniſhed with choice books, ſuch as Mr Chilling-'worth neither had, nor ever heard of many of them, 'till my Lord ſhewed him the books and the paſſages 'in them, which were ſignificant and pertinent to the 'purpoſe. So that it is certain, moſt of thoſe ancient 'authorities which Mr Chillingworth makes uſe of, 'he owes, firſt to my Lord of Falkland's learning, 'that he would give ſo good directions; and next 'to his civility and kindneſs, that he would direct 'him.' C

CARY (Robert), a learned Chronologer in the XVIIth Century, and nephew of Sir George Cary, Knt. Lord Deputy of Ireland in Queen Elizabeth's reign (*a*), was born at Cockinton (*b*) in the county of Devon, about the year 1615 (*c*); being the ſecond ſon of George Cary, Eſquire [*A*]; and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Seymour of Berry-caſtle, Baronet (*d*). When he was well grounded in School-Learning, he went to Oxford, and was admitted Sojourner of Exeter-College, on the 4th of October 1631, aged ſixteen. Having continued there about three years, he was in October 1634, choſen Scholar of Corpus-Chriſti-College in the ſame univerſity (*e*). The next year, on December the 3d, he was admitted Bachelor of Arts (*f*); and the 23d of February 1638-9, proceeded Maſter of Arts (*g*). And it is probable, that he was alſo choſen Fellow of his College, tho' Mr Wood profeſſes, he did not know (*h*). On November 4, 1644, he was created Doctor of Laws, by virtue of mandatory letters from the Chancellor, William Marquis of Hertford, who was his kinſman (*i*). Some time after, he travelled into France, the Low-Countries, and other foreign parts. At his return, he was preſented by the Marquis of Hertford, to the Rectory of Portlemouth, near Kingſbridge in Devonſhire, a living of a very good value (*k*). There he ſettled, and lived in very good repute: and being diſtinguiſhed by his birth, degrees, and learning, the Preſbyterian Miniſters of thoſe times never left him, 'till they had drawn him over to their party. For his greater encouragement, they made him Moderator of that part of the ſecond Diviſion of the county of Devon, which was appointed to meet at Kingſbridge (*l*). However, he was never zealous in their intereſt: for, upon the Reſtoration of King Charles II, he was one of the firſt that congratulated that King upon his return. For which he was ſoon after preferred to the Archdeaconry of Exeter, which he was inſtalled into Auguſt 18, 1662 (†). But he was, in a little while, namely, in 1664, affrighted and ejected out of it, by ſome great men then in power: who taking advantage of ſome infirmities, or perhaps imprudences, of his, reſolved to throw him out, in order to raiſe a favourite upon his ruins (*m*). Being thus deprived of his Archdeaconry, he retired to his Rectory at Portlemouth; where he ſpent the remainder of his days, in a private, chearful, and contented condition; in good repute with his neighbours; and as much above contempt, as he was below envy. Having lived to a good old age of ſeventy-three years, he departed this life, at the parſonage houſe of Portlemouth, and was buried in his own Church there, on the 19th of September 1688, without any funeral monument (*n*). He was a man very perfect in curious and critical learning (*o*), particularly in Chronology: of which he gave a full teſtimony, in the excellent book he publiſhed, intituled, *Palælogia Chronica. A Chronological Account of ancient Time, in three Parts,* 1. *Didactical.* 2. *Apodeictical.* 3. *Canonical.* Lond. 1677, folio [*B*]. He was alſo, in his younger years, pretty

(*a*) The Worthies of Devon. &c. by J. Prince, fol. Exeter, 1701, p. 197, 198.
(*b*) Wood ſays, it was at Berry Pomeroy, Athen. Vol. II. col. 825; but we chuſe to follow Mr Prince.
(*c*) Wood ſays, ibid. that he was aged 16 in 1631, and conſequently muſt have been born in 1615.
(*d*) Prince, ubi ſupra, p. 197.
(*e*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 825.
(*f*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 261.
(*g*) Ibid. col. 276.
(*h*) Athenæ; See Prince, ubi ſupra, p. 198.
(*i*) Prince, ibid. and Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 42.
(*k*) Prince; and Wood's Athen. ubi ſupra.
(*l*) Prince, ubi ſupra.
(†) Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. edit. 1728, p. 744; and Le Neve's Faſti, p. 93.
(*m*) Ibid.
(*n*) Ibid.
(*o*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Being the ſecond ſon of George Cary, Eſq;*] Sir George Cary, Knt. above-mentioned, formerly Lord-Deputy of Ireland, dying in 1615, without iſſue, adopted *George* of whom we ſpeak here; who was the third ſon of his ſecond brother Robert, according to one author (1), or, according to another (2), fifth ſon of his fourth brother John. This *George Cary*, Eſq; had ſeveral ſons and daughters; of whom the eldeſt, Sir Henry Cary, Knt. was entirely ruined by the civil wars. The ſecond ſon was Dr *Robert Cary*, who is the ſubject of this article. Sir George Cary, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, was his great uncle

(1) Sir W. Pole in Cock.
(2) Weſtc. Ped. quoted by Mr Prince, p. 197.

[*B*] *Palælogia, A Chronological Account*, &c.] 'The deſign of that work (as the author himſelf ſays 'in the beginning of it) is to determine the juſt inter-'val of time, between the great Epoch of the crea-'tion of the world, and another of the deſtruction of 'Jeruſalem by Titus Veſpaſian, in order to the aſſign-'ment of ſuch particular time, wherein perſons and 'affairs of old had their exiſtence. The deſign of it 'was laid in the days of Cromwell's uſurpation, and 'came, in proceſs of time, to be quickened by a ſur-'venient occaſion from ſome learned gentlemen of his 'acquaintance after the Reſtoration (3); who agree-'ing together in ſome appointed meetings, to diſcourſe 'of the abſtruſer parts of the Holy Scriptures, having 'charged themſelves with the ſeveral ſubjects, it was 'recommended to him, as his province, to account 'for the Chronology thereof.' In part I. he treats of time, as divided into hours, minutes, weeks, and years: and of the ſeveral ſorts of years, the Chaldæan, and Ægyptian, Grecian, Roman, and Jewiſh; of all which he exhibits the calendars. Part II. Treats of the ſeveral epochs of time, and of the ancient monarchies

(3) Theſe are the author's own words, in his Preface.

pretty well ſkilled in Poetry, as well Latin as Engliſh: tho' he publiſhed nothing in this kind, but thoſe Hymns of our Church, that are appointed to be read after the Leſſons, together with the Creed, &c. Theſe being tranſlated by him into Latin verſe, were printed on the flat ſides of two ſheets in folio. As to his perſon; he was of a middle ſtature, ſanguine of complexion, and in his elder years ſomewhat corpulent. In his carriage and behaviour, he was as much a Gentleman, as he was in his birth and extraction: free and generous, courteous and obliging, and very critical in all the arts of complaiſance and addreſs (*p*).

(*p*) Prince, ubi ſupra.

chies and kingdoms; containing alſo liſts, of the Kings of Sicyon, Argos, and Athens; of the Ptolemies; Syro-Macedonian, Median, Lydian, Aſſyrian, Chaldæan, Arabian, Ægyptian, Chineſe, Lacedæmonian, Corinthian, and Latin, Kings or Monarchs: a liſt of the Roman Conſuls; a ſcheme of the Athenian Magiſtrates, &c. Then follows a connexion of Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory; a ſcheme of concurrent ſucceſſions from Nabopolaſſar to the death of Alexander the Great; a ſcheme of the Jewiſh High-Prieſts; of the Kings of Judah and Iſrael; Kings of Tyre; Syria, Damaſcena, &c. the time of Chriſt's nativity; the Hiſtory of the Acts of the Apoſtles timed; and many other curious particulars relating to the Bible Part III. Conſiſting of 97 pages, is entirely Canonical; being drawn up after the pattern of Helvicus. There is an account of this book in *The Philoſophical Tranſactions* (4). C

(4) No. 132, p. 808.

CASAUBON (Isaac) one of the moſt learned Criticks, in the end of the XVIth, and beginning of the XVII, century; was born at Geneva, Febr. 18, 1559; being the ſon of Arnold Caſaubon and Jane Roſſeau (*a*) [*A*]. He was educated at firſt by his father, and being a youth of excellent parts, made ſo quick a progreſs in his ſtudies, that at the age of nine years he could ſpeak and write Latin with great eaſe and correctneſs. But his father being obliged, for three years together, to be always abſent from home, on account of buſineſs; he came thereby to be neglected, and entirely forgot what he had learned before. At twelve years of age he was forced to begin his ſtudies again, and to learn as it were by himſelf; his father's frequent abſence, and many avocations, hindering his teaching of him, except at vacant times. But as he could not in this method make any conſiderable progreſs, he was ſent in 1578 to Geneva, to compleat his ſtudies under the Profeſſors there. By his indefatigable application he quickly recovered the time he had loſt. He learned the Greek tongue of Francis Portus the Cretan, and ſoon became ſo great a maſter of that language, that this famous man thought him worthy to be his ſucceſſor in the Profeſſor's chair, in 1582, when he was but three and twenty years of age. In 1586, Febr. 1, he had the misfortune to loſe his father [*B*]. The 28th of April following, he married Florence, daughter of Henry Stephens the celebrated Printer [*C*], by whom he had twenty children. For fourteen years he continued Profeſſor of the Greek tongue at Geneva; and in that time ſtudied Philoſophy and the Civil Law under Julius Pacius. He alſo learned Hebrew, and ſome others of the Oriental Languages, but not enough to be able to make uſe of them afterwards [*D*]. In the mean time he began to be weary of Geneva; either becauſe he could not agree with his father-in-law, Henry Stephens, a moroſe and peeviſh man; or that his ſalary was not ſufficient for his maintenance; or becauſe he was of a rambling and unſettled diſpoſition. He reſolved therefore, after a great deal of uncertainty, to accept the place of Profeſſor of the Greek tongue and polite literature, which was offered him at Montpellier, with a more conſiderable ſalary than he had at Geneva. To Montpellier he removed about the end of the year 1596, and began his Lectures in the February following. About the ſame time, the city of Niſmes invited him to come and reſtore their Univerſity, but he excuſed himſelf. 'Tis alſo ſaid, he had an invitation from the Univerſity of Franeker, but that is not ſo certain. At his firſt coming to Montpellier, he was much eſteemed and followed, and ſeemed to be pleaſed with his ſtation. But this pleaſure did not laſt long; for what had been promiſed him was not performed; abatements were made in his ſalary; which alſo was not regularly paid: in a word, he met there with ſo much uneaſineſs, that he was juſt upon the point of returning to Geneva. But a journey he took to Lyons in 1598, gave him an opportunity of taking another, that proved extreamly advantageous to him. Having been recommended by ſome gentlemen of Montpellier (*b*) to M. de Vicq, a conſiderable man at Lyons; this took him into his houſe, and carried him along with him to Paris, where he cauſed him to be introduced to the Firſt

(*a*) If. Caſauboni Vita, inter ejus Epiſtolas, edit Theod. Janſon ab Almeloveen Roter. 1709. Niceron, Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtr. Tom. XVIII. 8*vo*. p. 118, &c. and Bernard, Nouvelles de la Republique des Letters, Juillet 1710, Artic. 1. p. 5, 6, &c.

(*b*) *Viz.* Philip de Canaye, Lord of Freſne, Firſt Preſident of the Chamber of the Edict at Caſtres; and Mr Gillet.

[*A*] *Being the ſon of Arnold Caſaubon.*] This Arnold was a native, and Miniſter, of Bourdeaux, a village of Diois in Dauphiné, but was obliged, on account of the perſecution for Religion, to fly to Geneva. When that ceaſed, he was choſen Miniſter of Creſt in Dauphiné; and here it was, that his ſon Iſaac learned the firſt rudiments of Grammar. That he was born at Geneva, he informs us himſelf (1); and therefore Moreri confounds the father with the ſon, when he ſays, that the latter was born at Bourdeaux.

(1) In his 879th Letter, of Theod. Janſon of Almeloveen's edition.

[*B*] *Had the misfortune to loſe his father.*] He died at Die, aged 63. Charles Bonarſcius, and Andr. Eudæmon-Joannes, have affirmed, that he was hanged. But his ſon hath fully confuted that falſe and ſcandalous ſtory (2).

(2) Niceron, ubi ſupra, p. 123.

[*C*] *He married Florence, daughter of Henry Stephens, the celebrated Printer.*] Who had withdrawn from Paris to Geneva. There had been a long intimacy between him and Caſaubon; and that, probably, is what gave the enemies of the latter occaſion to aſſert, that he had ſpent his youth in correcting the books printed by H. Stephens: which indeed is falſe, though no blemiſh to his reputation, if it had been true (3).

(3) Idem, p. 120.

[*D*] *But not enough to be able to make uſe of them afterwards.*] About the year 1591, he fell into great trouble, of which he complains extremely in his letters, by being bound in a great ſum for Mr Wotton, an Engliſhman, which he was obliged to pay. This ſtraitened him, 'till he was reimburſed by the care of his friends, and particularly of Joſeph Scaliger, about a year after (4).

(4) Bernard, as above, p. 8.

[*E*] *At*

First-President de Harlay, the President de Thou, Mr Gillot, and Nicolas le Fevre, by whom he was very civilly received. He was also presented to King Henry IV, who being informed of his merit, would have him leave Montpellier for a Professor's place at Paris. Casaubon having remained for some time in suspense which course to take, went back to Montpellier, and resumed his Lectures. Not long after, he received a letter from the King, dated January 3, 1599, by which he was invited to Paris, in order to be Professor of Polite Literature. He set out for that city the 26th of February following. When he came to Lyons, M. de Vicq advised him to stay there 'till the King's coming, who was expected in that place. Mean while, some domestick affairs obliged him to take a turn to Geneva, where he complains that justice was not done him with regard to the estate of his father-in-law. Upon his return to Lyons, having waited a long while in vain for the King's arrival, he took a second journey to Geneva, and then went to Paris; though he foresaw, as M. de Vicq and Scaliger had told him, he should not meet there with all the satisfaction he at first imagined. The King gave him indeed a gracious reception, but the jealousy of some of the other Professors, and his being a Protestant, procured him a great deal of trouble and vexation, and were the cause of his losing the professorship, of which he had the promise. Some time after, he was appointed one of the Judges on the Protestants side, at the conference between James-Davy du Perron, Bishop of Evreux, afterwards Cardinal, and Philip du Plessis-Mornay [*E*]. As Casaubon was not favourable to the latter, who, as we are assured, did not acquit himself well in that conference; it was reported, that he (†) would soon change his religion, but the event showed that this report was groundless. When Casaubon came back to Paris, he found it very difficult to get his pension paid, and the charges of removing from Lyons to Paris, because M. de Rosny was not his friend; so that, it was not without an express order from the King, that he obtained the payment even of three hundred crowns. The 30th of May 1600, he returned to Lyons, to hasten the impression of his *Athenæus*, which was printing there; but he had the misfortune of incurring the displeasure of his great friend M. de Vicq, who had all along entertained him and his whole family in his own house, when they were in that city; because he refused to accompany him into Switzerland. The reason of this refusal was, his being afraid of losing in the mean time the place of Library-keeper to the King, whereof he had a promise, and that was likely soon to become vacant, on account of the Librarian's illness. He returned to Paris with his wife and family the September following, and was well received by the King, and by many persons of distinction. There he read private lectures, published several works of the Ancients, and learned Arabic; in which he made so great a progress, that he undertook to compile a Dictionary, and translated some books of that language into Latin. In 1601 he was obliged, as he tells us himself *(c)*, to write against his will to James VI, King of Scotland, afterwards King of England, but does not mention the occasions of it. That Prince answered him with great civility, which obliged our author to write to him a second time. In the mean time, the many affronts and uneasinesses he received from time to time at Paris, made him think of leaving that city, and retiring to some quieter place. But King Henry IV. would never permit him; and, in order to fix him, made an augmentation of two hundred crowns to his pension: and granted him the reversion of the place of his Library-Keeper, after the death of John Gosselin, the then Librarian. He took a journey to Dauphiné in May 1603, and from thence to Geneva, about his private affairs; returning to Paris on the 12th of July. Towards the end of the same year, he came into possession of the place of King's Library-Keeper, vacant by the death of Gosselin [*F*]. His friends of the Roman Catholick persuasion made now frequent attempts, to induce him to forsake the Protestant religion. Cardinal du Perron, in particular, had several disputes with him upon that point: after one of which a report was spread, that he had then promised the Cardinal he would turn Roman Catholick. So that, in order to stifle that rumour, the Ministers of Charenton, who were alarmed at it, obliged him to write a letter to the Cardinal to contradict what was so confidently reported, and took care to have it printed. About this time, the Magistrates of Nismes gave him a second invitation to their city, offering him a house, and a salary of six hundred crowns of gold a year, but he durst not accept of it for fear of offending the King. In 1609, he had, by that Prince's order, who was desirous of gaining him over to the Catholick religion, a conference with Cardinal du Perron upon the controverted points; but it had no effect upon him, and he died a Protestant. The next year two things happened that afflicted

(†) *Viz.* Casaubon.

(*c*) See Barnard, as above, p. 14.

[*E*] *At the conference between James D. du Perron, ——— and Philip du Plessis-Mornay.*] This conference was held at Fontainebleau May 4, 1600. It was at first designed, that it should continue several days, but the indisposition of Mr du Plessis-Mornay was the cause of its lasting but one. The other judge on the Protestants side, was Mr Canaye, who convinced, as he pretended, by the arguments that were then used, became a convert to Popery. He used his utmost endeavours, to persuade Casaubon to follow his example; but not being able to prevail, he grew very cool towards him, and ceased to have the same regard and friendship for him, as he had, 'till then, expressed. As for Casaubon, he clears himself, in several of his letters, of the imputations thrown upon him, of his favouring Popery (5).

(5) See Letters, 319, 348.

[*F*] *He came into possession of the place of King's Library-keeper, vacant by the death of Gosselin.*] His being possessed of that place, was a great advantage to him; not only on account of the salary, but because he had then free access to the books in that valuable library, which Gosselin would not permit him to have, as much as he desired, or wanted (6).

(6) Niceron, as above, p. 127.

afflicted him extreamly; one was the murder of King Henry IV, which deprived him of all hopes of keeping his place; the other, his eldeſt ſon's embracing Popery [G]. The loſs of the King, his patron and protector, made him reſolve to come over into England, where he had often been invited by King James I. So, having obtained leave of the Queen-Regent of France, to be abſent for a while out of that kingdom, he came to England in October 1610, along with Sir Henry Wotton, Embaſſador-Extraordinary from King James I. He was received in England with the utmoſt civility, by moſt perſons of learning and diſtinction [H]. He waited upon the King, who took great pleaſure in diſcourſing with him, and even did him the honour of admitting him ſeveral times to eat at his own table. His Majeſty likewiſe made him a preſent of a hundred and fifty pounds, to enable him to viſit the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge (*d*). The 3d of January 1611, he was made a Denizon. And the 19th of the ſame month, the King granted him a penſion of three hundred pounds (*e*): as alſo two Prebends, one at Canterbury (*f*), and the other at Weſtminſter. He likewiſe wrote to the Queen-Regent of France, to deſire Caſaubon might ſtay longer in England than ſhe had at firſt allowed him. But Caſaubon did not long enjoy theſe great advantages. For a painful diſtemper, occaſioned by his having a double bladder (*g*) ſoon laid him in his grave. He died July 1, 1614, in the 55th year of his age; and was buried in Weſtminſter-abbey [I]. He had, as is already hinted above, twenty children [K]. We ſhall give an account of his writings, and of the books he publiſhed, in the note [L]. This great man received the higheſt encomiums from

(*d*) Niceron, as above, p. 130.

(*e*) Conventiones Fœdera, &c. publiſhed by T. Rymer, Vol. XVII. p. 707, 710.

(*f*) J. le Neve ſays, that he was made Prebendary of Canterbury in the 8th ſtall, in 1609, which certainly muſt be a miſtake, Faſti, p. 17. edit. 1716.

(*g*) See Dr Thorius's Letter, *de Iſaaci Caſauboni morbi mortiſque cauſa*, printed among Caſaubon's Letters.

[G] *His eldeſt ſon's embracing Popery.*] This laſt accident gave him a great deal of affliction and uneaſineſs; and the more, becauſe a report was ſpread, that he himſelf had charged George Strauchan, a Scotchman, who taught his ſon the Mathematicks, to inſtruct him at the ſame time in the Popiſh Religion (7).

(7) Niceron, as above, p. 129.

[H] *He was received in England with the utmoſt civility by moſt perſons of learning and diſtinction.*] But it ſeems he did not meet with the like treatment from the inferior ſort of people. For he complains in one of his letters (8), that he was more inſulted at London, than he had ever been at Paris in the midſt of the Papiſts; that ſtones were thrown at his windows night and day; that he received a great wound as he went to Court; that his children were affronted in the ſtreets; and he and his family were ſometimes pelted with ſtones. ——He doth not mention, what were the grounds of thoſe many incivilities, to himſelf, and family. But, if we may be allowed to gueſs; perhaps, his differing in ſome points from the Puritans of thoſe times, might get him an ill name among the populace, and ſo draw upon him the uncivilities he complains of. For ſuch was the common behaviour of thoſe ſaints!

(8) In the 1056th of Almeloveen's edition.

[I] *And was buried in Weſtminſter-abbey.*] Where there is a monument erected to his memory, with the following inſcription.

Iſaacus Caſaubonus,
(O Doctiorum quicquid eſt, aſſurgite
Huic tam colendo Nomini.)

Quem Gallia Reip. literariæ bono peperit, Henricus IV, Francorum rex invictiſſimus Lutetiam literis ſuis evocavit, Bibliothecæ ſuæ præfecit, charumque deinceps dum vixit habuit; eoque terris erepto Jacobus Mag. Brit. monarcha, Regum doctiſſimus, doctis indulgentiſſ. in Angliam accivit, munifice fovit, poſteritaſque ob doctrinam æternum mirabitur, H. S. E. invidia major. Obiit ætern. in Chriſto vitam anhelans, Kal. Julii 1614. *Ætat.* 55.

Viro opt. immortalitate digniſſ. Thomas Mortonus Epiſc. Dunelm. jucundiſſimæ quoad frui licuit conſuetudinis memor. Pr. S. P. Cu. 163.

Qui noſſe vult Caſaubonum,
Non Saxa ſed Chartas legat
Superfuturas marmori,
Et profuturas poſteris.

[K] *He had——twenty children.*] *John*, the eldeſt, turned Roman Catholick, as has been mentioned above. Another, named *Auguſtin*, did the like, and became a Capuchin at Calais, where he was poiſoned, with eleven others of the ſame order (9). Mr Du Pin relates of him the following particular, upon the authority of Mr Cotelier: Before he took the vow of Capuchin, he went to aſk his father's bleſſing, which the father readily granted him; adding, 'My ſon, I 'do not condemn thee; nor do thou condemn me; 'we ſhall both appear before the tribunal of Jeſus 'Chriſt (10).' What became of the reſt of his children, (except Meric, mentioned in the next article) is not known. In 1612, he had a ſon born in England, to which the King and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury were godfathers, and Sir George Carp's Lady godmother (11).

(9) Ogier, in his Travels.

(10) Niceron, as above, p. 132.

(11) Memorials of affairs of State, &c. publiſhed by Edm. Sawyer, Eſq. Vol. III. p. 407.

[L] *we ſhall give an account of his writings, and of the books he publiſhed.*] They are as follows, I. *In Diogenem Laërtium Notæ Iſaaci Hortiboni. Morgiis* 1583. 8vo. He was but twenty-five years old when he made theſe notes, and intended to have enlarged them afterwards, but was hindred. He dedicated them to his father, who commended him, but told him at the ſame time, 'He ſhould like better *one* note of 'his upon the Holy Scriptures, than all the pains he 'could beſtow upon profane authors.' Theſe notes of Caſaubon were inſerted in the editions of Diogenes Laërtius, printed by H. Stephens in 1594 and 1598 in 8vo. and have been put in all other editions publiſhed ſince. The name of *Hortibonus*, which Caſaubon took, is of the ſame import as *Caſaubonus*, i e. a good Garden; *Caſau*, in the language of Dauphiné, ſignifying a Garden, and *bon*, good. II. *Iſaaci Hortiboni Lectiones Theocriticæ*; in Criſpinus's edition of Theocritus, *Genev.* 1584, 12mo. reprinted ſeveral times ſince. III. *Strabonis Geographiæ Libri* XVII. *Græce & Latine, ex Guil. Xylandri Interpretatione, edente cum Commentariis Iſaaco Caſaubono. Genevæ* 1578, fol. Caſaubon's notes were reprinted, with additions, in the Paris edition of Strabo in 1620, and have been inſerted in all other editions ſince. IV *Novum Teſtamentum Græcum cum Notis Iſaaci Caſauboni in quatuor Evangelia & Actus Apoſtolorum Genevæ* 1587, 16to. Theſe notes were reprinted afterwards at the end of Whitaker's edition of the New Teſtament. Lond. and inſerted in the *Critici Sacri*. V. *Animadverſiones in Dionyſium Halicarnaſſenſem*, in the edition of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, publiſhed by our author with Æmilius Portus's Latin verſion. Genev. 1588, fol. Theſe were written in haſte, and of no great value. VI. *Polyæni Strategematum, Libri* VIII. *Græce & Latine, edente cum Notis Iſaaco Caſaubono. Lugdun.* 1589, 16to. Caſaubon was the firſt who publiſhed the Greek text of this author. The Latin verſion, joined to it, was done by Juſtus Vulteius, and firſt publiſhed in 1550. VII. *Dicæarchi Geographica quædam, ſive de Statu Græciæ; Ejuſdem deſcriptio Græciæ verſibus Græcis jambicis, ad Theophraſtum; cum Iſaaci Caſauloni & Henrici Stephani notis. Genevæ* 1589, 8vo. VIII. *Ariſtotelis Opera Græce, cum variorum Interpretatione Latina, & variis Lectionibus & Caſtigationibus Iſaaci Caſauboni. Lugduni* 1590, fol. *Genevæ* 1605, fol. Theſe notes are only marginal, and were compoſed at leiſure hours. IX. *C. Plinii Cæc. Sec. Epiſt. Lib.* IX. *Ejuſdem & Trajani imp. Epiſt. amœbæ. Ejuſdem Pl. & Pacati, Mamertini, Nazarii Panegyrici. Item Claudiani Panegyrici. Adjunctæ ſunt Iſaaci Caſauboni Notæ in Epiſt. Genevæ* 1591, 12mo. *Ibid.* 1599, 1605, 1610, and 1611, 12mo. Theſe notes are but very ſhort.

from persons of learning in his time, and he really deserved them, not only on account of his

short. X. *Theophrasti Characteres Ethici Græce & Latine, ex versione & cum commentario Isaaci Casauboni. Lugduni* 1592, 12*mo.* and 1612, 12*mo.* This latter edition is the most exact of the two, being revised by the author. Casaubon's edition of Theophrastus is still highly esteemed, and was one of those works which proeured him most reputation. Joseph Scaliger highly extols it (12). XI. *L. Apuleii Apologia, cum Isaaci Casauboni Castigationibus. Typis Commelini* 1594, 4*to.* In this edition he shewed himself as able a critic in the Latin, as he had done before in the Greek tongue. It is dedicated to Joseph Scaliger. XII. *C. Suetonii Tranquilli Opera cum Isaaci Casauboni Animadversionibus. Genevæ* 1595, 4*to. Item editio altera emendata & aucta.* Paris 1610 This second edition is enlarged. XIII. *Publii Syri Mimi, sive sententiæ selectæ, Latine, Græcè versæ, & Notis illustratæ per Jos. Scaligerum; cum præfatione Isaaci Casauboni. Ludg. Batav.* 1598, 8*vo.* XIV. *Athenæi Deipnosophistarum, Libri* XV. *Græce & Latine, Interprete Jacobo Dalechampio, cum Isaaci Casauboni Animadversionem, Libris* XV. *Lugduni* 1600, 2 vol. fol. *Ibid.* 1612, 2 vol. fol. Casaubon's notes take up the second volume, and are very large, and full of great learning. XV. *Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores, cum commentario Isaaci Casauboni.* Paris 1603, 4*to.* reprinted at Paris in 1620, with Salmasius's Commentaries on the same authors, fol. and at Leiden, in 1670, 2 vol 8*vo.* XVI. *Diatriba ad Dionis Chrysostomi Orationes*, published in the edition of that author by Frederick Morel at Paris 1604, fol. XVII. *Persii Satyræ ex recensione & cum Commentar. Isaac Casauboni.* Paris 1605, 8*vo.* Lond. 1647, 8*vo.* These notes upon Persius, are Lectures he had formerly read at Geneva. They were enlarged in the edition of 1647. Scaliger used to say of them, 'That the sauce was better than the fish.' *i.e.* The commentary better than the text (13). XVIII. *De Satyrica Græcorum Poesi, & Romanorum Satyra Libri duo.* Paris 1605, 8*vo.* In this work Casaubon affirms, That the Satyr of the Latins was very different from that of the Greeks. Wherein he is contradicted by Daniel Heinsius, in his two books, *De Satyra Horatiana. Ludg. Batav.* 1629, 12*mo.* But the learned Ezekiel Spanheim (14), after having examined the arguments of these two learned men, hath declared for Casaubon. Crenius hath inserted this tract of Casaubon, in his *Musæum Philologicum & Historicum. Ludg. Batav.* 1699. 8*vo.* and also the following piece, which was published by our author, at the end of his two books, *De Satyrica poesi*, &c. XIX. *Cyclops Euripidis Latinitate donata a Q. Septimio Florente.* XX. *Gregorii Nysseni Epistola ad Eustathiam, Ambrosiam, & Basilissam, Græce, & Latine, cum notis Is. Casauboni. Paris* 1601, 8*vo. Hanoviæ* 1607, 8*vo.* This letter was first published by Casaubon. XXI *De Libertate Ecclesiastica Liber* 1607, 8*vo.* pages 264. This book was composed by the author during the disputes between Pope Pius V. and the Republick of Venice; and contained a Vindication of the Rights of Sovereigns against the incroachments of the Court of Rome. But those differences being adjusted while the book was printing, King Henry IV. caused it to be suppressed. However, Casaubon having sent the sheets, as they came out of the press, to some of his friends, by that means some of the copies came to be preserved. Melchior Goldast inserted that fragment in his *Collectanea de Monarchia S. Imperii*, Tom. I. pag. 674. and Almeloveen reprinted it in his edition of our author's letters. XXII. *Inscriptio vetus dedicationem fundi continens, ab Herode Rege facta, cum Notis Isaaci Casauboni.* This small piece, published in 1607, hath been inserted by T. Crenius in his *Musæum Philologicum.* Casaubon's notes are short, but learned; however, he appears to have been mistaken, in ascribing the inscription on which they were made to Herod, King of Judæa, instead of Herodes the Athenian. XXIII. *Polybii Opera Græce & Latine ex versione Isaaci Casauboni. Accedit Æneas Tacticus de tolcranda obsidione, Græce & Latine. Paris* 1609, fol. & *Hanoviæ* 1609, fol. The Latin version of these two authors was done by Casaubon; who intended to write a commentary upon them, but went no further than the first book of Polybius, being hindred by death. What he did of that, was published after his decease (15). The great Thuanus, and Fronto Ducæus the Jesuit, were so pleased with that Latin version, that they believed it was not easy to determine, whether Casaubon had translated Polybius, or Polybius Casaubon —— *ut non facile dici posse crederunt, Polybiumne Casaubonus, an Casaubonum Polybius convertisset* (16). At the head of this edition there is a Dedication to King Henry IV. which passes for a master-piece of the kind. And, indeed, Casaubon had a talent for such pieces, as well as for Prefaces. In the former, he praises without lowervility, and in a manner remote from flattery: In the latter, he lays open the design and excellencies of the books he publishes, without ostentation, and with an air of modesty. So that he may serve as a model for such performances. XXIV. He published, *Josephi Scaligeri Opuscula varia. Paris* 1610, 4*to. Et Francofurti* 1612, 8*vo.* with a preface of his own. XXV. *Ad Frontonem Ducæum Epistola, de Apologiâ, Jesuitarum nomine, Parisiis edita. Londini* 1611, 4*to.* Casaubon, after his coming to England, was forced to alter the course of his studies, and to write against the Papists, in order to please his patron King James I. who affected to be a great Controversist. He began with this Letter, dated July 2, 1611. which is the 730th in Almeloveen's collection, and for which King James made him a considerable present. It is a confutation of *la Reponse Apologetique à l' Anti-coton, par François Bonald. Au Pont.* 1611, 8*vo.* XXVI. *Epistola ad Georgium Michaelem Lingelsheimium de quodam libello Sciopii*, 1612, 4*to.* This letter is dated *Aug.* 9. 1612. and is the 828th of Almeloveen's collection. XXVII. *Epistola ad Cardinalem Perronium. Londini* 1612, 4*to.* This letter, which is the 838th in Almeloveen's collection, is dated Novemb. 9. 1612. It is not so much Casaubon's own composition, as an exact account of the sentiments of King James I, whose, and the Church of England's Secretary, he was, as he tells us, with regard to some points of Religion. Accordingly, it was inserted in the edition of that King's Works, published in 1619 by Dr Montague Bishop of Winchester. It is written with moderation. Cardinal du Perron undertook to give an Answer to it, which was left unfinished at his death. It has been likewise animadverted upon by Valentine Smalcius, the Socinian, in his, *Ad Isaacum Casaubonum Paræneses. Racoviæ*, 1614, 4*to.* publish'd under the name of *Anton. Reuchlin.* XXVIII. *De Rebus sacris & Ecclesiasticis Exercitationis* xvi. *Ad Cardinalis Baronii Prolegomena in Annales, & primam eorum partem, De Domini nostri Jesu Christi Nativitate, Vita, Passione, Assumtione. Londoni* 1614. *fol. Francofurti* 1615, 4*to. Genevæ* 1655 & 1663, 4*to.* What was the occasion of this work we learn from Mr Bernard (17): Namely, That soon after Casaubon's arrival in England, Peter du Moulin wrote to Dr James Montague, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, to inform him, that Casaubon had a great inclination to Popery; that there were only a few Articles, which kept him among the Protestants; and if he returned to France, he would change his Religion, as he had promised. Therefore, he desired him to endeavour to keep him in England, and to engage him in writing against the Annals of Baronius, since he knew *that he had materials ready for that purpose.* Accordingly King James employed him in that work, which was finished in eighteen months time. Niceron thinks (18), that Casaubon was not equal to this work, because he had not sufficiently studied Divinity, Chronology, and History, and was not conversant enough in the Fathers. So that he is charged with having committed more errors than Baronius in a less compass. Besides, as he comes no lower than the year 34 after Christ, he is said to have pulled down only the pinoacles of Baronius's great building. It appears from letter 1059th of our author, that Dr Richard Montague, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, had undertaken to write against Baronius at the same time with himself; and he threatens to complain of him to the King, who had engaged him in that work. XXIX. *Ad Polybii Historiarum Librum primum Commentarius. Paris* 1617, 8*vo.* See above, No. XXIII. XXX. *Isaaci Casauboni Epistolæ. Hagæ Comit.* 1638, 4*to.* published by John Frederic Gronovius. A second edition—*Octoginta duabus Epistolis auctior, & juxta seriem temporem digesta*—— was published afterwards by John George

(12) Speaking of the pleasure he received upon the perusal of it, he says, *de potestate mei exivi, neque me continere potui, quin ea de te prædicarem, quæ & meritum tuum & amor meus postulabant, quanquam quicquid de te dixero, omne infra virtutes ingenii tui fuerit.*

(13) Scaligerana.

(14) In the preface to his translation of the Emperor Julian's Cæsars.

(15) See below, p. 29.

(16) Huetius *de optimo interpretandi genere*, ap. Blount Censura celebriorum autorum, p. 884. edit. Genevæ, 1694, 4*to.*

(17) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Juillet 1710, Artic. 1.

(18) Memoires, &c. as above, p. 145.

his extenſive knowledge, but likewiſe of his modeſty, ſincerity and probity. Some writers indeed, even of the Reformed Religion (*b*), have undervalued him, and called him a Half-Divine. But the reaſon they did not like him was, becauſe he did not entirely agree with their ſentiments in every point. For though he was a Proteſtant, he diſapproved of ſome of Calvin's notions: and whoever doth ſo, is ſure to be branded, by ſome zealot or other, with the odious name of Heretick, if not worſe.

(*b*) Particularly Mr Colomiés: See Niceron, p. 133.

George Grævius: At Magdeburgh, and Helmſtadt, 1656, 4*to*. Theſe editions are eclipſed by the following one; intitled, *If. Caſauboni Epiſtolæ, inſertis ad eaſdem reſponſionibus, quotquot hactenus reperiri potuerunt, ſecundum ſeriem temporis accurate digeſtæ. Accedunt huic Editioni, præter trecentas ineditas Epiſtolas, If. Caſauboni vita, ejuſdem Dedicationes, Præfationes, Prolegomena, Poemata, Fragmentum de Libertate Eccleſiaſtica. Item Merici Caſauboni Epiſtolæ, Dedicationes, Præfationes, Prolegomena, & Tractatus quidam rariores. Curante Theodoro Janſon ab Almeloveen. Roterodami*, 1709, *fol.* The letters in this volume are 1059 in number, placed according to the order of time in which they were written; and 51 without dates. A certain writer finds in them, neither elegancy of Style, nor fineneſs of Thoughts; and cenſures, as very diſagreeable, the mixture of Greek words and expreſſions that are diſperſed throughout; affirming beſides, that they contain no particulars tending to the advancement of Learning, or that are of any great importance (19). Another owns, that there is in them, the Hiſtory of a man of probity and learning; but nothing otherwiſe very remarkable, except the purity of the language, and the marks of a frank and ſincere mind (20). One author, on the other hand, aſſures us (21), that they are all perfectly beautiful; and makes no ſcruple, to compare them to thoſe of Grotius and Scaliger with regard to learning; and to aſſert, that they exceed them for the eaſineſs and purity of the ſtyle, which is entirely epiſtolary, and not at all affected. XXXI. in 1710 were publiſhed, *Caſauboniana, ſive Iſaaci Caſauboni varia de Scriptoribus Libriſque judicia, Obſervationes ſacræ in utriuſque Fœderis Loca, Philologicæ item & Eccleſiaſticæ, ut & Animadverſiones in Annales Baronii Eccleſiaſticos ineditæ, ex variis Caſauboni MSS. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana reconditis nunc primum erutæ a Jo. Chriſtophoro Wolfio, &c. Accedunt duæ Caſauboni Epiſtolæ ineditæ, & Præfatio ad Librum de Libertata Eccleſiaſtica, cum Notis Editoris in Caſauboniana, ac Præfatio, qua de hujus generis Libris diſſeritur. Hamburgi*, 1710, 8*vo*. There is nothing very material in this collection. C

(19) Niceron, as above, p. 146.

(20) Sorberiana, p. 50.

(21) *Melanges d' Hiſtorie & de Literature*, publiſhed under the name of *Vigneul-Marville*. See Bernard, ubi ſupra.

CASAUBON (MERIC) ſon of Iſaac, recorded in the foregoing article, and the only one of his ſons whoſe name deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity, was born at Geneva, Auguſt 14, 1599 (*a*). He had the name of Meric given him from Meric de Vicq, a great friend and benefactor to his father (*b*). His firſt education he received at Sedan, but coming to England, with his father in the year 1610, he was inſtructed by a private maſter 'till 1614 (*c*) when he was ſent to Chriſt-Church-College in Oxford; and being put there under a moſt careful Tutor, Dr Edward Meetkirk (made in 1620, the King's Hebrew Profeſſor) was ſoon after elected a Student of that houſe. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, May 8, 1618 (*d*), and that of Maſter, June 14, 1621 (*e*), being even at that time eminent for his extenſive learning. For, the ſame year, tho' he was but two and twenty, he publiſhed a book in defence of his father, againſt the calumnies of certain Roman Catholicks [*A*]. This book made him known to King James I, who ever after entertained a good opinion of him; and alſo brought him into reputation abroad, eſpecially in France, whither he was invited with offers of promotion, his godfather Meric de Vicq being then, or ſoon after, Keeper of the Great Seal of that kingdom. Three years after, he publiſhed another vindication of his father [*B*], written

(*a*) Niceron Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtres dans la Republique des Lettres, Tom. XVIII. Paris 1732. p. 148. A. Wood ſays, by miſtake, that he was born in September. Athenæ Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 485.

(*b*) Niceron, ibid. See the laſt article.

(*c*) Wood, ibid.

(*d*) Idem, Faſti Vol. I. col. 209.

(*e*) Ibid. col. 218. Niceron is miſtaken, when he ſays, he was admitted at Oxford in 1616; for if ſo, he could not have been Maſter of Arts 'till 1623. But probably he was led into this miſtake by an *erratum* in Wood's Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 281.

[*A*] *He publiſhed a book in defence of his father, againſt the calumnies of certain Roman Catholicks.*] The title of it, is, *Pietas contra maledicos patris nominis & religionis hoſtes. Londini* 1621, 8*vo*. In this book he mentions ſeveral particulars of his father's life, and vindicates him againſt the calumnies of Caſpar Scioppius, Julius Cæſar Boulanger, Andreas Eudæmon-Joannes, Heribert Roſwed, and others, who had caſt odious imputations upon his morals and religion (1).

(1) Niceron, as above, p. 150. and Fuller's Church Hiſt. B. x. p. 90.

[*B*] *Three years after, he publiſhed another vindication of his father.*] It was intituled, *Vindicatio patris adverſus Impoſtores, qui librum ineptum & impium de origine Idololatriæ nuper ſub Iſaaci Caſauboni nomine publicarunt. Londini* 1624, 4*to*. (2). It is inſerted, as well as the foregoing, in Mr Almeloveen's edition of Caſaubon's letters. The occaſion of this book was as follows. In 1624, there was publiſhed at London a treatiſe, intitled, 'The Original of Idolatries, or the 'Birth of Hereſies. Firſt faithfully gathered out of 'ſundry Greek and Latin authors, as alſo out of 'divers learned Fathers, by that famous and learned 'Iſaac Caſaubon, and by him publiſhed in French for 'the good of God's Church, and was tranſlated into 'Engliſh for the benefit of this monarchy, by Abra-'ham Darcie.' It was dedicated to Prince Charles, and preſented to King James I, and all the Lords of the Council. The end of it was to prove, 'That 'the Maſs, a word of great extent and antiquity, 'which made the authors of the Auguſtane Confeſſion, 'ſubſcribed by Calvin, ſay, *Falsè accuſantur Eccleſiæ 'noſtræ, quod Miſſam aboleant, retinetur enim Miſſa 'apud nos, & ſummâ reverentiâ celebratur*) or rather 'indeed the whole *Liturgy*, antient and late, and 'every part of it, was delivered from ancient Heathens, 'Numa Pompilius, &c. and ſome part alſo taken 'out of the Alcoran; which to prove, his authors 'for the moſt part are ſome late collectors of Roman 'Antiquities, as Blondus, Alexander ab Alexandro, 'and the like, who ſay no ſuch thing; but from 'what they ſay of the Romans, he makes his wrong 'inferences and applications (3).' Meric Caſaubon thinking his father much injured by the publication of that book, writ a letter, which he got one of the Biſhops to ſhew to the King: his Majeſty diſcovering thereby the fraud, ordered Nath. Butter the Bookſeller, and Abraham Darcie to be committed to priſon; and it was with great difficulty, that Dr Mountaine, Biſhop of London made his Chaplain's peace, on account of his licenſing it (4). Soon after, a French book, the original of the Engliſh tranſlation being produced, it was found, continues our author (5), 'That an old 'title page had been by art and cunning transformed, 'the years altered, and the name of Iſaac Caſaubon 'inſerted; and thus the world for mere gain and lucre '(for I do not believe there was any further myſtery 'in it at firſt) ſhamefully abuſed. Other editions or 'copies of the ſame book were found, and ſhewed to 'the King; yea, tranſlations of it, that had been 'made, when my father was yet ſcarce born, &c.' Upon this, Meric Caſaubon, publiſhed his *Vindicatio patris*, which, by the King's command, was tranſlated in French and Engliſh. And yet, ſome years after, the ſame Engliſh tranſlation was reprinted at Amſterdam, as is ſuppoſed, with this title. 'The Original of 'Popiſh Idolatry; or the Birth of Hereſies. Pub-'liſhed under the name of *Caſaubon*, and called in, 'the ſame year, upon miſinformation. But now upon 'better conſideration reprinted with Allowance; 'being

(2) Containing eight ſheets.

(3) This account Meric Caſaubon himſelf gives us, in his Neceſſity of Reformation, in and before Luther's time, &c. Lond. 1664, 4*to*, p. 157, 158.

(4) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. x. p. 112.

(5) Neceſſity of Reformation, &c. as above, p. 159.

written by the command of King James I. About that time he was collated by Dr Lancelot Andrews, Biſhop of Wincheſter, to the Rectory of Bledon in Somerſetſhire (*f*); and on the 14th of June 1628, took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*g*). He had now formed the deſign of continuing his father's Exercitations againſt Baronius's Annals, but was diverted by ſome accident. At length, when he came to maturity of years for ſuch a work, and had acquainted Archbiſhop Laud his great friend and patron with his deſign, who was very ready to place him conveniently in Oxford or London, according to his deſire, that he might be furniſhed with books neceſſary for ſuch a purpoſe, the troubles and diviſions began in England: ſo that having no fixed habitation, he was forced to ſell a good part of his books, and, in the end, after about twenty years ſufferings, was grown ſo old and infirm, that he could not expect to live many years, and thereupon was forced to give over that project (*h*). On the 19th of June 1628, he was made Prebendary of Canterbury, through the intereſt and recommendation of Biſhop Laud (*i*). And when that Prelate was promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, he further preferred him; for on the 4th of October 1634, he collated him to the Vicarage of Minſter in the Iſle of Thanet, and the 25th of the ſame month, he was inducted into the Vicarage of Monckton in the ſame iſland (*k*). The 31ſt of Auguſt 1636, he was created Doctor in Divinity, by order of King Charles I, who was entertained at the ſame time, with his Queen, by the Univerſity (*l*). About the year 1644, during the heat of the Civil Wars, he was deprived of his preferments, abuſed, fined, and impriſoned (*m*). In 1649, one Mr. Greaves of Gray's-inn, an intimate acquaintance of his, brought him a meſſage from Oliver Cromwell, then Lieutenant-General of the Parliament forces, deſiring him to come to White-hall, on purpoſe to confer with him about matters of moment; but his wife being lately dead, and not, as he ſaid, buried, he deſired to be excuſed. Greaves came again afterwards, and Dr Caſaubon being under ſome uneaſineſs, leſt ſome evil ſhould follow, deſired him to tell him the meaning of the matter, but Greaves refuſing, went away the ſecond time. At length he returned again, and told him, that the Lieutenant-General intended his good and advancement, and his particular errand was, That he would make uſe of his pen to write the Hiſtory of the late war, deſiring withal, that nothing but matters of fact ſhould be impartially ſet down. The Doctor anſwered, that he deſired his humble ſervice and hearty thanks ſhould be returned for the great honour done unto him: but, that he was uncapable in ſeveral reſpects for ſuch an employment, and could not ſo impartially engage in it, but his ſubject would force him to make ſuch reflections as would be ungrateful, if not injurious, to his Lordſhip. Notwithſtanding this anſwer, Cromwell ſeemed ſo ſenſible of his worth, that tho' he could not gain him to do what he deſired, yet he acknowledged a great reſpect for him, and, as a teſtimony of it, ordered, that upon the firſt demand there ſhould be delivered to him three or four hundred pounds, by a Bookſeller in London, whoſe name was Cromwell, whenever his occaſions ſhould require, without acknowledging, at the receipt of it, who was his benefactor. But this offer he rejected, tho' his condition was then mean. At the ſame time, it was propoſed by Mr Greaves, who belonged to the Library at St James's, that if our author would gratify him in the foregoing requeſt, Cromwell would reſtore unto him all his father's books, which were then in the Royal Library, having been purchaſed by King James; and withal give him a patent for three hundred pounds a year, to be paid to the family as long as the youngeſt ſon of Dr Caſaubon (*n*) ſhould live; but this alſo was refuſed. Not long after, a propoſal was made to him by the Embaſſador of Chriſtina Queen of Sweden, whereby, he was invited by that Queen into her country, to have the government of one, or inſpection of all her Univerſities; and for an encouragement, ſhe propoſed not only an honourable ſalary for himſelf, but offered to ſettle three hundred pounds a year upon his eldeſt ſon during life: but this alſo he waved, being fully determined to ſpend the remainder of his days in England (*o*). At the Reſtoration of King Charles II, he recovered his preferments; namely, his Prebend of Canterbury on the 13th of July 1660, and his Vicarages of Monckton, and Minſter the ſame year (*p*). But, two years after, he exchanged this laſt for the Rectory of Ickham, near Canterbury, to which he was admitted, October 4, 1662 (*q*). He had a deſign, in the latter part of his days, of writing his own life; and would often confeſs, that he thought himſelf obliged to do it out of gratitude to the Divine Providence, which had preſerved and delivered him from more hazardous occurrences, than ever any man (as he thought) beſides himſelf had encountred with. Particularly, in his eſcape from a fire in the night-time, which happened in the houſe where he lived, at Geneva, while he was a boy: in his recovery from a ſickneſs at Chriſt-Church in Oxford, when he was given over for dead, by a chymical preparation adminiſtered to him by a young Phyſician (*r*): in his wonderful preſervation from drowning, when overſet in a boat

(*f*) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 485. Of this he takes notice in his 1ſt part *Of Credulity and Incredulity*, &c. edit. 1668. 8*vo*. p. 115.

(*g*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 242.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Wood, ib. and Wharton. Collectan. MS. fol. p. 77.

(*k*) Wharton, ib.

(*l*) Wood, Faſt. Vol. I. col. 270.

(*m*) Wharton, ib. and Attempt towards recovering the numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. by J. Walker, P. ii. p. 8.

(*n*) Wood, by miſtake, calls here Dr Caſaubon, *Iſaac*.

(*o*) Wood, Athen. as above, col. 485, 486.

(*p*) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 204, 645, 727.

(*q*) Wharton, Collectan. as above, p. 77.

(*r*) See his treatiſe of Credulity and Incredulity, &c. P. i. p. 16, 17. edit. 1668.

'being a true and exact Deſcription, &c.' Printed ——— 1630. A Preface alſo was added in juſtification of the book and the firſt editors of it, where, among other things, it is ſaid, 'That they that did ſuppreſs, were either Papiſts in their hearts, or ſuch as 'hold with Papiſts, That ignorance is the mother of 'devotion, that the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt 'was departing from the land, &c.' Since that, a Pamphlet came out, much to the ſame purpoſe, in the very front of which Caſaubon's name was placed (6); if it was that, intituled, *Iſaaci Caſauboni Corona Regia*, the true author was Caſpar Scioppius (7).

(6) Ibid. p. 160.

(7) Niceron, p. 151.

boat on the Thames near London, the two Watermen being drowned, and himſelf buoyed up by his Prieſt's coat: and in his bearing ſeveral abuſes, fines, impriſonments, &c. laid upon him by the fanaticks in the time of his ſequeſtration. But deferring it from time to time, he did not live to do it (s). He died on the 14th of July 1671, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age; and was buried in the ſouth part of the firſt ſouth croſs-iſle of Canterbury-Cathedral (t). Over his grave was ſoon after erected a handſome monument, with an inſcription. He left by will a great number of manuſcripts to the Univerſity of Oxford (u), and was author of ſeveral learned works [C]. His character is

(s) Wood, Athen. col. 488.

(t) Wood, Ath. col. 483; and Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 282.

(u) Hiſt. & Antiq. ibid.

[C] *And was author of ſeveral learned works.*] They are, beſides his two vindications already mentioned, theſe that follow. I. *Optati Libri* vii. *de Schiſmate Donatiſtarum, cum Merici Caſauboni Notis & Emendationibus. Londini* 1632, 8*vo.* II. A tranſlation from Greek into Engliſh of 'M. Aurelius Antoninus's Meditations concerning himſelf, with notes,' London 1634, and 1635, 4*to.* again with additions and corrections. Lond. 1664, 8*vo.* III. 'A Treatiſe of Uſe and Cuſtom.' This is the whole title; but, as the author himſelf obſerves (8), there might be added, 'in things Natural, Civil, and Divine.' Lond. 1638, 8*vo.* The occaſion of this treatiſe, as he tells us in the ſame place, was, 'His being at that time much troubled, and as he thought injured, by what in the law of this realm, goes under the name of *Cuſtom*; to him before little known.' IV. 'The Uſe of daily publick Prayers in three Poſitions.' Lond. 1641, 4*to.* V. *Merci Antonini Imperatoris de Seipſo & ad Seipſum Libri* xii. *Guil. Xylander Auguſtanus Græcè & Latinè primus edidit: nunc verò, Xylandri verſionem locis plurimis emendavit, & novam fecit: in Antonini libros Notas & Emendationes adjecit Mericus Caſaubonus, Is. F. In eoſdem Xylandri Annotationes. Lond.* 1643, 8*vo.* There are in the beginning learned *Prolegomena* of our author; and at the end his notes; then thoſe of Xylander follow. It is a neat and accurate edition. VI. 'The original of temporal Evils; The Opinions of the moſt ancient Heathens concerning it examined by the Sacred Scriptures, and referred unto them, as unto the ſource and fountain, from whence they ſpring.' Lond 1645, 4*to* VII. 'A Diſcourſe concerning Chriſt his Incarnation and Exinanition.' With an Introduction, 'Concerning the Principles of Chriſtianity and Divinity.' Lond. 1646. 4*to.* VIII. *De verborum uſu, & accuratæ eorum cognitionis utilitate Diatriba. Londini* 1647, 8*vo.* IX. This ſame year, he publiſhed a more compleat edition of his father's notes upon Perſius, than was that of 1605. The title of this ſecond edition runs thus, *Perſii Satyræ cum notis Iſaaci Caſaubon, Londini* 1647, 8*vo.* X. *De quatuor Linguis Commentationis, Pars* I. *Quæ de Lingua Hebraica & de Lingua Saxonica. Acceſſerunt Gulielmi Somneri ad verba vetera Germanica Lipſiana Notæ. Londini* 1650, 8*vo.* He had not an opportunity of finiſhing the two other languages, Greek and Latin. XI *Terentius, cum notis Thomæ Farnabii in quatuor priores Comoedias, & Merici Caſauboni in Phormionem & Hecyram. Londini* 1651, 12*mo.* Farnaby dying before he had finiſhed his notes upon Terence, the Bookſeller engaged Caſaubon to write notes upon the two laſt Comedies, the Phormio and the Hecyra, which the other had not done. XII. 'Some Annotations on the Pſalms and Proverbs.' He tells us (9), that theſe obſervations were extorted from him, by the importunity of Printers, when he was not very well furniſhed either with books or leiſure; but, worſt of all, of will, when nothing could be expected to be acceptable and welcome, but what reliſhed of ſchiſm and rebellion. Theſe Annotations were inſerted in one of the latter editions of the *Aſſembly's Annotations on the Bible.* XIII. *In Hieroclis commentarium de Providentia & Fato, Notæ & Emendationes. Lond.* 1655, 8*vo.* and 1673, 8*vo.* Our author deſigned at firſt, to have corrected the Latin tranſlation of Hierocles, which abounded with faults; but not knowing that the work was printing 'till it was almoſt entirely finiſhed, he contented himſelf with adding a few grammatical and critical notes at the end. XIV. 'A Treatiſe concerning Enthuſiaſm, as it is an effect of Nature; but is miſtaken by many for either divine Inſpiration, or diabolical poſſeſſion.' Lond. 1655, 8*vo.* In this book, which is divided into ſix chapters, he treats, 1. Of Enthuſiaſme in general. 2. Of Divinatory Enthuſiaſme. 3. Of contemplative and philoſophical Enthuſiaſme. 4. Of rhetorical Enthuſiaſme. 5. Of poeticall Enthuſiaſme. 6 Of precatory Enthuſiaſme. XV. *De nupera Homeri editione Lugduno-Batavica Hackiana, cum Latina verſione, & Didymi, Scholiis; ſed & Euſtathio, & locis aliquot inſignioribus ad Odyſſeam pertinentibus. Item ſuper loco Homerico dubiæ apud Antiquos Interpretationis, quo Dei in hominum tam mentes quam fortunas imperium aſſeritur, binæ Diſſertationes. Londini* 1659, 8*vo.* reprinted in Almeloveen's edition of Caſaubon's Letters. XVI *Epicteti enchiridion, Græcè & Latinè, cum notis Merici Caſauboni; & Cebetis Tabula cum notis ejuſdem. Lond* 1659, 8*vo.* The Latin tranſlation in this edition is that of Jerom Wolfius. XVII. An Engliſh tranſlation of, and notes on, 'Lucius Florius's Hiſtory of the Romans.' Lond. 1659. 8*vo.* XVIII. He publiſhed, 'A true and faithful relation of what paſſed for many years between Dr John Dee and ſome Spirits, &c.' And put in the beginning a long Preface, to confirm the truth of what is ſaid in that relation concerning Spirits. Lond. 1659, fol. XIX. He was author of, 'A Vindication of the Lord's Prayer as a formal Prayer, and by Chriſt's Inſtitution to be uſed by Chriſtians as a Prayer. Againſt the Antichriſtian practice and opinion of ſome men. Wherein alſo their private and ungrounded zeal is diſcovered, who are ſo ſtrict for the obſervation of the Lord's-day, and make ſo light of Lord's prayer.' Lond, 1660. The firſt occaſion of this treatiſe, as the author tells us in the Preface, was the relation of a ſtrange affront done publickly unto Chriſt; or, if you will more punctually, to the Lord's prayer, in St Mary's Church in Oxford, by Dr John Owen, Dean of Chriſt-Church, who had the chief government of that Univerſity from 1652 to 1657; namely, *His putting on his Hat*, when the Lord's prayer was repeating by the preacher. This, Dr Owen denied afterwards (10); 'But therein, ſaith Mr Wood (11), he doth much err, for ſeveral now living in Oxon (*i. e.* in Wood's time) knew it well enough.' XX. 'A King and his Subjects unhappily fallen out, and happily reconciled, in a Sermon preached at Canterbury, on *Hoſea* iii. *ver.* 4, 5.' Lond. 1660, 4*to.* XXI. 'The Queſtion to whom it belonged anciently to preach? And whether all Prieſts might or did? Diſcuſſed out of Antiquity. Occaſioned by the late Directions concerning Preachers.' Lond 1663, 4*to.* Theſe directions were ſet forth by the King, October 14, 1662, to reſtrain the abuſes and extravagances of Preachers (12). XXII. *Notæ & Emendationes in Diogenem Laërtium de Vitis*, &c. *Philoſophorum.* Theſe notes were added to thoſe of his father, in the editions of Laërtius printed at London 1664, fol. and Amſterdam in 1692, 4*to.* XXIII. 'Of the neceſſity of Reformation in and before Luther's time, and what viſibly hath moſt hindred the progreſs of it. Occaſioned by ſome late virulent books written by Papiſts, but eſpecially by that, intituled, *Labyrinthus Cantuarienſis.* Here, beſides ſome other points, the grand buſineſs of theſe times, *Infallibility*, is fully diſcuſſed.' Lond. 1664, 4*to.* This is chiefly an anſwer to *Labyrinthus Cantuarienſis*, printed at Paris in 1658; which pretends to confute 'Archbiſhop Laud's Relation of a Conference with Fiſher the Jeſuit:' and in the 11th, 13th, and 14th Chapters of which, it is aſſerted, 'That Proteſtants are Schiſmaticks, and no part of the Catholick Church.' XXIV. 'An Anſwer concerning the new way of Infallibility lately deviſed to uphold the Roman cauſe; the ancient Fathers and Councils laid aſide, againſt J. S. (the author of *Sure-footing*) his Letter lately publiſhed.' Lond. 1665, 8*vo.* This Letter of J. S. (*i. e* John Sarjeant, the author of *Sure-footing*, &c. ſo learnedly confuted by Archbiſhop Tillotſon) was a ſort of an anſwer to ſome paſſages in Dr Caſaubon's book 'Of the Neceſſity of Reformation, &c.' and was printed at the end of Sarjeant's Sure-footing in Chriſtianity. XXV. 'A Letter of Meric Caſaubon, D. D. &c. to Peter

(8) Of Credulity and Incredulity, &c. P. i. p. 15.

(9) Of Credulity and Incredulity, Part i. p. 106.

(10) In a Lette to Dr Lewis du Moulin. See Dr John Durel's *Vindiciæ Eccleſ. Angl.* c. iii. p. 31.

(11) Athen. Vol II. col. 487.

(12) They are extant in Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728 fol. p. 794, &c.

is thus represented. He was a general Scholar, but not extraordinary in any one sort, unless in criticisms, wherein probably he was assisted by his father's notes and papers (*w*). According to the ill custom of the times he lived in, he mixes too much Greek and Latin in his writings: but, however, that shows his very extensive reading. He was wont to ascribe to Descartes's philosophy, the little inclination people had in his time for polite learning (*x*). He was eminent for his piety, charity to the poor, and his courteous and affable disposition towards Scholars (*y*). He had several children, but none made any figure in the learned world: one, named John, was a Chirurgion at Canterbury (*z*).

(*w*) Id. Athen. col. 485.

(*x*) Bernard, Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Tom. XXXV. Juillet 1710. Artic. 1. p. 28.

(*y*) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 282.

(*z*) Niceron, as above, p. 149. Wood, Athen. p. 486.

' Peter du Moulin, D. D. *&c.* concerning Natural ' Experimental Philosophy, and some books lately set ' out about it.'. Cambridge 1669, *4to.* five sheets. XXVI. ' Of Credulity and Incredulity in things Na- ' tural, Civil, and Divine; wherein, among other ' things, the Sadducism of these times in denying ' Spirits, Witches, and Supernatural Operations, by ' pregnant instances and evidences is fully confuted; ' Epicurus his cause discussed, and the juggling and ' false dealing lately used to bring him and Atheism ' into credit, clearly discovered; the use and necessity ' of ancient Learning against the innovating humour ' all along proved and asserted.' Lond. 1668, *8vo.* containing two parts. The third part was printed at London 1670, *8vo.* under the following title, ' Of ' Credulity and Incredulity; in things Divine and ' Spiritual; wherein (among other things) a true and ' faithful account is given of the Platonick Philosophy, ' as it hath reference to Christianity: as also the busi- ' ness of Witches and Witchcraft, against a late ' writer, fully argued and disputed.' The *late writer* attacked only in the two last sheets of this book, was Mr John Wagstaff, who published, ' The question ' of Witchcraft debated; or, a discourse against their ' opinion, that affirm Witches.' Lond. 1669. *8vo.* But these two parts of Dr Casaubon's book lying dead on the Bookseller's hands, he printed a new title to them, running thus, ' A Treatise, proving Spirits, ' Witches, and Supernatural Operations by pregnant ' instances and evidences, *&c.*' Lond. 1672 (13). XXVII. *Notæ in Polybium*, printed for the first time in the edition of that author, published by James Gronovius at Amsterdam in 1670, *8vo.* XXVIII. *Epistolæ, Dedicationes, Præfationes, Prolegomena, & Tractatus quidam rariores, Curante Theodoro Janson ab Almeloveen*; printed at the end of Isaac Casaubon's Letters. *Roterodami* 1709. XXIX. *De Jure concionandi apud antiquos* (14). This seems to be the same as the Treatise mentioned above No. 22. or perhaps it was a Latin translation of it (15). C

(13) Wood, Ath. col. 483.

(14) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 282.

(15) This Catalogue of Casaubon's Works is taken from Niceron, as above, p. 150, *&c.* and from Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 282. and Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 486, 487, 488.

CAVE (William) a very learned Divine in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth Century, was born at Pickwell in Leicestershire (*a*), of which parish his father was Rector [*A*]. On the 9th of May 1653, he was admitted into St John's-College in Cambridge; where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1656; and commenced Master in that faculty in 1660 (*b*). The 7th of August 1662, he was admitted to the Vicarage of Islington in Middlesex (*c*); and, some time after, became Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles II. He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity in the year 1672 (*d*): and on the 16th of September 1679, was collated by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Rectory of Alhallows the Great in Thames-street, London (*e*). The 12th of July 1681, he was incorporated Doctor in Divinity at Oxford (*f*). On the 21st of November 1684, he was installed Canon of Windsor, upon the death of Mr John Rosewell (*g*); about which time, as Mr Wood tells us (*h*), he became Rector of Hasely in Oxfordshire: but that seems to be a mistake [*B*]. He resigned his Rectory of Alhallows in 1689 (*i*), and the Vicarage of Islington in 1691 (*k*). But on the 19th of November before, namely, in 1690, he was admitted to the Vicarage of Isleworth in Middlesex (*l*), which being a quiet and retired place, probably suited best his most studious temper. He hath published the following books. I. ' Primitive Christianity: or the ' Religion of the ancient Christians in the first Ages of the Gospel.' London 1672. reprinted several times since. II. *Tabulæ Ecclesiasticæ*, Tables of the ecclesiastical writers. Lond. 1674. reprinted at Hamburgh in 1676, without his knowledge (*m*). III. *Antiquitates Apostolicæ:* ' or the History of the Lives, Acts, and Martyrdoms of the holy ' Apostles of our Saviour, and the two Evangelists S. S. Mark and Luke. To which is ' added an introductory Discourse concerning the three great Dispensations of the Church, ' Patriarchal, Mosaical, and Evangelical. Being a Continuation of *Antiquitates Christianæ*, ' or the Life and Death of holy Jesus;' written by Jeremy Taylor, afterward Bishop of Down and Connor (*n*). Lond. 1676, fol. IV. *Apostolici:* ' or the History of the Lives, ' Acts, Deaths, and Martyrdoms of those, who were contemporaries with or immediately ' succeeded the Apostles. As also of the most eminent of the primitive Fathers for the ' first three hundred years. To which is added, a Chronology of the three first Ages of ' the Church.' Lond. 1677, fol. V. ' A Sermon preached before the Right Honourable ' the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of London, at St Mary-Le-Bow, on the ' fifth of November, M.DC.LXXX.' Lond. 1680, *4to* [*C*]. VI. ' A Dissertation con- ' cerning

(*a*) See an Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, *&c.* by J. Walker, M. A. Lond. 1714, fol. Part ii. p. 220.

(*b*) From the college-books and university-registers, communicated by the learned Dr W. Richardson.

(*c*) Newcourt Repertorium Eccles. *&c.* Lond. 1708, fol. Vol. I. p. 678.

(*d*) From the Registers, as above.

(*e*) Newcourt, ubi supra, p. 249.

(*f*) Wood, Fasti, edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 218.

(*g*) J. Le Neve, Fasti Eccles. Angl. Lond. 1716. p. 387.

(*h*) Fasti, ubi supra.

(*i*) Newcourt, ubi supra, p. 249.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 678.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 676.

(*m*) *Me plane inscio*, saith the author, in his Preface to *Chartophyl. Ecclesiast.* at the beginning.

(*n*) See Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 404.

[*A*] *Of which parish his father was Rector.*] His father was John Cave, M. A third son of John Cave, Esq; He was born at Pickwell, [of which he afterwards became Rector] and educated at Lincoln College in Oxford, where he was Chamber-fellow with the famous Dr Saunderson for eight years. During the unhappy Civil Wars, he was several times plundered, imprisoned, and many other ways miserably abused; and at last dispossess'd of his Living, and turn'd out of doors, with a wife, and six children he then had. See a full Account of it in Mr Walker's *Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy*, &c. (1).

(1) As quoted above, p. 220, 221.

[*B*] *But that seems to be a mistake*]. For the Rectory of Hasely is annex'd to the Deanry of Windsor (2).

[*C*] *A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor*, &c. *on the fifth of November*, 1680.] It is dedicated by the Author to Sir Patience Ward, Lord Mayor of London, and to the Court of Aldermen. His Text is Acts xvii. 6. These that have turned the World upside down, are come hither also. Upon which he discourseth under these three heads. ' 1. He shews, that ' this has been an old charge upon Religion, and the ' Professors of it, to be disturbers of the publick peace. ' 2. That Christianity is so far from being justly ob- ' noxious

(2) See *Liber Valorum & Decimarum*, by Mr Ecton, 3d edit. Lond. 1728, *8vo.* p. 270.

'cerning the Government of the Ancient Church, by Biſhops, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs. More particularly, concerning the ancient Power and Juriſdiction of the Biſhops of Rome, and the Encroachments of that upon other Sees, eſpecially the See of Conſtantinople.' Lond. 1683, *8vo.* VII. *Eccleſiaſtici:* 'or the Hiſtory of the Lives, Acts, Death, Writings of the moſt eminent Fathers of the Church, that flouriſhed in the fourth Century. Wherein among other things an account is given of the Riſe, Growth, and Progreſs of Arianiſm, and all other Sects of that age deſcending from it. Together with an Introduction, containing an hiſtorical Account of the State of Paganiſm under the Firſt Chriſtian Emperor.' Lond. 1682, fol. VIII. 'A Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall on Sunday, January 18, 1684-5,' on Pſalm iv. 7. Publiſhed by his Majeſties Special Command.' Lond. 1685, *4to.* IX. *Chartophylax Eccleſiaſticus* [*D*]: Lond. 1685, *8vo*, X. *Scriptorum Eccleſiaſticorum, Hiſtoria Literaria:* i. e. A Literary Hiſtory of Eccleſiaſtical Writers [*E*], in Two Parts, fol. the firſt printed at Lond. 1688; and the ſecond in 1698. XI. 'A Serious Exhortation, with ſome important Advices relating to the late Caſes about Conformity, recommended to the preſent Diſſenters from the Church of England.' It is the twenty-ſecond in the *London Caſes.* This very learned perſon, died at Windſor on the 4th of Auguſt 1713, and was buried in Iſlington Church, where a monument was erected to his memory (*o*). He was an excellent and univerſal Scholar, an elegant and polite Writer, and a florid and very eloquent Preacher. He was thorougly acquainted with the Hiſtory and Conſtitution of the Chriſtian Church. His works, particularly his Lives of the Apoſtles, Lives of the Fathers, and Primitive Chriſtianity, as they evince his great knowledge of Antiquity, ſo are they juſtly eſteemed the beſt books, written upon thoſe important ſubjects.

(*o*) Annual Liſt of the Deaths of eminent perſons, at the end of Boyer's Hiſtory of Queen Anne, fol. Lond. 1735, p. 63.

'noxious to this charge, that of all Religions it beſt 'ſecures the intereſts of Civil Authority, and the Peace 'of the world. 3. He enquires, whether there be 'any part of the Chriſtian Church at this day juſtly 'guilty of this charge.' And without heſitation he lays the charge at the door of the Church of Rome. It is one of the beſt, and moſt eloquent Sermons, ever preach'd upon that ſubject, The Author appears by it, to have been a man of prodigious reading, and an univerſal ſcholar.

[*D*] *Chartophylax Eccleſiaſticus.*] This book is an improvement of the *Tabulæ Eccleſiaſticæ* above mentioned; and a kind of abridgement of the author's *Hiſtoria Literaria:* It containing a ſhort account of moſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Writers from the birth of Chriſt to the year 1517.

[*E*] *Scriptorum Eccleſiaſticorum Hiſtoria Literaria.*] This learned and uſeful work was reprinted at Geneva in 1705 and 1720: and a new Edition of it was lately printed at London by Subſcription, with very large Additions and Emendations throughout the whole, made by the Author during the laſt twelve Years of his life. Together with new *Prolegomena* compoſed alſo by the Author.

C

CAVENDISH, or CANDISH (THOMAS), a famous Navigator in the XVIth Century, and the ſecond Engliſhman that ſailed round the world, was the ſon of William Cavendiſh of Trimley St Martin [*A*], in the county of Suffolk, Eſquire (*a*). He was born at Trimley, where he had a fine ſeat, and large poſſeſſions (*b*): but having in a few years conſumed almoſt his whole eſtate, in gallantry and following the Court, he thought to recover his ſinking fortune by a voyage to the South-Sea (*c*). At that time, the Spaniard againſt whom England had ſome time before declared war, was looked upon as a formidable enemy, whom it was neceſſary to diſtreſs on every ſide: Mr Cavendiſh, therefore choſe to endeavour to do it on the ſide of America. For that purpoſe, he procured three ſhips; namely, *The Deſire* of one hundred and twenty tuns; *The Content* of ſixty; and the *Hugh Gallant*, a bark of forty tuns: two of them new built from the ſtocks. They carried in all, an hundred and twenty-three perſons of all ſorts; and had victuals ſufficient for two years, with all other neceſſaries, furniſhed by Mr Cavendiſh himſelf; who was Admiral of this little fleet. They ſailed from Plymouth the 21ſt of July 1586; and, on the 26th of Auguſt, arrived at Sierra Leona, which was nine hundred and thirty leagues from the place of their departure (*d*). There they landed, and going up to one of the Negroes towns, burnt two or three houſes, and took what ſpoil they would, all the inhabitants being fled into the woods. But, a few days after, the Negroes had their revenge, hurting many of the Engliſh, and killing one with a poiſoned arrow. They departed from Sierra Leona the 6th of September, and ſtaid 'till the 10th, at one of the Cape-Verd iſlands. The laſt day of October, about twenty-four leagues from Cape-Frio in Braſil, they fell in with a great mountain, which had a high round top like a town,

(*a*) the Peerage of England, &c. by Ar. Collins, Eſq; edit. 1735, *8vo*, Vol. I. p. 121.

(*b*) Ibid. and Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 809.

(*c*) The Naval Hiſt. of England, by T. Lediard, edit. p. 229.

(*d*) Voyages, Navigations, &c. publiſhed by R. Hakluyt, Vol. III. edit. 1600, p. 803.

[*A*] *Was the ſon of William Cavendiſh of Trimley St Martin.*] That ancient family derives its deſcent from the *Gernons*, whoſe anceſtor Robert de Gernon came into England with William the Conqueror. Roger de Gernon was ſeated at Grimſton-Hall in Suffolk, and died in 1318, the 11th of Edward II. having had to wife the daughter and heir of John Potton Lord of Cavendiſh in Suffolk, by whom he left iſſue four ſons, who all took the name of *Cavendiſh.* Roger the ſecond, married Alice, daughter of Geoffry de Stratton, with whom he had the manor of Stratton, and from him deſcended Sir Richard Cavendiſh, Captain and Governor of Blackneſs, who was knighted in Scotland by the Earl of Hertford, Sept. 23. 1546, and by Inquiſition the 6th of February 1552, the 6th of Edward VI, after the death of Henry Duke of Suffolk, (who died without iſſue, July 14, the 5th of Edward VI.) was found to be ſixty years of age, and was one of his coheirs, viz. ſon of Richard Cavendiſh, ſon of Auguſtine Cavendiſh, who married Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Sir William Brandon, Knight, grandfather of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk. This Sir Richard Cavendiſh had iſſue William Cavendiſh of Trimley St Martin, who died in 1572, poſſeſſed of the ancient inheritance of his anceſtors; namely, Grimſton, Stratton, and other manors, leaving Thomas his ſon and heir under age, whom we treat of in this article (1).

(1) Ar. Collins, ubi ſupra; and The Britiſh Compendium, by F. Nicholls, 7th edit. P. i. p. 107, 108.

[*B*] *He*

a town, with two little iſlands from it. On the firſt of November they went in between the iſland of St Sebaſtian and the main land, where carrying their things aſhore, and erecting a forge, they built a pinnace, repaired what was out of order, and took in water; all which detained them 'till the 23d of that month. The 16th of December, they fell in with the coaſt of America in forty-ſeven degrees ½ South Latitude, and ran along the ſhore 'till they came into forty-eight degrees, finding it a ſteep beach all along. They came to a harbour the next day, which Mr Cavendiſh named Port-Deſire; and continued in it until the 28th following (*e*). On the 3d of January 1586-7, they fell in with a great cape in fifty-two degrees, forty-five minutes; from which there runneth a low beach about a league to the ſouthward, that reaches to the opening of the Streights of Magellan. He was paſſing thoſe Streights from the 6th of January to the 24th of February [*B*], tho' they are but about ninety leagues in length (*f*). Within them, in fifty-three degrees latitude, he named a place Port-Famine [*C*]; another, Muſcle-Cove; and another, Elizabeth-Bay. The 24th of February they entered into the South-Sea; and the four firſt days of March met with a violent ſtorm: during which, the Hugh Gallant had like to be loſt, but the two other ſhips rid it out at the iſland of La Mocha. Here, ſome of the men going on ſhore, met with a warm reception from the Indians of Arauco, a country abounding with gold, and never conquered by the Spaniards. The 16th of the ſame month, they came to St Mary's iſland, and finding there large quantities of wheat and barley laid up in ſtore-houſes, for the uſe of the Spaniards, who are maſters of that place, they took ſome of the corn, and likewiſe hogs, fowls, potatoes, and other proviſions. They left this iſland on the 18th; anchored under another called the Conception on the 19th; and on the 30th, came into the Bay of Quintero, which ſtands in thirty-three degrees, fifty minutes South Latitude. About fifty or ſixty of the men landed the next day, and went up ſeven or eight miles into the country, well armed; but ſaw no human creature, tho' there were two hundred Spaniſh horſemen watching for them, who eſpied them out, but durſt not attack them. The day following, being April 1, they took their opportunity, and came pouring down from the hills upon a few unprepared and unarmed Engliſh ſailors, who were filling water. Some they killed, and took a few priſoners, about twelve being loſt in all: the reſt were reſcued by fifteen ſoldiers, who obliged the enemy to retire with the loſs of twenty-four men. The 5th day of April they ſailed from this place, and on the 15th, came to an excellent harbour in twenty-three degrees and a half, called Morro Moreno [*D*]. Whilſt they remained here, they took a ſmall bark from Arica, which they kept, and called the George. They took alſo three other veſſels (one of them laden with wine): two of which they burnt, and ſunk the third (*g*). On the thirteenth of May they made themſelves maſters of a ſhip of three hundred tuns; and of two others, laden with ſugar and proviſions, of which one was valued at twenty thouſand pounds: they took out what they wanted, and burnt the reſt, with the ſhips. The 20th of the ſame month they came to Paita, in five degrees, four minutes South Latitude. Having driven the inhabitants up into the mountains, they pillaged the town (where they found twenty-five pounds weight of pieces of eight) and then ſet it on fire; with a bark that was riding in the road. The town contained two hundred houſes. Sailing thence, they arrived on the 25th, at the iſland of Puna, in one degree South Latitude, where moſt of the cables in the South-Sea were made. They found in the harbour a ſhip of two hundred and fifty tuns, which they ſunk: and alſo burnt

(*e*) Ibid. p. 804, 805.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 806, 807.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 808, 809, 810.

[*B*] *He was paſſing thoſe Streights from the 6th of January to the 24th of February.*] The mouth of them, both on the eaſtern and weſtern ſides, lies between 52 and 53 degrees of latitude. But they are very winding; the ſouthermoſt point of them, called Cape Froward, ſtanding in near 54 degrees of latitude. The beſt and moſt accurate deſcription of them, is in Sir John Narbrough's Voyages. Lond. 1694, 8*vo.* reprinted ſince.

[*C*] *He named a place Port-Famine.*] By reaſon of above three hundred Spaniards having been *famiſhed*, or ſtarv'd to death, there. For one Don Sarmiento having paſs'd through the Streights of Magellan from the South-ſea, in the year 1579, did, at his return to Spain, perſuade King Philip II. to ſend two colonies to plant in and fortify the Streights of Magellan, in order to prevent and obſtruct the Navigations, Depredations, or Settlements of the Engliſh and Dutch in thoſe parts (2). Accordingly four hundred Spaniards were ſent thither in 1584, who built a town, which they called King Philip's city. But during the two years they were there, they could not get any thing to grow or thrive. And, on the other ſide, the Indians oftentimes preyed upon them; ſo that the ſtock of proviſions they brought from Spain growing ſhort, and having no means to renew it, they died for hunger in their houſes, and even in their cloaths. At length the whole town being thereby tainted, and rendered unwholſome, the poor remains of the four hundred, which were now reduced to twenty one men and two women, forſook the place, and taking only a fowling-piece, and what little furniture they could carry, marched along the ſea-ſide, and lived above a year upon muſcles, limpets, roots, leaves, and ſometimes a fowl they killed, or a deer. And in that miſerable condition Mr Cavendiſh found them (3).

(2) See *An Account of ſeveral late Voyages and Diſcoveries to the South and North*, &c. by Sir John Narbrough, &c. Introduct. p. vii. Lond. 1694. 8*vo.*

(3) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 806.

[*D*] *Called Morro Moreno.*] About thirty of the Engliſh went here on ſhore; and, at their landing, the natives of the place came down from the rocks to meet them, with freſh water and wood on their backs. The account they give of their Cuſtoms and Manners, is as follows, and may ſerve for a ſample of the Manners of ſeveral American nations. 'They are in great awe of 'the Spaniards, and very ſimple people, and live in 'an extremely ſavage manner. They brought us to 'their abodes, about two miles from the harbour, 'where we ſaw their women and lodging, which is 'nothing but the ſkin of ſome beaſt laid upon the 'ground; and over them, inſtead of houſes, is nothing 'but five or ſix ſticks laid acroſs, which ſtands upon 'two forks with ſticks on the ground, and a few 'boughs laid on. Their diet is raw fiſh, which ſtinketh 'moſt vilely. And when any of them die, they bury 'their bows and arrows with them, with their canoe, 'and all that they have: for we opened one of their 'graves, and ſaw the order of them (4).

(4) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 809.

burnt a Church that was in that iſland, and brought the bells away. The Governor of the iſland, upon their approach, had ſent his riches upon the Continent; and his furniture and other valuable effects, to a neighbouring iſle; which laſt being diſcovered, the Engliſh took of them what they liked. But, on the 2d of June, they being careleſsly diſperſed about in getting proviſions, a hundred Spaniſh ſoldiers and many Indians came down ruſhing upon them, killed five, took three priſoners, and four were otherwiſe deſtroyed; with the loſs, however, of forty-ſix Spaniards and Indians (*b*). Going aſhore again the ſame day, with ſeventy men, they met a hundred Spaniards armed with muſkets, and two hundred Indians with bows and arrows, whom they put to flight; reduced their town to aſhes, which had three hundred houſes; made havock of their fields and gardens; and burnt four great ſhips, which were on the ſtocks. The 5th of June they quitted this place, and watered at Rio Dolce: and by that time had loſt ſo many men, that they were obliged to ſink their bark, called the Hugh Gallant, for want of hands to navigate it. They paſſed the Equinoctial Line on the 12th, and continued a northerly courſe all the reſt of that month. The firſt of July they came within ſight of the coaſt of New Spain, being then in ten degrees Northern Latitude: and, on the 9th of the ſame month, took a new ſhip of one hundred and twenty tuns, out of which taking the men, and what elſe they wanted, they ſet it on fire. The next day they ſeized an advice-boat, which they alſo burnt. On the 26th, they came to an anchor in the river of Copalita, in ſixteen degrees Northern Latitude: from whence, the ſame night, thirty of them rowed in the pinnace to Aquatulco, that was two leagues off. Coming there, the next morning, July 27, by break of day, they landed, and burnt the town; with the church, and cuſtomhouſe, in which were ſix hundred bags of anile to dye cloth, each bag worth forty crowns; and four hundred bags of cocoa, valued at ten crowns each. They were joined, the day following, by the reſt of the fleet, which found it difficult to water at Copalita, and therefore proceeded for that purpoſe to the Bay of St Jago, in nineteen degrees, eighteen minutes Latitude. In the mean time Mr Cavendiſh went, on the 24th of Auguſt, in his pinnace, with thirty men, to Puerto de Natividad; and miſſing of a prize he expected to find there, he burnt the town, and two new ſhips of two hundred tuns each. The 3d of September they came into the Bay of Malacca, and going up into the country, burnt the town of Acatlan, which conſiſted of about thirty houſes. Thence they proceeded to Chaccalla, and the iſle of St Andrew; and, on the 24th, arrived at Maſſatlan, which ſtands under the Tropic of Cancer. The 27th, they went to an iſland near it, where they refitted, and furniſhed themſelves with neceſſaries. Having ſtay'd there 'till the 9th of October, they departed for the Cape of St Lucar, on the South of the iſland of California; with which they fell in on the 14th, and lay near it 'till the 4th of November. On that day they met the St Anne, a ſhip of ſeven hundred tuns, being the Spaniſh Admiral of the South-Sea; which, after three ſharp engagements, they made themſelves maſters of. It had in it an hundred and twenty thouſand pezo's, or pieces of gold, each worth eight ſhillings, and great quantities of rich ſilks, and other valuable commodities, the chief of which they ſhared amongſt themſelves. After having put on ſhore (at Puerto Seguro) the whole crew, conſiſting of an hundred and ninety perſons, they ſet fire to the ſhip, having five hundred tuns of goods in it, and ſaw it burnt down to the water, on the 19th of November (*i*). Thus did Mr Cavendiſh, and his company, ravage the coaſts of Chili, Peru, and New Spain, from the middle of February to the middle of November 1587. But after his laſt great booty, he began to think of returning back to England, by the way of the Eaſt-Indies. Accordingly, he ſet ſail from Puerto Seguro in California, November the 19th; and in forty-five days, namely, on the 3d of January 1587-8, came within ſight of Guana, one of the Ladrone iſlands, in thirteen degrees $\frac{2}{3}$ of Northern Latitude. The 14th of the ſame month, they fell in with Cabo del Spirito Santo, a promontory of one of the Philippine iſlands, three hundred and ten leagues from Guana; and, the next day, arrived at Capul, where he ſtaid nine days: during which, he exacted a tribute of proviſions from the Caciques of this, and a hundred iſlands more. But, after having acquainted them, that he and his company were Engliſhmen, and enemies to the Spaniards; and made them promiſe, That they, and all the neighbouring iſlands, would aſſiſt him, whenever he ſhould come again, to overcome the Spaniards; he returned them the value of their tribute in money (*k*). The 24th they left this place, and ſailing between the iſlands of Panama (or Panay) and Negros, they coaſted along Gilolo, and the adjoining cluſters of iſlands, 'till the firſt of March; when having paſſed the ſtreights of Java, they anchored South of that place, and took in freſh proviſions. On the 16th of March, they ſailed from hence for the Cape of Good Hope, which they made the 16th of May; having in nine weeks run about eighteen hundred and fifty leagues. They arrived at St Helena the 19th of June, where having refreſhed themſelves, and taken in neceſſaries, they ſet ſail, on the 20th, for England. The 24th of Auguſt they came within ſight of the Azores; and the 9th of September, after a terrible ſtorm, which carried away moſt of their ſails, arrived at Plymouth, from whence they firſt ſet out (*l*): having ſpent two years, one month, and nineteen days, in ſailing round the globe. Mr Cavendiſh had been ſo fortunate in this voyage, that he undertook another in 1591, but with very different ſucceſs. He ſet ſail from Plymouth the 26th of Auguſt,

(*b*) Ibid. p. 811, 812, 813.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 814, 815, 816. They burnt and ſunk nineteen ſhips in all, ſmall and great. Ibid. p. 837.

(*k*) Ib. p. 816—819.

(*l*) Ib p. 819—825.

Auguſt, with three tall ſhips, and two barks [*E*]; and in about a month, came within ſight of the Canary iſlands (*m*). But, under the Equinoctial Line, he had the misfortune to be becalmed for ſeven and twenty days together, driving to and fro without the leaſt wind; in which time moſt of his men fell ſick of the ſcurvy. At length, a North-weſt wind brought them, in twenty days (*n*), namely, on the 29th of November, to the Bay of Salvador, on the coaſt of Braſil. Here they took a ſmall bark, laden with negroes, ſugar, and Haberdaſhers-wares. A few days after, they came to Placentia, or Ilha Grande, where they rifled ſome houſes inhabited by Portugueſe; which they afterwards ſet on fire, together with a new ſhip: and left on ſhore the negroes they had taken in the Bay of Salvador (*o*). But the pleaſure, or advantage, of having taken this place, was ſpoiled by unreaſonable quarrels amongſt Mr Cavendiſh's men [*F*]. The 11th of December, they quitted this place, and on the 14th, arrived at the iſle of St Sebaſtian, five leagues from Santos; which laſt place they reſolved to make themſelves maſters of, as being very proper to ſupply all their wants. Having agreed, that their long-boat, with one ſloop, and a hundred men, were ſufficient for the taking it; they accordingly watched their opportunity, early in the morning on the 24th of December, when the chief of the inhabitants were at high-maſs [*G*], and with twenty-three men only ſeized the town (*p*). There they continued too long [*H*], which proved the ruin of their intended voyage. Nay, ſome were for wintering at that place, but Mr Cavendiſh would by no means agree to it. So, after having burnt the out-parts of the town, and ſet all the ſhips in the harbour on fire, they marched, on the 22d of January, by land to St Vincent, which they burnt to the ground (*q*). On the 24th of the ſame month, they ſet ſail with a fair wind for the Streights of Magellan; but, in about thirty-ſeven degrees of ſouthern Latitude, they had a moſt violent ſtorm [*I*], which began the 7th of February, and laſted 'till the 9th, whereby the ſhips were ſeparated and much damaged. The Deſire and the Roe-buck, after having ſuffered great hardſhips, arrived together at Port-Deſire, the general rendezvous, on the 6th of March. The 16th of the ſame month, the Black-pinnace came alſo thither; but Mr Gilbert's Bark, inſtead of proceeding ſo far, returned to England. As for the Galeon, commanded by Mr Cavendiſh, it did not arrive 'till the 18th (*r*). The Captain having in his paſſage been in continual danger from his ſhip's crew, which never ceaſed to mutiny againſt him (*s*). For that reaſon, he quitted his own ſhip, the Galeon, and went into the Deſire. The 20th of March, they departed from Port-Deſire; and on the 8th of April fell in with the Streights of Magellan, having ſuffered much by ſeveral violent ſtorms. The 14th, they paſſed the firſt Streight; and on the 16th, the ſecond, which was ten leagues diſtant from the firſt. The 18th, they doubled Cape Froward; but, three days after, were forced by the violence of the weather to put into a ſmall bay, upon the South ſhore, where they remained 'till the 15th of May (*t*). In this place they endured inexpreſſible hardſhips, as well for want of proviſions, as by the exceſſive cold [*K*]. And Mr Cavendiſh not being able to provide for the many ſick men he had in the

(*m*) Purchas his Pilgrimes, P. iv. edit. 1625, p. 1202.

(*n*) Ibid. and Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 842.

(*o*) Purchas, ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Purchas, p. 1202, 1203; and Hakluyt, ubi ſup.

(*q*) Purchas, p. 1203, 1204; and Hakluyt, ubi ſup.

(*r*) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra; and Purchas, p. 1192, 1193.

(*s*) Purchas, p. 1192.

(*t*) Hakluyt, as above, p. 843.

[*E*] *With three tall ſhips, and two barks.*] Namely, The Galeon, wherein Mr Cavendiſh himſelf went as Admiral: The Roe-buck, Vice-Admiral, Capt. Cocke: The Deſire, Rear-Admiral, Capt. John Davis: The Black Pinnace: And a Bark of Mr Adrian Gilbert, commanded by Capt. Randolph Cotton (5). To which add, The Dainty, that went volunteer, and returned to England, after the taking of Santos.

(5) Hakluyt, as above, p. 842.

[*F*] *By unreaſonable quarrels amongſt Mr Cavendiſh's men.*] One of them gives us this account (6). 'Here we had ſuch diſorder amongſt ourſelves, that if 'the Portugueze had been of any courage, they might 'have killed many of us; for our men would fight for 'their victuals as if they had been no Chriſtians but 'Jews; and they that got the beſt, would get them 'into ſome hole, or into the wilderneſs under ſome 'tree, and there they would remain as long as they 'had meat. For mine own part, there was ſuch 'ſharking, I could in that place get neither meat nor 'money.'

(6) A. Knivet, in Purchas's Pilgrimes, Part iv. p. 1202.

[*G*] *They watched their opportunity,——when the chief of the inhabitants were at high-maſs, and with 23 men only ſeized the town.*] Upon their landing, they marched directly to the church; where, beſides women and children, there were three hundred men, whoſe ſwords they took from them without reſiſtance. They kept them priſoners there, 'till the long-boat could come with more men, to their aſſiſtance. And then they plundered the town, where they found great ſtore of gold, ſugar, and caſſavy-meal, of which they made very good bread. One of the ſailors in particular met with a little cheſt, in a frier's cell, in which there were 1700 rials of eight, worth four ſhillings apiece. The conductor in this expedition, was, Captain Cock: And as for the moſt convenient time for landing, they had the direction of a Portugueze pilot which they had on board. But by not watching carefully enough the inhabitants, moſt of them removed, with their beſt effects, up into the country. So that Mr Cavendiſh, and his company, did not make ſo much advantage by the taking of this place, as, with due care, they might otherwiſe have done (7).

(7) Purchas, as above, p. 1203; and Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 842.

[*H*] *There they continued too long.*] Ant. Knivet ſays, that they continued *two months* at Santos (8): But by the journal of this voyage, written by John Jane (9), it appears, that they continued at Santos, only from the 15th of December to the 22d of January. However, by this unneceſſary delay, they loſt the proper ſeaſon for purſuing their voyage into the South-ſea.

(8) See in Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1203.

[*I*] *They had a moſt violent ſtorm*] 'Which indeed, '[to uſe his own words] (10) I think to be ſuch, as 'worſer might not be indured.——Such was the furie 'of the weſt-ſouth weſt, and ſouth-weſt windes, as wee 'were driven from the ſhore foure hundred leagues, 'and conſtrained to beate from fiftie degrees to the 'ſouthward into fortie to the northward again, before 'we could recover nere the ſhore. In which time, we 'had a new ſhift of failes cleane blowne away, and our 'ſhip in danger to finke in the ſea three times: which 'with extremitie of mens labour we recovered. In 'this weakneſſe wee departed for the Straits, being from 'that harbour eight leagues, and in eighteene days wee 'got the ſtraits.——And now we had been almoſt 'foure moneths betweene the coaſt of Braſile and the 'Straits, being in diſtance not above ſix hundred 'leagues, which is commonly run in twentie or thirtie 'days: but ſuch was the adverſeneſſe of our fortunes, 'that in coming thither wee ſpent the ſummer, and 'found in the Straits the beginning of a moſt extreame 'winter, not durable for Chriſtians (11).' In this ſtorm Mr Cavendiſh loſt his boat with three men: The Roebuck likewiſe loſt her boat with two men: And the Crow, a boat of twenty tun, ſunk with twelve men and a boy (12).

(9) Publiſhed by Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, Vol. III. p. 842.

(10) In his letter to Sir Triſtram Gorges. See Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1192.

(11) Purchas, ib. p. 1192, 1193.

(12) Ib. p. 1204.

[*K*] *They endured inexpreſſible hardſhips, as well for want of proviſions, as by the exceſſive cold.*] After the

the Galeon, ordered them to be put on ſhore; where they miſerably periſhed with cold and famine. Having now not above 50 men in that ſhip fit for ſervice (for 40 died in ſeven or eight days, and 70 fell ſick) and perceiving that the froſt and ſnow decayed his tackling, and was likely to laſt two months more, he found it abſolutely impoſſible to ſtay longer in that miſerable place, without utter ruin. Whereupon, he acquainted his company, That, finding it impracticable to purſue his voyage to China, as he intended, through the Streights of Magellan, he would go thither by the Cape of Good Hope. But they prevailed upon him to return to the coaſts of Braſil, 'till a more favourable ſeaſon; which he the more readily complied with, as he had not above four months proviſions left, and wanted both ropes and ſails (*u*). The 15th of May they ſet ſail, and on the 18th were out of the Streights. The 20th, being over-againſt Port-Deſire, in forty-ſeven degrees Southern Latitude, the Deſire and the Black Pinnace left him [*L*] which proved the chief cauſe of his enſuing misfortunes (*w*). However, he held on his courſe for Braſil, together with the Roe-buck; which in Latitude thirty-ſix, was parted from him by a moſt violent ſtorm [*M*]. Mr Cavendiſh arrived at length, with extreme difficulty and great danger, at Santos, and came to an anchor in the Bay of St Vincent. Here, twenty-five of his men going on ſhore to refreſh themſelves, got drunk, and were all cut to pieces by the Indians and Portugueſe. To be revenged on the Portugueſe, Mr Cavendiſh firmly reſolved to go and beat Santos to the ground (having the Roe-buck in his company, which was now come in) but the river being too narrow, he only landed a little above the town, and plundered ſome farm-houſes. He intended to have gone from thence to a ſmall iſland, twenty leagues off, in order to furniſh himſelf with neceſſaries; and then caſting off the Roe-buck, whoſe wants he could not ſupply, to have returned again at a ſeaſonable time for the Streights of Magellan (*x*). In the mean time, being adviſed by a Portugueſe pilot to go to Spirito Santo, he raſhly ſent and attacked that place, before which he loſt fourſcore men, and forty were ſorely wounded. When he ſaw he could do no good there, he determined to go to the iſland of St Sebaſtian; and, after having burnt one of his ſhips for want of hands, to go back to the Streights of Magellan. But the Roe-buck's crew hearing of this his intention, ran away from him in the night [*N*], carrying off all his Surgeons, and leaving him full of ſick men, and in a diſtreſſed condition (*y*). Thus forſaken, he made for St Sebaſtian's iſland, then two hundred leagues diſtant, where he arrived when he had but one caſk of water left. There he ſet twenty ſick men on ſhore. Having refitted and refreſhed himſelf, he would fain have ſailed back again

(*u*) Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1181.

(*w*) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 843, 844. Purchas, p. 1194.

(*x*) Purchas, as above, p. 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197, 1205, 1206.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 1198, 1206.

the month of May was come in, there was 'nothing 'but ſuch ſlights of ſnow, and extremities of froſts, as '(ſaith he) in all the time of my life, I never ſaw any 'to be compared with them (13). The men were 'well in the morning, and by night frozen to death.' One of them, in particular, named Antony Knivet, going aſhore to get ſome food, (for the allowance of their ſhip was little) and coming aboard again with his feet wet, and wanting ſhift of clothes, the next morning he was numbed, ſo that he could not ſtir his legs. All his feet were as black as ſoot: He had no feeling in them: And when he pulled off his ſtockings, his toes came with them. Another —— Harris, a goldſmith, loſt his noſe; for going to blow it with his fingers, he caſt it into the fire. In a word, out of Mr Cavendiſh's ſhip, there died eight or nine men with the cold every day. And as to proviſions, they had not more than for four months; ſo that, to ſave their victuals, they were forced in a great meaſure to live upon ſea-weeds, muſcles, penguins, and the fruits of the country (14).

(13) Purchas, p. 1193. When it is ſummer with us, it is winter in thoſe parts, where Mr Cavendiſh then was.

(14) Purchas, as above, p. 1181, 1204, 1205. 'Many of the 'men died with 'curſed famine, 'and miſerable 'cold, not having 'wherewith to 'cover their bo-'dies, nor to fill 'their bellies.' Jane's Journal, in Hakluyt, as above, p. 843.

[*L*] *The Deſire and the Black Pinnace left him.*] This, Mr Cavendiſh imputed to the treachery of Capt. John Davis, commander of the Deſire, of whom he ſpeaks in the ſevereſt terms. 'And now, ſaith he, to 'come to that villaine that hath beene the death of me, 'and the decay of this whole action, I meane Davis, 'whoſe only treacherie in running from me, hath beene 'an utter ruine of all.——As I fince underſtood Davis 'his intention was ever to run away. This is God's 'will, that I ſhould put him in truſt, that ſhould be 'the end of my life, and the decay of the whole 'action. For had not theſe two ſmall ſhips parted 'from us, we would not have miſcarried on the coaſt 'of Braſile; for the only decay of us was, that we 'could not get into their barred harbours. —— The 'ſhort of all is this, Davis his only intent was to over-'throw me, which he hath well perform'd (15).' In Hakluyt (16), there is a teſtimonial of the company of the Deſire, touching their loſing of their General, Mr Cavendiſh; wherein they declare, that it was utterly againſt their will. It is dated in Port-Deſire, 2 June, 1592. and therein they 'proteſt they know 'not, whether they loſt the others, or they them.' However, they were as unfortunate as their General. Thrice they paſſed through the Streights of Magellan, and entered the South ſea, and yet were forc'd back each time by bad weather. At length, after numberleſs misfortunes and diſtreſſes, their men being reduced to ſixteen, and of them only five fit for ſervice, they arrived the 11th of June 1593, at Bear-haven in Ireland. The Black Pinnace was loſt in the South-ſea (17).

(15) Purchas, ib. p. 1192, 1194.

(16) Vol. III. p. 845.

(17) Ibid. p. 846—852.

[*M*] *Was parted from him by a moſt violent ſtorm.*] 'The moſt grievous ſtorm (as he ſaith himſelf) that 'ever any Chriſtians endured upon the ſeas, to live '(18).'

(18) Purchas, p. 1194.

[*N*] *But the Roebuck's crew hearing of this his intention, ran away from him in the night.*] Of which he gives the following account. 'They inſtantly deſired 'nothing more, than to return home; all affirming, 'that it was pity ſuch a ſhip [as the Roebuck] ſhould 'be caſt off. But in truth, it was not of any care of 'the ſhip, but only of a moſt cowardly mind of the 'maſter, and the chiefeſt of the company to return 'home. Now you ſhall underſtand, that the captain 'was very ſick, and ſince the time that the ſhip loſt 'her maſts, ſhe became the moſt labourſome ſhip that 'ever did ſwim on the ſea, ſo as he was not able to en-'dure in her, and at that preſent he lay aboard my 'ſhip, ſo as there was none of any truſt, or account, 'left in her. But ſuch was the caſe of that ſhip, be-'ing without ſails, maſts, or any manner of tackle, as 'in the ſenſe and judgment of any man living, there 'did not live that deſperate minded man in the world, 'which, in that caſe ſhe was then in, would have ven-'tur'd to have ſailed in her, half ſo far as England. '—— Theſe villains, having left in my ſhip all their 'hurt men, and having aboard of them both my ſur-'geons, I having not one in mine own ſhip which 'knew how to lay a plaiſter to a wound, much leſs to 'cure any by ſalves; and further, having in their ſhip 'three times the proportion of my victuals,——as 'having in them, at their departure, but ſix and forty 'men, and carrying away with them the proportion 'for ſix months victuals of one hundred and twenty 'men at large; I leave you to conſider of this part of 'theirs, and the miſerable caſe I was left in (19).'

(19) Ibid. p. 1198.

[*O*] *But*

again for the Streights of Magellan. But his mutinous crew obliged him to sail for England, 'Tho' he rather desired to die in going forward, than basely in returning back 'again (z).' Several attempts he made to reach the isle of St Helena, and all to no purpose, being perpetually crossed by his own men, who were bent upon returning to England, tho' entirely against his own inclination (a). At length he died of a broken heart, and continual labour and vexation; but whether at sea or land is uncertain [O]. Such was the end of the unfortunate Thomas Cavendish: his first voyage was as full of glory, as this of unhappiness. No man ever compassed the globe in so little time; no man ever did greater things abroad, and returned to his country in greater pomp and triumph than he: and it is not unlikely, that he might have shone this last time as bright as he did the first, had not the ill humours of a company of base fellows interposed and eclipsed him (b). We are informed, that 'he was of a delicate wit and personage (c).'

(z) Ibid. p. 1198, 1200.

(a) Ibid. p. 1199, 1200.

(b) See Harris's Collection of Voyages, &c. edit. 1705, fol. Vol. I. p. 698.

(c) Stow's Annales, ubi supra.

[O] *But, whether at sea or land, is uncertain.*] We know for certain, that he came as far as eight degrees northern latitude in his way towards England: But that he came nearer, there is no evidence. He sent an account of his misfortunes to Sir Tristram Gorges, whom he appointed his executor: but doth not mention when, nor at what place, he writ it. Nor is it known how it was convey'd to England (20). By some passages therein, it appears, that he was very near death; for it begins thus. 'Most loving friend, 'there is nothing in this world, that makes a truer 'triall of friendship, than at death, to shew mindfulnesse of love and friendship, which now you shall 'make a perfect experience of: desiring you to hold 'my love as deare, dying poore, as if I had beene 'most infinitely rich. The successe of this most unfortunate action, the bitter torments thereof lye so heavie upon mee, as with much paine am I able to write 'these few lines, much lesse to make discoverie unto 'you of all the adverse haps, that have befallen me in 'this voyage, the least whereof is my death (21).' And lower, he hath these expressions;—'But now I am 'growne so weake and faint, as I am scarce able to 'hold the penne in my hand; wherefore I must leave 'you to inquire of the rest of our most unhappy proceedings (22).'——'And now by this, what with 'griefe for him, [the loss of his cousin John Lock,] 'and the continuall trouble I endured among such hellhounds, [his ship's crew,] my spirits were cleane 'spent; wishing myself upon any desart place in the 'world, there to dye, rather than thus basely to return home againe: which course I had put in execution, had I found an island, which the charts make 'to be in eight degrees to the southward of the Line. 'I sweare to you, I sought it with all diligence, 'meaning (if I had found it) to have there ended my 'unfortunate life. But God suffered not such happinesse to light upon me, for I could by no meanes 'find it, so as I was forced to go towards England; and 'having gotten *eight degrees by north the Line*, I lost 'my most deerest cousin.' He concludes the whole thus, 'Bear with this scribling: for I protest, I am 'scant able to hold a pen in my hand (23).' It is likely that he dyed at sea; and that this letter was brought by his ship, the Galeon, which, in all probability, reached England. C

(20) It is inserted in Purchas his Pilgrimes, P. iv. edit. 1625, p. 1192.

(21) Ibid. p. 1192.

(22) Ibid. p. 1200.

(23) Ibid. p. 1200, 1201.

CAVENDISH (Sir WILLIAM) a great favourite and Privy-Counsellor of three Princes, *viz.* Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Mary. He was the second son of Thomas Cavendish, of Cavendish in the county of Suffolk, Clerk of the Pipe in the reign of Henry VIII (a), and was born about the year 1505, being descended of very ancient and honourable families both by his father and mother, as appears by unquestionable authorities [A]. He had a liberal education given him by his father, who settled upon him also certain lands in the county of Suffolk, but made a much better provision for him, by procuring him to be admitted into the family of the great Cardinal Wolsey, upon whose person he waited in quality of Gentleman-Usher of his chamber, at a time when he lived with all the state and dignity of a Prince, having a retinue of no less than eight hundred persons, and amongst them nine or ten Lords, who had each of them two at least if not three servants allowed them at the Cardinal's cost, and the Earl of Derby had no less than five (b). As Mr Cavendish was the Cardinal's countryman, and as he had a great kindness for his father, he took him early into his confidence, and shewed him, upon all occasions, very particular marks of kindness and respect. In 1527, he attended his master in his splendid embassy to France, where he arrived at Amiens in the

(a) Madox, Baron. Angl. p. 105. Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 693.

(b) Life of Cardinal Wolsey, by our author, p. 19, 20.

[A] *As appears by unquestionable authorities.*] The surname of this family was originally Gernon, and they descended lineally from Robert de Gernon, a Norman, who came over with the Conqueror (1); and whose descendant Roger Gernon of Grimston-Hall in the county of Suffolk, marrying the daughter and sole heiress of John Potton, Lord of Cavendish, or as it was anciently written Caundish, in the same county in the reign of Edward II, had by her four sons, John, Roger, Stephen, and Richard, who all took the name of Cavendish, as was usual enough in those times (2); from the eldest of these sons, John Cavendish, who was Chief Justice of the King's Bench (3), our Sir William Cavendish descended in a direct line; for the son of this Judge, Sir John Cavendish, who was knighted for killing Wat Tyler (4), had three sons, William, Robert, and Walter. William, the eldest of these, left behind him an only son, Thomas, who inherited both his father's and his uncle Robert's estate, who was a Serjeant at Law (5); he married Catharine Scudamore, and was stiled Thomas Cavendish of Cavendish and Poslingford in the county of Suffolk; he departed this life in 1477, and left behind him an only son, Thomas Cavendish of Cavendish, the father of our Sir William (6). He applied himself to the study of the Laws, and by the interest of the Howard family, was brought into the Exchequer (7), where he became Clerk of the Pipe, as is mentioned in the text; he married Alice, the daughter and coheiress of John Smith of Padbrook-Hall, an old family, and in which there was a good estate (8). He had issue by her three sons, George, William, and Thomas; it appears by his last will, which is dated April 13, 1523, that he lived in the parish of St Alban's Wood-street, and that he had acquired an estate in Kent; it also appears by this will, that his two younger sons, Thomas and William, were under age (9); and from his naming Thomas before William, one would have judged he was the second son, but all the old genealogies of this family agree in making him the youngest; he became afterwards a Knight of Malta, and consequently left no family (10). As for the eldest son, George Cavendish, he was seated at Glemsford in Suffolk, and left issue William Cavendish, Esq; who had two sons, William and Ralph, who both died without issue; so that Sir William Cavendish of whom we are speaking, and his descendants, inherited all the estates of the family (11).

(1) Lib. Domesday, fol. 137, 138.

(2) MS. in Bibl. Cotton. sub Effig. Fulli, F. 11.

(3) Dugdale's Chron. Series, p. 48, 50.

(4) Stow's Annals, p. 289, 290.

(5) Dugdale's Chron. Series, p. 61.

(6) Vincent's MS. Baron. in Offic. Arms, Numb. 20. Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 693.

(7) Madox, Bar. Angl. p. 105.

(8) Weaver's Funeral Monum. p. 693.

(9) Ex Regist. Bedfeld qu. 23. not. 21. in Cur. Prerog. Cant.

(10) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 168.

(11) From an ancient Genealogy of the line of Cavendish.

the month of Auguſt, and was preſent at that moſt magnificent entertainment, which was given by the French King to the Cardinal, and at all the following feaſts that laſted for 14 days (*c*). He was from thence diſpatched to Compeigne to prepare his maſter's lodgings, where one ſide of the caſtle was entirely aſſigned to the uſe of the Cardinal, and the other reſerved for the King, and in like manner, the gallery which united the apartments was divided between them (*d*). He returned with that great Prelate into England, and ſerved him with the utmoſt zeal and fidelity, as well in his diſgrace, as when in the higheſt favour, and was one of the few ſervants that ſtuck cloſe to him, when he had neither office nor ſalary to beſtow upon them (*e*). This was ſo far from prejudicing him in the opinion of his Sovereign, that on this very account he took particular notice of him, and gave him ſingular intimations of his grace and favour; and after the Cardinal's death, upon whom Mr Cavendiſh waited to the laſt, and delayed going to Court 'till he had ſeen his body interred, the King took him into his own family and ſervice [*B*]. He was alſo conſtituted one of the Commiſſioners for viſiting and taking the ſurrenders of ſeveral religious houſes; and in 1531, he took ſeveral ſurrenders in that capacity (*g*). In 1540 he was appointed one of the auditors of the Court of Augmentation (*h*), and ſoon after had a very conſiderable grant made him, of ſeveral lordſhips in the county of Hertford (*i*). In 1546 he was made Treaſurer of the chamber to his Majeſty, and on Eaſter-day the ſame year he had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him, and was ſoon after ſworn of the Privy-Council (*k*). He continued to enjoy both theſe honours for the ſpace of eleven years, in which time his eſtate was much increaſed, by the grants (*l*) he received from King Edward VI in ſeven ſeveral counties; nor does it appear that he was in leſs credit or favour with Queen Mary, under whoſe reign he died in the year 1557 (*m*). He married three wives, the firſt was Anne, daughter of Edmund Boſtock, of Cheſhire, Eſq (*n*); by whom he had a ſon, who died young, and two daughters. His ſecond wife was Margaret, daughter to Thomas Parker, of Poſingford, in the county of Suffolk, Eſq; who died June 16, 1540 (*o*). His third and laſt wife, who ſurvived him, was the widow of Robert Barley, Eſq; and was very juſtly conſidered as one of the moſt famous women of her time, and of whom therefore it is requiſite that we ſhould take particular notice (*p*) [*C*]. By her he had iſſue three ſons, and as many

(*c*) Stowe's Annals, p. 532. Cavendiſh's Life of Wolſey, p. 49.

(*d*) Herbert's Hiſt. of the Reign of Henry VIII. p. 84. Cavendiſh's Life of Wolſey, p. 58.

(*e*) Ibid. in the Prologue; or, as it ſtands in the printed edition, the Dedication.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 156, 157.

(*g*) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIV. p. 437. Stowe's Annals, p. 576. Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 212.

(*h*) Pat. 31 Hen. VIII m. 2.

(*i*) Chauncey's Hiſt. and Antiq. of Hertfordſhire, p. 163.

(*k*) Pat. 37 Hen. VIII. m. 2. MS. Not. Claudius, c. iii. p. 149, in Bibl. Cotton. Rafe Brooke's Catal. of the Nobility, under the title of Devon.

(*l*) Chauncey's Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 501. Thoroton's Antiq. of Nottinghamſhire, p. 186.

(*m*) From an ancient Pedigree of the Family.

(*n*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 186.

(*o*) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 693.

(*p*) Thoroton's Antiq. of Nottinghamſhire, p. 187.

[*B*] *The King took him into his own family and ſervice.*] It was on the fourth of November 1530, that the Cardinal was arreſted in his own palace at Cawood (12); and at that time, Sir Walter Welch told Mr Cavendiſh how good an opinion the King had of him, and that it was his Majeſty's command he ſhould remain about the perſon of the Cardinal, and have the chief direction of every thing, giving him certain directions in writing, which, when Mr Cavendiſh had read, he undertook to obey, and was thereupon ſworn to the performance of them (13). In conſequence of this, he went with his maſter to the Earl of Shrewſbury's at Sheffield-Park, where, when Sir William Kingſton, whom the Cardinal always dreaded and hated, came to receive him in his cuſtody, the Earl ſent for Mr Cavendiſh, and addreſſed him thus: 'Foraſmuch, as I 'have always perceived you to be a man in whom 'my Lord putteth great affiance, and I myſelf know-'ing you to be a man very honeſt (with many other 'words of commendations and praiſe) *ſaid further*, 'Your Lord hath often deſired me to write to the 'King, that he might anſwer his accuſations before 'his enemies. And this day I have received letters 'from his Majeſty, by Sir William Kingſton, whereby 'I perceive, that the King hath him in good opinion, 'and upon my requeſt hath ſent for him by the ſaid 'Sir William Kingſton. Therefore, now I would 'have you play your part wiſely with him, in ſuch ſort 'as he may take it quietly and in good part, for he is 'alway full of ſorrow and much heavineſs at my be-'ing with him, that I fear he would take it ill, if I 'bring him tidings thereof: and therein doth he not 'well, for I aſſure you, that the King is his very good 'Lord, and hath given me moſt hearty thanks for 'his entertainment: and therefore go your way to 'him, and perſuade him I may find him in quiet at my 'coming, for I will not tarry long after you (14).' He performed this commiſſion the beſt he could, but the ſending of Sir William Kingſton proved the death of the Cardinal, whom he carried as far as Leiceſter, and there he finiſhed his days (15). When Mr Cavendiſh came to Court, he was introduced to the King by Sir Henry Norris, at that time Groom of the Stole, and after a long conference, his Majeſty was pleaſed to tell him, that for his honeſty and fidelity he ſhould be ſervant in his chamber, in the ſame manner as he had been with his late maſter; adding at parting, 'Therefore, go your ways to Sir John Gage, our Vice-'Chamberlain, to whom we have ſpoken already, to 'admit you our ſervant in our chamber; and then go 'to the Lord of Norfolk, and he ſhall pay you your 'whole year's wages, and a reward beſides (16).' It is very remarkable, that of all the dependants upon the Cardinal, there were two that particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a ſteady and cloſe adherence to him; the firſt was Mr Thomas Cromwell, whom the King made afterwards Lord Cromwell, Earl of Eſſex, Knight of the Garter, and Prime Miniſter; the other was Mr William Cavendiſh, whom he immediately took into his own ſervice, knighted him afterwards, made him Treaſurer of his Chamber, and a Privy-Counſellor (17). What the nature of his office in the Houſhold was at that time, will beſt appear by the following clauſe from an Act of Parliament, which is very remarkable. This act relates to the receivers of the King's revenue; and it is therein declared (18), 'That 'every perſon whom the King hereafter ſhall name 'and appoint to the room and office of Treaſurer of his 'Chamber, be not accomptable in the Exchequer, for 'any ſuch his or their receipt, or any part or parcel 'of the premiſes, but to the King's Highneſs or his 'heirs, or before ſuch as his Grace ſhall thereunto 'limit and appoint. Alſo, that all ſuch perſons as 'have paid, or hereafter ſhall pay, any ſum or ſums of 'money to the King's uſe, to the hands of the 'Treaſurer of his Chamber for the time being, and 'for the proof of the which payment, the ſaid per-'ſon or perſons bring, or cauſe to be brought, the 'ſaid bills into the King's Receipt of the Exchequer, that 'then immediately, upon ſight of the ſaid bill or bills, 'the Treaſurer and Chamberlains of the ſaid Ex-'chequer, ſhall ſtrike or cauſe to be ſtriken a tally or 'tallies for the diſcharge of the ſaid perſon or per-'ſons, that ſo have paid their money to the ſaid 'Treaſurer of the King's Chamber, as if they had paid 'the ſaid ſum or ſums of money in the Receipt before 'ſaid, without any other warrant in that behalf to be 'obtained, and without any fine, fee, or reward, 'therefore to be taken.'

(12) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p. 147.

(13) Cavendiſh's Life of Wolſey, p. 55, 56.

(14) Ib. p. 137, 138.

(15) Chauncey's Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 450.

(16) Cavendiſh's Life of Wolſey, p. 156, 157.

(17) Remarks on the Life of Cardinal Wolſey, p. 95.

(18) Rot. Parl. 6 Hen. VIII.

[*C*] *That we ſhould take particular notice.*] This Lady, as ſhe was certainly one of the moſt remarkable perſons of her time, ſo her memory is celebrated, and the moſt memorable paſſages of her life preſerved, by ſeveral of our ableſt Antiquaries, moſt conſiderable Hiſtorians, and moſt eminent Divines. Yet we hope, in the compaſs of this note, to give more remarkable facts relating to this wonderful woman, and that too with greater exactneſs than are any where to be met with in ſo narrow a compaſs Elizabeth Hardwick, for ſuch was this Lady's name, was the daughter of John Hardwick of Hardwick

many daughters, and of whom we ſay ſomewhat in the notes [*D*]. It was in the latter

Hardwick in the county of Derby, Eſq; by Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Leeke of Loaſland in the ſame county, Eſq; and in proceſs of time became coheireſs of his fortune, by the death of her brother John Hardwick, Eſq; without children (19). It is not eaſy to ſay in what year ſhe was born, tho' the date of her death, and her age, both appear on her magnificent tombſtone (20); the former indeed is certain, but the latter not ſo; for if it were, ſhe would have been hardly twelve years old when her firſt huſband died; by comparing of circumſtances, however, it is highly probable, that ſhe was born in 1516, and being extremely beautiful, and having the advantage of an excellent education, ſhe captivated the heart of Robert Barley, of Barley, in the county of Derby, Eſq; a young gentleman of a large eſtate, all of which he ſettled abſolutely upon her on their marriage; which was celebrated when ſhe was ſcarce fourteen. By this gentleman ſhe had no iſſue; but by his death, which happened February 2, 1532 (21), ſhe became a very rich widow, and remained ſo for about twelve years; when ſhe married Mr Cavendiſh, by whom ſhe had Henry Cavendiſh, Eſq; who ſettled at Tutbury in Staffordſhire, but had alſo conſiderable eſtates in Derbyſhire; William Cavendiſh, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the next article; and Charles Cavendiſh, who was the anceſtor of the Dukes of Newcaſtle of that name; and three daughters, Frances, who married Sir Henry Pierpoint, of Holm Pierpoint, in the county of Nottingham, from whom the Dukes of Kingſton are deſcended (22). Elizabeth, who eſpouſed Charles Stuart, Earl of Lenox, younger Brother of Henry King of Scots, father of King James I (23); and Mary, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak afterwards. Some years after, ſhe, by his death, was a ſecond time a widow; ſhe conſented to become a third time a wife; and accordingly married Sir William St Lowe, Captain of the Guard to Queen Elizabeth, who was a man of plentiful fortune, and had a large eſtate in Glouceſterſhire; all which he ſettled upon her, excluding as well as his brothers, who were heirs male, as his own female iſſue by a former Lady (24). We are in the dark as to the time of this marriage, and of the death of this Sir William St Lowe; but it is certain, that the charms of this Lady's perſon and mind were of ſo laſting a nature, that in her third widowhood they made ſuch an impreſſion on the heart of George Talbot, Earl of Shrewſbury, then one of the greateſt ſubjects in the Engliſh nation, that he was very deſirous of engaging her to alter the ſtate of life ſhe led for the fourth time; but before he could perſuade her thereto, he was obliged to conſent unto terms that were very advantageous for her family (25). Her Ladyſhip could not indeed inſiſt that the eſtates of the family ſhould be ſettled upon her, but ſhe took care that they ſhould be at all events enjoyed by her poſterity, by cauſing the Earl to give his youngeſt daughter the Lady Grace, to her eldeſt ſon Henry Cavendiſh, Eſq; and at the ſame time, married her youngeſt daughter Mary, to Gilbert the Earl's ſecond ſon, who proved afterwards the heir of his honours and eſtates (26). The felicity of this laſt marriage ſeems to have been ſomewhat troubled by her Lord's having the cuſtody of the Queen of Scots; for we are told by a certain author (27), that the Counteſs being at Court, and Queen Elizabeth demanding how that Princeſs did? She anſwered, *Madam, ſhe cannot do ill while ſhe is with my huſband; and I begin to grow jealous, they are ſo great together*. We are likewiſe told by Mr Camden, that it was conſidered as a very high proof of the Earl's wiſdom, that in ſuch ambiguous times (this is our author's own word) he ſhould be able to maintain his credit, notwithſtanding the practices of his enemies, Court calumnies, and the diſturbances given him by his ſecond wife (28). All this taken together, roſe ſo high as to become the ſubject of a publick proſecution (29). And in the inſcription upon the Earl's tomb (30) it is aſſerted, that notwithſtanding the ſcandalous report ſpread by malicious people, of his familiarity with the captive Queen, his conduct was entirely honourable and innocent. But theſe rumours gave occaſion to the removing that unhappy Princeſs into the cuſtody of Sir Amias Pawlet, with whom ſhe remained 'till the time of her deplorable death (31). This noble Peer dying November 18th, 1590 (32), the Counteſs became a widow for the fourth time, and ſo continued for the remainder of her days. As her whole life was, with a very few interruptions, a continued ſeries of proſperity, ſhe was at liberty to diſcover the noblenes and magnificence of her nature, which ſhe did in monuments as laſting as it was in the power of ſo prudent and diſcreet a perſon to contrive. She built three of the moſt elegant ſeats that were ever raiſed by one hand, within the ſame County, beyond example, Chatſworth, Hardwick, and Oldcotes, all tranſmitted entire to the firſt Duke of Devonſhire (33). At Hardwick ſhe left the ancient ſeat of her family ſtanding, and at a ſmall diſtance, ſtill adjoining to her new fabrick, as if ſhe had a mind to preſerve her cradle and ſet it by her bed of ſtate. Which old houſe has one room in it, of ſuch exact proportion, and ſuch convenient light, that it has been thought fit for a pattern of meaſure and contrivance, of a room in the late Duke of Marlborough's noble houſe at Blenheim (34). Some memorials alſo are ſtill preſerved of the royal gueſt entertained here fifteen years; for the Queen of Scots chamber, and rooms of ſtate, with her arms, and other enſigns of her dignity, are ſtill remaining at Hardwick: Her bed was taken away for plunder in the Civil Wars. At Chatſworth the new lodgings that anſwer the old are ſtill called the Queen of Scots apartment; and an iſland plat, on the top of a ſquare tower, built in a large pool, is ſtill called the Queen of Scot's garden, and ſome of her own royal work is ſtill preſerved among the treaſures of this family (35). A carpet embroidered with her needle, and particularly a ſuit of hangings now remaining in a chamber at Hardwick, wherein all the Virtues are repreſented in ſymbolical figures and alluſive motto's; an ornament and a lecture. Neither was ſhe unmindful, in the midſt of ſo much abundance, of ſuch of her fellow creatures, and fellow Chriſtians, as by the permiſſion of the ſame divine Providence, which dealt ſo bountifully with her, were left in all the bitterneſs of want, and therefore ſhe endowed a noble Hoſpital at Derby, for the entertainment of twelve poor people, who have each about ten pounds a year for their ſubſiſtence (36). In this manner lived and died Elizabeth Counteſs Dowager of Shrewſbury, on the 13th of February, 1607, her body lying buried in the ſouth iſle of Allhallows Church in Derby, under a ſtately monument, which ſhe took care to erect in her own life-time, on which her ſtatue, curiouſly wrought, lies at full length (37). On this tomb there is alſo a large inſcription, placed there many years after her death, wherein ſhe is ſaid to have been in her 87th year, which muſt be a miſtake, for reaſons beforementioned, and which plainly ſhow, that ſhe muſt have been at leaſt in the 91ſt year of her age. Her funeral ſermon, with a large encomium on her many ſhining qualities, was preached by Dr Toby Mathew, Archbiſhop of York, who choſe for his text, Prov. xxxi. 25. to the end of the chapter (38). Her memory was long after celebrated by another eloquent Prelate, who, after running through the principal paſſages of her life, ſums up all in the following courtly phraſes, 'A change of conditions that, perhaps, never fell to any one woman, to be four times a creditable and happy wife; to riſe by every huſband into greater wealth and higher honours; to have an unanimous iſſue by one huſband only; to have all thoſe children live; and all, by her advice, be honourably and creditably diſpoſed of in her life-time; and, after all, to live ſeventeen years a widow in abſolute power and plenty (39).'

[*D*] *We ſhall ſay ſomewhat in the notes.*] The names of Sir William Cavendiſh's children, by his laſt lady, we have already mentioned, and therefore here we ſhall take notice only of ſome particulars relating to his eldeſt and youngeſt ſons; and to the youngeſt of his daughters, becauſe they ſeem neceſſary to the right underſtanding ſeveral paſſages in the ſucceeding articles. Henry Cavendiſh, his eldeſt ſon, was elected one of the Knights of the Shire for the county of Derby, in the Parliament held in the 14th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and ſerved for the ſame county in five other ſucceeding parliaments (40). In 1578 he went over into the Low-Countries, and ſerved there with great reputation (41). He had no iſſue by his Lady, who was the daughter of the Earl of Shrewſbury; but having lived with univerſal reputation, died at Endſore, near Chatſworth, in Derbyſhire, Oct. 12, 1616, and was buried in the Church there, where we find an inſcription

(19) Thoroton's Antiq. of Nottinghamſhire, p. 186, 187.

(20) See that inſcription at large in Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 420.

(21) Life of William Duke of Newcaſtle, by his Ducheſs, p. 154.

(22) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 139.

(23) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(24) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 420.

(25) Life of William Duke of Newcaſtle, by his Ducheſs, p. 154.

(26) Biſhop Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh, p. 517.

(27) Fuller's Worthies in Com. Derby, p. 237.

(28) Camden, Annal. p. 622, 623.

(29) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 216, 217.

(30) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 56.

(31) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 384.

(32) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 333.

(33) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 141.

(37) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 420.

(38) This Sermon, in the Archbiſhop's own hand writing, was in the curious and copious Collection of Rarieties belonging to R. Thoreſby, Eſq; of Leeds.

(39) Biſhop Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh, p. 67.

(40) Brown Willis's Notitia Parliament. Vol. II. p. 222.

(41) Annal. Camden. p. 320.

latter part of his life, at the instance of the lady he last married, that Sir William Cavendish sold most of his estates in other parts of the kingdom, in order to purchase lands in Derbyshire, where her estates lay, and began to build a noble house at Chatsworth which he did not live to finish (*q*).. He appears from his writings to have been a man of great honour and integrity, a good subject to his Prince, a true lover of his country, and one who preserved to the last, a very high reverence and esteem for his old master, and first patron, Cardinal Wolsey, whose Life he wrote in the latter part of his own, and there gives him a very high character, affirming, that in his judgment, he never saw the kingdom in better obedience and quiet, than during the time of his authority, or justice better administered (*r*). This work of his remained long in manuscript, and the original is, or at least was a few years ago, in the hands of the Duke of Kingston (*s*). It had been seen and consulted by the Lord Herbert, when he wrote his History of the Reign of King Henry VIII, but he was either unacquainted with our author's christian name, or mistook him for his elder brother George Cavendish of Glemsford in the county of Suffolk, Esq; for by that name his Lordship calls him; but it appears plainly from what he says, that the History he made use of was our author's, and that he gave great credit to it, since in his character of Cardinal Wolsey he agrees entirely with him (*t*). Bishop Burnet also had seen and made use of our author's History (*u*), in relation to which there are some very curious remarks in a work of Mr Strype's, which deserve the reader's notice, and are therefore placed at the bottom of the page [*E*]. It might be of some use to the learned world, if, by collating the several manuscripts, that are still extant of this work, a new and correct edition of it was published, with notes, shewing wherein it differs from other Histories of that famous Cardinal.

(*q*) Life of William Duke of Newcastle, by his Duchess, p. 154.

(*r*) In the Prologue or Dedication to the Marquis of Dorchester.

(*s*) Supposed to be given by the author to his daughter, who married into that family.

(*t*) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p. 122.

(*u*) History of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 8.

(42) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 138.

(43) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(44) See the article of ARABELLA (Lady) in this Dictionary.

(45) Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 128.

tion to preserve his memory (42). His youngest brother, and the third son of Sir William Cavendish, seated himself at Welbeck in Nottinghamshire; and being knighted, was stiled Sir Charles Cavendish of Welbeck. He married Catharine, second daughter to Cuthbert Lord Ogle, and by that marriage acquired a large estate. He died in the month of June, 1617, and was buried at Bolesover, in the County of Derby (43). Mary, Countess of Shrewsbury, youngest Daughter of Sir William Cavendish, interested herself deeply in the affairs of her neice, Lady Arabella Stuart, and thereby brought herself into very great troubles, as we have shewn in another place (44). And we take notice of it here, only to put the reader in mind, that this lady, who was so nearly allied to the Crown, was the granddaughter of our Sir William Cavendish.

[*E*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The passage referred to in the text runs thus (45); 'Cardinal *Wolsey*'s 'life was long in MS. written by *Cavendish*, his domestick. Afterwards printed, *Anno* 1667, for *Dorman Newman*, entitled, *The Life and Death of* THOMAS WOLSEY *Cardinal, once Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor of England, containing*, I. *The Original of his Promotion, and the Way he took to obtain it.* II. *The Continuance in his Magnificence.* III. *His Negotiations concerning the Peace with* France *and the* Netherlands. IV. *His Fall, Death, and Burial. Wherein are things remarkable for those times. Written by one of his own servants, being his Gentleman Usher.* An ancient MS. of this life, which seemed to be original, I once bought of Mr *Woodward:* which I afterwards parted with to Secretary *Harley*, afterwards Lord High-Treasurer and Earl of *Oxford and Mortimer*. The printed Book aforesaid was dedicated to *Henry* Lord Marquis of *Dorset*. By which Dedication, it seems, it was now newly reprinted. The Preface is of the Author's own writing, having these expressions: *The Cardinal was my lord and master, whom, in his life-time, I served: And so remained with him in his fall continually, during the time of all his troubles, both in the south and north parts, until he died. In all which time I punctually observed all his demeanors, as also his great triumphs and glorious estate,* &c. *Nevertheless, whatsoever any man hath conceived of him in his life, or since his death, thus much I dare say, without offence of any, that in my judgment I never saw this realm in better obedience, and quiet, than it was in the time of his authority; nor justice better administered, without partiality, as I could justly prove, if I should not be taxed with too much affection.* This Book is misprinted very much, as I have given a *Specimen* in my marginal Notes in the beginning of the Book. In the edition of it *Anno* 1667, I did in the beginning write as followeth. This Book was printed again, *Anno* 1706, with another title, *viz. Memoirs of the great Favourite Cardinal* Wolsey: *With Remarks on his Rise and Fall, and other Secret Transactions of his Ministry. Together with a Memorial presented to Queen Elizabeth by* Will. Cecil, Lord Burghley, *to prevent her Majesty's being engrossed by any particular Favourite.* But this can be none of the Lord *Burghley*'s, as may be concluded by divers phrases and manners of speech that were not used in those times. Nor would that Lord have dared to write so plain and bold to the Queen; nor would she have bore it. It is plain this discourse was levelled at some of the Ministry in that time of Queen *Anne*, in order to make way for another Ministry. The original Book is not divided into chapters, as this is, but a continued discourse. It hath the very faults and misprintings of the former edition; as p. 2. *Forest* for *Feast*, and Sir *James Pawlet* for Sir *Amyas*. The Preface, which is called the Prologue in the Manuscript, varies and changes words, and leaves out, to make the language more suitable to the present age. But indeed, rather mars than mends the stile.'

E

CAVENDISH (WILLIAM) second son of the former, and the first of this family raised to the dignity of Peerage. At the time of his father's decease he was very young, and but a child when his mother married the Earl of Shrewsbury, with whose children he was brought up, and by the care of the Earl had an excellent education (*a*). As he was his mother's favourite, she gave him in her life-time, and left him at her decease so plentifully, that he had a better estate than his elder brother (*b*). He was chosen member for Newport in the county of Cornwall, in the Parliament held in the thirty-first of Elizabeth (*c*); and it is probable that he sat in succeeding Parliaments, though we are not able to say for what place. He was very early, and very much considered in the Court of King James, so that in the month of May 1605, at the christening of the Princess Sophia, when his Majesty was pleased to advance some of the Nobility, and to create others, he was honoured with the title of Baron Cavendish of Hardwicke, in the county of Derby (*d*). It does not appear that he was desirous of places, or of Court preferments, but notwithstanding this, he was far from leading an inactive life, as is evident from his being among the first adventurers for settling the Bermudas Islands, one of which has the

(*a*) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish.

(*b*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 143.

(*c*) Willis's Notit. Parl. Vol. II. p. 164.

(*d*) Pat. 3 Jac. p. 12. Apparat. Annal. Camden. R. Reg. Jac. Primi, p. 4. Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 69.

honour

honour to bear his name, as a mark of the concern he had in the eſtabliſhment of that flouriſhing plantation (e) [A]. He received, ſome years after this, a very great acceſſion to his fortune, by the death of his eldeſt brother (f), which was followed on the ſecond of Auguſt 1618, with an augmentation of honour, for being at that time in attendance upon the King on a progreſs, he was pleaſed to declare him, in the Biſhop's palace at Saliſbury, Earl of Devonſhire, though his patent for that honour did not paſs the ſeals 'till ſome days after (g). He enjoyed this honour about ſeven years, dying at his ſeat at Hardwicke, on the third of March 1625-6, with the character of being one of the worthieſt Noblemen, and trueſt Patriots of his time (h). His Lordſhip was twice married, and had iſſue of both marriages, as the reader will ſee in the notes [B]. His corps was removed to the burying-place of the family at Endſore near Chatſworth, where it was interred, and a monument erected for him with a ſuitable inſcription (i) [C].

(e) Continuation of Stowe's Annals, p. 944.

(f) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(g) Catalogue of Nobility, by R. Brooke, p. 64.

(h) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(i) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 144.

[A] *Of that flouriſhing plantation.*] The Bermudas iſtands are ſuppoſed to receive their Name from one John Bermudas (1), a Spaniard, who diſcovered them. They lie in the Latitude of 32 degrees 33 minutes north, and are equally remarkable for their being one of the moſt numerous Archipelago's hitherto diſcovered; and for their lying the fartheſt from any continent. There cannot well be a ſtronger proof of the former, than that their number was never aſcertained. Some make them three, others five hundred, but the beſt writers agree, that there are upwards of four hundred. As to the latter, they lie three hundred leagues from the neareſt point of Carolina, which yet is that part of the continent of America nigheſt them (2). One Henry May, an Engliſhman, was a-ſhore here in 1593, and the account he gave of them firſt made them known in England. Sir George Somers being ſhipwrecked on them in 1609, procured them the name of the Summer Iſtands; and upon the report made by Captain Somers, Sir George's brother, a company was eſtabliſhed for the ſettling of them, by a Grant from King James in 1612, in which this noble Peer, with the Earls of Northampton and Pembroke, the Lords Paget and Harrington, and many others, were concerned (3). They ſent over a veſſel with ſixty perſons the ſame year, and conſtituted Mr Richard Moor the firſt Governor, who performed his commiſſion very ſucceſsfully; and the ſame good fortune has attended this colony ever ſince, ſo that at preſent, though it be none of the richeſt, yet it is one of the faireſt and moſt flouriſhing; to which we may add, that except Barbadoes, it is the beſt peopled of any of it's ſize in America (4). The town of St George is one of the beſt built in that quarter of the world, the houſes being all cedar, and the fortifications ſtone. The great iſland is divided into eight tribes, and the third in number, and middlemoſt in ſituation, is now called Devonſhire-tribe, though, I apprehend, it was formerly called Cavendiſh. It is one of the two pariſhes, and has a neat church and a good library. There is beſides a very ſmall iſland between St George's and St David's, which has a little caſtle well fortified, that bears the name of Cavendiſh fort, in honour of this noble family (5).

(1) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 440.

(2) A ſhort Deſcription of Bermuda, by Mr Norwood, p. 31.

(3) Continuat. of Stowe's Annal. p. 944.

(4) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 443.

(5) Deſcription of the Iſlands of Bermuda, p. 41.

[B] *As the reader will ſee in the notes.*] His Lordſhip married firſt Anne, daughter and heir to Henry Kighly, of Kighly (6) in the county of York, Eſq; by whom he had three ſons and three daughters; firſt Gilbert, who died in his youth, and left a very ingenious work, intituled, *Horæ ſubſecivæ; Obſervations and Diſcourſes*, &c. it was publiſhed in 1620 (7). Second William, his heir and ſucceſſor; third James, who died in his infancy; fourth Frances, married to Sir William Maynard; fifth and ſixth Mary and Elizabeth, who both died young (8). His ſecond wife was Elizabeth, daughter to Edward Boughton of Cauſton in the county of Warwick, Eſquire, and widow of Sir Richard Wortly, of Wortly in the county of York, Knight, by whom he had iſſue Sir John Cavendiſh Knight of the Bath, at the creation of Charles Prince of Wales, Anno 1616, who departed this life on the 18th of January 1617 (9).

(6) Vincent's Dif. of Errors in Brooke's Catal. of the Nobility, p. 165.

(7) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 474.

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(9) Vincent's Diſcovery of Errors, &c. p. 166.

[C] *With a ſuitable inſcription.*] The villages of Chatſworth and Endſore ſtand oppoſite to each other, one on the eaſt, the other on the weſt-ſide of the little river Darwent. At Chatſworth is that noble palace, which is conſidered as the chief ſeat of the Devonſhire family. At Endſore many of them lie interred; but, for all this, Hardwick is conſidered as the origin or birth-place, as it were, of this noble race, as well in conſideration of it's being their firſt Barony, as for it's being the proper eſtate of Elizabeth Counteſs of Shrewſbury, whoſe fame is ſtill freſh in theſe parts (10). It is in this light that we find Mr Camden conſiders things in his Britannia, where he ſpeaks thus (11). 'On 'the very edge of the county, to the eaſt, upon a 'rough ground ſtands Hardwick, which has given 'name to a famous family in this county, from whom 'is deſcended Elizabeth the preſent Counteſs of Shrewſ-'bury, who has there laid the foundation of two ſtately 'houſes almoſt joining to one another, which at a great 'diſtance appear very fair, by reaſon of their high 'ſituation. At preſent the title of this Barouy is en-'joyed by William Cavendiſh, her ſecond ſon, who 'was lately advanced by King James to the honour of 'Baron Cavendiſh of Hardwick.' E

(10) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(11) Camden's Britannia in Derbyſhire, p. 494.

CAVENDISH (William) ſon to the former, and the ſecond Earl of Devonſhire of this family. He was born in 1589, and very carefully educated in the houſe of his father (a), who, when he grew up to the age of nineteen, ſent for Mr Thomas Hobbes, ſo well known to the world by the name of the Philoſopher of Malmſbury, from Oxford, to be the director of his ſon's ſtudies, tho' there was but a year's difference in their age (b). Mr Hobbes, from the time he came into the family, gained ſo much on the affections of his pupil, that he lived with him rather as a friend and companion, than as a Tutor, and thereby drew him to have a ſtrong paſſion for Hiſtory, Politicks, Antiquities, and other parts of polite learning (c). In the ſpring of the year 1609, Mr Cavendiſh received the honour of knighthood at Whitehall (d), which was with a view to a match intended for him, and after this he viſited France and Italy in the company of Mr Hobbes, and on his return from his travels, the marriage beforementioned took effect, and Sir William Cavendiſh was thereupon eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of a very conſiderable fortune (e) [A]. The nobleneſs and generoſity of his temper, induced Sir William Cavendiſh

(a) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(b) Vita Tho. Hobbes, p. 2.

(c) Vita Hobbeiana Auctarium, p. 28, 29.

(d) Manuſcript Cat. of Knights.

(e) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 145.

[A] *Of a very conſiderable fortune.*] There are ſome who tell us, that the honour of Knighthood was conferred upon Sir William Cavendiſh after his return from his travels (1), and immediately before his marriage; but beſides various other reaſons that might be alledged in diſproof of this, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that it is contradicted by Mr Hobbes's account of his own life, where he ſays expreſsly, that he did not travel with his pupil 'till 1610 (2). The match then propoſed, and which afterwards took effect, was with the only daughter of Edward, Lord Bruce of Kinloſſe, for whom King James had a very particular eſteem, as indeed it was very reaſonable he ſhould, for beſides his noble deſcent from the male-line of that Royal family,

(1) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 145.

(2) Vita Tho. Hobbes, p. 2.

diſh to make a great figure at Court, and to live with much luſtre in the country, even while he was a younger brother; but when, by the deceaſe of Gilbert Lord Cavendiſh, he came to be conſidered as the heir apparent of his father's titles and fortunes, he carried his magnificence to ſuch a height, that he was conſidered by King James, as a perſon who did honour to his country, more eſpecially as he was one of the beſt bred, and beſt accompliſhed Nobleman of his time (*f*). When therefore Count Swartzenburgh came over in the month of April 1622, in quality of Embaſſador from the Emperor Ferdinand, Lord Cavendiſh was made choice of to conduct him to his publick audience (*g*), and was appointed in like manner to accompany Signior Valeriſſio, Embaſſador-Extraordinary from the Republick of Venice, and Monſ. d'Arſennes and Joachimi, Joint-Embaſſadors of the States of the United Provinces (*h*). His Lordſhip and his Lady, in the year 1625, waited on King Charles I. to Canterbury, by his royal appointment, to be preſent at his nuptials with Maria Henrietta, ſecond daughter to King Henry IV of France, who arrived at Dover the thirteenth of June, and came the ſame night to Canterbury, where the marriage was conſummated (*i*). When he became Earl of Devonſhire by the deceaſe of his father, his deſire of keeping up the dignity of the family, and living in a manner ſuitable to his quality both in town and country, brought him into ſuch expence, as even his large fortune could not ſupport, and as he was a perſon of the niceſt honour, and one who had the ſtricteſt regard for juſtice, he made uſe of the favour in which he ſtood with his Prince, and his credit in Parliament, to procure an Act for ſale of part of his eſtates for the payment of his debts, which was in thoſe days a rare thing, and not to be obtained without difficulty (*k*). In his publick character he was truly a Patriot, for his loyalty to his Prince was without any tincture of ambition, and his zeal for the publick good had not the ſmalleſt intermixture of factious popularity. In his private life, he had all the qualities requiſite to make him eſteemed and beloved. His learning operated on his conduct, but was ſeldom ſhewn in his diſcourſe. He was a kind huſband, a tender father, a beneficent maſter, a friend to his neighbours, and a father to the poor. In fine, he deſerved in every reſpect the character beſtowed upon him by one who was beſt acquainted with him, that from his behaviour it might be eaſily perceived, that *honour* and *honeſty* are but the ſame thing, in different degrees, of perſons (*l*). But this great man, whoſe virtues added luſtre to his titles, and who was juſtly eſteemed the ornament of the Court, and the delight of his country, lived but a very ſhort time to enjoy thoſe honours which became him ſo well, for on the twentieth of June 1628, he departed this life at Devonſhire-houſe near Biſhopſgate, where the ſquare of the ſame name is now ſeated, in the thirty-ninth year of his age (*m*), and was buried on the eleventh of July following (*n*), in the church of All-hallows at Derby, where a moſt ſtately monument, with his own ſtatue in white marble upright in the midſt of it, is erected to his memory, but without any inſcription (*o*). This noble Earl was only once married to Chriſtian, daughter of Edward Lord Bruce of Kinloſſe, ſiſter to Thomas Earl of Elgin in Scotland, and aunt to Robert Earl of Ayleſbury in England, a woman, whoſe great qualities, and greater virtues, have tranſmitted her fame with due praiſes to poſterity (*p*) [*B*]. By her he left four children, as the

(*f*) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family, p. 74.

(*g*) Sir John Finnet's Obſervations on Ambaſſadors, p. 95, 96.

(*h*) Life of Chriſtian Counteſs of Devonſhire, p. 112, 188.

(*i*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. P. i. p. 107.

(*k*) Life of the Counteſs of Devon. p. 27, 28.

(*l*) See Mr Hobbes's Dedication of Thucydides in Engliſh, to the ſon of this worthy Nobleman.

(*m*) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(*n*) MS. J. P. in Offic. Arm. f. 18.

(*o*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 42.

(*p*) See Pomfret's Life of this Lady.

of which the Stuarts were deſcended, by females he had been highly inſtrumental by the ſecret correſpondence he held with Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury, in procuring the peaceable acceſſion of his Maſter to the throne of England, for which he had been rewarded with a Peerage and a grant of lands in Scotland, and with the office of Maſter of the Rolls for life in England (3). But the King ſhowed his kindneſs chiefly in the pains he took about this marriage, in which he was equally gracious to both parties. He made choice of Sir William Cavendiſh on account of his perſonal accompliſhments as well as of his family; and he beſtowed upon him the Lady as his kinſwoman with whom he gave a fortune of ten thouſand pounds; and that he might ſtill do greater honour to the marriage, he gave her away with his own hand (4). In return for his Royal condeſcenſion, he ſollicited and prevailed upon the Lord Cavendiſh, of Hardwick, for he was not then Earl of Devonſhire, or poſſeſſed of his elder brother's fortune, to make a great ſettlement on his ſecond ſon; and his Lordſhip was ſo ſenſible of the honour done him, that he came up fully to his Majeſty's expectations, and perhaps exceeded (5), what in that caſe he would otherwiſe have done.

(1) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 133.

(4) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(5) Life of the Counteſs of Devonſhire, p. 23.

[*B*] *With due praiſes to poſterity.*] We have already given an account of this Lady's family; and therefore, we ſhall only obſerve, that as ſhe lived in the utmoſt harmony with her Lord, for whom ſhe had the ſincereſt affection; ſo in reſpect to his family ſhe was another Counteſs of Shrewſbury, and employed the great powers veſted in her by her huſband for the benefit of his illuſtrious race, with the utmoſt prudence and fidelity. In the firſt place, ſhe made a proper diſpoſition of the money ariſing by ſale of his eſtate; and in the next, ſhe managed her large jointure of 5000 *l.* a year with ſuch oeconomy and circumſpection, that in the courſe of her long life, ſhe added to it 4000 *l.* a year more of her own acquiring (6). Beſides all this, ſhe extricated the family from ſeveral tedious and perplexd law-ſuits, which ſhe managed with ſuch diligence, decency, and dexterity, and at the ſame time, with ſuch ſufficiency and ſucceſs, that King Charles I. who, as his father King James had done, and his ſon King Charles II. did, converſed with her very familiarly, would ſome time merrily ſay, *Madam, you have all my Judges at your diſpoſal* (7). There never was a woman more admired for her courtly and polite behaviour, at the ſame time that her virtue and piety made her looked upon as an example for all her ſex. A certain witty writer drew her character in a few lines; *The Counteſs of* Devonſhire (ſays he) *is at once the beſt woman, and the beſt bred woman in the nation; ſhe has all the complaiſance of a Court, without the leaſt affectation; and all the ſtrictneſs of religion in her conduct, without the leaſt pretence to it in her diſcourſe* (8). Another writer, from whom we have her life at large, gives us the following picture of her at full length (9). 'Prayers and pious readings were her 'firſt buſineſs, the remainders of the day were deter- 'mined to her friends, in the entertainment of whom 'her converſation was ſo tempered with courtſhip and 'heartineſs, her diſcourſes ſo ſweetned with the delica- 'cies of expreſſion, that ſuch as did not well know the 'expence of her time, would have thought ſhe had 'employed it all in addreſs and dialogue: in both 'which ſhe exceeded moſt Ladies, and yet never 'affected the title of a wit; carried no ſnares in her 'tongue, nor counterfeited friendſhips; and as ſhe 'was

(6) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh. Life of the Counteſs of Devon, p. 26.

(7) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(8) MS. Letter of Lord Digby.

(6) Pomfret's Life of the Counteſs of Devon, p. 36, 37.

the reader will be informed in the notes [C]; though he had not the happineſs to ſee any of them arrive at the age of diſcretion, and moſt of them, at his death, were in their infancy.

' was never known to ſpeak evil of any, ſo neither ' would ſhe endure to hear of it from any of others, ' reckoning it not only a vice againſt good manners, ' but the greateſt indecency alſo in the entertainment ' of friends; and therefore, always kept herſelf with- ' in the meaſures of civility and religion. Her geſtures ' correſponded to her ſpeech, being of a free, native, ' genuine, and graceful behaviour, as far from affect- ' ed and extraordinary motions, as they from diſcretion. ' Theſe admirable qualities drew to her houſe all the ' beſt company, towards whom ſhe had ſo eaſy and ' ſuch obliging addreſs, without the leaſt allay of levity ' or diſdain, that every one departed with the higheſt ' ſatisfaction; ſhe ever diſtributing her reſpects accord- ' ing to the quality and merit of each, ſteering the ' ſame ſteady courſe in the country alſo, between which ' and the town ſhe commonly divided the year.' We ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention this Lady in the ſucceeding articles, and ſhall therefore add nothing farther here of her, except, that as ſhe was ſteadily loyal to King Charles I. through all his troubles, ſhe was no leſs faithful to the intereſt of his ſon in his exile, and was among the very few people to whom General Monk gave early intelligence of his good intention. Of theſe her conſtant and continual ſervices, King Charles II. was ſo ſenſible, that after his Reſtoration, he frequently dined with her, ſometimes in the company of the Queens, Dowager and Conſort. She lived to the laſt with all that profuſeneſs of Engliſh generoſity, which was the characteriſtick of that age in which ſhe paſſed her youth, and with all that dignity and magnificence by which the houſe of Devonſhire has been always diſtinguiſhed, 'till, full of years and glory, ſhe departed this life on January 16, 1674, and was carried with great funeral pomp down to Derby, where ſhe was interred, as we ſhall have occaſion to mention elſe- where.

[C] *In the notes.*] His iſſue by Chriſtian, Counteſs of Devonſhire, were three ſons and one daughter. 1. William, Lord Cavendiſh, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the next article. 2. Charles, of whom we ſhall like- wiſe give an article. 3. Henry, who died young. 4. Lady Anne Cavendiſh, who married Robert, Lord Rich, ſon and heir of Robert, Earl of Warwick, ſhe died early of an ague, and was a Lady of ſuch diſtin- guiſhed perfections, that her loſs was deplored by three of the worthieſt men, and greateſt wits, of that age in which there were ſo many, *viz.* the famous Viſcount Falkland, the celebrated Mr Waller, and the ingenious Mr Godolphin, as well as by other writers of an in- ferior rank (10). This Lady had by the Lord Rich, only one ſon, Robert, who married Frances youngeſt daughter to Oliver Cromwell, and died in his father's life-time without iſſue; which is the rather mentioned, becauſe Sir William Dugdale (11) makes her mother alſo of three daughters; whereas, they were the children of Robert Lord Rich by his ſecond wife, the widow of Mr Rogers, and the daughter of Sir Thomas Cheeke of Pirgo in Eſſex.

(10) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(11) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 388.

E

CAVENDISH (WILLIAM) ſon to the former, and third Earl of Devonſhire of this family. He was at the time of his father's deceaſe, as appears from the inquiſition taken into the Court of Wards, ten years, eight months, and ten days old (*a*); ſo that he muſt have been born November 10, 1617. At the Coronation of King Charles I. in February 1625-6, he was made a Knight of the Bath (*b*). As a mark of his Majeſty's regard for the family, the wardſhip of the young Earl of Devonſhire, upon the demiſe of his father, was granted to his mother the Counteſs Dowager (*c*), who was equally care- ful in the management of the family eſtate, and providing for the education of the young Lord her ſon. It was with a view to this, that when he had reached the age of thireen, his mother ſent for Mr Hobbes from Paris, that ſhe might put him under his care; and accordingly, after having inſtructed him in the learned languages and the principles of polite Literature at home for about three years, he, in 1633, attended his Lordſhip abroad, and having made the tour of Italy and France, and ſpent ſome time in Paris, his Lord- ſhip returned to England in 1637 (*d*). At that time, he was eſteemed one of the hand- ſomeſt young Noblemen in his perſon (*e*); and with reſpect to the qualities of his mind, one of the beſt accompliſhed in the kingdom; ſo that ſeveral noble families had him in their eye, and would willingly have drawn him into their alliance by marriage. Amongſt the reſt, the Counteſs of Leiceſter, for the Earl was at that time abroad, was inclined to have matched him with her daughter, the Lady Dorothea Sidney (*f*), whom Mr Waller has rendered immortal, by the name of Sachariſſa; but however, that deſign did not take effect. When he came of age, his mother delivered up to him all the great houſes in Derbyſhire, compleatly furniſhed; and ſoon after, he married the Lady Elizabeth Cecil, ſecond daughter to William, Earl of Saliſbury (*g*). His Lordſhip diſcovered early, as he retained to the laſt, the loyal and virtuous principles of his illuſtrious anceſtors. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Houſe of Lords, by a noble and generous oppoſition to the bill for attainting the Earl of Strafford (*h*), and very ſteadily adhered to the conſtitution of his country, when he ſaw it attacked under the plauſible pretence of improving liberty. When the King withdrew into the North, his Lordſhip followed him, and was one of the noble Peers that in June 1642 (*i*), ſubſcribed the famous Declaration at York, which was ſo ill reliſhed at Weſtminſter, that by a reſolution of the houſe of Lords, bearing date the 20th of July following, himſelf and eight other Peers were deprived of their right to ſit or vote, excluded from all privilege of Parliament, and ordered to ſtand committed to the Tower (*k*). Theſe and other acts of violence did not hinder him from perſiſting in his duty, or from ſupplying the King with all the money in his power, tho' his horror of the Civil War (*l*) was ſuch, that he choſe to retire out of the kingdom. This receſs however, gave him little repoſe, for he was thruſt in the number of the delinquents, his great eſtate ſequeſtered, and when by the mediation of his friends, an ordinance was de- pending for his compoſition, an order was made October 23, 1645, for his return from beyond the ſeas by a day aſſigned, with which, by the perſuaſion, or rather at the com- mand of his mother, he complied (*m*). He lived after his return, for the moſt part, at his ſeat called Latimers in Buckinghamſhire, where he was with the Counteſs Dowager, when

(*a*) Cole's Eſc. lib. iii. p. 240, in Bibl. Harley.

(*b*) Catalogues of Knights, MS.

(*c*) Pomfret'sLife of the Counteſs of Devonſhire, p. 26.

(*d*) Vit. Thomæ Hobbes, p. 41.

(*e*) See Mr Hobbes's Dedica- tion of Thucy- dides to this noble Peer, printed in 1628.

(*f*) Letters and Memorials of State from the Collections of the Sidney Family, Vol. II. p. 472, 495.

(*g*) Dugdale'sBa- ronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(*h*) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Re- bellion, p. 215.

(*k*) Collections of Acts of State, &c. p. 375.

(*l*) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(*m*) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 172. Life of the Counteſs of Devon, p. 46, 47.

when the army hurried King Charles from place to place, ſuffered him to reſt for a night or two there, when his Majeſty had much private conſultation with them on the ſtate of his affairs, and at the ſame time expreſſed to them both, the grateful ſenſe he had of the many faithful ſervices they had done him (*n*). The ſuſpicions and dangers of the ſucceeding times, obliged him to maintain a privacy, or rather obſcurity, very little ſuited to the nobleneſs and generoſity of his nature, which however, contributed very much to the reſtoring his private affairs, and to the making up thoſe breaches in his fortune, which the ſeverities he had formerly experienced had produced (*o*). But when better days came on, and the Houſe of Lords was again permitted to ſit, one of the firſt things they did, was, by an order of the 4th of May 1660, to reverſe the judgment formerly given againſt him, as has been before mentioned (*p*). It being thought neceſſary, to preſerve the publick peace, that a Declaration ſhould be made by the Nobility and Gentry that adhered to the Royal cauſe, of their not being implacable, but deſirous of peace and quietneſs, ready to ſubmit to the authority of the approaching Parliament, and willing to bury in oblivion all that was paſſed, as well as all the odious diſtinctions of names and parties, his Lordſhip was the third of twenty Noblemen that ſigned it (*q*). At his Majeſty's return, he was received with all the kindneſs and reſpect due to his long and conſtant ſervices, as well as his great ſufferings; and Auguſt 20, 1660, he was conſtituted Lord Lieutenant of the county of Derby, as a mark of Royal confidence and eſteem; for as to Court preferments, he never ſought, or received them (*r*). He lived moſtly in the country, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf there by his hoſpitality and moderation. He was equally eſteemed by his Prince, and beloved by his fellow-ſubjects; for no man's loyalty was clearer; and yet there was no man more firm to the true principles of liberty, than he (*s*). The religion of the Church of England, had not a more ſincere friend, but at the ſame time he was an enemy to all perſecution, of which he readily gave teſtimony, when any occaſion fell in his way (*t*). It was his known character, and a character never called in queſtion, that he was a man of as much conſcience and honour, religion and virtue, prudence and goodneſs, as that age afforded; and as he lived, univerſally honoured and beloved, ſo he died, lamented and regretted, not only by his friends and neighbours, but by all who had the leaſt knowledge of, or acquaintance with, him, November 23, 1684, at his ſeat at Roehampton in Surry, from whence his body was removed to Derby, and there interred with his anceſtors (*u*). His poſterity are taken notice of in the notes (*w*) [*A*]. As for his Counteſs, ſhe ſurvived him five years; and dying November 16, 1689, was on the 21ſt of the ſame month, interred in a vault under the eaſt window of King Henry VIIth's Chapel in Weſtminſter-Abbey (*x*), with great funeral ſolemnity.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 182. Life of the Counteſs of Devon, p. 55.

(*o*) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(*p*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 570, 571, 572.

(*q*) Kennet's Chron. p. 101.

(*r*) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(*s*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 155.

(*t*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 233.

(*u*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 155.

(*w*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(*x*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 148.

[*A*] *In the notes.*] His Lordſhip had only two ſons and one daughter. Of his eldeſt ſon William Lord Cavendiſh, who, upon his deceaſe, became Earl of Devonſhire, and afterwards, by creation, Marquis of Hartington, and Duke of Devonſhire, we ſhall ſpeak in a ſubſequent article. His ſecond ſon was the honourable Charles Cavendiſh, Eſq; born October 5, 1655, and was a gentleman of moſt humane and courteous diſpoſition, much addicted to privacy and retirement; and one, whoſe virtues rendered him as much eſteemed and admired, as his high birth gained him reſpect. He died unmarried, March 3, 1670, and was buried in the family vault at Derby (1). His lordſhip's only daughter, Lady Anne Cavendiſh, was twice married, firſt to Charles Lord Rich, ſon to Charles Earl of Warwick (2), of whom, by the way, there is not the leaſt notice taken in the account of that noble family which is given in the peerage, but, on the contrary, his father, Charles Earl of Warwick, is ſaid to have died without iſſue by his Counteſs, Mary, daughter to the firſt Earl of Cork (3). Her ſecond huſband was John Earl of Exeter, whom ſhe attended in two journies to Rome, and was with him at the village of Iſſy near Paris, where he died, in his return home, Auguſt 29, 1700 (4). It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that ſhe lies buried with her Lord in a vault in St Martin's Church in Stamford, under a tomb made by the Earl's expreſs direction at Rome, by many ſuppoſed to be the moſt elegant in this kingdom; of which the reader may find a very particular deſcription in the book referred to in the margin (5). And the following character is given of her in the inſcription placed thereon, for preſerving the memory of her Lord, *viz.* 'He had for wife, and the companion 'of his virtues and travels, and, in a manner, of his 'ſtudies, Anne, of the right noble houſe of Cavendiſh, 'daughter of William Earl of Devon; for the beauty 'of her body, ingenuity of her mind, and all thoſe ac-'compliſhments which can any ways adorn a lady 'famous; of whom he begat five children; happy in 'his ſpouſe; and happy in his off-ſpring! But, among 'all the things which make life more bleſſed, being 'ever mindful of mortality, when he was in Italy, 'whilſt he thoroughly examined, and as curiouſly col-'lected, the works of choiceſt art, there he cauſed this 'monument to be made, where it could be moſt ex-'quiſitely done, for himſelf, and the moſt dear conſort 'of his bed and travels, and of all his cares (6).' She deceaſed (7) July 18, 1703.

(1) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(2) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 143.

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 388.

(4) Collins's Peerage, ubi ſup.

(5) Peck's Antiquarian Annals of Stamford, lib. xiv. p. 71.

(6) Ibid. p. 74.

(7) Le Neve's Mon. Angl. p. 2.

CAVENDISH (WILLIAM) Baron Ogle, Viſcount Mansfield, Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Newcaſtle, one of the moſt accompliſhed perſons, as well as one of the moſt able Generals, and moſt diſtinguiſhed patriots of the age. He was ſon of Sir Charles Cavendiſh, youngeſt ſon of Sir William Cavendiſh, and younger brother of the firſt Earl of Devonſhire, by Catharine, daughter of Cuthbert, Lord Ogle (*a*). He was born in the year 1592 (*b*), and diſcovering, even in his infancy, the ſtrongeſt marks of an extraordinary genius, his father was extreamly careful in the cultivation of them, and took all imaginable pains to have him inſtructed, as well in ſciences as in languages; ſo that at an age when moſt young gentlemen are but entering on knowledge, he might be truly ſaid to have acquired a large ſtock of ſolid learning, which was adorned with an eaſy and polite behaviour, that, except on proper occaſions, entirely concealed the ſcholar under the more taking appearance of the fine gentleman (*c*). It was in this light that he appeared and

(*a*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(*b*) As appears from the inſcription upon his monument in Weſtminſter-Abbey.

(*c*) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

and was taken notice of at the Court of King James I, where he was quickly diſtinguiſhed by the King's favour; and in 1610, was made Knight of the Bath, at the creation of Henry, Prince of Wales (*d*). In 1617, his father died, by which he came to the poſſeſſion of a very large eſtate; and having a great intereſt at Court, he was, by letters Patents dated November 3, 1620, raiſed to the dignity of a Peer of the Realm, by the ſtile and title of Baron Ogle and (*e*) Viſcount Mansfield; and having no leſs credit with King Charles I. than with his father King James, was, in the third year of the reign of that Prince, advanced to the higher title of Earl of Newcaſtle upon Tyne, and at the ſame time, he was created Baron Cavendiſh of Boleſover (*f*). Our Genealogiſts and Antiquaries give us but a very obſcure account of theſe honours, or at leaſt, of the Barony of Ogle, to which, in the inſcription upon his own and his grandmother the Counteſs of Shrewſbury's tomb, he is ſaid to have ſucceeded in right of his mother (*g*), a point, which ſhall be explained in the notes [*A*]. His attendance on the Court, tho' it procured him honour, brought him very early into difficulties; and there is ſome reaſon to believe, that he did not ſtand extremely well with the great Duke of Buckingham, who perhaps was apprehenſive of the large ſhare he had in his Maſter's favour (*h*). However, he did not ſuffer, even by that powerful favourite's diſpleaſure, but remained in full credit with his Maſter, which was notwithſtanding ſo far from being beneficial to him, that the ſervices expected from him, and his conſtant waiting upon the King (*i*), plunged him very deeply in debt, tho' he had a very large eſtate, of which we find him complaining heavily in his letters, to his firm and ſteady friend, the Lord Viſcount Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford (*k*). But theſe difficulties, tho' they ſometimes put him upon thoughts of retirement, never in the leaſt diſcouraged him from doing his duty, or from teſtifying his zeal and loyalty, when the King's ſervice required it. This conduct, tho' it does not ſeem to have recommended him much to the great Miniſters, yet maintained him ſo effectually in his Maſter's good opinion, that when, in 1638, it was thought requiſite to take the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Charles II, out of the hands of the women, the King of his own motive made choice of the Earl of Newcaſtle, as the perſon in his kingdom moſt fit to have the tuition of his heir apparent, and accordingly declared him Governor to the Prince, which was certainly as high an act of confidence as a Sovereign could place in a ſubject (*l*). In the ſpring of the year 1639, the firſt troubles in Scotland broke out, which induced the King to aſſemble an army in the North; ſoon after which he went down thither to put himſelf at the head of it; and in his way, was moſt ſplendidly entertained by the Earl of Newcaſtle at his noble ſeat of Welbeck, as he had been ſome years before when he went into that kingdom to be crowned, which tho' in itſelf a very trivial matter, yet ſuch was the magnificence of this noble Peer, that, from the circumſtances attending them, both theſe entertainments have found a place in General Hiſtories (*m*) [*B*]. But this was not the only manner

(*d*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(*e*) Pat. 18 Jac. I. p. 13.

(*f*) Pat. 3 Car. I. p. 11.

(*g*) See this inſcription in Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 420.

(*h*) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 43.

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 26.

(*k*) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 101.

(*l*) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 26. Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collect. Vol. I. p. 178, 283.

[*A*] *Shall be explained in the notes.*] Sir Charles Cavendiſh, this Nobleman's father, married Catharine, the younger daughter of Cuthbert Lord Ogle, her elder ſiſter Jane being married to Edward Earl of Shrewſbury; and during the life-time of that Lady, who was this Nobleman's aunt, as well as during the life-time of his mother, he was raiſed to the rank of a Peer, by the title of Baron Ogle and Viſcount Mansfield, by letters Patents dated the third of November in the 18th year of James I (1). It is true, that his Ducheſs tells us, he was created Baron of Boleſover and Viſcount Mansfield; but in that ſhe appears to be miſtaken; nor is it the only point of the kind in which there are miſtakes in her book (2). King Charles I, by letters Patents dated the ſeventh of March, in the third year of his reign, created him Baron of Boleſover, and, at the ſame time, Earl of Newcaſtle, as is ſet forth in the text. But the year following, his mother's elder ſiſter Jane, counteſs of Shrewſbury, dying without iſſue, the King was graciouſly pleaſed, by letters Patents dated the fourth of December, to declare Dame Catharine Cavendiſh, Baroneſs of Ogle; and to confirm that title to her and her heirs general (3). This ſhews why the Earl of Newcaſtle choſe to have a new Barony created by Patent, and how he comes to be ſtiled Baron of Ogle, in right of his mother; for it ſeems, that he waived any right that he might have to that Barony by his firſt creation; that he might take it by deſcent, as an old Barony in fee, as he did upon his mother's deceaſe, by which he likewiſe came to the poſſeſſion of the family eſtate of Ogle, which was worth three thouſand pounds a year, beſides a perſonal eſtate of twenty thouſand pounds, that his mother left him (4).

(1) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(2) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 137.

(3) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 264.

(4) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 94, 98.

[*B*] *Theſe entertainments have found a place in General Hiſtories.*] The firſt of theſe royal dinners ſeems to have been a thing of mere accident. His Majeſty was going down to Scotland to be crowned, and in his way came to Workſop manor in Nottinghamſhire, which being but two miles from his Lordſhip's houſe at Welbeck in the ſame county, he intreated his Majeſty's viſit to his houſe, and doing him the honour of dining there; which being accepted, he was entertained with ſuch magnificence, that we are told it coſt him between four and five thouſand pounds (5). As to the ſecond of theſe entertainments, there is ſome doubt about it, for we are told very poſitively, that it was given at the time the King marched againſt the rebels in Scotland (6); but in the account his ducheſs has given of his life, ſhe is very particular, and fixes it earlier by ſeveral years. For having given an account of the firſt, ſhe ſays (7), 'That the 'King liked it ſo well, that a year after his return out 'of Scotland, he was pleaſed to ſend my Lord word, 'that her Majeſty the Queen was reſolved to make a 'progreſs into the Northern parts, deſiring him to 'prepare the like entertainment for her as he had 'formerly done for him: which my Lord did, and 'endeavoured for it with all poſſible care and induſtry, 'ſparing nothing that might add ſplendour to that 'feaſt, which both their Majeſties were pleaſed to ho'nour with their preſence. Ben Johnſon, he employ'ed in fitting ſuch ſcenes and ſpeeches as he could beſt 'deviſe, and ſent for all the gentry of the country to 'come and wait on their Majeſties; and, in ſhort, did 'all that ever he could imagine to render it great and 'worthy their Royal acceptance. This entertainment 'he made at Boleſover-caſtle in Derbyſhire, ſome five 'miles diſtant from Welbeck, and reſigned Welbeck 'for their Majeſty's lodging, it coſt him in all between 'fourteen and fifteen thouſand pounds. Beſides theſe 'two, there was another ſmall entertainment, which 'my Lord had prepared for his late Majeſty in his own 'park at Welbeck, when his Majeſty came down 'with his two nephews, the now Prince Elector Palatine, and his brother Prince Rupert, into the foreſt 'of

(5) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 283.

(6) Hiſtory of the Civil War, p. 157.

(7) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 139.

manner in which he expreſſed his warm affection for his Maſter. Such expeditions require great expences, and the King's treaſury was but indifferently provided, for the ſupply of which, the Earl contributed ten thouſand pounds (*n*), and alſo raiſed a troop of horſe, conſiſting of about two hundred Knights and Gentlemen who ſerved at their own charge; and this was honoured with the title of the Prince's troop (*o*). As much as theſe ſervices might recommend him to the King, they rather heightened than leſſened that envy borne to him by ſome great perſons about the Court, of which the Earl of Holland, having given a ſtronger inſtance than his Lordſhip's patience could bear, he took notice of it in ſuch a manner as contributed equally to ſink his rival's reputation and to raiſe his own (*p*) [C]. The choice that had been made of his Lordſhip for the tuition of the Prince, which was at firſt ſo univerſally approved, began now to be called in queſtion by thoſe who meant very ſoon to call every thing in queſtion, but the Earl was no ſooner informed of it, than he very prudently reſolved to do all that was in his power to prevent the King's having any trouble upon his account, and therefore deſired to reſign his office, which he did; and in June 1640 (*q*), it was given to the Marquis of Hertford. As his Lordſhip took this ſtep from the knowledge he had of the ill-will borne him by the chief perſons amongſt the diſaffected, ſo he thought he could not take a better method to avoid the effects of their reſentment, than to retire into the country; which accordingly he did, and remained there quietly 'till he received his Majeſty's orders to viſit Hull; and tho' theſe came at twelve o'clock at night, his Lordſhip went immediately thither, tho' forty miles diſtant, and entered the place with only two or three ſervants, early the next morning (*r*). He offered his Majeſty to have ſecured for him that important fortreſs, and all the magazines that were there; but inſtead of receiving ſuch a command as he expected, his Majeſty ſent him inſtructions to obey whatever directions were ſent him by the Parliament; upon the heels of which came their order for him to attend the ſervice of the houſe; which he accordingly did, when a deſign was formed to have attacked him, but his general character was ſo good, that this ſcheme was let fall (*s*). The Earl of Newcaſtle upon this, retired again into the country, having little pleaſure in being at Court, when all things were viſibly tending to confuſion. He did not long however enjoy the repoſe he ſo earneſtly ſought; for upon the King's coming to York, his Lordſhip was ſent for thither; and in June 1642, his Majeſty gave him directions to take upon him the care of the town of Newcaſtle, and the command of the four adjacent counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Durham; theſe orders were eaſily iſſued, but they were not ſo eaſily to be carried into execution; for at this time, the King had not either money, forces, or ammunition, and yet there never was more apparent neceſſity, for at that juncture his Majeſty had not a ſingle port open in his dominions; and if either the order had been delayed a few days, or had been ſent to any other perſon, the deſign had certainly miſcarried (*t*). But, as ſoon as he received his Majeſty's commands, he repaired immediately to the place, and by his own intereſt there ſecured it, he raiſed alſo a troop of one hundred and twenty horſe, and a good regiment of foot, which ſecured him from any ſudden attempts (*u*). Soon after, the Queen who was retired out of the kingdom, ſent a ſupply of arms and ammunition, which being deſigned for the troops under the King's command, the Earl took care they ſhould be ſpeedily and ſafely conducted to his Majeſty under the eſcort of his only troop, which his Majeſty kept, to the great prejudice of his own affairs in the North (*w*). The Parliament, in the mean time, had not forgot the Earl's behaviour towards them, but as a mark of their reſentment excepted him by name, which was ſo far from diſcouraging, that it put his Lordſhip upon taking briſker meaſures; and having well conſidered his own influence

(*n*) Life of William Duke of Newcaſtle, by his Ducheſs, p. 7.

(*o*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. 1. p. 929.

(*p*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 42. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. 1. p. 930.

(*q*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. i. p. 46.

(*r*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 8, 9.

(*s*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 167.

(*t*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 12, 13. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 223.

(*u*) Hiſtory of the Civil War, p. 97.

(*w*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 117.

' of Sherwood, which coſt him fifteen hundred pounds. ' And this I mention, not out of a vain-glory, but to ' declare the great love and duty my Lord had for his ' gracious King and Queen, and to correct the miſ- ' takes committed by ſome Hiſtorians, who not being ' rightly informed of thoſe entertainments, make the ' world believe falſhood for truth.' The noble Hiſtorian alſo takes up this matter in very ſtrong terms, for he repreſents the frequent banquets and feaſtings the King met with on his road to Scotland in 1633, as very detrimental to the manners of the nation; and having taken notice of the entertainment given by the Earl of Newcaſtle on that occaſion, he ſubjoins immediately this very extraordinary remark (8). ' But ' when he paſſed through Nottinghamſhire, both King ' and Court were received and entertained by the Earl ' of Newcaſtle, and at his own proper expence, in ſuch ' a wonderful manner, and in ſuch an exceſs of feaſting, ' as had ſcarce ever before been known in England, ' and would be ſtill thought very prodigious, if the ' ſame noble perſon had not within a year or two after- ' wards made the King and Queen a more ſtupendious ' entertainment, which (God be thanked) though poſſi- ' bly it might too much whet the appetite of others to ' exceſs, no man ever after in thoſe days imitated.'

(8) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 26.

[C] *To ſink his rival's reputation and to raiſe his own.*] The troop which the Earl of Newcaſtle raiſed, was compoſed of about two hundred gentlemen, ſome poſſeſſed of two thouſand pounds a year, ſome of one, and many of five hundred. This troop was ſtiled the Prince's, but the Earl commanded it as Captain (9), and when the army drew near Berwick, he ſent Sir William Carnaby to the Earl of Holland, then General of the Horſe, to know where his troop ſhould march. His anſwer was, next after the troops of the general officers. The Earl of Newcaſtle ſent again to repreſent, that having the honour to march with the Prince's colours, he thought it not fit to march under any of the officers of the field (10); upon which the General of the Horſe repeated his orders, and the Earl of Newcaſtle ordered the Prince's colours to be taken from the ſtaff, and marched without any. When the ſervice was over, the Earl ſent Mr Francis Palmes with a challenge to the Earl of Holland, who conſented to a place and hour of meeting; but when the Earl of Newcaſtle came thither, he found not his adverſary but his ſecond; the buſineſs having been diſcloſed to the King, by whoſe authority, ſays Clarendon, the matter was compoſed; but before that time, the Earl of Holland was never ſuſpected to want courage.

(9) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 929.

(10) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 8.

[D] *There*

fluence thoſe parts, he offered to raiſe an army in the North, for his Majeſty's ſervice (*x*). In return to this, he received all that was in the King's power to give; which was a commiſſion; conſtituting him General of all the forces raiſed North of Trent; and likewiſe General and Commander in Chief of ſuch as might be raiſed in the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Lancaſter, Cheſter, Leiceſter, Rutland, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Eſſex, with power to confer the honour of Knighthood, coin money, and to print and ſet forth ſuch declarations as ſhould ſeem to him expedient; of all which extenſive powers, tho' freely conferred, and without reſerve, his Lordſhip made a very ſparing uſe (*y*). But with reſpect to the more material point of raiſing men, his Lordſhip proſecuted it with ſuch diligence, that in leſs than three months, he had an army of eight thouſand horſe, foot, and dragoons, with which he marched directly into Yorkſhire, and his forces having defeated the enemy at Peirce-Bridge, his Lordſhip advanced to York, where Sir Thomas Glenham, the Governor, preſented him with the keys, and the Earl of Cumberland and many of the Nobility reſorted thither to compliment and to aſſiſt his Lordſhip (*z*). He did not long remain there, but having placed a good garriſon in the city, marched on towards Tadcaſter, where the Parliament forces were very advantageouſly poſted (*a*). The deſign which the Earl had formed, not only for reducing that place, but for making the troops that were there priſoners, failed, through the want of diligence in ſome of his officers; but notwithſtanding this, his Lordſhip attacked the place ſo vigorouſly, that the enemy thought fit to retire, and leave him in poſſeſſion of the beſt part of Yorkſhire (*b*). This advantage he improved to the utmoſt, by eſtabliſhing garriſons in proper places, particularly at Newark upon Trent, by which the greateſt part of Nottinghamſhire, and ſome parts of Lincolnſhire were kept in obedience (*c*). Thus ended the year 1642, when the King's affairs, under the direction of this noble Peer in the North, were in a fair and flouriſhing condition (*d*). In the beginning of 1643, his Lordſhip gave orders for a great convoy of ammunition to be removed from Newcaſtle to York, under the eſcort of a body of horſe, commanded by Lieutenant-General King, a Scotch officer, whom his Majeſty had lately created Lord Ethyn (*e*). The Parliament forces attempted to intercept this convoy at Yarum-Bridge, but were beaten on the firſt of February, with a great loſs (*f*). Soon after this, her Majeſty landing at Burlington, the Earl drew his forces that way to cover her journey to York, where ſhe ſafely arrived on the ſeventh of March (*g*), and having preſſing occaſions for money, his Lordſhip preſented her with three thouſand pounds, and furniſhed an eſcort of fifteen hundred men, under the command of Lord Piercy, to conduct a ſupply of arms and ammunition to the King at Oxford, where he kept them for his own ſervice (*h*). Not long after, Sir Hugh Cholmondley and Captain Brown Buſhel were prevailed upon to return to their duty, and give up the important port and caſtle of Scarborough (*i*). This was followed by the routing Sir Thomas Fairfax on Seacroft, or as ſome call it Bramham-Moor, by Lord George Goring, then General of the Horſe under the Earl, when about eight hundred of the enemy were taken priſoners (*k*); and this again made way for another victory gained on Tankerſly-Moor (*l*). In the month of April, the Earl marched to reduce Rotherham, which he took by ſtorm, and ſoon after Sheffield (*m*); but in the mean time, Lord Goring and Sir Francis Mackworth were ſurprized on the 21ſt of May at Wakefield, where the former and moſt of his men were made priſoners, which was a great prejudice to the ſervice (*n*). In the ſame month, her Majeſty went from York to Pomfret under the eſcort of the Earl's forces; and from thence ſhe continued her journey to Oxford, with a body of ſeven thouſand horſe, foot, and dragoons, detached for that ſervice by the Earl; and thoſe forces likewiſe, the King kept about him (*o*). In the month of June, the Earl reduced Howly-houſe by ſtorm; and on the thirtieth, gained a compleat victory over Sir Thomas Fairfax, tho' much ſuperior to him in numbers on Adderton-Heath near Bradford, where the enemy had ſeven hundred men killed, and three thouſand taken priſoners (*p*); and on the ſecond of July following, Bradford ſurrendered (*q*). The Earl advanced next into Lincolnſhire, where he took Gainſborough and Lincoln, but was then recalled by the preſſing ſollicitations of the gentlemen of Yorkſhire into that county, where Beverley ſurrendered to him on the the 28th of Auguſt (*r*); and in the next month, his Lordſhip was prevailed upon to beſiege Hull, the only place of conſequence then held for the Parliament in thoſe parts. Notwithſtanding theſe important ſucceſſes obtained by an army raiſed, and in a great meaſure kept up by his Lordſhip's perſonal influence and expence, there have not been wanting cenſures upon his conduct (*s*) [*D*]; of which however, his Majeſty had ſo juſt a ſenſe, that by letters Patents

(*x*) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(*y*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 15.

(*z*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 283.

(*a*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament l. iii. p. 61.

(*b*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 236.

(*c*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 22.

(*d*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 61.

(*e*) Heath's Chr. p. 43.

(*f*) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 20.

(*g*) Heath's Chron. p. 43.

(*h*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 24.

(*i*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 63, 64.

(*k*) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 20.

(*l*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 25.

(*m*) Hiſt. of the Civil War, p. 355.

(*n*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 67.

(*o*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 27.

(*p*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 68. Hiſtorian's Guid. p. 22.

(*q*) Heath's Chr. p. 27.

(*r*) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 23.

(*s*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 237, 245.

[*D*] *There have not been wanting cenſures upon his conduct.*] In ſuch diſtracted times as theſe, when through private intrigues at Court, and the more open ſtruggle of civil and religious factions in the nation, all things were thrown into confuſion, it was no wonder, that let a man's character be what it would, he ſhould be liable, either to groundleſs calumnies or to unjuſt reprehenſions. It is ſaid of this noble Peer (11), that he was a perſon who liked the title, power, ſplendour, attendance, and pomp, of a General and Commander in Chief; that he affected to render his army numerous by increaſing the regiments, companies, and troops, of which it conſiſted, rather than by keeping a ſmaller number, and thoſe ſubſtantial, which had been more advantageous for the ſervice, as it would have been, if his garriſons had been fewer and ſtronger; that he was always jealous of his command, and equally afraid of it's being ſuperſeded or divided, which made him unwilling to march ſouthward on any condition, and hindered him from joining the King, that his glory might not be eclipſed by that of Prince Rupert; that he not only maintained but affected to ſhow his abſolute independance

(11) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 403. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 235, 236, 243, 244, 245. Sir Richard Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 102. May's Hiſt. of the Parliament of Engl. l. iii. c. 4. Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle by his Ducheſs, p. 117, 120.

Patents dated the twenty-seventh of October, he advanced him to the dignity of Marquis of Newcaſtle; and in the preamble of his Patent, all his ſervices are mentioned with ſuitable encomiums. (*t*). That winter, the Earl marched into Derbyſhire, and from thence to his own houſe at Welbeck in Nottinghamſhire, where he received the news of the Scots intending to enter England, which brought him back into Yorkſhire, from whence he ſent Sir Thomas Glenham to Newcaſtle, and himſelf for ſome time ſucceſsfully oppoſed the Scots in the Biſhoprick of Durham (*u*); but the forces he left behind under the command of Lord Bellaſis at Selby, being routed (*w*); the Marquis found himſelf obliged to retire, in order, if poſſible, to preſerve York; and this he did with ſo much military prudence, that he arrived there ſafely in the month of April 1644, and retaining his infantry and artillery in that city, ſent his horſe to quarter in Derbyſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and Leiceſterſhire, for the ſake of ſubſiſtance (*x*). The city was very ſoon blocked up by three armies, who quickly commenced a regular ſiege, and were once very near taking the place by ſtorm; and at laſt, having lain before it three months, brought the garriſon into great diſtreſs for want of proviſion; and if the Marquis had not very early had recourſe to a ſettled and reaſonable, but withal a ſlender, and a ſhort allowance, had infallibly reduced it by famine (*y*). For tho' Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded the Marquis's horſe, importuned the King for relief, yet it was the latter end of June before his Majeſty could ſend a ſufficient body, under the command of Prince Rupert, to join Sir Charles Lucas, and attempt the forcing the enemy to raiſe the ſiege; which however, upon their approach, they did, remaining on the Weſt-ſide of the Owſe, with all their forces, while the King's army advanced on the Eaſt-ſide of the ſame river (*z*). By this quick and vigorous march, Prince Rupert had done his buſineſs, but, as is very well obſerved by a moſt judicious Hiſtorian of theſe times, he would needs over-do it, and not content with the honour of raiſing the ſiege of York by a confederate army much ſuperior to his own, he was bent upon having the honour to beat that army alſo, and this brought on the fatal battle of Heſſom, or, as it is more generally called, Marſton-Moor (*a*), which was fought July 2, 1644, againſt the conſent of the Marquis of Newcaſtle, who ſeeing the King's affairs totally undone thereby, made the beſt of his way to Scarborough, and from thence, with a few of the principal officers of his army, took ſhipping for Hamburgh (*b*). Thus the King's concerns in the North, that had proſpered ſo well under the prudent conduct of the Marquis, were ruined in a day by an unaccountable fatality, which ſome aſcribe to a ſlip of the Secretary's pen, and others, with greater appearance of truth, to the raſhneſs of Prince Rupert (*c*) [*E*]. After ſtaying about ſix months at Hamburgh, he went by ſea to Amſterdam,

(*t*) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(*u*) Heath's Chr. p. 53.

(*w*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 43.

(*x*) Heath's Chron. p. 58.

(*y*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 45.

(*z*) Heath's Chron. p. 58.

(*a*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 279.

(*b*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 51.

(*c*) See this point explained in the note.

independance upon the Miniſters and Privy Council at Oxford, by following intirely his own conceptions, and treating their commands with an indifference bordering on contempt; in fine, that there was ſomewhat romantic in his ſpirit, as appeared from his writings, his converſation, and the company he kept; that his courage was of the razor kind, and bore too thin and ſharp an edge; and that, upon the whole, he was a very fortunate General, but either through indolence or want of ſkill did not make the moſt of his good fortune. Theſe, ſo far as I can judge, are the principal ſtrokes of cenſure, that have fallen upon this Nobleman's conduct; and after mentioning them, it ſeems to be a point of equity, to give the reader alſo ſome account of what the very ſame writers admit to have been fairly offered in his excuſe, or rather in his juſtification. It is then allowed, that the noble perſon of whom we are ſpeaking, was ſo far from ſeeking preferments, places, or power, that he declined all, and had retired into the country when the war broke out; and that he was drawn from this retirement by the reſpect that he thought due to his Maſter's poſitive commands, who ſent him an extenſive commiſſion without his ſeeking it; and from theſe two weighty motives, firſt, that without a Commander in Chief acting by ſuch a commiſſion, the North could not be preſerved; and ſecondly, that he had no ſubject in his dominions to whom this commiſſion could be given, but this noble Lord to whom it was ſent. That as he quitted his ſecurity, eaſe, and wonted courſe of life, and expoſed his perſon, ruined his fortune, and engaged his family and friends from the mere principles of loyalty; ſo his own noble diſpoſition lead him to believe, that ſuch as profeſſed the ſame ſentiments that he did, would exert themſelves in the ſame manner, which induced him to multiply corps, and to give out ſo many commiſſions; and tho' the conſequence of this conduct might ſpeak it impolitick, yet, his Lordſhip's condition conſidered, it was not at all imprudent; for if thoſe whom he truſted had fulfilled their engagements, all had gone well; and conſidering the quality of the perſons truſted, and their capacity of diſcharging their truſts, and the intereſt they had in diſcharging them, the errors they committed were ſuch as he could not foreſee, and for which therefore he ought not to be brought to account. That as the armed he commanded was entirely of his own raiſing, kept together chiefly by his influence, and not eaſy to be maintained in any quarters but thoſe which he aſſigned them, it was very natural for him, more eſpecially conſidering how neceſſary that army was to the defence of the North, to act as he did. We ought likewiſe to conſider, that when he ſent his only troop of horſe to Oxford, it was kept there; when he ſent an eſcort of fiftsen hundred men, they were likewiſe kept; as the army alſo was, which was ſent to conduct the Queen with a train of artillery; ſo that he could not be ſaid with truth to act upon a narrow plan, and perhaps it might be ſaid with truth, that if he had kept the laſt mentioned body, it had been better both for himſelf and the King. That the Miniſters at Oxford were very far from giving the King right advice, is generally allowed; that the orders ſent to this Nobleman were inconſiſtent with the King's ſervice in thoſe parts where his Lordſhip acted, may be preſumed; and therefore, that he did not hurt his Majeſty's ſervice by obeying them, ought not to be eſteemed a crime. Laſtly, as to his courage, it is fairly allowed, that upon ſeveral occaſions, when all things ſeemed to be loſt, they were retrieved by his ſignally expoſing his perſon, and engaging others to imitate his example; and tho' this may be called romantic, by perſons of a more phlegmatic temper, yet ſuch as conſider it attentively will hardly be brought to account it raſhneſs.

[*E*] *To the raſhneſs of Prince Rupert.*] The accounts we have of this battle from ſeveral authors are in many reſpects irreconcileable, and ſome of their principal circumſtances contradictory to each other. We have not either room or leiſure to treat the matter at large, and ſhall therefore content ourſelves with repreſenting clearly thoſe circumſtances that regard the Marquis. He had thrown himſelf into York, and thereby hazarded his perſon for the preſervation of that important place, and did preſerve it by taking this ſtep, tho' beſieged by three great armies, and thoſe commanded by Generals of great reputation, *viz.* the Scots

Amſterdam, and from thence made a journey to Paris, where he continued for ſome time, and where, notwithſtanding the vaſt eſtate he had when the Civil War broke out, his circumſtances were now ſo bad, that himſelf and his young wife, were reduced to the pawning their cloaths for a dinner (*d*). He removed afterwards to Antwerp, that he might be nearer his own country; and there, though under very great difficulties, he reſided for ſeveral years, while the Parliament in the mean time levied prodigious ſums upon his eſtate; inſomuch, that the computation of what he loſt by the diſorders of thoſe times, though none of the particulars can be diſproved, amount in the whole to a ſum that is almoſt incredible (*e*) [*F*]. All theſe hardſhips and misfortunes never broke his ſpirit in the leaſt, which was chiefly owing to his great foreſight, for as he plainly perceived after the battle of Marſton-Moor, that the affairs of Charles I. were irrecoverably undone; ſo he diſcerned through the thickeſt clouds of King Charles IId's adverſity, that he would be infallibly reſtored (*f*); and as he had predicted the Civil War to the father before it began, ſo he gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurance to the ſon of his being called home, by addreſſing to him a treatiſe upon Government and the Intereſts of Great Britain, with reſpect to the other powers of Europe, which he wrote at a time, when the hopes of thoſe about his Majeſty ſcarce roſe ſo high as the Marquis's expectations (*g*). During this long exile of eighteen years, in which he ſuffered ſo many and ſo great hardſhips, this worthy Nobleman wanted not ſome conſolations, that were particularly ſuch to one of his high and generous ſpirit. He was, notwithſtanding his low and diſtreſſed circumſtances, treated with the higheſt

(*d*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 56.

(*e*) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I. p. 672.

(*f*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 83.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 135.

Scots under Leſley, the Northern army under Fairfax, and the forces of the aſſociated counties under Mancheſter, ſeconded by Cromwell (12). When aſſiſtance from the King was ſollicited by the Marquis of Newcaſtle, he was ſo far from having any diſguſt to the perſon of Prince Rupert, that the noble Hiſtorian tells us, he wrote to the King that he hoped his Majeſty would not doubt his obeying the grandſon of King James (13). When the city was relieved, Lord Clarendon tells us, that the Prince engaged the enemy without conſulting the Marquis, but there is good reaſon to ſuſpect, that he was miſinformed. We are elſewhere told (14), that the Marquis repaired to the Prince and adviſed him not to fight, for two reaſons, each of them ſo weighty, that, conſidered ſingly, they might have juſtified his Highneſs's taking that Lord's advice. The firſt was, that if he did not attempt beating the enemy into good humour with each other, they would infallibly break and retire ſeveral ways; the miſunderſtandings between their Generals being come to ſuch a height, that nothing could ſave them from ruin but a battle. The ſecond was, that his own troops having been ſo long ſhut up, were not in the beſt order for fighting, that within two days he expected Colonel Clavering with a reinforcement of three thouſand men, and two thouſand more that were to be collected from other garriſons; and farther ſtill, that the enemy had all advantages of ſun, wind, and ground. His Highneſs anſwered, that he had the King's poſitive command to fight the enemy, which therefore he would obey. In conſequence of this, there was ſome diſcourſe had with other officers, as to the order and diſpoſition of the army; when theſe were adjuſted, the Marquis aſked his Highneſs where he would be pleaſed to have him charge; to which the Prince returned, that it was then too late to think of action, and that he would delay fighting 'till next morning, for which reaſon he adviſed the Marquis to go to his reſt. He went accordingly to ſleep in his coach, being exceedingly fatigued, but he had hardly compoſed himſelf a little, before he heard the thunder of cannon and ſmall arms, the battle being begun, ſo that he had only time to put himſelf at the head of his own regiment, where it is agreed, that both he and his troops did wonders. Prince Rupert charged at the head of the left wing, where Newcaſtle's horſe were under the command of Lord Goring, and they beat the Scots and Lord Fairfax's horſe, and purſued them ten miles (15); but in the mean time, Prince Rupert's horſe that were on the right of the King's army were beaten, and the Marquis's foot being thus uncovered, Cromwell with his reſerve came down upon them, and tho' they ſtood like a wall, yet they were mowed down like a meadow, as my author has it (16). At laſt, the Marquis's foot threw themſelves into a ring, and diſclaiming all thoughts of ſafety, refuſed quarter, and having ſlain more than had fallen in the whole action beſide, were themſelves to a man deſtroyed (17). The noble Hiſtorian (18) ſeems to blame the Marquis for quitting the kingdom ſo precipitately, but it is to be obſerved, that he, or rather the Prince, had loſt for him not a battle only but his army, for the Prince kept his horſe, and all the foot were cut off. The enemies Generals were pretty well reconciled by the victory, which put them in poſſeſſion of the open country, and ſoon after of the city of York. The Marquis's money was entirely exhauſted, and the only thing he had in his power, was to eſcape with the Lord Ethyn, Lord Falconbridge, Sir Hugh Cholmondley, and others of his friends, whoſe circumſtances had they been taken, would have been as deſperate as his own (19). It ſeems therefore, that what the Marquis did was purely from neceſſity, and no man in a ſhipwreck was ever yet blamed for ſecuring himſelf upon the firſt plank.

(12) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 121. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 278. Heath's Chron. p. 58, 59. Sir Richard Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 101, 102.

(13) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 404.

(14) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, by his Ducheſs, p. 46, 47, 48.

(15) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 121. Heath's Chron. p. 58. Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 101, 102.

(16) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 280.

(17) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 49. Heath's Chron. p. 61.

(18) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 402, 403, 404.

(19) Heath's Chron. p. 61. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 120. Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 102.

[*F*] *To a ſum that is almoſt incredible.*] When one conſiders, that this noble perſon was the ſon of Sir William Cavendiſh's youngeſt ſon, and therefore inherited from his grandfather ſuch an eſtabliſhment only, as out of his fortune he could make for one child out of many, it will appear ſtrange, and yet it is certainly true, that at the breaking out of the Civil War, the Earl of Newcaſtle had one of the beſt eſtates in England (20). His grandmother, the Counteſs of Shrewſbury, left him her third huſband's Sir William St Lowe's eſtate, which amounted to above fifteen hundred pounds a year. His mother, the Lady Ogle, left him three thouſand pounds a year, and twenty thouſands pounds in money. His firſt wife was an heireſs, and brought him two thouſand four hundred pounds a year, beſides a jointure of eight hundred pounds a year for her life. But without entring into farther particulars, it appears that his eſtates as they were let in the year 1641, in the counties of Nottingham, Lincoln, Derby, Stafford, Glouceſter, Somerſet, York, and Northumberland, produced twenty-two thouſand three hundred and ninety-three pounds a year, beſides which, by the death of his brother, he inherited an eſtate of two thouſand pounds a year more. All theſe fell at once into the hands of the Parliament, and brought no profit whatſoever to him for the ſpace of eighteen years, and in that time the Parliament took every method poſſible to make the moſt of them. They cut down woods upon ſeven of his eſtates to the value of forty-five thouſand pounds. They took from his brother, Sir Charles Cavendiſh, by way of compoſition, five thouſand pounds, after receiving all his rents for eight years; and in 1652, they diſpoſed of the whole Newcaſtle eſtate at the rate of five years and a half's purchaſe, by which they raiſed 111,593 *l.* 10 *s.* 11 *d.* at once; beſides this, all his houſes were plundered and ruined, and the furniture either ſtolen or ſold, his ſtock of corn, cattle, *&c.* which was of great value, went the ſame way, as did alſo his excellent breed of horſes, which were his principal delight, and which were eſteemed as good as any in Europe. His parks were treated in like manner, ſo that at his return there was hardly a deer or tree left in, nay, ſcarce a pale about them. But to cut this matter ſhort, we ſhall only add, that from a computation of theſe particulars it is affirmed, that the loſs ſuſtained by his Grace was rather over than under 733,579 *l* (21).

(20) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 89, 107.

(21) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I. p. 673.

highest respect, and with the most extraordinary marks of distinction, by the persons entrusted with the government of the countries where he resided (*b*). He received the high compliment, of having the keys of the cities he passed through in the Spanish dominions offered him, he was visited by Don John of Austria, and by several Princes of Germany (*i*). But what comforted him most, was the company very frequently of his royal Master, who, in the midst of his sufferings, bestowed upon him the most noble Order of the Garter (*k*). At length this dark period came to an end, and as he shared his exile, so he shared in the blessings of his Majesty's Restoration (*l*). On his return to England, he was received with all the respect due to his unshaken fidelity and important services, and, as a mark of the royal favour, was constituted Chief Justice in Eyre of the counties north of Trent (*m*); and, by letters patents dated the sixteenth of March 1664, was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Ogle and Duke of Newcastle (*n*). He spent the remainder of his life, for the most part, in a country retirement, and in the pursuit of those studies which he most affected [*G*]. He also employed a great part of his time in repairing the injuries which his fortune had received from the malignity of the times, and, equally full of years and of glory, died in possession of the greatest honours and the fairest reputation, December 25, 1676, in the eighty-fourth year of his age (*o*). His Grace was twice married, but had issue only by his first Lady, of which the reader will find an account in the notes (*p*) [*H*]. His body lies interred, with that of his Duchess, under a most

(*b*) Ibid. p. 79.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 59, 79.

(*k*) Ashmole's Order of the Garter, p. 717.

(*l*) Kennet's Chron. p. 890.

(*m*) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 138.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 421.

(*o*) See the inscription on his monument in Westminster-abbey.

(*p*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 139.

[*G*] *And in the pursuit of those studies which he most affected.*] This noble person was celebrated for his love to the Muses from his youth, and tho' he thought so closely when he was disposed on the most serious subjects, that the famous Mr Hobbes, who was known to be not over fond of other men's notions, yet adopted some of his as his own, he was rather inclined to amuse himself with ligbter topicks, and was the great patron of the wits in the reign of King Charles I. This humour of his has drawn upon him the censure of some grave men; Lord Clarendon mentions this, yet with decency (22); but Sir Philip Warwick loses all patience, and thinks it sufficient to ruin this great General's character, that he appointed Sir William Davenant, a Poet, his Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance (23), as if it was not possible for a man to have a turn to poetry, and a capacity for any thing else at the same time. It is a wonder he did not point out another slip in this noble Lord's conduct of the same kind, I mean his making the Rev. Mr Hudson, Scout-Master General of the army, who yet was an excellent master of his trade and a very able Divine; besides (24), all the world knows Mr Chillingworth, in argument, battered the Papal Church with very great success, which however did not hinder his serving as an Engineer in the Royal army with great reputation (25). The truth is, that this worthy Nobleman living always magnificently, and having a great kindness for men of merit, never wanted them about him, and never failed to employ them the best he could. The famous Ben Johnson was one of his first favourites, and he addressed to him a very fine copy of verses, which may be seen in his works (26). Mr Shadwell was one of the last, and he made his acknowledgments to his Grace in more than one Dedication (27). In the busy scenes of life, it doth not appear that this noble Lord suffered his thoughts to stray so far from his employments as to write any thing; but in his exile, resuming his old taste of breaking and managing horses, than which there could not be a more manly or martial exercise, he thought fit to give the world his sentiments upon a subject which nobody knew better, and if we may credit what the best writers (28) on this head have since delivered, there is no great danger of any body's ever understanding it better. His first treatise he published in French; his second near ten years after; their titles run thus:

La Methode nouvelle des Dresser les Chevaux avec Figures, i. e. The new Method for managing Horses with cuts. Antwerp 1658, in fol. This book was first written in English; and afterwards by his Lordship's directions translated into French by a Walloon; and was 'till within these few years very scarce and dear.

A new Method and extraordinary Invention to dress Horses, and work them according to Nature; as also to perfect Nature by the Subtlety of Art, fol. London, 1667. The latter, as the Duke informs his reader, 'Is neither a translation of the first, nor an absolute 'necessary addition to it; and may be of use without 'the other, as the other hath been hitherto, and still 'is, without this; but both together will questionless 'do best.' A noble edition of this work has been of late years printed in this kingdom.

(22) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 403.

(23) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 235, 236.

(24) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. II. B. ix. p. 6—45.

(25) See his Life written by Mr Des Maizeaux.

(26) Underwood, p. 223.

(27) See his Dedications prefixed to his Epsom Wells, and to the Libertine.

(28) See M. de Soliel's Preface to his Le parfait Mareschal.

In his exile, he wrote also two Comedies, *viz.*

The Country Captain, a Comedy. Printed at Antwerp 1649; afterwards presented by his Majesty's servants at Black Fryars, and very much commended by Mr Leigh.

Variety, a Comedy, presented by his Majesty's servants at Black-Fryars; and first printed in 1649, and generally bound with the Country Captain. It was also highly commended in a copy of verses by Mr Alexander Brome.

He has likewise written.

The Humorous Lovers, a Comedy, acted by his Royal Highness's servants. London 1677, *4to.* This was received with great applause, and esteemed one of the best plays of that time.

The triumphant Widow: or, *The medley of Humours*, a Comedy acted by his Royal Highness's servants. London 1677, *4to.* which pleased Mr Shadwell so well, that he transcribed a part of it into his *Bury Fair*, one of the most taking plays wrote by that Poet Laureat. His Grace wrote in Johnson's manner, and is allowed by the best judges not to have been inferior to his master. We have many other pieces written by this ingenious Nobleman scattered up and down in the poems of his Duchess; all which seem to confirm the character given by Mr Shadwell; 'That he was the 'greatest master of wit, the most exact observer of 'mankind, and the most accurate judge of humour 'that ever he knew (29).'

[*H*] *Will find an account in the notes.*] This noble Peer, as has been observed in the text, married two wives. The first was Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir of William Bassett of Blore in the county of Stafford, Esq; widow of the Honourable Mr Henry Howard, younger son to Thomas, Earl of Suffolk (30), by whom his Lordship had three sons, and as many daughters, *viz.* William, who died young; Charles, Viscount Mansfield, who served under his father in the Civil War in quality of Master of the Ordnance, he married the daughter of Richard Rogers of Brianston in the county of Dorset, Esq; but died in his father's life-time without issue; Henry, Earl of Ogle, who survived his father and inherited his honours, and of whose posterity we shall speak in the next note. His Grace's daughters were these, Lady Jane, married to Charles Cheney of Chesham Boys in the county of Bucks, Esq; Lady Elizabeth, to John, Earl of Bridgwater; Lady Frances, to Oliver, Earl of Bolingbroke. His second wife was Margaret, daughter to Thomas Lucas of Colchester, Esq; and sister to John Lord Lucas, and to the famous Sir Charles Lucas, who was shot at Colchester for his fidelity to his Royal Master, by whom he had no issue (31). She lies buried with him at Westminster-Abbey, was the constant companion of his exile abroad, and of his retirement at home. She was a woman of great wit, and some learning, for besides the life of the Duke and her own, she wrote a great number of folio's, and published six and twenty plays; in several of which there are scenes and songs written by the Duke. It must be owned, that in many of these pieces there is much extravagance, and more of fancy than of judgment in them all; but at the fame,

(29) Langbaine's Account of the English Dramatick Poets, p. 387.

(30) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 422.

(31) See the inscription on their monument in Westminster-abbey.

a moſt noble monument at the entrance into Weſtminſter-abbey, with an inſcription ſuitable to his merits (*q*). His titles deſcended to his ſon Henry, Earl of Ogle, who was the laſt heir male of this family, and died July 26, 1691, in whom the title of Newcaſtle, in the line of Cavendiſh, extinguiſhed. But his daughters married into ſome of the nobleſt families of this kingdom, as the reader will ſee at the bottom of this article [*I*].

(*q*) Antiquities of St Peter's Weſtminſter, Vol. II. p. 114.

ſame time it ſhould be conſidered, that this was in a good meaſure owing to the humour of the age, and to her having lived ſo long abroad.

[*I*] *Will ſee at the bottom of this article.*] Henry Cavendiſh, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Newcaſtle, &c. eſpouſed Frances, eldeſt daughter to William Pierpoint of Thoreſby in the county of Nottingham, ſecond ſon to the Earl of Kingſton, by whom he had one ſon, Henry, Earl of Ogle (32), who died in his father's life time, and five daughters, *viz.* Lady Elizabeth, married to Chriſtopher Monk, Duke of Albemarle; and ſecondly, to Ralph, Duke of Montagu; Lady Frances, married to John Campbell, then Lord Glenorchy, now Earl of Brodalbin; Lady Margaret, married to John Holles, Earl of Clare, afterwards Duke of Newcaſtle, by whom ſhe left iſſue one ſole daughter and heir, the Lady Henrietta Cavendiſh Holles, married to Edward, late Earl of Oxford; Lady Catharine, married to Thomas Tufton Earl of Thanet; Lady Arabella, youngeſt daughter, married to Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland (33). E

(32) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 422.

(33) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 139.

CAVENDISH (CHARLES) brother to William the third, and ſon to William the ſecond, Earl of Devonſhire. He was born at London May 20, 1620, and his Majeſty being his godfather gave him the name of Charles (*a*). His genius being quick and lively, and at the ſame time very penetrating and ſolid, he was, according to the method eſtabliſhed in this noble family, put into a ſtrict and regular method of education; and when he was thoroughly ſeaſoned with the principles of uſeful knowledge, he was ſent abroad with a Governor about 1638, to poliſh the learning he had acquired at home, by ſeeing the world abroad (*b*). He went firſt to Paris, and that great city ringing at that time with the fame of the ſiege of Luxemburgh, which it was thought the French army nigh that place would make, the martial genius of our young traveller prompted him to ſteal thither, from whence his Governor, with ſome difficulty, brought him back to his ſtudies in Paris (*c*). The next year he made the tour of Italy, when he viſited and made ſome ſtay at Naples, Rome, and Venice, from which laſt city, in the ſpring of the next year, he embarked for Conſtantinople, leaving his Governor and Engliſh ſervants behind him. When he had ſatisfied his curioſity in viewing that famous capital of the Turkiſh empire, he made a journey by land through Natolia, and having ſeen whatever was worth ſeeing there, embarked for Alexandria, and travelled from thence to Grand Cairo. All the wonders of Egypt ſurveyed, he returned once more to Alexandria, took his paſſage in a ſhip bound for Malta, proceeded from thence by ſea to Spain, then traverſing part of that kingdom and of France, returned ſafely to Paris, and after ſome ſhort ſtay there, came back to England in May 1641 (*d*). He appeared at Court with the greateſt advantages poſſible; he had a fine perſon, a ſprightly wit, a deep judgment, a generous ſpirit, a diſintereſted loyalty, and a nice ſenſe of honour. Theſe ſhining qualities made him equally the favourite of the King and Queen, and the darling of the people. He had a ſtrong paſſion for arms, and his mother, the Counteſs Dowager of Devonſhire, willing to gratify him, had thoughts of purchaſing Lord Goring's regiment of foot, then in the Dutch ſervice, and to qualify him for this command, he made the campaign that ſummer in the Prince of Orange's army, from whence he returned in the month of November (*e*). Upon his coming back, he found there was no neceſſity of ſeeking employment for his martial talents in ſtrange climates, the hard neceſſity of the times having unhappily naturalized them to his own. He repaired to York, and offered his ſervice to the King, in whoſe own troop he rode, under the command of Lord Bernard Stuart, brother to the Duke of Richmond, and a kinſman of his own, in which ſituation we find him, Octob. 23, 1642, at the battle of Edge-Hill. It was of this troop, and upon that occaſion, that his Majeſty ſaid, *That the fortunes of thoſe who compoſed it, would buy the eſtates of the Lord* Eſſex, *and of all the officers in his army* (*f*). So little it ſeems of property there was amongſt thoſe who made ſo much noiſe about it. In this battle Mr Cavendiſh ſo much diſtinguiſhed himſelf, that the Lord Aubigny, who commanded the Duke of York's troop, being killed in the action, he was preferred to that poſt as the reward of his ſervice (*g*). He did not continue long in that ſtation, but laid hold of the firſt opportunity to convert his troop into a regiment for the King's ſervice, and this brought him into the North, and under the command of his couſin the Marquis of Newcaſtle [*A*]. In this part of the

(*a*) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family, p. 83.

(*b*) Memoirs of the Life of Col. Cavendiſh, MS.

(*c*) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family, p. 90.

(*d*) Life of Chriſtian Counteſs of Devonſhire, p. 47.

(*e*) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Life of the Counteſs of Devonſhire, p. 49.

(*g*) Life of Col. Cavendiſh, MS.

[*A*] *Of his couſin the Marquis of Newcaſtle.*] The beſt account we have of this matter occurs in the work of one of the Hiſtorians of this noble family, and therefore it will be proper to give it in the author's own words (1). 'This troop was ſoon after put into 'the Prince of Wales's regiment, wherein the ſuperior 'officer put ſomething on Captain Cavendiſh, which 'he thought an indignity, and therefore he deſired his 'Majeſty to aſſign him one thouſand pounds (which 'his own brother the Earl of Devonſhire had preſented to the King) promiſing, that if his Majeſty would 'be pleaſed to let him have the Duke of York's troop 'out of the Prince of Wales's regiment, he would go 'into the North, and raiſe the Duke a compleat regiment of horſe before the army could take the field; 'to which the King conſented, aſſuring him the honour of being Colonel of his new regiment. In order 'to compleat it, he accepted of Thomas Markham, 'Eſq; to be his Lieutenant-Colonel, and Mr Tuke for 'the Captain of his firſt troop, and took his head 'quarters at Newark, keeping under many of the 'rebel garriſons at Nottingham, and other neighbouring parts, and by degrees became maſter of the whole 'country; ſo that the King's Commiſſioners for 'Lincolnſhire and Nottinghamſhire deſired his leave to 'petition the King, that he might have the command.

(1) Life of the Counteſs of Devon, by Mr Pomfret, p. 49, 50.

the world he prospered greatly, and being informed that the Parliament garrison at Grantham very much incommoded the adjacent country, he marched thither, attacked, reduced it, made prisoners three hundred and fifty men with their officers, and then demolished it (*h*). Other actions he performed of less importance, and being declared Lieutenant-General of the horse, was employed by the Marquis of Newcastle, to escort the Queen in her journey to Newark, which with great credit he performed. Her Majesty recollected him at first sight, told him very graciously that she saw him last in Holland, and was glad to meet him again in England, and the first night, when Major Tuke came for the word, her Majesty was pleased to give CAVENDISH (*i*). At Dunnington he had some advantage over the Parliament's forces, and was very active on that side; but that he marched with her Majesty to Oxford, as most writers say, is hard to believe, her Majesty, in her own letter, affirming directly the contrary, and that, at the request of the gentry in the country, much against his own will, she left him behind, with two thousand foot, and twenty troops of horse (*k*). Upon his having this command, and being informed that a great body of the enemy's troops were at Gainsborough, which they had surprized, and had made themselves masters of the Earl of Kingston's person, Lieutenant-General Cavendish immediately marched that way, and in their passage had rescued the Earl of Kingston, if an unfortunate shot, hastily fired, had not most unluckily killed him, in the cabin of the vessel, in which they were carrying him down the Trent to Hull (*l*). This seemed to be an omen of the misfortunes that quickly followed, for on July 30, 1643, General Cavendish attacked a great body of the Parliament forces under Cromwell, and being over-powered, was forced to retreat, which the Lieutenant-General covered with a small body of reserve, and made a noble defence, 'till, by the superiority of numbers, and weight of the enemy's cavalry, they were forced into a bog, and there, after quitting his horse, and dangerously wounded, this gallant man lost his life, throwing his blood in the faces of his enemies, as despising and disdaining quarter at their hands (*m*), though, by some writers, this is differently reported [*B*]. His body was carried to Newark, where the

(*h*) Historian's Guide, p. 20.

(*i*) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, by his Duchess, p. 34.

(*k*) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 274.

(*l*) Heath's Chr. p. 53.

(*m*) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I. p. 673.

' mand of all the forces of their two counties in ' quality of Colonel-General; which he complied ' with, and the King granted.'

[*B*] *Tho' by some writers this is differently reported.*] We have several accounts of this gentleman's death so little corresponding with each other, that it requires an extraordinary degree of attention to find out the truth. In Heath's Chronicle, the story is told at large, in these words (2): ' Some of Lord Willoughby's ' forces at Gainsborough, had surprized the Earl of ' Kingston, father to the Marquis of Dorchester, and ' brought him thither, whence for better security of ' his person, which was of great concernment to the ' King's affairs thereabout, they resolved to send him ' to Hull. In the way thither, Colonel Cavendish, ' brother to the Earl of Devonshire, with a party pur- ' sued the pinnace to a shallow, which it could not ' pass, and demanded her and the Earl's surrender; ' which being refused, a drake was discharged, which ' unhappily killed the said Earl and one of his servants, ' being placed on purpose on the deck to deter the ' Royalists from shooting, whereupon they presently ' struck sail and yielded, but with a just revenge were ' all sacrificed to the ghost of that most loyal and noble ' Peer. Notice of this party and their design being ' given to the garrison, a sufficient number under Col. ' White, a Lincolnshire gentleman, were hastened to ' relieve the boat, or recover it, if taken; who accord- ' ingly encountered with the Royalists, and being too ' many for them, this valiant personage was forced to ' take the Trent with his horse, which swam him safe ' to the other side, but there stuck in the owze and ' mud; and as soon as the Colonel had got ashore off ' his horse's back, the enemy was come round by the ' ford, and seeing him desperately wounded, offered him ' quarter; which he magnanimously refusing, and ' throwing his blood he wiped off his face among ' them, was killed out right upon the place.' Much to the same purpose is the story told us by Lloyd (3), only heightened a little by his declamatory way of delivering himself upon all occasions. The Duchess of Newcastle has a very exact and very succinct relation of this unfortunate accident (4), which I mention the rather because it shews the credit due to the facts set down in those Memoirs, which are more accurately related than is commonly imagined. ' The forces, ' *says she*, which my Lord had in the county of Lincoln ' commanded by the then Lieutenant-General of the ' horse Mr Charles Cavendish, second brother to the ' then Earl of Devonshire, though they had timely ' notice and orders from my Lord to make their re- ' treat to the Lieutenant-General of the army, and not ' to fight the enemy, yet the said Lieutenant-General ' of horse being transported by his courage (he being ' a person of great valour and conduct) and having ' charged the enemy, unfortunately lost the field, and ' himself was slain in the charge, his horse lighting in ' a bog. Which news being brought to my Lord ' when he was on his march, he made all the haste he ' could, and was no sooner joined with his Lieutenant- ' General, but he fell upon the enemy and put them to ' flight.' After all, Cromwell's own letter to the Committee of the associated counties at Cambridge, dated from Huntington, July 31, 1643, to which place he had been driven by Newcastle, gives the fullest account of this matter, and which deserves most credit as being written by an eye-witness. After having related the manner in which he collected a body of troops for the relief of Gainsborough, his arrival there, and beating the van-guard of this body of horse, he proceeds in these words (5): ' I perceiving this body, which was the ' reserve, standing still unbroken, kept back my Major ' Whaley from the chase, and with my own troop ' and the other of my regiment, in all being three ' troops, we got into a body: in this reserve stood ' General Cavendish, who one while faced me, another ' while faced four of the Lincoln troops, which was ' all of ours that stood upon the place, the rest being ' engaged in the chase. At last, General Cavendish ' charged the Lincolneers, and routed them; immediate- ly I fell on his rear with my three troops, which ' did so astonish him, that he gave over the chase, ' and would fain have delivered himself from me, but I ' pressing on forced them down a hill, having good ex- ' ecution of them, and below the hill drove the General ' with some of his soldiers into a quagmire, where my ' Captain-Lieutenant *slew him with a thrust under his* ' *short ribs*, the rest of the body was wholly routed, ' not one man staying upon the place.' Another writer (6) assures us, that it was Colonel Bury who murdered this brave young gentleman in cold blood after quarter given, and that he made himself dear to Cromwell by this and some other acts of cruelty. We are told by some writers, that among the valuable papers collected by Dr Moor, Bishop of Ely, there were several of this gentleman's, which showed him to have very deep skill in some parts of the Mathematicks (7). But I doubt, there is a mistake in this, and that these papers did not belong to him, but to Sir Charles Cavendish, the Duke of Newcastle's younger brother, of whom the noble Historian (8) gives this character; *That he was a man of the noblest and largest mind, though the least and most inconvenient body that lived*, and of whose great skill in the Mathematicks, we are able to produce

(2) Heath's Chr. p. 53, 54.

(3) Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I. p. 673.

(4) Life of the Duke of Newcastle, by his Duchess, p. 33, 34.

(5) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 278.

(6) Pomfret's Life of the Countess of Devon, p. 53.

(7) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 152.

(8) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 402.

the people expreſſed their tenderneſs and concern for him, by keeping it above ground for ſeveral days, 'till they could give ſome vent to their grief, after which it was interred, and, thirty years after, upon his mother's death, removed to Derby, and buried under the ſame tomb with her (*n*). It was very remarkable, that, though at ſo great a diſtance of time, the lamentations of the people at Newark broke out a-freſh, and the whole town was in tears upon the removing of his corps, as if he had been but juſt dead (*o*). But, after all, the nobleſt tribute paid to the memory of this great and gallant young man, is the epitaph, or rather elegiac verſes, of the celebrated Mr Waller (*p*), which the reader, without doubt, will be well pleaſed to find in the notes [*C*], more eſpecially, as it plainly ſhews, how much Cromwell valued himſelf upon delivering his party from the arms of this heroe, who, after a life ſhort in duration, but full of glory, ſlept thus in the bed of honour.

(*n*) Life of the Counteſs of Devon, p. 92.

(*o*) Idem, ibid.

(*p*) Waller's Poems, p. 209.

(9) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 74. Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I. p. 673.

produce more teſtimonies than one (9), which makes it probable that theſe papers were his.

[*C*] *To find in the notes.*] The chief reaſon for giving place to this poem here is, becauſe the reader, from the peruſal of the foregoing article, will enter more clearly and fully into the ſenſe of it, and diſcern perfectly the force of Mr Waller's hiſtorical application; which is at once, as judicious, as it is elegant and poetical (10).

(10) Waller's Poems, p. 209.

On the death of Colonel Charles Cavendiſh.

Here lies CHARLES CA'NDISH: let the marble ſtone,
That hides his aſhes, make his virtues known.
Beauty, and valour, did his ſhort life grace;
The grief, and glory, of his noble race!
Early abroad he did the world ſurvey,
As if he knew he had not long to ſtay:
Saw what great ALEXANDER in the Eaſt,
And mighty JULIUS conquer'd in the Weſt.
Then, with a mind as great as theirs, he came
To find at home occaſion for his fame:
Where dark confuſion did the nation hide;
And where the juſter, was the weaker ſide.
Two loyal brothers took their Sov'reign's part,
Employ'd their wealth, their courage, and their art:
The elder did whole regiments afford;
The younger brought his conduct and his ſword.
Born to command, a leader he begun,
And on the rebels laſting honour won:
The horſe inſtructed by their General's worth,
Still made the King victorious in the North:
Where CA'ENDISH fought, the Royaliſts prevail'd;
Neither his courage, nor his judgment, fail'd;
The current of his victories found no ſtop,
'Till CROMWELL came, his party's chiefeſt prop.
Equal ſucceſs had ſet theſe champions high,
And both reſolve to conquer or to die:
Virtue with rage, fury with valour ſtrove;
But, that muſt fall which is decreed above!
CROMWELL, with odds of number, and of fate,
Remov'd this bulwark of the Church and State:
Which the ſad iſſue of the war declar'd,
And made his taſk, to ruin both, leſs hard.
So, when the bank neglected is o'erthrown,
The boundleſs torrent does the country drown.
Thus fell the young, the lovely, and the brave;
Strew bays, and flowers, upon his honour'd grave!

E

CAVENDISH (WILLIAM) the firſt Duke of Devonſhire, one of the ableſt Stateſmen, and moſt diſtinguiſhed Patriots of his time. He was born January 25, 1640, and educated with all the care due to his high birth, and the great hopes excited by the pregnancy of his parts (*a*). When he was of a fit age to make the tour of Europe, he was ſent abroad under the care of Dr Killegrew, who was afterwards Maſter of the Savoy, a gentleman perfectly ſkilled in polite literature, who gave his noble pupil a true reliſh of the claſſick writers, and contributed in other reſpects to form that fine taſte, for which this nobleman became afterwards diſtinguiſhed (*b*). His Lordſhip was one of the four Peers eldeſt ſons, that bore up King Charles IId's train at his coronation in 1661 (*c*), and the ſame year he was elected one of the Knights for the county of Derby, and continued a member of that which was called the Long Parliament 'till it was diſſolved (*d*). Sept. 21, 1663, he was created Maſter of Arts in the univerſity of Oxford, by the ſpecial command of the Chancellor (*e*). In 1665 he went a volunteer, and expoſed his perſon extreamly in his attendance upon the Duke, who commanded the Britiſh navy that year (*f*). In the ſpring of the year 1669, he accompanied his intimate friend Mr Mountague in his embaſſy to France, and being accidentally at the Opera at Paris, met with an adventure, which, though it endangered his life, gained him a very high reputation (*g*) [*A*]. In 1677 he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Houſe of Commons, by a vigorous oppoſition of the Court meaſures; and, the year following, was very inſtrumental in forwarding an enquiry into the Popiſh plot, and was alſo of the Committee appointed to draw up articles of impeachment (*h*) againſt the Lord High-Treaſurer Danby. He was choſen Knight of the ſhire for the county of Derby, in the Parliament which met in the ſpring of the year 1679 (*i*), and, together with his inſeparable friend Lord Ruſſel, he was named of that Privy

(*a*) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(*b*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 155.

(*c*) Baker's Chr. p. 738.

(*d*) Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 74.

(*e*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 154.

(*f*) Compleat Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. III. p. 255.

(*g*) Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 70.

(*h*) Journal of the Houſe of Commons, p. 189, 195, 196.

(*i*) Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 74.

[*A*] *Gained him a very high reputation.*] This accident, we are told, happened thus (1): Three officers of the French King's guard came full of wine upon the ſtage, and one of them coming up to him with a very inſulting queſtion, his Lordſhip gave him a ſmart ſtroke on the face; upon which they all drew, and puſhed at him very hard. Lord Cavendiſh ſetting his back againſt one of the ſcenes, defended himſelf very ſtoutly, notwithſtanding he had received ſeveral wounds, 'till at length a ſturdy Swiſs, belonging to the Lord Embaſſador Mountague, caught him up in his arms and threw him over into the pit. In his fall, his arm catched upon an iron ſpike, and was grievouſly torn. The officers were by the King's orders ſent to priſon, where they remained, 'till by his Lordſhip's interceſſion they were diſcharged. Sir William Temple wrote him a very handſome letter upon this occaſion, dated July 18, 1669 (2), from the Hague, in which he compliments him highly upon his courage, and tells him, that the Dutch thought a thing of this kind could happen no where but in France, or at leaſt would have been ſuffered no where elſe without the reſt of the company's interpoſing, which is a ſevere but juſt remark upon that nation.

(1) Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh, p. 117, 118.

(2) Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 70.

Privy Council of whom the King gave this character, *That they were men whose known abilities, interests, and esteem, in the nation, rendered them above all suspicion of mistaking or betraying the true interest of the kingdom* (k). He acted in this high station with the same firmness as in Parliament, 'till finding his attendance ineffectual, in conjunction with the Lord Russel, Sir Henry Capel, and Mr Powle, he desired leave to withdraw (l). He was again elected Knight of the shire for Derby, in that Parliament, which, after many prorogations, met upon the 21st of October, 1680 (m), and distinguished himself therein, by a firm adherence to those measures which he thought most conducive to the welfare of the nation, and the safety of the Protestant religion (n). In that session, he carried up to the Lords an impeachment against the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, for his arbitrary and illegal proceedings in the Court of King's-Bench, and made two famous speeches on the subject of the Exclusion Bill, to which he was a hearty friend (o). He represented the same county for which he had been chosen in three former Parliaments, in that held at Oxford (p), and behaved there with the same steadiness and zeal; but as his Lordship well understood the nature of our excellent constitution, so he was as careful in avoiding whatever might injure it, by overstraining the privileges of Parliament, as watchful over the encroachments of prerogative, and therefore, though no man spoke more freely in the House of Commons than he did, yet never any Member was more careful in avoiding any harshness or indecency (q). He was not afraid of meeting and conversing with his noble friends, even after Parliaments were laid aside; but though he was a hearty promoter of legal opposition, he sincerely abhorred whatever tended to sedition or confusion; and therefore, when at one of these meetings a very bold overture was made, he roundly declared *He would never go among them more*, and kept his word (r). His friendship to Lord Russel induced him to appear as a witness for him at his trial, and the testimony he gave will do lasting honour to both their memories (s) [B]. When his noble friend was under sentence of death, he sent him a message by Sir James Forbes, that he would come and change clothes with him in prison, if he thought it practicable to make his escape (t), but that unfortunate Lord being too generous to accept the proposal, he waited upon and assisted him to the last, did all in his power to alleviate the grief of his disconsolate Lady, and, to give the highest proof of his respect for his family, married his eldest son to the daughter of his friend (u). The same generous disposition led him to send a challenge to Count Koningsmark, who, though strongly suspected of being concerned in the assassination of Mr Thynne, had been acquitted by a jury, but it seems that was a method of trial the Count thought fit to decline (w). In 1684, he became, by the decease of his father, Earl of Devonshire, and persevering in the same generous principles, an attempt was made, in the reign of King James, to fright him, by giving out that one positive witness was to be found, who would charge him with rebellious practices, but he put a stop to this scheme by desiring to confront him (x). The Court however gained one advantage over him by a prosecution in the Court of King's-Bench, for striking a gentleman in the verge of the Court, for which he was fined thirty thousand pounds (y) [C]. It is no wonder, that after such treatment as this, he chose to retire into the country, and that he might find some employment there worthy of his active and excellent genius, he pulled down the south side of his house at Chatsworth, and rebuilt it with a front to his gardens, in so just, so regular, and noble a taste, that it looked like a model of what might be done in after ages (z).

But

(k) See the King's Speech to his Privy Council, April 20, 1679, and in the House of Lords the next day.

(l) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 368.

(m) Parliamentary Register, p. 74.

(n) Collection of Debates in the House of Commons, in the year 1680, p. 1.

(o) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 379. Debates before cited, p. 154.

(p) Parliamentary Register, p. 74.

(q) See the Debates before cited, p. 31[illegible].

(r) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish.

(s) Tryal of William Lord Russel, fol. p. 53.

(t) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, p 560.

(u) Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish, p. 134.

(w) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 164.

(x) Funeral Sermon for the Duke of Devonshire, p. 48, 49.

(y) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 165.

(z) Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish.

[B] *Will do lasting honour to both their memories.*] It appears from the tryal, that Lord Russel thought proper in his defence to call some persons of Quality, with whom he had been well acquainted and conversed much, that they might speak from their knowledge of his former behaviour, whether they could think him guilty of a thing of the nature he was charged with. The answer given by the Lord Cavendish, was conceived in these words (3); 'I had the honour to be 'acquainted with my Lord Russel a long time. I always thought him a man of great honour, and too 'prudent and wary a man to be concerned in so vile 'and desperate a design as this, and from which he 'would receive so little advantage. I can say nothing 'more, but that two or three days since the discovery 'of this plot, upon discourse about Colonel Rumsey, 'my Lord Russel did express something as if he had a 'very ill opinion of the man, and therefore, it is not 'likely he would entrust him with such a secret.'

(3) State Trials, Vol. III. p. 724.

[C] *For which he was fined thirty thousand pounds.*] It seems, that the Earl of Devonshire having received an affront from Colonel Culpepper, within the verge of the Court, so far restrained his resentment, as not to take any satisfaction upon the spot; and afterwards thought fit, tho' the insult was very rude, to compromise it upon the Colonel's promise never to appear again at White-hall (4). But after the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth, the Colonel was encouraged to slight the obligation he was under, and to come publickly to Court as usual, where he was rising into some degree of favour. This occasioned a second quarrel, for the Earl of Devonshire meeting him in the King's presence-chamber, and receiving from him as he thought an insulting look, he took him by the nose, led him out of the room, and gave him some disdainful blows with the head of his cane. For this bold act, the Earl was prosecuted in the King's-Bench upon an information, and had an exorbitant fine of 30,000 *l.* imposed upon him, and was committed, tho' a Peer, to the King's-Bench prison, 'till he should make payment of it. He was never able to bear any confinement that he could break from, and therefore, he escaped only to go home to his seat at Chatsworth. Upon the news of his being there, the Sheriff of Derbyshire had a precept to apprehend him and bring him with his posse to town. But he invited the Sheriff, and kept him a prisoner of honour, 'till he had compounded for his own liberty, by giving bond to pay the full sum of thirty thousand pounds; which bond had this providential discharge, that it was found among the papers of King James, and given up by King William; we are told, that the Countess Dowager, his mother, being uneasy to see him under so great a hardship, waited on the King to beg her son's pardon; and for discharge of the fine, did humbly desire, that his Majesty would accept of her delivering up bonds, and other acknowledgments for above 60,000 *l.* lent by her husband and his mother to his Royal father and brother, in their greatest extremities But it seems, the Popish party then thought, the Earl had forfeited all title to gratitude and equity (5).

(4) Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish, p. 136—139.

(5) This judgment was afterwards declared illegal by the House of Lords, as the reader is told in the text.

[D] *A*

But neither the hazards he had run, the diſappointments he had met with, or the pleaſures of his retirement, could hinder him from contriving in his mind ſuch methods as ſeemed to him practicable, for the relief of his country; and therefore, with infinite danger to himſelf, he ventured to concert, with ſome noble friends, a plan for their common deliverance (*a*) [*D*]. When the Prince of Orange landed, he was one of the firſt who declared for him, ſecured the county town of Derby, and from thence marched to Nottingham, where he had the honour of receiving the Princeſs Anne, whom he lodged in the Caſtle, from which it's noble owner, Henry Duke of Newcaſtle, thought fit at that time to retire, and afterwards conducted her to Oxford, to her conſort Prince George of Denmark (*b*). He then came up to London, and was one of that aſſembly of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, who joined in an addreſs to the Prince of Orange to take upon him the adminiſtration, 'till the Convention then ſummoned ſhould meet (*c*). In the Convention alſo, he was very active, argued ſtrenuouſly in ſupport of the reſolution of the Houſe of Commons, that King James had abdicated, and that the throne was vacant; which being once carried, he found himſelf at the head of a great majority, on the final reſolution, that the Prince and Princeſs of Orange ſhould be declared King and Queen of England (*d*). As the juſt reward of theſe his arduous and important ſervices, he was on the 14th of February following, ſworn of the Privy-Council; and not long after, named Lord Steward of their Majeſties Houſhold (*e*); and on April 3, 1689, he was choſen one of the Knight's companions of the moſt noble Order of the Garter; and was inſtalled on the 14th of May following, with great ſolemnity (*f*). At their Majeſties coronation, he acted as Lord High-Steward of England (*g*); and in the firſt ſeſſion of Parliament afterwards, procured a reſolution of the Houſe of Lords, as to the illegality of the judgment given againſt him in the former reign, and a vote, that no Peer ought to be committed for non-payment of a fine to the Crown (*h*). Neither was he leſs ſollicitous to procure redreſs, as far as was poſſible, for others, who had been injured in the courſe of that and the former reign, and even in favour of the repreſentatives of ſuch as were deceaſed (*i*). In January 1691, he attended King William to the Congreſs at the Hague, where he lived in the utmoſt ſtate and magnificence, and had the honour to entertain ſeveral ſovereign Princes at his table, the King himſelf being preſent incognito; after which he waited upon the King to the camp, and having been preſent at the ſiege of Mons, returned to England with his Majeſty in April following (*k*). On the 12th of May 1694, he was created Marquis of Hartington and Duke of Devonſhire; and in the preamble of his Patent, the higheſt juſtice was done to his patriotiſm in the late reigns, and to his ſervices in this (*l*). Indeed, higher honours could hardly be done, or greater rewards conferred upon a ſubject, for beſides his Garter and White Staff, he was intruſted with the county of Derby as Lord Lieutenant, and *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, and was conſtituted alſo Lord Juſtice in Eyre (*m*). He ſhowed his gratitude to, and affection for that excellent Princeſs Queen Mary, by writing a pindaric poem on her death, which, in the judgment of Mr Dryden, was the beſt that appeared upon that melancholy ſubject (*n*). The deceaſe of the Queen making it neceſſary for his Majeſty to appoint Lords Juſtices at ſuch times as the affairs of Europe required his preſence on the Continent, his Grace had the ſignal honour of being the only temporal Peer that was in every one of theſe commiſſions (*o*). But notwithſtanding all theſe honours and preferments, his Grace's conduct in Parliament was never governed by other dictates than thoſe of his conſcience, as appeared eminently in the caſe of Sir John Fenwick (*p*), and of the bill for the reſumption of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland; and in the latter, he not only voted but ſpoke againſt it, with his uſual freedom and eloquence (*q*). At the funeral of King William, his Grace and the preſent Duke of Somerſet, ſupported Prince George of Denmark, as chief mourner (*r*). He was confirmed in all his offices by Queen Anne (*s*), whom he dutifully ſerved; and was, on the other hand, treated by her Majeſty with all imaginable marks of eſteem and confidence. In April 1705, he attended her Majeſty to Cambridge,

(*a*) See this explained at large in the note.

(*b*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 167.

(*c*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 505.

(*d*) Journal of the Houſe of Lords, Feb. 7, 1688.

(*e*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 515.

(*f*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 169.

(*g*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 524.

(*h*) Journal of the Houſe of Lords, May 6, 1689.

(*i*) See the article ARMSTRONG (Sir THOMAS) in this Dictionary.

(*k*) See an exact Relation of the Entertainment of King William at the Hague.

(*l*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 172.

(*m*) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(*n*) Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 24.

(*o*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 174.

(*p*) Compl. Hiſt. England, Vol. III. p. 731.

(*q*) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(*r*) Compl. Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1702, p. 111.

(*s*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 175. Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1702, p. 118.

[*D*] *A plan for their common deliverance.*] We are told by the Hiſtorians of this family, that this noble Earl concerted meaſures with the Earl of Danby, Sir Scroop How, and others, previous to the Revolution (6). A very late author, whoſe account, I preſume is taken from the tradition in that part of the country, gives us the following account (7); 'At Whittington, 'ſays he, a village on the edge of Scarſdale in Derby-'ſhire, the Earls of Devonſhire and Danby, with the 'Lord Delamere, privately concerted the plan of the 'Revolution. The houſe in which they met, is at 'preſent a farm-houſe, and the country people diſtin-'guiſhed the room where they ſate, by the name of 'the plotting-parlour.' We have a larger and more authentick account of this whole tranſaction from a moſt noble pen: I mean, that of the late Duke of Leeds, who at the time of this tranſaction was Earl of Danby, and who in a book, which he publiſhed to juſtify his own character, and to ſhew, that the beſt men who were concerned in the proſecution againſt him under the reign of King Charles II, afterwards changed their ſentiments, has this paſſage, in relation to the noble perſon, who is the ſubject of this article (8), *viz.* The Duke of Devonſhire alſo, when we were partners in the ſecret truſt about the Revolution, and who did meet me and Mr John D'Arcy for that purpoſe, at a town called Whittington in Derbyſhire, did, in the preſence of the ſaid Mr D'Arcy, make a voluntary acknowledgment of the great miſtakes he had been led into about me, and ſaid, that both he and moſt others were entirely convinced of their error. And he came to Sir Henry Goodrick's houſe in Yorkſhire, purpoſely to meet me there again, in order to concert the times and methods by which he ſhould act at Nottingham (which was to be his poſt), and I at York (which was to be mine); and we agreed, that I ſhould firſt attempt to ſurprize York, becauſe there was a ſmall garriſon with a Governor there, whereas Nottingham was but an open town, and might give alarm to York, if he he ſhould appear in arms before I had made my attempt upon York: which was done accordingly, but is miſtaken in divers relations of it.

(6) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family by Kennet, p. 146—155. Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 166, 167.

(7) Dr Akinſide's Ode addreſſed to the Earl of Huntingdon, p. 26.

(8) Copies and Extracts of ſome Letters written to and from the Earl of Danby, now Duke of Leeds, in the years 1676, 1677, and 1678. With particular Remarks upon ſome of them, publiſhed by his Grace's direction, Lond. 1710, 8vo, in the introduct.

[*E*] *As*

Cambridge, and was there created Doctor in Law (*t*). In 1706, himſelf and his ſon, the Marquis of Hartington were in the number of the Engliſh Peers, appointed Commiſſioners for treating and concluding a union between the kingdoms of England and Scotland (*u*). This was the laſt of his publick employments, for being ſeized with a ſevere illneſs, which yielded not to the art of the beſt Phyſicians, he departed this life, Auguſt 18, 1707, about nine in the morning at Devonſhire-houſe in Piccadilly in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age (*w*). His Grace's character is too well known, and has been drawn by pens too eminent for us to hope to give any addition, either to the luſtre or the extent of his fame. He was a Nobleman no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his virtues than by his titles, and which alſo derives honour to his memory, by the ſolidity of his abilities, and the brilliancy of his parts. He was not only a Stateſman and a Patriot, but a Poet too, and, which is more, an excellent Poet, as his writings ſhew [*E*]. He was a critick alſo, and ſo good a one, that Lord Roſcommon, whoſe verſes will live as long as our language, ſubmitted them to the reviſion of this ſevere, but candid judge (*x*). He was only once married, which was to the Lady Mary, daughter of James, Duke of Ormond (*y*), and their iſſue, will be ſeen in the notes [*F*]. His corps was interred with his anceſtors in the Church of Allhallows in Derby, and his Ducheſs ſurviving him 'till the 31ſt of July 1710, deceaſed then in the ſixty-eighth year of her age; and on the 6th of Auguſt following, was interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey (*z*). Thus we have collected, digeſted, and tranſmitted to poſterity, the memoirs of ſome of the moſt eminent and celebrated perſons of this truly noble and illuſtrious family, and this, with ſuch regard to their deſcents, as might preſerve, as near as poſſible, the natural and chronological order of reading, and at the ſame time, leave as little of deficiency or obſcurity as the neceſſity of keeping within reaſonable bounds would permit, that there were many more of this line which deſerved to be remembred, we very well knew; but, as on the one hand, the nature of our deſign reſtrained us from mentioning any but the moſt diſtinguiſhed; we were conſcious, on the other, that the titles with which the merits of the houſe of Cavendiſh have been juſtly honoured by our Princes, have ſecured ſome memorials of their actions and fortunes, ſo that there is no danger, oblivion ſhould ever overſpread their memories, or hide from ſucceeding ages the glories of a houſe peculiarly remarkable for producing great men in almoſt every ſenſe of the word, and thoſe too, as good as they were great.

(*t*) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 513.

(*u*) Taken from the Commiſſion, dated April 10, in the fifth year of her Majeſty's reign.

(*w*) Compl. Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1707, p. 489.

(*x*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p 174.

(*y*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 551.

(*z*) Le Neve's Monum. Anglic. p. 202.

[*E*] *As his writings ſhew.*] It is a very difficult matter to deſcribe, and that within the narrow compaſs of a note, the great abilities of this Nobleman, who was the friend and companion, and at the ſame time the equal, of Ormond, Dorſet, Roſcommon, and all the noble ornaments of that reign of wit, in which he paſſed his youth. It is however to his honour extremely, that he preſerved his publick principles from being either tinged with ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion or an enthuſiaſtick fondneſs, for that ſort of anarchy, which ſome call liberty. His frequent diſcourſe was to commend the conſtitution and laws of this kingdom, and to affirm, That as he always had, ſo he ever would endeavour to defend and preſerve them. He ſeemed to be made for a Patriot: his mien and aſpect were engaging and commanding: his addreſs and converſation were civil and courteous in the higheſt manner. He judged right in the Supreme Court, and on any important affair, his ſpeeches were ſmooth and weighty. As a Stateſman, his whole deportment came up to his noble birth and his eminent ſtations: nor did he want any of what the world calls accompliſhments. He had great ſkill in languages, was a true judge in Hiſtory, a critick in Poetry, and had a fine hand in Muſick. He had an elegant taſte in Painting, and all politer arts, with a ſpirit that was continually improving his judgment in them; and in Architecture had a genius, ſkill, and experience, beyond any one perſon of his age, his houſe at Chatſworth being a monument of beauty and magnificence, that perhaps is not exceeded by any palace in Europe. It was of this fine houſe, that Marſhal Tallard, who was a more ſucceſsful courtier than he was a General, is reported to have ſaid a very fine thing after being invited thither by the noble owner. His compliment at his departure, was conceived in theſe terms; *My Lord, when I come hereafter to compute the time of my captivity in* England, *I ſhall leave out the days of my enjoyment at* Chatſworth (9). His Grace's genius for Poetry ſhewed itſelf, particularly in two pieces that are publiſhed, and are allowed by the criticks to be written with equal ſpirit, dignity, and delicacy.

I. *An Ode on the Death of Queen* MARY, with this motto: *Poema eſt Pictura Loquens.*

II. *An Alluſion to the Biſhop of* Cambray's *Supplement to Homer.*

We may add to theſe, as an additional proof of his genius and character, the following inſcription, which he ordered to be placed on his monument, as it is an equal teſtimony of both,

WILLIELMUS DUX DEVON.
BONORUM PRINCIPUM FIDELIS SUBDITUS,
INIMICUS ET INVISUS TYRANNIS.

William Duke of Devonſhire.
Of good Princes the faithful ſubject,
An enemy to, and hated by, tyrants.

(9) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

[*F*] *Will be ſeen in the notes.*] The iſſue of his Grace by the Lady Mary Butler his only wife, and with whom he paſſed ſo many years with the moſt uninterrupted harmony, were three ſons and one daughter. 1. William late Duke of Devonſhire. 2. Lord Henry Cavendiſh, repreſentative in Parliament for the town of Derby twice (10), who died May 10, 1700, leaving iſſue by his wife Rhoda, daughter to William Cartwright of Aynoe in the county of Northampton, Eſq; one daughter Mary, married to John, Earl of Weſtmoreland. 3. Lord James Cavendiſh of Staley-Park in Devonſhire, he married Anne, daughter of Elihu Yale, Eſq; formerly Governor of Fort St George, by whom he had a ſon William, and a daughter Elizabeth. 4. Lady Elizabeth Cavendiſh, his Grace's only daughter, married Sir John Wentworth of Broadſworth in the county of York, Bart. by whom ſhe had three ſons.

(10) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, p. 236.

William, late Duke of Devonſhire, was a Nobleman of unblemiſhed character and unſpotted integrity, enjoyed under the reigns in which he lived the higheſt employments, with the faireſt reputation, and died June 4, 1729 (11). He married the Lady Rachael Ruſſel, daughter of William Lord Ruſſel, and ſiſter to the Duke of Bedford, by whom he had iſſue. 1. William, now Duke of Devonſhire. 2. Lord James Cavendiſh. 3. Lord Charles Cavendiſh, who married the Lady Anne Grey, third daughter to his Grace the Duke of Kent; and by her had two ſons. 4. Lord John Cavendiſh, who died May 10, 1720. His daughters were Lady Mary, who died unmarried; Lady Rachael, who eſpouſed Sir William Morgan of Tredegar, Knt. of the Bath; Lady Elizabeth, who became the wife of Sir Thomas Lowther, Baronet; Lady Catharine, who died unmarried; Lady Anne, and Lady Diana, who alſo died unmarried. E

(11) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 181.

CAWTON (THOMAS) a very learned Minister among the Nonconformists in the XVIIth Century. He was the son of the Reverend Mr Thomas Cawton, a worthy and truly religious Puritan, who was banished for his loyalty (*a*) [*A*]. As for our author, he was born at Wivenhoe, near Colchester, in Essex, about the year 1637, his father being then Minister of the place. The first rudiments of learning he received from his father, whom he attended in his banishment, and lived with him several years in Holland, where he studied the Oriental languages under Mr Robert Sheringham at Rotterdam with equal diligence and success (*b*). About the year 1656, he was sent to the University of Utrecht, where he distinguished himself by his extraordinary skill in the Oriental languages, in such a manner as did honour to his country (*c*). On the 14th of December, 1657, he maintained a Thesis in relation to the Syriac Version of the New Testament, and printed his discourse, as he did some time after another dissertation on the usefulness of the Hebrew language in the study of Theoretick Philosophy, which treatises sufficiently shew both the extent of his learning and the solidity of his judgment (*d*) [*B*]. When he left Utrecht, the

(*a*) Life and Death of Mr Thomas Cawton, Lond. 1662, 8vo. p. 5.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 583.

(*c*) See the Account given of him by Mr Leusden in note [*C*].

(*d*) These treatises were both printed in Latin at Utrecht, in 4to. 1657.

[*A*] *Banished for his loyalty.*] Mr Thomas Cawton, senior, was Minister of St Bartholomew's behind the Royal Exchange, and had an exceeding fair character in the city. This occasioned his being called to preach before the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of London at Mercers-Chapel, Febr. 25, 1648, when he delivered himself in such plain terms against the canting hypocrisy of their governors, that he was first sent for to Westminster, and then committed to the Gatehouse (1). This served only to raise his character among the loyal Presbyterians, who, when King Charles II. had thoughts of entering England and asserting his right, intrusted him, with Mr Christopher Love, and some other worthy persons, with the money raised by them for his Majesty's service, for which, when Mr Love was imprisoned, and afterwards executed, Mr Cawton betook himself to a voluntary exile, and retiring to Rotterdam, became Minister of the English Church there, spending the remainder of his days in peace and honour (2). His son took care to preserve a just account of his merits and sufferings, by writing his life as is mentioned in the text, the title of it ran thus, *The Life and Death of that Holy and Reverend Man of God, Mr* Thomas Cawton, *some time Minister of St Bartholomew*, &c. to which is added, his Father's Sermon, intituled, *God's Rule for a godly Life, from Philippians* iv. 27. which is the sermon for the preaching of which he was imprisoned, London 1662, 8vo.

(1) See a brief Vindication of the Presbyterians from the murder of King Charles I.

(2) Bates, Elenc. Mot. P. II. p. 133.

[*B*] *Solidity of his judgment.*] The title of the first of these pieces, runs thus, *Disputatio de Versione Syriaca Vet. & Novi Testamenti*, 4to. 1657. i. e. *A Discourse on the* Syriac Version *of the* Old *and* New Testament. It is in some measure a reproach on our nation, that while many of our countrymen are admired for their parts abroad, their names are scarce known at home; and for this reason it seems necessary to give some account of this learned Tract, which it does not appear any of our Biographers have ever seen. Our author speaks, first of the Syriac Version of the *Old Testament* (3); and in respect to this he observes, there may be four questions moved, I. *Whence this* Syriac Version *was made?* in answer to which he tells us, that there were anciently two, one from the Septuagint, and the other from the original Hebrew; but that the latter only was in use among the Maronites, Nestorians, and Jacobites, of which the famous Primate Usher obtained a copy from the Patriarch of Antioch, which is printed in the English Polyglot. II. *Who composed this Version?* Mr Cawton shews, that this is absolutely uncertain. III. *When were either of these* Syriac Versions *made?* He says, the Maronites pretend, that it was made from the Hebrew under the reigns of Solomon and Hiram; but this he observes is carrying the thing too high, though, from various authorities, he is convinced it is a very ancient Version, and inclines to fix it about the time of the Apostles. IV. *Whether the Syriac Version of the Old Testament be of any moment?* He answers in the affirmative, and gives his reasons, shewing also abundance of places wherein it varies from the Hebrew original. He comes next to the Syriac Version of the *New Testament*, as to which he says, there may be five questions moved. I. *By whom and when was this Version made?* in answer to which he cites the Preface of Jacobus Martinus, in which it is asserted, that this is the oldest of all Versions, and that it was either made by one of the Apostles themselves, or by some of their Disciples with their assistance. Our author does not however seem to give entire credit to this, and much less to what has been reported on the credit of William Postell, that it was made by St Mark the Evangelist, which notion he refutes by very solid reasons. He mentions last of all, the sentiments of Dr Rainolds, who thought it might be made about the IIId or IVth Century, and seems inclined to place it higher, chiefly for this reason, that in most of the copies of the Syriac Version, there are wanting the second Epistle of St Peter, the second and third Epistles of St John, the Epistle of St Jude, and the Revelation, which argue it to have been made before those Scriptures were generally received by the Church. II. *By whom this Version has been published?* He acquaints us, that it has gone through many editions; in some of which, for want of Syriac, they have been forced to make use of Hebrew types. It was thus printed by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp in 1575, but without vowels. In like manner by Elias Hutter at Noremberg, in his Bible of twelve Languages 1599, but there, though printed in Hebrew characters it is pointed. Since these editions it has been published in the Syriac character, particulary in the English Polyglot. In most of these editions, the story of the adultress in the eighth Chapter of St John, is wanting, as well as the several pieces beforementioned, but in the edition of Hutter and the English Polyglot they are found. In many, there are no points at all; in some, they are marked only here and there; but in Hutter and the English Polyglot, they are marked throughout. But of all the editions, that published by Gutbirius, Professor of Divinity at Hamburgh, which was printed in a pocket volume 1663, is the best. III. *Whether the* Syriac Version *is of any moment, or has any utility?* He answers in the affirmative, and for this very good reason, that Syriac being the language in which our blessed Saviour and the Apostles spoke, their thoughts appear more clearly therein, than in any other; so that texts, which are very obscure in the Greek, become plain and easy when we consult the Syriac Version. Of this he gives several instances, particularly, 1 *Cor.* x. 2. *And were all baptized unto* Moses *in the cloud and in the sea*, where the sense is far from being clear, in the Syriac it is, *by the hand of Moses*, which is perfectly plain. He farther adds, that many words in the New Testament are absolutely Syriac, tho' written in Greek characters, such as Raka, Aceldama, Abba, so that without the knowledge of this tongue it is impossible to apprehend perfectly the force and energy of the Divine Writings. IV. *By what name is this language called in the New Testament, and where is it now the vulgar tongue?* This language, says he, is called the Aramite, from Aram the ancient name of the country in which it was spoken, as it is Syrian from Syria the more modern. In the New Testament it is frequently called the Hebrew, because Syriac was a dialect of the Hebrew; at present, the Syriac is scarce any where the mother-tongue, except in a few villages about Mount Libanus, but throughout all Asia and Africk it passes for the learned language among the Christians. V. *Which was the first translation of this Syriac Version into Latin?* He tells us in answer to this, that Henry Stephens printed in 1569, the Latin Version of Tremellius; that about two years afterwards, there appeared another Latin Version by Boderianus. But some dispute has arisen, whether one of these translations was not stolen from the other. The second piece published by our author is intituled, *Dissertatio de Usu Linguæ Hebraicæ in Philosophia Theoretica*, printed at Utrecht in 1657.

(3) This Analysis was very carefully made from the work itself.

the famous Profeſſor Leuſden ſubſcribed an ample teſtimonial in his favour, wherein he expreſſes a great regard for his perſon, as well as a juſt ſenſe of his parts (*e*) [C]. On his return to England he went to Oxford, and was entered there of Merton-College for the ſake of Mr Samuel Clark, famous for his thorough knowledge of the Oriental languages (*f*). Our author ſhewed his loyalty by writing a copy of Hebrew verſes on his Majeſty's Reſtauration, having been pretty early in the year 1660 (*g*), admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, at which time Profeſſor Leuſden's Certificate was read publickly (*h*). In 1661, he was ordained by the Biſhop of Oxford (*i*); and in 1662, he publiſhed the Life of his Father (*k*). In all probability, he might have obtained very conſiderable preferment, if his principles had not led him to Nonconformity. When he retired from the Univerſity, he was taken into the family of Sir Anthony Irby of Lincolnſhire, where he officiated for ſome years as Chaplain; but the air of that country diſagreeing with him, and the family going down thither on account of the plague in 1665 (*l*), he was obliged to quit it, and lived afterwards with the Lady Armin 'till about the year 1670, when he gathered a congregation of Diſſenters in the city of Weſtminſter, to whom he preached, with ſome interruption from the ſeverities of the government, for about ſeven years, 'till falling into a bad ſtate of health, he died of a gradual decay, April 10, 1677 (*m*), being then about forty years of age. He was buried in the New Church in Tothil-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, at which time his friend and Fellow-collegian, Mr Henry Hurſt, preached his funeral ſermon, as did alſo Mr Nath. Vincent in another place (*n*). He was a man, who, as his learning rendered him admired, ſo his virtues made him beloved by all parties. Anthony Wood ſpeaking of the praiſes beſtowed upon him by Mr Hurſt in his diſcourſe, gives them alſo his ſanction, *they were*, ſays he, *deſervedly ſpoken* (*o*). His congregation followed the advice he gave them on his death-bed, for he told them, that he knew none ſo proper to be his ſucceſſor, as a certain Northamptonſhire Miniſter, who wrote againſt Dr Sherlock. This was Mr Vincent Alſop, whom they accordingly choſe (*p*).

(*e*) Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. II. p. 73.

(*g*) Britannia Rediviva, Oxon. 1660, 4*to*.

(*h*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127.

(*i*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 73.

(*k*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 584.

(*l*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 73.

(*m*) See Mr Hurſt's Funeral Sermon on our author.

(*n*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 73.

(*o*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 584.

(*p*) See the article of ALSOP (VINCENT) in this Dictionary.

This diſſertation on the uſe of the Hebrew language in the ſtudy of Philoſophy, is likewiſe a very curious piece, but as it is written upon a more abſtruſe ſubject, and as this note is already of an extraordinary length, we forbear entering more particularly into it's contents.

[C] *As well as a juſt ſenſe of his parts.*] In this certificate he obſerves, that Mr Cawton had with infinite labour ſtudied and acquired a perfect knowledge of the principal languages of the Eaſt, that he had eſtabliſhed a deſerved reputation by publiſhing the treatiſes beforementioned, and that he was in all reſpects a perſon of quick wit, piercing judgment, and deep erudition; but it may not be amiſs to cite part of the certificate (4). 'Totum vetus Teſtamentum Hebraicum partim punctatum, partim non punctatum perlegit & explicuit — Regulas Grammaticæ & Syntaxeos Hebraicæ optime perdidiſcit. Deinde in Lingua Chaldaica Daniclis & Paraphraſibus Chaldaicis, in lingua Syriacâ Novi Teſt. & in Lingua Arabica, & Commentariis Rabbinorum ſtrenuè ſeſe exercuit. Denique quæſtiones Philologico-Hebraicas circa vetus Teſt. Hebræum moveri ſolitas, ita perdidiſcit, ut ſummo cum honore duas diſputationes philologicas publicè defenderit, priorem de Verſione Syriaca veteris & novi Teſt. poſteriorem vero, de Uſu Linguæ Hebraicæ in Philoſophia Theoretica, illius fuit Reſpondens, hujus vero Author & Reſpondens. Certe in Diſputatione hac componenda, & in ejuſdem ſtrenua Defenſione, ingenium & eruditionem ſuam omnibus palam fecit, *&c.* 18 Maii 1659, Joh Leuſden.'— In all probability, our author would have afforded his country more conſpicuous marks of his ſkill in theſe matters, if the taſte for that kind of learning had not begun to decay, and his own troubles for Nonconformity come on. All that he afterwards publiſhed, was a ſermon bearing the title of BALAAM's WISH, *or the Vanity of deſiring, without endeavouring, to obtain the Death of the Upright.* London, 1670, 8*vo*. and again, in 1675 (5). This is a very grave, ſolid, and judicious diſcourſe, and is at once a proof of the deep learning and ſincere piety of it's author. I have ſeen a letter written by one Mr Bruce, who ſtudied at Utrecht, to a relation of his in Scotland, which is dated in June 1682, in which ſpeaking of his countrymen and other Britiſh ſubjects that had ſtudied in that univerſity, he gives a very high character to our author in the following words; 'Beſides the late Dr Nicholas Shepherd, who was Miniſter of the Engliſh Church at Middleburgh, Mr Thomas Cawton, who died but a few years ago, and was a man very eminent among the Nonconformiſts, laid the foundation of his great knowledge in the Oriental languages here, and it is wonderful how freſh the memory of his proficiency in thoſe ſtudies remains in this place. The Profeſſor has a particular regard for thoſe of our nation, and takes a great pleaſure in ſpeaking of ſuch of them as have been under his care, but I never heard him mention any with greater reſpect than this gentleman, who was not only eminent for his knowledge in the Hebrew, but in the Syriac alſo, and other Eaſtern tongues, and wrote a treatiſe to ſhow the uſefulneſs of this kind of learning, not in Divinity only, but in the ſtudy alſo of Philoſophy, in which he was a very great Maſter. That Tract of his is become very ſcarce, ſo that it was with ſome difficulty that I procured it, and I am afraid I ſhall meet with many ſuch obſtacles in my deſign of making a collection of all the pieces of that kind that have been printed in this country by the natives of Great Britain; and which according to the computation I have been able to make, will not fall very far ſhort of threeſcore. I doubt, whether any encouragement could be had for reprinting them, which might be done in three volumes in quarto; but if I am able to compleat ſuch a collection, I think it would be an acceptable preſent to one of our univerſities, and with this view I ſhall take ſome pains both here and at Leyden, and ſhall endeavour to procure the characters of the principal perſons at leaſt, from the ſeveral Profeſſors who were acquainted with them, and are ſtill living, *&c.*'

(4) Reg. Convoc. Un. Ox. quod incipit, 1659, f. 9.

(5) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 73.

CAXTON (WILLIAM) the first who introduced, practised, and communicated, the most useful and instructive art or mystery of Printing, in England. He was born about the latter end of King Henry the IVth's reign, who died in the year 1412, and, as himself acquaints us, in the *Weald*, or woody part of Kent (*a*; therefore not in the town that bears his name in Cambridgeshire, as Dr Fuller was misled to believe (*b*). His father, Mr William Caxton, who resided with him at Westminster when he was in the height of his business there, must have lived to a good old age, according to the memorial we have of his death (*c*). Whether Matilda Caxton, who founded a chantry in Walbrook ward in the city of London, and had a monument in St Swithin's church there after the repair of it in 1420, was any relation of his, my author does not intimate (*d*). The custom which had long prevailed of imposing that badge of Norman slavery, the French language, upon our children at the grammar-schools, as is very particularly observed by Ranulphus Higden, and John de Trevisa [*A*], being, in the younger years of Caxton, much worn off, and the neglect of it accounted no deficiency in education; he was, by the care of his prudent mother, so well instructed and qualified at home in reading and writing (*e*), as served his occasions very commendably, when he was put out to a genteel trade. But afterwards, by his diligent application, he arrived to a considerable proficiency, not only in writing, after a very clear, free, and dexterous manner, that strong hand which was then in most request, as may be seen in some copies of his books to this day, but in attaining both a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue, and to a good perfection in the French, when he was preferred to a considerable charge abroad by his Prince, and to very honourable patronage, in the latter part of that long course of time he continued there. He might be about the age of fifteen or sixteen, when he was put apprentice to Mr Robert Large, a Mercer of such eminence in London, that he was elected one of the Sheriffs in the year 1430, and, nine years after, Lord Mayor of this city (*f*). The said Magistrate held his mayoralty in that which had been the mansion-house of Robert Fitzwalter, anciently called the Jew's Synagogue, at the north-corner of the Old Jewry, which was in the place where now, says my author, stands the Grocers-Hall; and here Caxton appears to have resided with his said master 'till his death, which happened on the twenty-fourth of April 1441, as by the Latin inscription that was cut on the brazen-plated stone in the south isle of the parish-church of St Olave Jewry appears; to the reparation of which church he gave two hundred pounds (*g*), and in his last will he bequeathed also to this his said servant, thirty-four marks; a considerable legacy in those times, and a creditable, as well as early testimony, of Master Caxton's good behaviour and great integrity (*h*). He mentions himself afterwards, how much he was obliged to the city, and that company, of which he was a sworn freeman; and a man of such reputable character he now was; of such probity, abilities, and expertness in his business, that when he went to settle abroad, in the same year his master died, as he also informs us himself (*i*), 'tis agreed on, by those writers who have best acquainted themselves with his story, that he was deputed and entrusted by the Mercers company, to be their Agent or Factor in Holland, Zealand, Flanders, &c. to establish and enlarge their correspondence, negociate the consumption of our own, and importation of foreign manufactures, and otherwise promote the advantage of the said corporation, in their respective merchandize, &c (*k*). It seems that he spent about twenty-three years in those countries, upon this, and such like employments, before we can hear of him again; but he had then acquired such an eminent character for his knowledge and experience, his diligence and fidelity therein, that we see him joined with Richard Whetehill, Esq; in a very honourable commission, granted to them by King Edward IV, in the year 1464, to continue and confirm the Treaty of Trade and Commerce, between his Majesty and Philip Duke of Burgundy; or, if they found it necessary, to make a new one; and it also gives both, or either of them, full power to transact and conclude the same. They are stiled *Ambassadors* and *Special Deputies*, &c. in the said commission; as, for the satisfaction of the curious, may appear in the transcript annexed [*B*]. There were afterwards, several other treaties between these two powers, for the communication

(*a*) His Prologue to The *Recueyl of the Historie of Troy.*

(*b*) Worthies of England in Cambridgeshire.

(*c*) In The accompte of the Wardens of the Parishe Churche of Saynte Margarete of Westminster, from the 7 of Maye, in the Yere 1478, &c. to the 18 of Maye 1480, thus; *Item*, The day of bureying W. Caxton, for 2 Torches, and 4 Tapers, 20 *d.*

(*d*) J. Stow's Survey of London, edit. fol. 1633, p. 241.

(*e*) See his Prologue to Thystory and Lyf of Charles the Grete Kyng of Fraunce. Also John Bagford's Life of W. Caxton, annexed to his Proposals for printing an Historical Account of the Art of Typography, in one sheet folio. And Mr Jos. Ames his Specimen, joined to his Proposals for an Hist. of Printing in England, &c. in half a sheet, 4*to*, p. 3.

(*f*) Fabian's Chron. R. Grafton; and Stow's Survey of Lond. p. 563, 565.

(*g*) Stow, as before, p. 288, 290.

(*h*) The Lyfe of Mayster Wyllyam Caxton of the Weald of Kent, the first Printer in England, &c. by John Lewis, Minister of Mergate in Kent, 8*vo*, Lond. 1737, p. 2.

(*i*) The Recueyl, &c.

(*k*) Mr Lewis's Life of Caxton, as before.

[*A*] *As is very particularly observed by Ranulphus Higden, and John de Trevisa.*] The former, in his Polychronicon, translated by the latter, and printed by Master Caxton (1), speaking of the causes of the impairing of our language, says, 'One is, by cause that 'children that gon to scole learne to speke first Eng-'lysshe, and then ben compelled to constrewe her (‖) 'lessions in Frensh; and that have ben used syn 'the Normans come into Englond. Also gentilmens 'children ben lerned and taught from theyr yougthe 'to speke Frensh. And uplondysh men will counterfete and liken himself to gentilmen, and arn besy 'to speke Frensh, for to be more sette by. Where-'fore, it is sayd by the comyn proverbe, *Jack would 'be a gentilman, if he coude speke Frenshe.*' To which, John de Trevisa, his Translator, adds as follows. 'This maner was moche used tofore the grete 'deth (2): but syth, it is somedele chaunged. For, 'Sir John Cornuayl, a Mayster of Gramer chaunged 'the techyng in Gramer scole, and construction of 'Frenshe; and other Schoolmaysters use the same way 'now in the yere of our Lord 1365 (3), the 9th yere 'of Kyng Rychard the secund, and leve all Frensh 'in scoles, and use al construction in Englysshe. 'Wherein they have avantage one way, that is, that 'they lerne the sonner they're Gramer; and in ano-'ther, disavantage; for nowe they lerne no Frensh, 'ne conne none; whiche is hurte for them that shal 'passe the see: and also gentilmen have moche leste 'to teche theyr children to speke Frensh.'

(1) Fol. 1482, lib. i. in capit. *de Incolarum Linguis.*

(‖) their

(2) There were two mortalities in the reign of King Edward III. the first in 1349, the second in 1361.

[*B*] *For the satisfaction of the curious, may appear in the transcript annexed.*] This commission is preserved in the following title and form:

Super Trugis Burgundiæ.

A. D. 1464. An. 4 Ed. IV. } REX omnibus, ad quos, &c. Salutem. Sciatis, quòd cum certa Appunctuamenta, Intercursum Marchandisarum inter Subditos

(3) So Caxton's edition of Polychronicon, and so Wynkin de Worde's edition after him, which is erroneous; for 1365, is the 39th of Edward III. and the 9th of Richard II. is 1385, as it should be here. So it is corrected in Julyan Notary's edit. of Higden's *Descript. of England*, at the end of his impression of *The Fruit of Time*. And so Dr Hickes, in the Pref. of his *Thesaurus*, &c. which correspondes with the MS. of Trevisa, in St John's college.

communication of their merchandize, fishery, &c. in which, other Ambassadors or Agents were after the like manner employed (*l*); and these, with other views of mutual advantage, produced a near alliance between them in the marriage of King Edward's sister, the Lady Margaret of York, with the Duke's son Charles, in July 1468, he being then Duke of Burgundy, &c (*m*). When this Lady Margaret arrived at the Duke's Court at Bruges, she was very magnificently attended, and Master Caxton appears then to have been of her retinue. He was either now one of her household, or held some constant post or office under her; because, as he says, he received of her *yearly fee* or salary, besides many other good and great benefits (*n*); which also demonstrates that he was very serviceable to her, or much in her favour. Being a man expert in penmanship and languages, as well as matters of commerce; and by his long conversation abroad with ingenious men, also in matters of literature; which were now grown the fashionable discourse of those parts more than ever, thro' the surprizing communication thereof by the new *invention of Printing*, of which Caxton must have heard the progress, from it's very birth, it is highly probable that he was employed by the Duchess in some literary way; which indeed soon appeared, by her encouraging him in the practice of the said new invention. It is evident he had partly attained this mystery of Printing, and, as he says himself, with great expence (*o*) before he was thus apparently established in her service, because he no sooner appears in it, but we see him employed by her, in translating out of French, a large volume, and then in printing it himself, as we shall presently more particularly specify. Yet 'tis not likely that his first essay in this art should be upon a book of that bulk, which now appears to be the first he printed; nor even another, which he is well attested to have also printed in Latin abroad, though, as it seems, before the other, because this is rather more voluminous than that. However, as this, which is named *Bartholomeus, de Proprietatibus Rerum*, may possibly have been his earliest performance of the two, we shall here first speak more largely of it. The said Latin edition of this book, which Caxton is affirmed to have been concerned in at the press, seems to have been, either that fair one, in which there is no mention made by whom, where, or when, it was printed; or another that was printed at Cologne in the year 1470 [*C*]. And his engagement upon this larger work, might be the reason, that though

(*l*) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XI. edit. 1710, p. 591.

(*m*) Idem, p. 590, 601, &c. See also Francis Sandford's Genealogical Hist. of England, fol. edit. 1707. p. 402.

(*n*) The Recueyl, &c. as before.

(*o*) Idem.

Subditos nostros ac Subditos carissimi consanguinei nostri *Ducis Burgundiæ* concernentia, sub certis modo & formâ ante hæc tempora concordata fuerant & conclusa, sæpiúsque interim prorogata; nos appunctuamenta illa pro Parte Nostra teneri & observari volentes, ac de fidelitatibus & providis circumspectionibus dilectorum & fidelium nostrorum *Richardi Whetehill*, Armigeri, & *Willielmi Caxton*, plenius confidentes, ipsos *Ricardum* & *Willielmum* nostros veros & indubitatos Ambassiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios & Deputatos speciales facimus, ordinamus, & constituimus per præsentes: dantes & concedentes eisdem Ambassiatoribus, Procuratoribus, Nunciis & Deputatis Nostris, & eorum utrique plenam Potestatem & Auctoritatem ac Mandatum generale & speciale ad conveniendum, tractandum & communicandum cum *præfato Consanguineo Nostro*, seu ejus Ambassiatoribus, Procuratoribus, Nunciis & Deputatis, sufficientem potestatem ab eodem Consanguineo Nostro ad hoc habentibus, de & super continuatione Intercursûs prædicti, & prorogatione ejusdem, &, si necesse fuerit, de novo capiendâ, appunctuandâ & concludendâ, cæteraque omnia & singula quæ in præmissis necessaria fuerint & opportuna faciendum & exercendum; promittentes, bona fide, & in verbo Regio, Nos ratum, gratum, & firmum, pro perpetuo habituros totum & quicquid per dictos Ambassiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios & Deputatos Nostros, seu eorum alterum, in formâ prædictâ, actum, gestum, seu procuratum fuerit in præmissis, seu aliquo præmissorum. In cujus, &c.

Teste Rege, apud Wycomb, Vicesimo die Octobris. Per ipsum Regem, & de Datâ prædictâ, &c (4).

(4) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XI. edit. 1710, p. 536.

[*C*] *Either that fair one — or another that was printed at Cologne in the year* 1470.] Of these two books, the late Mr John Lewis gives us the following account: — 'In the library of Bennet College in 'Cambridge, is an edition of this book in Latin, in a 'large folio. It is an exceeding fair book; the types 'are very ancient, but well cut; and it is printed with-'out any signatures, date, or name of the place or Printer '(5).' Of the other Latin edition, he says: 'We 'have an account, that it was printed at Cologne, in 'the year 1470, by John Koelholf: and, as this might 'be while Mr Caxton was at Cologne, learning and 'practising the Art of Printing, he might possibly be 'assisting in printing this book, or in the expence of 'it; and so be remembered by De Worde as the 'Printer (6).' This authority for Caxton's being the Printer of a Latin edition of that book, being so good, it deserves to be a little more amply considered; for this was Wynkin de Worde, whom Caxton probably knew at this time there, and whom he either brought with him into England, or sent for him when he was settled here; the same who wrought under him 'till he died, and succeeded him with great reputation in his business, for above forty years, before he died himself This Printer, who, by his long practice, greatly advanced and improved the Art among us, perceiving that author, whose name was Bartholomew Glanvill, a Franciscan Friar (descended of the Earl of Suffolk's family) who flourished about the year 1360 (7), was well accepted of abroad, (insomuch that there was another Latin edition of him published under the same Koelholf's name, who stiles himself *de Lubeck, Coloniæ Civem*, folio 1481) thought that a translation of him would be no less acceptable to us; seeing the work was a Natural History, of such variety; gathered mostly from the Ancients, and some Moderns, who lived nearer the author's own time; explaining more especially the nature and properties of Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Stones, &c. that are mentioned in Scripture; and there being such an English translation made, by John de Trevisa beforementioned, in the year 1398, at the command of his Patron, Thomas Lord Berkeley, which might be recommended to Caxton in his life-time; it was printed, tho' the edition is not dated, soon after his death, by Wynkin de Worde, at the prayer and desire of Roger Thorney, Mercer; as De Worde informs us, in his poetical Proem to the said work; wherein, having said, there is no pleasure comparable to the reading and understanding of wise books, with respect more especially to those persons who, for the propagation of knowledge and virtue, delight in the making, reviving, or otherwise exhibiting them to the world, he proceeds in these words,

(5) Lewis's Life of William Caxton, p. 7.

(6) Idem, p. 8.

(7) Vid. Leland, Bale, & Pits.

And also, of your Charyte, call to remembraunce
The soule of William Caxton, first Prynter of this boke,
In Laten tonge at Coleyn, hymself to avaunce;
That every well disposyd man may thereon loke (8).

(8) Prohemium Bartholomei.

From

though he began the other at the command of Lady Margaret, not very long after she arrived at Bruges, he did not finish it in three years, but laid it by, being a little discouraged at some difficulties or fatigues in it (*p*), and 'till he had inured himself, probably upon some other work, the better to accomplish this; but then being, by his said patroness, prompted to bring it to a conclusion, he stuck painfully to it, 'till he brought it forth under the title of *The Recuyell of the Historys of Troye, &c.* which is the first book, at least in being, or which we now know of, that was ever printed in the English tongue [*D*]. In the year last mentioned,

(*p*) Ibidem.

From which it is reasonably enough inferred, that he had a hand in composing, at the press, one of those two former editions abovementioned; for the latter was printed when he was in England. There are three more lines that follow those, to make up the stanza, which are also so remarkable, that they must not be here omitted;

And John Tate the yonger, joye mote hem broke,
Which late hathe in Englonde doo make this paper thynne,
That now, in our Englisch, this boke is prynted inne (9).

(9) Idem.

By which we are at once informed, that this English edition of Bartholomeus, printed by Wynkin de Worde, is the first book for any thing we yet know to the contrary, that was printed in England, upon paper that was made in England; and that John Tate the younger, first caused that paper to be made here, or was at the expence of introducing the art of that manufacture, so highly serviceable for the preservation of all kinds of literature, among us. The paper of this book is softer, smother, and thinner, than that of Caxton's books: it might be also a fairer or whiter paper, could we behold it without the disadvantage of age; nor is there to be seen in any of his, the same paper mark; which is, as I remember, in the midst of every other leaf, or half sheet, somewhat resembling a Catharine-Wheel, or Star of eight Rays, enclosed in a double circle; which is different from the marks in any paper which Caxton printed on; therefore his might more probably be imported from Holland, and that in this book, may be the earliest specimen of English-made writing-paper now in being; tho' we had the use of such paper in England long before. The registers made of paper which Dean Prideaux mentions (10), as instances of it's great antiquity, being but as old as King Edward IIId's reign, do not approach near to it's primitive invention. For we certainly have Grants, Conveyances, and other Deeds and Evidences in England, or at least have had, and especially among the very ancient collections of Richard Gascoyne, Esq; that able Antiquary, who died about the time of the Restoration, written upon paper that was as old as the Conquest; and it is not improbable, but those *Quaternions* of leaves stitched together, whereof King Alfred so long before, made his little *hand books* (11), were also of paper, rather than parchment, or vellom; a book or tract no broader than a quarter of a sheet of paper, answering that description better, as being more contracted, pliable, and *handy* for use, than one as wide as a quarter of a skin of parchment, *&c.* We are told by one of the Antiquaries in Queen Elizabeth's reign, that the first Paper-Mill we had in England was erected at Ware in Hertfordshire, as I remember (12), but have forgot whether he mentions that John Tate the younger, was concerned therein; and in the same reign, we had a Poet who writ a pamphlet upon the same subject (13), with the setting forth of a Paper-Mill, built near Darthford, by a High German, called Mr Spilman, Jeweller to the Queen. It is written in verse, and tho' it might be forth-coming at Oxford in Anthony Wood's time; upon a late search, it was not to be found there. Who that John Tate the younger was, we cannot be positive; but in the list of our Lord Mayors of London, we find Sir John Tate, Mercer, son of John Tate, to have been elected, *anno* 1473. And *John Tate*, called *the younger*, son of Thomas Tate of Coventry, also elected in 1496, being eight years after his brother Sir Robert Tate, Mercer, was dignified with the same office (14); which John Tate the younger, we take to be the very man to whom we owe the art of making this most useful commodity; and *Joye mote hem broke* say I again, for the same, as honest Wynkin heartily said before; by which, and this rare device of Printing, the most remote transactions, intelligence, and inventions of past times, are both made present, and transmitted to posterity; by which, as from a fountain with innumerable conduits, knowledge and instruction are raised out of the deepest sources of antiquity, and diffused through many parts at once; by which, the press will dispatch as much in a day, as the pen in a twelve month; as it is expressed in the epigram made upon Ulric Han, who first carried it to Rome.

Imprimit ille die quantum non scribitur anno:
Ingenio, haud noceas, omnia vincit homo.

Or, to pass over many other advantageous lights, in which the art might be celebrated, to consider it only in it's renovating property, we need go no farther than Master Wynkin again; if by way of novelty, we can bear once more with his ancient phrase,

For yf one thyng myght laste a thousand yere,
Full sone comyth aege, that frettyth all away;
But lyke as *Phebus*, with his bemes clere,
The *Mone* repyreth, as bryght as ony day,
When she is wastyd; ryght so may we fay,
These bokes old and blynd, when we renewe,
By goodly *Prynting*, they ben bryght of hewe.

(10) Prideaux's Connexion, *&c.* Part i. lib. vii.

(11) A Dissertation upon Pamphlets, in a Letter to a Nobleman, by W. O. 8vo, 1731, p. 2.

(12) See William Walans his Tale of two Swans; 4to, Lond. 1590.

(13) Thomas Churchard's Description and Discourse of Paper, and the Benefits that it brings, *&c.* 4to, 1588. Also in Dr Harris's History of Kent; upon the same subject.

(14) See Stow's Survey of London, in the Catalogue of the Lord Mayors, under those years.

[*D*] *The first book we now know of, that was ever printed in the English tongue.*] In the title page of this book, we read as follows: — 'Here begynneth the 'volume, intituled, and named, The Recuyell of the 'Historys of Troye: composed and drawen out 'of dyverce bookes of Latyn into Frenshe, by the Right 'Venerable persone and Worshipfull man, Raoul le 'Feure, Precst, and Chapelayn unto the Right Noble 'Gloryous and Myghty Prynce in his tyme, Philip, 'Duc of Bourgoyne, of Braband, *&c.* in the yeare of 'the Incarnacion of our Lord God, a thousand four 'hundred sixty and foure, and translated and drawen 'out of Frenshe into English by William Caxton, 'Mercer of the cyte of London, at the commaundement of the Right Hye Myghty and Vertuouse 'Princesse, his redoubtyd Lady Margarete, by the Grace 'of God, Ducheesse of Burgoyne, *&c* (15). Whiche 'said translacion and werke was begonne in Brugis in 'the countee of Flaunders, the fyrst day of Marche, 'the yeare of the Incarnacion of our said Lord God, 'a thousand foure hondred sixty and eight, and ended 'and fynyshed in the holy cyte of Colen the xix day 'of Septembre, the yeare of our fayd Lord God, a 'thousand four hondred fixty and enleven.' The said title page (to distinguish this from subsequent editions) is printed, as well as some other principal parts in the book, with red ink; and it is said to be printed with the same letter as the original edition was in 1464; but the French edition has two wooden cuts in it, and no name mentioned of the person who printed it: but this Printer is conjectured to have been an instructor of Master Caxton in his art (16). The reason why this book was recommended to him before any other, might be in compliment to the Duke of Burgundy's Chaplain the author; and possibly to gratify the disposition there was at this time in the English or British nation, to derive their original from Brutus and his Trojans. Caxton's great modesty, diffidence, and humble opinion of his abilities, appears in this, as well as all others of his books, very much to his commendation; it having been observed out of the Prologue before it. 'That he thought himself so unqualified on account 'of his unperfectness in both languages, having never 'been in *France*, and lived out of England near *thirty* 'years, that he was *fully in wyll to have lefte it*, and 'accordingly laid it aside for two years after he had 'begun it, or 'till 1470; when it fortuned, his *ryght* 'redoubted

(15) This Lady Margaret's title were, ducheesse of Burgoyne, of Lothrein, of Brabant, of Lymburgh and Luxemburgh; Countess of Flanders, of Artoys, and of Burgoyne; Palatinee of Heynawd, of Holland, of Zeland and Namur; Marqueesse of the Holy Empire; Lady of Fryse, of Salins, and of Malines. The *Recuyell*, &c. and Rymers's Fœd. as before quoted.

(16) Mr Ames's Specimen, joined to his Propsals for The History of Printing, *&c.*

mentioned, King Edward was driven over to his brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy's court, to seek succour against his rebellious subjects, where Caxton no doubt paid his obedience to him (*q*), and received his Majesty's approbation for his engagement in this new art, but the King returned to England without any great enforcement, before Caxton compleated his said work. He wrought some time upon it at Ghent, but he finished it at Cologne in the year 1471. Then he returned to Bruges, and presented his performance to the Lady Margaret, who very graciously accepted, and liberally rewarded him for it; he also then dispatched his copies to his other friends and encouragers, who had been impatient for the same; and no doubt some of them he sent into England, if he did not then bring them over himself. And hence it is, from this transmission, or introduction, of the said specimens or products of the art, that John Stow, and others of our Chronologists, have dated Master Caxton's first introducing the art itself among us, in or about that year (*r*). Though indeed, we cannot now find that the art was practised in England by him 'till at least three years after, much less by any body else; however, a certain writer, very superficially acquainted with our literary antiquities, yet moved by private interest, near two hundred years after, did, by a blind unauthorised story, insinuate, that a foreigner practised the art of Printing in England, six years before Master Caxton [*E*]. After he published

(*q*) Philip de Comines. J. Speed's Chron. &c.

(*r*) Stow's Annals, folio edit. 1615, p. 404.

'*redoubted Lady* sent for him, to enquire it seems, what 'progress he had made in this translation. And when 'she had seen, or read, five or six quires (or parcells) 'of it, she found a *defaute* in the English, but com-'manded him to *amande*, and *make an end of the re-'sidue*: Accordingly he proceeded in his translation; 'which he tells us, he begun in Brugis, the 1st of March, 'in the Year 1468, continued in Gaunt, and finished 'in Colen, the 19th of September 1471.' Having thus finished the translation of this book, he next says, 'He 'deliberated in himself to take the laboure in hand of 'printing it, together with the third book of the *De-'struction of Troy* (17) translated of late by John Lydgate, 'a Monk of Burye, in English rithme.' Of this, Mr Caxton gives us the following account, full of complaints of the painfulness of it to him. — 'Thus, *says 'he*, end I this booke —— and for as moche as in 'wrytinge the same, my penne is worne, myne hand 'wery, and myn eyen demmed, with overmoch lokyng 'on the white paper, — and that age creepeth on me 'daily, and feebleth all the body — and also, because 'I have promysid to dyverce gentilmen, and to my 'frendes to address to hem as hastely as I might this said 'book; therefore, I have practysed and lerned at my 'grete charge and dispence, to ordyne this sayde book 'in prynte, after the manner and forme as ye may 'here see; and is not wreton with penne and ynke as 'other bokes ben, to thende that all men may have 'them attones; for all the bookes of this storye, 'named, THE RECULE OF THE HISTORYS OF TROYES 'thus emprynted as ye here see, were begonne in oon 'day, and also synished in oon day (18).' Thus it is observed of Faust and Schæffer, the very first practisers of this art of Printing, That they used to advertise the publick, at the end of their first printed works from Mentz, that they were *non atramento, plumali canna neque æra*, not written with a pen and ink, as all other books had been before, but made by a new art or invention of Printing, or stamping them with characters, or types of metal, set in forms, whereby the several sheets were done all at once, and not line by line, as when they were written (19). The same notice was given by other Printers in the first books that were printed by them in other towns and cities, as Dr Middleton has truely observed (20).

(17) The History, Siege and Destruction of Troy, at the Commandement of King Henry V. 1412, in English Metre or Verse. Tho. Speght's Catal. of John Lydgate's Works.

(18) Lewis's Life of Caxton; and The colophon to *The Recuyel*, &c.

(19) Lewis, as before, p. 6.

(20) Dr Conyers Middleton's Dissertation concerning the Origin of Printing in England; shewing, that it was first introduced and practised by our countryman William Caxton at Westminster, and not as is commonly believed by a foreign Printer at Oxford. edit. Camb. 4to, 1735. p. 16.

[*E*] *That a foreigner practised the art of Printing in England, six years before Master Caxton.*] This is asserted by one Richard Atkyns; who, in the time of our Civil Wars, having reduced his fortune in the service of the Crown, sought to repair it after the Restoration, by endeavouring to entitle the Crown to one of the most valuable privileges of the people. And, after having been at the expence of above a thousand pounds in Chancery, and other Law Courts, for near twenty-four years, to prove the right of the King's Grant in Printing of Law-books (21), he published a pamphlet, in which he tells an unknown improbable tale, to prove the Art of Printing was a Royal purchase, and thereby to insinuate that it was a Royal prerogative, in order to get himself made a Patentee for the Printing of books in that Science, which it is said he afterwards did; not heeding therein how slavishly for a little private and pecuniary advantage, he undermined the liberties of his countrymen; how rancorously he vilified the Stationers, as a swarm of drones, who lived upon the labours of the painful Printers; or how unwarrantly he robbed Master Caxton of the honour wherewith he had long been by the suffrage of all learned men, undeniably invested, of first introducing and practising this most scientifical invention among us. Indeed, as a Poet may have licence to make use of any incidents, or arguments, that are plausible, or conducive to his purpose, there need be little exception made to a speech in Shakespeare, where Jack Cade charges the Lord Say, who was put to death by his rebellious authority, in 1450, with the following unpardonable crimes: 'Thou hast most traiterously corrupted the youth of the 'Realm, in erecting a Grammar-School! and whereas 'before, our fore-fathers had no other books but the 'score and the tally, thou hast caused PRINTING to be 'used! and contrary to the King, his Crown and Dig-'nity, thou hast built a PAPER-MILL (22)!' If this Lord Say did really put these things in practice but a few years before he died, he might be set up for the first inventor of Printing himself; the earliest *Epocha* of any thing considerable in that art even abroad hardly appearing older. This is nothing in a poetical writer; and a critical one will not severely censure an *Anachronism* in him, which he will allow in the greatest Poets among the Ancients; and seeing, this our Poet has been less extravagant in Chronology, or the Æra of Printing, than one of our most professed Historians. For Dr Fuller, under the year 1400, says (23) that 'Over into England, about this time, first 'came the Mystery of Printing.' But the author we are here more particularly to produce, Mr Atkyns, where he undertakes to play also the Historian, as well as Shakespeare upon this subject, tho' he may not digress so much in point of time, yet in other circumstances, will prove I am afraid, more a Poet of the two. His first business is, to set our Historians aside; though he never read what one, of the greatest intelligence among them, who was Librarian to King Henry VIII, has said, where he calls Caxton, *Angliæ Prototypographus*, 'The first Printer of England (24),' and only cites John Stow; whose words are these under the year 1459, 'The noble Science of Printing was about this 'time found in Germany at Magunce by one John 'Cuthemburgus a Knight; and William Caxton of Lon-'don, Mercer, brought it into England about the 'year 1471, and first practised the same in the Abbey 'of St Peter at Westminster (25).' Whereunto he adds the concurrence of Sir Richard Baker (26) and Mr James Howel (27). In the next place, those words are to be wilfully misunderstood, or quibbled out of their meaning, then a strange story is to be put in their room; as follows. 'Historians must of necessity take many things 'upon trust; they cannot with their own, but with the 'eyes of others, see what things were done before 'they themselves were; *Bernardus non vidit omnia*: 'it is not then impossible, they should mistake. I 'shall now make it appear they have done so, from 'their own, as well as from other arguments. Mr 'Stow's expressions are very dubious, and the matter 'expressed very improbable. He saith, Printing, was 'first *found* in Magunce, which presupposes it was 'practised somewhere else before, and *lost*: and fur-'ther, That it was found in the reign of King 'Henry VI, *Anno Dom.* 1459, and not brought into 'England

(21) See An Epistle to the Parliament, prefixed to The Original and Growth of Printing; collected out of History, and the Records of this kingdom: wherein it is demonstrated, That Printing appertaineth to the Prerogative Royal, and is a Flower of the Crown of England, by Ric. Atkyns, Esq. Printed by the order of Secretary Morrice, 4to, 1664.

(22) Shakespear's second Part of King Henry VI. Act iv. Scene vi.

(23) Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge, fol. 1655, p. 58.

(24) J. Lelandi Comment. de Scriptoribus Britannicis, edit. Oxon, 8vo, 1709, Tom. II. c. 586, p. 480.

(25) Stow's Annals, fol. 1615, p. 404.

(26) Baker's Chron. fol. 284.

(27) Howel's Londinopolis, or Historical Descript. of Lond. and Westm. fol. 353.

lished *The Book of Troy*, he proceeded it seems in printing others; and if he had before no hand

'England till eleven years in the succeeding reign of 'Edward IV, being twelve years after; as if it had 'been *lost again*. If this be true, there was as little 'reality as expedition in obtaining it, the age of 'twelve years time having intervened; and so indeed, 'it might be the act of a Mercer, rather than a more 'eminent person. But, when I consider what great 'advantage the kingdom in general receives by it, I 'could not but think a publique person, and publique 'purse, must needs be concerned in so publique a 'good. The more I considered of this, the more in-'quisitive I was, to find out the truth of it. At last, 'a book came to my hands, printed at *Oxon, Anno* 'Dom. 1468 (28), which was three years before any 'of the recited authors would allow it to be in Eng-'land; which gave me some reward for my curiosity, 'and encouragement to proceed further: and in prose-'cution of this discovery, the same most worthy per-'son, who trusted me with the aforesaid book, did 'also present me with the *copy of a Record* and *manu-'script* in *Lambeth house*, heretofore in his custody, be-'longing to the See, and not to any particular Arch-'bishop of Canterbury; the *substance* whereof was 'this, tho' I hope, for publique satisfaction, the Re-'cord itself, in it's due time, will appear. — Thomas 'Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury moved the 'then King, Henry VI, to use all possible means for 'procuring a Printing-mold, for so it was there called, 'to be brought into this kingdom; the King, a good 'man, and much given to works of this nature, 'readily hearkened to the motion; and taking private 'advice how to effect his design, concluded it could 'not be brought about without great secrecy, and a 'considerable sum of money given to such person or 'persons, as would draw off some of the workmen 'from Harlem in Holland, where John Cuthenberg 'had newly invented it, and was himself personally 'at work. It was resolved, that less than one thousand 'marks would not produce the desired effect; towards 'which sum, the said Archbishop presented the King 'with three hundred marks. The money being now 'prepared, the management of the design was com-'mitted to Mr Robert Turnour, who then was of the 'robes to the King, and a person most in favour with 'him, of any of his condition. Mr Turnour took to 'his assistance Mr Caxton, a citizen of good abilities, 'who trading much into Holland, might be a credit-'able pretence, as well for his going, as staying in the 'Low-Countries. Mr Turnour was in disguise, his 'beard and hair shaven quite off, but Mr Caxton ap-'peared known and publique. They having received 'the sum of one thousand marks, went first to Amster-'dam, then to Leydon, not daring to enter Harlem 'itself; for the town was very jealous; having im-'prisoned and apprehended divers persons, who came 'from other parts for the same purpose. They staid 'till they had spent the whole one thousand marks in 'gifts and expences. So as the King was fain to send 'five hundred marks more; Mr Turnour having written 'to the King, that he had almost done his work; 'a bargain, as he said, being struck between him and 'two Hollanders for bringing off one of the work-'men, who should sufficiently discover and teach this 'new art. At last, with much ado, they got off one 'of the under-workmen, whose name was Frederick 'Corsells, or rather Corsellis; who late one night 'stole from his fellows in disguise, into a vessel pre-'pared before for that purpose; and so the wind, fa-'vouring the design, brought him safe to London. 'It was not thought so prudent to set him on work at 'London, but by the Archbishop's means, who had 'been Vice-Chancellor, and afterwards Chancellor of 'the University of Oxon, Corsellis was carried with a 'guard to Oxon; which constantly watched to pre-'vent Corsellis from any possible escape, 'till he had 'made good his promise, in teaching how to print. 'So that at Oxford, Printing was first set up in Eng-'land; which was, before there was any Printing-'Press, or Printer in France, Spain, Italy, or Ger-'many; except the city of Mentz, which claims 'seniority, as to Printing, even of Harlem itself; 'calling her city *Urbem Maguntinam Artis Typogra-'phicæ Inventricem primam*, tho' it is known to be 'otherwise; that city gaining that art by the brother 'of one of the workmen of Harlem, who had learnt 'it at home of his brother, and after set up for him-'self at Mentz. This press at Oxon, was at least ten 'years before there was any printing in Europe, ex-'cept at Harlem and Mentz, where also it was but 'new born, This press at Oxford, was afterwards 'found inconvenient, to be the sole Printing-place of 'England, as being too far from London, and the 'sea; whereupon the King set up a press at St Albans, 'and another in the Abbey of Westminster; where 'they printed several books of Divinity and Physick, 'for the King, for reasons best known to himself and 'Council, permitted then no *Law-Books* to be printed; 'nor did any Printer exercise that *Art*, but *only* such 'as were the *King's sworn servants*; the King him-'self having the price and emolument for printed 'books (29).' Many objections have been made to this Narrative of that Record and Manuscript, as it is called, for in nothing so bulky or conspicuous as a Chronicle is it pretended to be preserved; and many incoherencies with matters of fact detected thereon. It is observed, I. That neither Mr Atkyns, nor his anonymous friend, do any ways pretend to have seen the original of such a Record, *&c.* much less to have compared the copy therewith. II. They give no ac-count when, where, or by whom the same was written; nor by what means it came into, or by whose it was communicated out of, the Lambeth library. III. No author before, none besides Mr Atkyns, and those who have taken it upon trust from him, have ever mention-ed this Record, or ever saw any substance or abstract of it, tho' he pretends to wish the Record itself in due time may appear. IV. No such Record was to be found at Lambeth by the person who was particularly em-ployed to search after it by the late Earl of Pembroke. V. That manifest inconsistences in this Narrative, with the most confirmed authorities we have now attained concerning the discovery of the Art abroad, have also raised many exceptions (30), and might so many more, with respect to the practice of it in England, as would sufficiently distinguish, if thoroughly sifted, the whole to have been a chain of inventions, hung upon two or three noted names, and the slight support of a book printed at Oxford, without any Printer's name to it, and with a date at the end of it, which is attested to be false by the workmanship on every foregoing leaf in it, and many other corroborating circumstances. Dr Middleton having examined this relation of that pretend-ed Record, makes several remarks upon it, from whence he concludes it to be a meer forgery (31); and thinks 'Mr Atkyns, a bold vain man, might be the inventor 'of it; having an interest in imposing upon the world, 'to confirm his argument, that Printing was of the Pre-'rogative Royal, in opposition to the Stationers; against 'whom he was engaged in expensive law-suits, in de-'fence of the King's Patents, under which he claimed 'some exclusive powers of Printing.' As for the book aforesaid, which, for it's date of M.CCCC.LXVIII, would take place, as senior by six years, of all other books, that have been the issue of any English press, it is a suspected date; and is very reasonably taken by the said Doctor, and others, to have been falsified ori-ginally by the Printer, either through design or mis-take; and an X to have been dropped or omitted in the age of it's impression (32): an error so common in Printing, especially of numerals, that there are few readers, who have been much conversant in books, but have met with instances of it. Master Caxton himself, will afford some examples; and, I have seen others in books so far antedated, that, if the dates alone were to carry it, or might satisfy us of the years in which they were really printed, they would entitle London to the invention of Printing, perhaps before any other place in Europe: but, if you were to inspect, or examine them, the novelty of their subject-matter, of more modern manner of Printing, would contradict their pretended antiquity: just as the case is here; where the neatness of the letter, and the regularity of the page; but above all, the use of signatures, or letters and figures at the bottom, for the greater con-venience of gathering the sheets in order, and folding them in binding, being an improvement in the art, not used so early as the pretended date of that book, brings it to a certainty, that it is erroneous (33). And what

(28) That book, though not men-tioned by this au-thor, is intituled, *Expositio Sancti Ieronimi in Simbo-lum Apostolorum, ad Papam Lau-rentium*; and at the end, *Explicit Expositio, &c. Impressa Oxonie, & finita Anno Dom.* MCCCCLXVIII xvii *die Decembris.* See Mich. Mait-taire's *Annal. Typogr.* edit. *Hage Comit.* 4*to.* 1719, Vol. I. p. 63.

(29) Rich. At-kyn's Original and Growth of Printing, *&c.* p. 3—5.

(30) See Samuel Palmer's General Hist. of Printing, and particularly in England, 4*to*, 1732, B. iii. ch. 1, *&c.*

(31) Dissertat. on the Origin of Printing in Eng-land, p. 6.

(32) Idem, p. 7.

(33) Ibid. p. 9.

hand in that edition of *Bartholomæus*, printed as abovementioned at Cologne, he might now in the other undated one; and of the next book which he is better known to have printed, I mean *The Game of Chefs*, it appears by an undated edition, that he made some small impression while he resided in the Court at Bruges. In these employments, upon those, with other like works perhaps; and the time required to provide himself with presses, types, and all other printing materials, in order to practise and establish the art in his own country; being now arrived at the evening of life, and naturally inclining homeward, he might pass those three years; 'till he appears, by the edition of that book of *Chefs* dated in 1474, to be settled in England; which book is reputed to be the first (*s*) that

(*s*) John Bagford, Sam. Palmer, Dr Middleton, *&c.*

what further confirms it is, that there was not any other book printed for ten or eleven years after at Oxford. If Frederick Corsellis was brought thither at such expence according to the Record, to practise the art, how comes it that he never printed any thing in all that while, or that his name appeared not to that one book, if he did print it? If he came to teach the Art there, how comes it that no body learnt it? If he was discouraged, or met with any inconvenience there, he would have been acceptable at Cambridge; that University being boasted to have a power to print within the same, *Omnes & Omnimodos Libros*, which the University of Oxford hath not (34); and yet we hear of no printing there, 'till long after there was at Oxford; and then, some of the earliest printing for their use, appears to have been executed by Wynkin de Worde, in the year 1510 (35). But it was some seven years after that, before Sibert, their University Printer, brought the Mystery to any tolerable perfection; and then indeed, he fairly set forth Erasmus his book, *De Conscribendis Epistolis*; the author at the same time living in Cambridge, who may be presumed curious in supervising the impression (36); and if there was such a man as Corsellis at Oxford, who printed nothing but one book in eleven years, why might not he have been as well employed by the University of Cambridge, as were afterwards, the said Wynkin and Sibert? If it was inconvenient to have the only press so remote from London, and the sea, as at Oxford or Cambridge; and therefore presses were set up at Westminster and St Albans, according to Mr Atkyns; Corsellis, if he was the only first performer of the art, must have been heard of there, to have wrought at one, or other of them; and then, being a Foreigner, it would probably have been upon Latin books: but where, among us, do we hear of any so early printed, that suspected one beforementioned excepted, as some of the English ones, that were set forth by Caxton? If the King, for reasons best known to himself and Council, permitted no Law-books to be printed; and, if no Printers exercised that art, but only such as were the King's sworn servants, as Mr Atkyns also above asserts; how came John Lettou and Will. de Machlinia, two foreign Printers in London, who were no sworn servants of the King, to print Judge Littleton's book of Tenures about the time of, or not long after, his death? Lastly, if Master Caxton was thirty years absent from England, as Bale, Pits, and many other authors have allowed from his own words, then, how could he be within that time sent from hence, with Mr Turnour, to lie at Amsterdam and Leyden in Holland, in order to spirit over a Printer from Harlem; when he was at that very time waiting upon the Duchess of Burgundy, translating and actually printing a book himself by her command, at Bruges in Flanders? In short, the more I consider Mr Atkyns his Record or account of it, the more it appears a fiction or romance; whereas, if we admit of Dr Middleton's conjecture, as what is most obvious and probable about the date of that book, all the repugnance will be reconciled, all the obscurity cleared up; a numerical letter in the date being only restored therein, makes it M.CCCC.LXXVIII. Then, the book appearing printed in the same manner, and with the same letter, as two more, the next two oldest books at Oxford were printed the next year; we may presume, by another also printed not long after them at the same place, with the name of it's Printers, that the same hands printed them all; and then there will be no room to allow of any such man as Corsellis to have been before there; nor need, to submit to such contradictions, as we have observed must occur, by his introducement at the time and in the manner aforesaid. If then it be granted, that the book of St *Jerom* in dispute above cited, was printed at Oxford in the year last mentioned, the press will appear to be kept going some time there; for the next year it also produced *Leonard Aretin's translation of Aristotle's Ethics* (37). And though the name of it's Printer is not mentioned therein, there will appear good reason to believe, that no person named Corsellis had any hand in it; that both were printed with the same Types, and that these were set by the same Compositor. The same press also brought forth another performance the same Year, printed after the same manner. This, like the first, is a religious treatise upon *Original Sin*, composed by Egidio Romano (38). Of all these three books, the Oxford Antiquarian says, *Perspicuis magis et pulchrioribus, quam recentiores nonnulli*; that they are more distinctly printed, and more beautiful, than some of later date. Which similitude or congruity of workmanship in them, very much implies, that they were not done by different hands. And, indeed, so few there were then in England, that but four years after these books were printed, an Act of Parliament was passed, whereby leave was given to 'any artificer, or merchaunt straunger, of what nation or country he was, or should be of, to bring into the Realme, and sell by retaile, or otherwise, anie book, written or printed (39).' And the reason hereof, is said, by another act, to have been, that there were then, 'But *few printers* within the Realme, which could well exercise and occupie the science and craste of Printing (40).' Which would not be expected, if so great a Master of it was purchased over, and guarded here, to teach it us so long before, as fifteen years. But the whole mystery of this first printing at Oxford, seems to be cleared up in the annals of the Art the following year, and that Frederick Corsellis, of whom we have hitherto seen nothing but the name, seems to be turned at last into Thomas Hunte, who is commemorated in some Latin verses, printed by (41) his partner Theodoric Rood, at the end of Aretin's Latin translation of Phalaris his Epistles, for having printed the first Latin books at Oxford, as Nic. Jenson had done among the Venetians; these must be those books beforementioned, with, perhaps, others now lost, or then transported, if my said author computes right, that Hunte printed at Oxford, so soon as four years after Caxton began to print at Westminster (42). That Rood was a native of Cologne in Germany, where possibly Caxton might know him, and from whence he might probably draw him, after he was himself settled at Westminster, to assist Hunte at Oxford, as he did from 1480 to 1485, and how long after is not observed. It is further added, 'That the English had then a good relish of, and were well pleased with, the Latin tongue; and, that Hunte and Rood printed so many books, as to export, or send them abroad; or at least, so sufficiently to supply all demands for books in that language at home, that there was no occasion for the Venetians to send any of their printed books hither, as they were before wont to do (43).' And lastly, it is to be further remarked, That as the care and diligence of the most curious and inquisitive *Literati*, have hitherto been able to find no more than four books printed by those two Printers; so it makes it the more probable, that Hunte was the Printer of the three books beforementioned, which are dated in 1468 and 1479. So that, in the whole, of the first printing at Oxford, and the story of Corsellis, it may in effect be made out, partly by this Hunte, who first printed there, and partly by that Rood, who was introduced from Cologne (by Turnour and Caxton, if you please, but let it be after the Art was in action at Westminster) and might have, for ought we know, some assistant with him; whom I would rather suppose to be that Corsellis himself, than give the least displeasure to any person who may be living, by totally discrediting any late inscription upon a monument of the dead.

(34) Coke's Inst. 4. Of the Jurisdiction of Courts, p. 228.

(35) Robert Aynton's *Sophistica Principia*, was then printed by him at London, *Ad usum Cantabrigiensem*, says Dr Fuller, in his Hist. of the University of Cambr. fol. 1655, p. 59.

(36) Vid. Cali Hist. Cant. Acad. lib. ii. p. 127.

(37) Intituled, Textus Ethicorum Aristotelis, per Leonardum Aretinum lucidissimè translatus correctissimeque impressus, Oxon. Anno Domini MCCCCLXXIX.

(38) Tractatus brevis et utilis de Originali Peccato, editus a fratre Egidio Romano, Ordinis fratrum Heremitarum Sancti Augustini. Impressus et finitus Oxonie, a Nativitate Dom. MCCCCLXXIX. xiiii die Mensis Marcii.

(39) Anno Primo Ric. III. cap. ix.

(40) Ann. 25 Hen. VIII. cap. xv.

(41) See them in Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 24, 25.

(42) Ibidem.

(43) Ibidem.

that was ever printed in this kingdom [*F*]. Though we do not meet with any books of Caxton's printing that bear date 'till three years after this, it is very probable that a few of his undated books, especially some written by Chaucer, Lydgate, &c. as they bear the aspect of his earliest performances, were printed in this interval, of which, such as cannot be adjusted under their proper years, shall be mentioned at the end, after those which are dated have been spoken of. John Stow, and others following him, have not only said that Printing was introduced by Caxton, about three years sooner than that year last mentioned, but he expressly says, 'That in the Eleemosinary, or Almonry (at Westminster-'Abbey) now corruptly called the Ambry (*t*), for that the alms of the abbey were there 'distributed to the poor, John Islip, Abbot of Westminster, erected the first press of 'book printing that ever was in England; and Caxton was the first that practised it in 'the said abbey (*u*).' Whoever authorised him, it is certain he did, there, at the entrance of the abbey, exercise the art; from whence a printing-room is to this day called a *Chapel*. But Stow and his followers are all mistaken in the Abbot's name; for if Islip was Abbot of Westminster as early as he makes him, he must have been so above threescore years, according to the account of his death and funeral which is still in being (*w*). 'Tis certain, that Dr Thomas Milling was Abbot in the year above spoken of; a learned man, celebrated by John Leland for his knowledge in the Greek tongue; a rarity in those days among the Monks. He was, in the said year when that book was printed, made Bishop of Hereford; when he seems to have held this Abbey *in commendam*. He out-lived Mr Caxton, was buried in the abbey, and then was succeeded by the bountiful John Estney; by whose monumental inscription also in the said abbey it appears, as transcribed by Mr Camden, that he survived Caxton seven years (*x*) before John Islip succeeded him; so that, if Islip was at any charge in settling Mr Caxton in his business, it must have been about twenty-four years before he had this preferment in the said abbey. As for what Mr Hearne mentions of Abbot Islip's knowing Mr Caxton before, and employing him to transcribe and translate several old pieces for his use, though it may not be altogether improbable, yet there is no other authority for it, than John Bagford's short and inaccurate account

(*t*) To this day the house is the sign of the *King's Head*, says Bagford, but doth not seem so ancient, being a brick building, &c.

(*u*) Survey of London, edit. fol. 1633, p. 525.

(*w*) Lately in the Possession of John Anstis, Esq; Garter King of Arms, and probably to be found also in the Herald's Office: wherein it appears, that this John Islip died Abbot of Westminster in the year 1532.

(*x*) Reges, Reginæ, Nobiles, et alii in Ecclesiæ Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterii Sepulti, &c. Lond. 4*to*, 1600. Sig. H. 2. b.

[*F*] *Which book is reputed to be the first that was ever printed in this kingdom.*] Mr Lewis, out of the Preface of the *second Edition* of this book, printed without any date, or name of the place at which it was printed, makes a citation of Caxton's; where, expressing how commendable it is in those who will take pains, to instruct the unlearned and ignorant in wisdom and virtue, he adds, 'Emonge whom, there was an 'excellent Doctour of Dyvynyte in the Royame of 'Fraunce, of the Order of thospital of Saynt John's 'of Jherusalem, which entended the same, and hath 'made a booke of the *Chesse moralysed*; whiche at 'suche tyme as I was resident in Brugys, in the Counte 'of Flaunders, cam into my Handes; whiche whan I 'had redde and overseen, me semed ful necessarye for 'to be had in Englishe; and in eschewyng of ydleneſ, 'and to thende, that somme which have not sene it, 'ne understonde Frensh ne Latyn, I delybered in 'my self to translate it unto our maternal Tongue. 'And when I so had achyeved the said Translacion, I 'dyde doo sette in enprynte a certeyn nombre of 'theym, which anone were depeshed and solde. 'Wherfore bycause thys sayd Book is ful of holsom 'wysedom, and requysyte unto every astate and de-'gree, I have purposed to enprynte it, shewyn therin, 'the figures of such persones as longen to the play '(44).' By this it should appear, that the former edition was without figures; and those in this are very rudely cut; of which Mr Lewis further observes, 'That those of the *Alphines*, which are directed to be 'formed in manner of judges setting in a chair, with a 'book open before their eyes; and of the *Rookes*, 'which ben Vycarys and Legates of the Kynge, have 'such caps, or hoods, on their heads, as Mr Caxton's 'picture has (45).' And, indeed, it has been presumed, that the Prints which have been made of Caxton were invented from some of these Figures. The edition of this book, which we have seen, is a small folio, and that which is dated, as above; and the Title is as follows, *The Game and Play of the Chesse; in which Thauctorities, Dictes, and Stories of auncient Doctours, Philosophers, Poetes, and of other wyse men been recounted, and applied unto the Moralitie of the publique Wele, as well of the nobles, as of the comyn people. Translated out of French and imprinted by* William Caxton, *fynyshid of, the last day of Marche, the yere of our Lord God, a thousand foure hundred and* LXXIIII. Our typographical Antiquaries all allow this book to have been printed in England, though no place is mentioned in it; also, to have been the first specimen of the Art among us; and as such it has been so valued, that it is said, the late Earl of Pembroke, for a fair copy thereof, which was given him by Mr Granger, presented him with a purse of forty guineas. It is dedicated by Caxton to the King's brother, George Duke of Clarence; who being about four years afterwards sentenced to death for treason, made his end, according to his choice, in the Tower of London in a butt of Malmsey. And 'tis justly observed, to those who doubt of it's being printed in England, that by Caxton's telling the Duke, he made this Booke *in the name and under the shadewe of his* noble Protection, it is very strongly imply'd that he was *in England*; since how could he be under *his* protection *out of it* (46). Further, as a memorial that printing was first practised in England this year 1474, it is presumed that Caxton afterwards used at the end of his books, that Cypher or Device, complicating the two latter figures of that date in a knot, between the initial letters of his name, which we shall more particularly express in it's due place. The book was originally writ in Latin; and the author of it has been called Jacobus de Thessalonica, of the order of preaching Friers (47). But Antonius Senensis, in his chronicle of the said order, calls him Jacobus de Cezolis; and says, he flourish'd about the year 1295. Lambecius observ'd, That his true name was Casulis, from the city of Casali in Italy, where he was born; which corrupted to Thessalis, and ridiculously to Thessalonica. He agrees with the former author, as to the age of the writer; but L'Abé removes him backward near a century. Du Fresne supposes Jac. de Cessulis, and Jac. de Thessalonica, to be two different men of the same order; the first living about the time aforesaid, and the last about 1410. And the same learned writer thinks this game of Chess to have been an Arabian, or Persian game, since he derives the Title *de ludo Schaccorum*, from the word Schach, which in Arabick signifies a King, who is the principal person in the Game. This book having been rendered out of Latin into French, was now translated by Master Caxton from thence, into English. Others have written upon the subject; namely, one Simon Ailward, an English Poet, who lived in the year 1456, and wrote a book of Latin Monkish Rymes upon this game; some of which may be seen in my author (48). We have a little book or two in English prose, one in 4*to*, the other in 8*vo*, upon the same subject; but whether written upon the same plan with those before-mentioned, and with respect to any moral, or political application, I do not now remember.

(44) Mr Lewis's life of W. Caxton, p. 142.

(45) Idem, ibid.

(46) Ibid. p. 11.

(47) Vid. Oudin, De Script. Vol. III.

(48) J. Pits, in Append. Illustr. Angl. Script. Cent. iv. p. 939.

account of Caxton's Life, annexed to the Propoſals he publiſhed for printing an *Hiſtorical Account of the Art of Typography* (y). Caxton, in one of his books, having enumerated ſome of thoſe he had before printed (z), mentions, after the former two, *The Hiſtory of Jaſon*, which, though undated, we ſhall therefore next give ſome account of [G]. It is thought this book was printed by him in the year 1475, as we have obſerved in the note, or at furtheſt the year after. But of the time when he printed his next book, and the place where, we can ſpeak with greater certainty, becauſe he mentions them both in it: it is properly a book of Apophthegms collected out of the works of the Ancients, and firſt compiled in Latin, which was afterwards tranſlated into the French tongue, and from thence into Engliſh by a Nobleman of great merit and renown, who was the Queen's brother; a man no leſs famous for arms than literature. This book, which is intituled, *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philoſophers*, was printed by Caxton at Weſtminſter in 1477. Of which, together with a ſhort Collection of Proverbs in verſe, which he printed the ſame year, we ſhall here refer to ſome farther particulars [H]. Between the month of May in the

(y) See a larger Account of Mr Bagford's Scheme and Collections for this Work, in The Philoſophical Tranſactions for June 1707. Which was drawn up by Mr Humphrey Wanley. Bagford lived nine years after that, and never publiſhed his Hiſtory; but his papers are in the Harleian Library of MSS.

(z) The Golden Legende.

[G] *Which we ſhall next give ſome account of.*] It is entitled, *The Hiſtorie of Jaſon; towchyng the Conqueſte of the Golden Fleſe: Tranſlated from the Frenſsh, and printed by William Caxton*, in a thin folio, without date. By the order in which Mr Caxton mentions it in his *Golden Legend*, as we obſerved, it ſhould be the next book he printed. 'Tis with a type different from the former two, and wherewith he printed ſeveral others. It was written in French by the old Duke of Burgundy's chaplain, author of *The Recuyel* beforementioned, and by him dedicated to the ſaid Duke *Philip*, ſurnamed the *Good*, who, in memory of Jaſon's expedition, founded the order of the Golden Fleece. It was newly compiled from all the hiſtories of Jaſon, eſpecially what Dares Frigius had written (49), and Guido de Columpnys upon that ſubject (50). This tranſlation was enterpriſed by Caxton, as he ſays, in his prologue, 'For the honour and worſhip of King 'Edward IV,' who had been elected Knight of the ſaid order in the firſt Chapter held by his brother-in-law Charles Duke of Burgundy, May 8, 1468. Caxton alſo mentions a ſtately chamber in the old Duke's caſtle at Heſdin in Artois, finely adorned with the paintings of this ſtory, and ſome other curious embelliſhments of art, in theſe words. 'Well wote I, 'that the noble Duc Philippe, firſt founder of this ſaid 'order, did doo make a chambre in the caſtell of 'Heſdyn, wherein was craftyly and curyouſly depeynted the conqueſte of the Golden Fleſe by the ſaid Jaſon. In which chambre I have ben, and ſeen the 'ſayd hiſtorie ſo depeynted; and in remembraunce of 'Medea, and her cunning and ſcience, he had doo 'make in the ſayd chambre by ſubtyll engyne, that, 'when he wold, it ſhulde ſeem, that it lightned, and 'after thondre, ſnowe and rayne, and all within the 'ſayd chambre, as aft tymes, and when it ſhulde 'pleaſe him, which was all made for his ſingular plea-'ſir (51)." 'Tis probable that all theſe fine ornaments were deſtroyed when that town and caſtle were demoliſhed by Philibert Emanuel Duke of Savoy, and General to the Emperor Charles V. in 1553. But afterwards, by the advice of John German Biſhop of Nevers, the firſt Chancellor of this order, Jaſon's Fleece was changed for Gideon's, and his ſtory was wrought into rich hangings of gold and ſilver, which were remaining in the court at Bruſſels in the year 1652, when Chiflet publiſhed his book of this order (52). Hence ſome people miſconceived the foundation of the order, as Caxton well obſerves, where he ſays, in the ſaid prologue, 'Howe well ſome perſones affirme and 'ſaye, that the ſayde ordre hath taken his original of 'the Fleſe of Gideon, I will not diſpute.' He alſo ſays, that he preſumed not to preſent it to the King, becauſe he did not doubt but he had it in French: But intended, through his licence, and the ſupportation of the Queen, to preſent it to his moſt redoubted young Lord the Prince of Wales, to the intent he might begin to learn to read Engliſh. It has been reckoned, that the ſaid Prince was then about five years old (53), which, if a right computation, will prove this book to have been printed in 1475. There was a book printed upon the ſame ſubject a few years after abroad, but whether a new edition of this, or a different work, we know not (54).

(49) De Bello Trojano.

(50) Deſtruction's Trojæ Hiſtoria.

(51) Caxton's Prologue to The Hiſtorie of Jaſon.

(52) Breviarium Ordinis Velleris Aurei.

(53) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 145.

(54) The Hiſtorie of the Knyght Jaſon, By Gerard de Leew, ſol. Andewarp 1480. The ſame Printer emprinted The Chronycles of the Reame of Englonde, with their Apperteignaunces. *Annals Typograph.*

[H] *We ſhall here refer to ſome further particulars.*] The former of theſe two pieces, named *The Dictes and Sayengis of the Philoſophres, tranſlated out of Frenſh by Antone Erle Ryvyers*, &c. and *Emprynted by William Caxton at Weſtmeſtre, Folio* 1477, conſiſts of ſeventy-five leaves. This tranſlator was Anthony Wydeville, Earl Rivers, Lord Scales, and of Newſells, a man renowned in his time for his literary, as well as warlike accompliſhments. He was the ſon of Sir Richard Wydeville, the firſt Earl Rivers, by Jaquetta his wife, relict of John Duke of Bedford, and daughter to Peter of Luxemburg, Earl of St Paul. The ſaid Anthony Wydeville was, when about ſeventeen years of age, with the Earl his father, ſtolen or forced away at Sandwich, and carried to France; as may be read in a memorandum of William de Wyrceſtre's, which is quoted in theſe words, 'Cito poſt dictum feſtum nativi-'tatis Domini 1459, *Johannes Denham, cum aliis de* 'Caleſia, ſecrete intravit Sandwycum, ac ibidem cepit 'Dominum de Reverys, et Antonium Widwele filium ejus, 'cum multis magnis navibus, & adduxit Caliſiæ, Comi-'tatibus Marchiæ & Warrenici & Sarum, Caliſiæ 'exiſtentibus (55).' Elizabeth, the miſſer of this Anthony, a beautiful lady, the relict of Sir John Gray of Grooby, was married to King Edward IV, in 1464. She lived to ſee her ſons, two hopeful princes, murdered, beſides her father, and this her worthy brother aforeſaid; and died herſelf diſpoiled of all, in reſtraint, at the monaſtery of Bermondſey in Southwark (56). A few years after, the ſaid Anthony Lord Scales, became much renowned far and near, for the moſt magnificent feats of chivalry in Smithfield, that were, perhaps, ever performed there; whereof, having ſome years ſince been poſſeſſed of a very ancient and curious hiſtory, in manuſcript, containing the whole ceremony, which is, probably, the moſt copious and exact account of any ſuch martial ſolemnity now in being, a tranſient view of it's contents, by the heads thereof, in ſome parts enlarged a little out of the chapters themſelves, may not be here unacceptable. This great and ſolemn encounter at the tilt or tournament, &c. was performed between the ſaid Anthony Lord Scales, and Anthony the natural ſon of old Duke Philip beforementioned; therefore called *The Baſtard of Burgundy*, more often, and as a more honourable title (*), than by that of his Earldom, Count de la Roche, or other lordſhips, that he had. He was a man no leſs famous for his wit and courage than the Lord Scales, was the challenger himſelf to fight him on horſeback and foot, and there were granted letters by his Majeſty of ſafe conduct to the baſtard and his train, it ſeems upon this occaſion, which are preſerved among our records (57). The capital title in that old manuſcript hiſtory of thoſe feats of chivalry between theſe two champions, is as follows, *The Actes of the full honorable and knightly Armes doon betwene the right noble Lords Sir* Antony Wodevile, Lord Scales and of Newſcles, *brother to the mooſt high and excellent Princeſs, the Queen of* Englonde, *and of* Fraunce, *and Lady of* Irlonde, *Chalenger; and Sir* Anton, the *Baſtarde of* Bourgoine, *Earl of* Roche, *and Lord of* Bener *and* Benereſſe, *afore the mooſt Chriſtien and victorious Prince,* Edward IV. *the King of* Englond, *and of* Fraunce, *and Lord of* Irlond; *the eleventh and twelfth daies of* Juyne, *in the ſeventh yeere of his* Reigne, *Defender: The Erle of* Worceſtre, *the grete Coneſtable of* Englond (58); *in* Smythfeilde. Then follow the diſtinct narratives of the whole proceedings therein, in *twenty four chapters*; but as there are alſo three or four more of them, which precede that title, and relate to others following it, being, perhaps, inadvertently omitted, or not timely enough received to be entered in their proper order, we think it more regular and comprehenſible to mention them with thoſe whereunto they relate, than to ſpeak of

(55) Lewis's Life of Caxton.

(56) Sandford's Genealog. Hiſt. fol. 407.

(*) Vide *Pontus Hutcrus*, de *Rerum Burgundicarum.*

(57) Pro Baſtardo Burgundiæ, ſuper Punctis Armorum Perficiendis; in Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XI. fol. 1710, p. 573.

(58) Not the Duke of Clarence, as in John Stow, 1468.

the next year, and some time in the same month two years after, died that William Caxton

of the same things divided, and in different places; but shall refer in the margin to the pages whereon those are written, of which we shall here make the said connexion; and then, a short view of the whole will more orderly stand in this manner, Chapter I. The Fortune of the Empryse of the said full noble and valerious Knyght Sir Antony Wodevile; shewing, how on the Wednesday after the Feast of the Resurrection, he had, in presence of the Queen, a Collar of Gold, with the rich *Flower of Sowvenance* enamell'd, fastned above his knee, by some of her Ladys; with a Parchment Roll, or Bill, drop'd in his bonnet, containing the Charge and Adventure he was to undertake. II. The Prologue of the said Lord Scales, after redyng of the said bill, and the Chapters contained therein, for certain Arms on Horseback, and on Foote. Shewing the foresaid Prize was received of the Ladies on the 17th of April 1465 (†) III. The Contents of the Lord Scales his Letter to the Lord Bastard, dated the 18th of April following. This relates to, or is expressed more at large in one of the Chapters preceding the Title above, thus describ'd 'This is the Writing and Articles sent by the Lord 'Scales unto the Bastard of Burgoyne;' dated from Shene, the day last mentioned (59). IV. The Supplication of the said Lord to the King, that an Herald may carry over the said Prize and Chapters to the Lord Bastard, with the King's command to Chester. Herald to carry the same, and to the Constable of England to record this memorable Act. To this may properly follow, the Certificate of John Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, High Constable of England, attesting, the Queen's giving the *Flower of Sowvenance* to the said Sir Anthony Wodvile Lord Scales, as a charge to undertake the Enterprise, and his delivery of it to Chester-Herald, that he might carry it over to be touched by the Bastard, in token of his accepting the challenge, on the 22d of April (60). V. The Presentation of the said Letter and Prize to the Lord Bastard at Bruxels the last day of April; and his touching the same, by Licence of the Duke of Burgundy (with his speech and Presents thereupon). VI. The Names of those present at the Touching of the Prize. These were Lords, Knights, Squires, Gentlemen, and Heralds; as in a Chapter before the Title (61). The Answer of the said Lord Bastard to the Lord Scales's Letters aforesaid. Dat. Bruxells, 4 May (62). VII. The coming of the Lord Bastard to Gravesend 19 of May, accompanied with Lords, Knights, Esquires, &c. above four hundred; met by Garter King of Arms. VIII. The Return of Chester-Herald to Greenwich, with the Prize touched, 23d of May. IX. The Meeting of the Bastard at Blackwall by the Lord High Constable, with seven Barges, and a Galley full of Attendance, richly covered with Cloth of Gold and Arras, 30th of May. Is appointed the Bishop of Salisbury's Palaces in Fleetstreet, and at Chelsea, for lodging. X. The King's procession to London, and solemn Meeting of the Bastard in Fleetstreet, where his Lordship and the Lord Scales had the first interview, who bore the Sword before the King, Tuesday 2d of June. XI. The Presentation to the King at Westminster, of the Bastard the same Day: His desire for the day of Battle to be fixed; and also, the like desire of the Lord Rivers, in behalf of his son the Lord Scales. The Barriers order'd in Smithfield (63), and the day appointed is the eleventh of June. XII The Procession or coming of the Lord Scales from Greenwich richly accompanied and array'd: Lodged in the Bishop of Ely's Palace in Holborne, Friday 5th of June. XIII. The Chapter holden at Paul's by the Constable, for declaration of doubts moved upon the Chapters or Articles of Combat. XIV. The Names of the Lord Scales his Counsel, and the Bastard's. XV. The Field more particularly appointed and described. XVI. The Procession or coming of the Lord Scales to St Bartholomew's, 10th of June. XVII. The ordenance of keeping of the Field by the Heralds, 11th of June. XVIII. The Entrance into the Field on the said day of Battle by the Lord Scales, attended by nine Noblemen, who bore his weapons. XIX. The Ornaments of the Trappers, and the nine Pages on Horseback, who attended him. XX. The Description of his Pavillion. XXI. The coming of the Bastard with seven followers; his Pages on Horseback, and Noblemen bearing his arms; all richly adorn'd. XXII. The Proclamation at the four corners of the Field. XXIII. After the cry of *Lesser Aller*, the Encounter is begun: The Bastard and his horse thrown to the Ground (64). He refuses to fight any more on Horseback. XXIV. The Arms done on Foot the next day. Their Attendants and Accoutrements particularly describ'd. The King forbids the perilous Spears that were brought for them, it being but an act of Sport. The whole Issue of the Combat; in which the Lord Scales appearing again too hard for the Bastard, and the King perceiving they were growing in earnest, and into a cruel assault, gave the signal to part them (65); commanding them to shake hands and respect one another, as brothers in arms; which they did, in the middle of the field, and so departed. These are the heads of that ancient manuscript. As to the particulars of the combat, further than are mentioned in the margin, we refer to the Chronicles; only, if the date of the year that these Justes were performed in, is rightly here mentioned, then it should seem rather to be upon celebrating the Coronation of the Lord Scales his sister Queen Elizabeth. And if the King's letters of safe conduct for the bastard beforementioned are rightly dated in Rymer, that is in October the next year, they may import a new permission for another trial of skill in the 6th of K. Edward, which he calls 1466. But if this should be 1467, then we may with Stow fix the combat upon the conclusion of the marriage between King Edward's sister and the Duke of Burgundy's son, in the year 1468 (66). As for what further concerns the story of this noble author, the Lord Scales, we shall only mention, that in these times of the Civil Wars, between the Houses of York and Lancaster, his father Richard, the first Earl Rivers, with John his son, were in the year 1469 taken in the forest of Dean, and, by the faction at Northampton, with others beheaded, at the command of George, Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick. And as for this his surviving son, Anthony, now Earl Rivers, who was afterwards counsellor and governor of the young Prince Edward; and of whom Sir Thomas More says, *Vir haud facile discernas manuve, aut consilio promptior* (67): He was a man of such abilities, that it was difficult to distinguish whether he was more able to advise, or to execute in affairs of state: As soon as King Edward died in 1483, he was sent for from Ludlow, with his Royal Pupil, by the Protector Richard, seized at Stoney Stratford, conveyed to Pontefract, and there, with others, beheaded the same day, in the Month of June, that the Lord Chamberlain Hastings, was at London (68), being aged about forty one years, as it may be computed from the account of his age at the death of his mother, Jacquett Duchess of Bedford, in 1472, as it stand upon record in the *Escheats*. With what superior splendor he shines among the illustrious, and, as it were, peerless, among peers, may be read in the general chronicles, the particular accounts of his family (69), and the memorials or testimonies of his merit that have been preserved in the works of several heraldical Antiquaries (70). Of the books he published, this containing *The Sayengies of the Philosophres* was the first, printed by Caxton at Westminster in 1477, containing seventy-five leaves. The Earl, in his preface, observes, That every human creature is subject to the storms of fortune, and perplexed with worldly adversity, of which he had largely had his part; but having been relieved by the goodness of God, he was exhorted to dispose his recovered life to his service. And understanding that there was to be a jubilee and pardon at St James's in Spain, Anno 1473, he determined upon a voyage thither. So in July, the same year, he set sail from Southampton; when a worshipful gentleman in his company, named Lowys de Bretaylles, lent him, to pass over the time, this book of the *Sayings of the Philosophers*, in French, which had been translated from the Latin by Messieur Johan de Teonville, Provost of Paris (71). The Earl was very much taken with the wholesome and sweet sayings of the *Paynems*; and finding how, 'It speaketh universally of the exam-'ple, weel, and doctrine of alle Kynges, Prynces, 'and to people of every estate; lawdes vertue and 'fcience, blames vices and ignorance;' though he could not then, nor in all that pilgrimage, oversee it well at his pleasure, through the dispositions that belong to the taker of a jubilee and pardon, and the great

(†) So this extract of that MS. but *Quere* if it should not be 1467 or 1468; being the 7th of King Edward, as was before said.

(59) Fol. 17.

(60) Fol. 20.

(61) Idem.

(62) Fol. 21.

(63) The Lists were 120 yards and 10 feet long; and 80 yards 10 feet broad; double barr'd, 5 feet between the bars: The timber and workmanship cost 200 marks; besides fair & costly galleries for the Nobility, &c. of both sexes. See Hall, Stow, &c.

(64) Some say this was the second day of the Tourney; the spike in the chafron of Lord Scales's horse at the encounter, running into the nostrell of the Bastard's horse, he reared to an end, that both he and his rider fell to the ground. Stow's Annals, p. 420.

(65) When the point of Lord Scale's spear entering the sight of the Bastard's helm, he might have plucked him on his knees. Idem.

(66) Stow's Annals, as before, anno 1468. There is a disagreement in authors about a year throughout this reign. See Speed, edit. 1623, fol. 868; and Lewis, in Caxton's Life, p. 31.

(67) In Vit. Ricardi III.

(68) See Hall, Grafton, Speed, &c.

(69) In Dugdale's Baronage, &c.

(70) Among the MS. Collections of Sir Richard Seynt George, Norroy King at Arms, and his descendants.

(71) Some call him William de Tignonville, or Thignonville, and say he was Provost of the university therein 1408. and that his translation is intituled, *Les Dits Moraux des Philosophes, les Dits des Sages, et les Secrets d'Aristote*: Annales Typogr.

(a) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 19.

Caxton at Weſtminſter, who has been taken for the father of our Printer (*a*), as we before obſerved. And the ſame year, 1478, he printed another book, which was tranſlated by the ſaid Anthony Earl Rivers beforementioned. This is intituled *The Cordyal*, and it's double title ſeems to have occaſioned ſome miſtakes [*I*]. We have already ſpoken of great acquaintance he found there of worſhipful folks, he intended at a more convenient time to be better acquainted with it. Remaining in this opinion, after the King commanded him to attend upon the Prince, and having then leiſure, he tranſlated it into Engliſh, which had not been before done. But as there were divers copies of this book, differing from each other, he concludes with intimating his hopes, that he ſhall not be cenſur'd for that which he has follow'd, or his tranſlation be judg'd of by thoſe which vary from him. The work itſelf opens with the Sayings of Sedechias; ſo goes on with thoſe of many eminent ancients; as Homer, Solon, Hyppocrates, Pythagoras, Diogenes, Socrates, Plato, Ariſtotle, Alexander, Ptolomy, Seneca, St Gregory, Galen, and ſome others, who are each of them allow'd a chapter for his ſayings, but the laſt is more miſcellaneous. A taſte of theſe Apophthegms may be read in the account of this book that has been before given, and is here, in ſome parts, made uſe of (72). At the end of the tranſlation of this work there is a remarkable chapter added, of three leaves (which concludes the whole volume) written by William Caxton, or the Earl in his name. For, as it contains a tranſlation from the French, of thoſe Sarcaſms of Socrates againſt the fair ſex, which our noble tranſlator of the reſt had purpoſely paſſed over, in the proper place, under the chapter of that philoſopher; the reader is left to judge, if the ſaid Earl ſeriouſly intended to favour the fair, by ſuch an omiſſion in the middle of his book, whether his Printer would probably make ſo free as to publiſh it of his own accord, though in his own name, more conſpicuouſly at the end of it. If it is a piece of *fineſſe*, it is artfully enough conducted, whether by tranſlator or printer, to expoſe them more notoriouſly, under the notion of forbearing to do it at all. We know not that it has been ſo interpreted, nor can declare in what vein Maſter Caxton's apology for the ſaid addition was written, or is to be read; but ſhall leave it to the reader, to decide whether there is not ſomething of a droll humour, or delicate air of raillery, in the following expreſſions, 'I ſynde that 'my ſayd Lord hath left out certayn and dyverſe con-'cluſions towchyng women! wherein I mervaylle that 'my ſayd Lord hath not wreton them, ne what hath 'mevyd him ſo to do, ne what cauſe he hadde at that 'time: But I ſuppoſe that ſome *fair* Lady hath deſired hym to leve it out of his booke; or elleys he 'was amorous on ſomme *noble* Lady, for whoſ love 'he would not ſette it in his booke; or ellys, for the 'very affectyon, love, and good wylle that he hath 'unto *alle Ladyes* and Gentylwomen, he thought that 'Socrates ſpared the ſothe, and wrote of women more 'than trouthe. For if he had made fawte in writing 'of women, he ought not, ne ſhold not be belevyd 'in his other Dyctes and Sayinges. But I apperceyve 'that my ſaid Lord knoweth veryly, that ſuche 'defautes ben not had ne founden in the women 'born and dwellyng in *theſe parties*, ne regions of the 'world Socrates was a *Greke*, boren in a ferre contre 'from *hens*, whyche contre is alle of othre condycions 'than *this* is; and men and women of other nature 'than they ben here in *this contre*; for I wote wel, 'of whatſomever condicion women ben in Grece, the 'women of *this contre* ben *right good*, *wiſe*, *playſant*, '*humble*, *diſcrete*, *ſobre*, *chaſt*, *obedient* to their hoſ-'bondis, *trewe*, *ſecrete*, ſtedfaſt, ever *buſy*, and never 'idle; *attemperat* in ſpeaking, and *vertuous* in *alle* 'their *workis*; or at leaſt ſholde be ſoo. For which 'cauſes ſo evydent, my fayd Lord, as I ſuppoſe, 'thoughte it was not of neceſſite to ſette in his booke the ſaiengis of his auctor Socrates, touchyng 'women. But for as much as I had commandement of 'my ſayd Lord to correct and amende, whereas I 'ſholde fynde fawte; and other fynde I none, ſauf that 'he hath left out theſe *Dictes and Sayinges of the women of Grece*; therefore in accompliſhing his commandement, for as moche as I am not in certayn whe-'der it was in my Lord's copye or not (73); or ellis 'peradventure that the winde had blowe over the leef at 'the tyme of tranſlation of his booke, I purpoſe to wryte 'the ſame Saynges of that Greke, Socrates, whiche 'wrote of the women of Greece, and nothyng of them 'of *this Royame*, whom, I ſuppoſe, he never knewe; 'for if he had, I dar plainly ſaye, that he wold have '*reſerved them in eſpeciall*, in his ſaid dictes. Alway 'not preſumyng to put and fette them in my ſayd 'Lordes book, but in the *ende*, aparte, in the re-'herſayll of the workis; humbly requirying all of 'them that ſhal rede this lytyl reherſayll, that, yf they 'ſynde ony faulte, tarrette it to Socrates, and not to 'me, &c.' Thus much may ſuffice both of this apology, and for an example of the pleaſant and ironical ſtyle, or manner of expreſſion in thoſe times. As for the Typographical remarks that have been made of this earlieſt product of the preſs, at Weſtminſter, that is expreſsly mentioned to have been printed there, they may be read in the book before quoted (74). And, we ſhall only obſerve further here, that there is a beautiful manuſcript of it in being, written in as fair, regular, and even a Roman hand, as if it was printed; and having before it an illumination or painting in miniature, repreſenting King Edward and his Queen, the Duke of Clarence and his children, and Earl Rivers in his Surcoat of Arms, making a preſentation of his book (75).

(72) The Britiſh Librarian, 8vo, 1738, p. 65.

(73) My Lord's words are, under the Chapter of Socrates — *And the ſaid Socrates had many ſeyinges againſt women, whiche is not tranſlated.*

(74) The Brit. Libr. p. 63.

(75) This fine MS. of the Earl's tranſlation of the ſaid Dicts and Sayings, &c. is preſerved in the Lambeth Library.

The other piece, which the ſaid Earl tranſlated, and Caxton alſo printed the ſame year, as is above in the text obſerved, was *The Morale Proverbes of Chryſtyne of Pyſe*. They conſiſt of two ſheets in folio, are compoſed in diſtichs or couplets of Engliſh verſe, and are uſually bound with the former book. One of the ſaid proverbs, is as follows:

Litle vailleth good example to ſee,
For him, that wole not the contrarie flee.

That Lady was an Italian born at Piſa: but her father removing to Bologne in France, ſhe wrote her book in the language of that conntry (76), and flouriſhed about the year 1400. At the end of this verſion, Caxton has ſome rhymes informing us by whom it was written, and tranſlated, and declaring his own exactneſs in printing the ſame. This he mentions in two ſtanzas, whereof part of the laſt, contains theſe words:

Go thou litil quayer, and recommaund me
Unto the good grace of my ſpecial Lorde
Therle Ryveris, for I have emprynted the
At his commandement following evry worde
His copye, as his Secretary can record.

(76) Intituled Les Proverbes Moraux, et la Livre de Prudence, par Chriſtine de Piſan, fille de M. Thomas de Piſan, autrement dit de Bologne. *Vid. Ouduin de Script.* Tom. III. col. 2220.

Therein following our old Patriarch of the Engliſh Muſes,

Go litil Quaire unto my livis Quene,
And to my very hertis ſoverayne,
And be right glad, for that ſhe ſhal the ſene;
Soche is thy Grace (77).

(77) Chaucer's Complaint of the Black Knight.

[*I*] *This is intituled the Cordyal, and it's double title ſeems to have occaſioned ſome miſtakes.*] That is, in ſpeaking of it as two books, when it is but one (78). There is a pious Preface before it, written by the ſaid Earl Rivers, as it ſeems, and at the end of the author's Prologue enſuing it appears, that it is called, *The Cordyal*, from the reaſons urging, that the four important articles treated of therein, death, judgment, hell, and heaven, ſhould be *cordially* imprinted in our hearts. But the firſt words of the book are, *Memorare Noviſſima, & in Eternum non peccabis*, from Eccleſiaſticus; whence it is often titled from thoſe two firſt words. This book, like *The Dicts and Sayings*, has no numbers of the pages at top, nor ſignatures or catch words at bottom, The three or four lines of every chapter are ſhortned, to leave room toward the margin for the *initial* letter, which is always a ſmall one, only to direct the Painter of the capitals, which are here in red colour; having yet not capitals large enough of metal to print ſuch initials. The beginnings of the chapters are alſo adorned with red, and many of the ſmaller capitals

(78) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 19, 20.

of the Printing that began to make it's appearance at Oxford in 1479, and about this time, Caxton ſeems to have had an increaſe of hands to carry on his buſineſs more expeditiouſly at Weſtminſter; for henceforward we ſhall find his preſs more fruitful, and that he printed more books for the generality in a year, than he did in the beginning. Thus he is obſerved to have ſet forth three books more in 1480, which therefore may be ſpoken of in one note together [*K*]. It ſeems that about this time there was another printing

capitals that begin the periods, with yellow. In the *Type*, there are ſeveral combined letters, and ſome marks of abbreviation: In the *Orthography*, words not always ſpelled alike; and as to *Pointing*, the only ſtops, are a little ſquare one, like a croſs, and little oblique daſhes. The Epilogue or Concluſion is written by Caxton, wherein he ſays, 'This book is thus 'tranſlated out of Frenſhe into our maternal tongue, by 'the Noble and Virtuouſe Lord Anthoine, Erle Ryviers, 'Lord Scales, and of the Iſle of Wight; Defenſeur 'and Directeur of the cauſes Apoſtolique for our holy 'Fader the Pope in this Royame of Englond (79); 'Uncle and Governour to my Lorde Prince of Wales. 'Which book was delivered to me William Caxton 'by my ſaide noble Lorde Ryviers, on the day of 'Purificacion of our bleſſid Lady, fallyng the Tewſday 'the ſecunde day of the moneth of Feverer in the 'yeer of our Lord M.CCCC.LXXVIII, for to be em-'printed, and ſo multiplied to goo abrood emong the 'peple, that therby more ſurely myght be remembred, '*The Four laſt Thingis* undoubtably comyng. And 'it is to be noted, that fythe the tyme of the grete 'tribulacion and adverſite of my ſaide Lorde, he hath 'been full vertuouſly occupied; as in goyng to Pil-'gremagis to Seint James in Galice, to Rome, to Seint 'Bartylmew, to Seint Andrew, to Seint Mathew, in 'the Royalme of Naples; and to Seint Nicholas de 'Bar in Puyle, and other divers holy places. Alſo 'hath procured and goten of our holy Fader the Pope, 'a greet and large indulgence, and grace unto the cha-'pel of *our Lady of the Peewe*, by Seint Stephens at 'Weſtmeſtre, for the relief and helpe of Criſten ſowles 'paſſed out of this tranſitorie world; which grace is 'of the like vertue to thindulgence of *Scala Celi*. 'And notwithſtaunding the greet labours and charges 'that he hath had in the ſervice of the Kyng and of 'my ſaid Lord Prince, as well in Wales as in Englond, 'which hath be to him no litle thought and beſines, 'bothe in ſpirite and body, as the fruit thereof, experi-'mentally ſheweth; yet over that, tenriche his vertuous 'diſpoſicion, he hath put him in devoyr at all tymes 'when he migbt have a leyſer, whiche was but ſtarte-'mele, to tranſlate diverſe bookes out of Frenſh into 'Engliſh. Emong other, paſſed thurgh myn hande, 'the booke of the *Wiſe Sayinges, or Dictes of Philo-'ſophers*, and the wife and holſom *Proverbis of 'Criſtine of Pyſe*, ſet in metre. Over that, hath made 'diverſe *Balades* againſt the *ſeven dedely Synnes* (80). 'Furthermore it ſeemeth, that he conceiveth wel the 'mutabilitie and the unſtablenes of this preſent lyf, 'and that he defireth with a greet zeal and ſpirituell 'love our gooſtley help and perpetuel ſalvation, and 'that we ſhal abhorre and utterly forſake tbabhomina-'ble and dampnable ſynnes, which comunly be uſed 'now dayes; as pride, perjurye, terrible ſwering, 'theſte, murdre, and many other. Wherfore, he 'took upon him the tranſlating of this preſent werke, 'named *Cordayle*; truſting, that bothe the reders and 'the herars the rof ſholde knowe them ſelf heraſter the 'better, and amende thairly vyng, orthey departe, and loſe 'this tyme of grace to the recouvre of their ſalvacion. 'Which tranſlating, in my jugement is a noble and 'a meritorious dede. Wherfor, he is worthy to be 'greetly commended, and alſo ſingulerly remembred 'with our goode prayers. For certaynely, as well 'the reders as the herers, well conceyvyng in their 'hertes, the forſayd *Foure laſt Things*, may thereby 'greetly be provoqued and called from ſinne to the 'great and plentiouſe mercy of our bleſſid Saveour; 'which mercy is above all his werkis. And no man 'beyng contrite and confeſſed, nedeth to fear thobteyn-'ing thereof; as in the Preface of my ſaide Lordes 'booke, made by hym, more playnly it appeareth. 'Then in obeyng, and followyng my ſaid Lordes com-'mandement, in which I am bounden ſo to do, for the 'manifolde beneſetes and large rewardes of hym had 'and receyved of me undefervid, I have put me in 'devoyr taccompliſshe his ſaide deſir and comaunde-'ment; whom, I beſeche Almighty God to kepe and 'mayntene in his vertuous and laudable actes and 'werkis, and fende hym thaccompliſshement of his 'noble and joyous deſirs and playſirs in this worlde; 'and after this ſhort daungerous and tranſitory lyf, 'everlaſting permanence in heven: *Amen*. Which 'werke preſent, I began the morn after the ſaide Puri-'ficacion of our bleſſid Lady; whiche was the daye 'of Seinte Blaſe, Biſshop and Martir, and finiſshed on 'the even of thAnnunciacion of our ſaid beſſid Lady, 'fallying on the Wedneſday, the xxiii daye of Marche, 'in the xix yeer of Kyng Edwarde the Fourthe.'

(79) Of theſe titles, See Sir Hen. Spelman in Gloſſar. *Voc. Defenſor.* And DuFreſne's Gloſſ. in *V. Advocatus.* And Richelet's Dictionnaire, in *V. Directeur.*

(80). He alſo wrote another ballad, or ditty, when he was afterwards priſoner in Pontefract caſtle, beginning *Sum what Mayng and Mourning*, &c. which is inſerted by John Roſſe in his Hiſt. p. 214.

[*K*] *Which therefore may be ſpoken of in one note together.*] Theſe three books are named, *The Image of the World, Ovid's Metamorphoſes*, and *The Chronicles*, with a *Deſcryption of England*. *The Ymage, or Myrrour of the World*, was, as it appears in the Prologue, tranſlated out of Latin into French, by the direction of John Duke of Berry and Auvergne, *anno* 1245; and now tranſlated out of French into Engliſh by W. Caxton; at the requeſt and expence of the Honourable and Worſhipful man, Hugh Brice, Alderman, and Citizen of London (81); with intent to preſent the ſame to the Vertuous, Noble, and Puiſſant William, Lord Haſtynges, Lord Chamberlain to King Edward the fourth, and Lieutenant of the Town of Calais, and the Marches there; whom he humbly beſeecheth to receive in gree and thank. Which book containeth in all ſeventy-ſeven chapters and twenty-ſeven figures; without which it may not eaſily be underſtood. The copy here followed, was engroſſed, and in all points ordained by chapters and figures in French, in the town of Bruges in June 1464; and undertaken by him to be tranſlated into Engliſh, the ſecond day of January 1480, in the Abbey of Weſtminſter. And in his Epilogue, at the end, having beſeeched the Lord Chamberlain to pardon his rude and ſimple tranſlation; 'and yf ther be faulte in meſuryng 'of the firmament, ſunne, mone, or of the earth, or 'in ony other marvaylles herein conteyned, I beſeche 'you not tarette the defaulte in me, but in hym that 'made the copye.' So having repeated the time when he began to tranſlate the ſame, as before, he adds, that he finiſhed it the eighth day of March, the ſame year, the twenty-firſt year (†) of King Edward IV. The firſt edition of this book is printed upon a thicker and better paper than the others; it has alſo no large capitals printed at the beginning of the chapters; they being ſtill painted or drawn out with a pencil in vermilion or red ink, but there are ſignatures at the bottom of every other four leaves. The figures are ſimple, and but thinly ſhaped; and ſome of them keep a little up to the dreſs of the times, eſpecially in the long beaked ſhoes. In ſome copies, the pages at top are numbered, and the figures of the celeſtial and terreſtrial ſpheres are explained in writing by Caxton himſelf. There was afterwards another edition of this book printed on a different letter, tho' it might be Caxton's, with a different wooden cut to the ſecond chapter. It has alſo large *initials* printed before each of them, and at the end, there is this addition — *Caxton me fieri fecit*, which in the firſt edition is wanting, and ſhews it to have been that which Mr Lewis deſcribes (82). He ſays, that 'At the end of this book, is printed an 'Epilogue, with Mr Caxton's cypher, which ſhews he 'uſed it not above ſix years after he has ſuppoſed him 'to have firſt printed in England; though it is not un-'likely that he uſed it ſooner, only, as is very common 'with other old books, this leaf has been torn out '(83),' and ſo it might be with the copy of this edition we have ſeen; no ſuch cypher appearing at the end thereof. This copy had been in the poſſeſſion of the late Reverend Mr Thomas Baker of St John's College Cambridge; who in the ſhort account he has drawn out from the Prologue, in one of the blank leaves before it, has theſe words — 'It was then 'valued for the matter it contains, is now valuable for 'the print, and is yet a preſent for a Lord.' Indeed, there

(81) He was a Goldſmith, Sheriff of London, 1475, and Lord Mayor of the ſaid city 1485.

(†) 'Tis thought it ſhould be the Twentieth, according to his reckoning.

(82) Life of Caxton, p. 27.

(83) Idem, p. 26.

printing preſs erected at St Albans in Hertfordſhire, by one who was a Schoolmaſter in the

there are ſome marvellous reports in this book, which would perſuade us there have been performed, through great knowledge in ſome of the Sciences, no leſs ſurprizing miracles by the Antients, than have been aſcribed, through religion, to ſome of the legendary Saints. But of Virgil in particular, there are ſuch extraordinary performances here ſpecified, as ſurpaſs any thing of his own heroes, and would ſend the moſt profound magicians to ſchool. The Artificial Dove of old, or the more modern Iron Fly, were nothing to compare with Virgil's copper Fly in this book, which could chaſe all other Flys, for ſuch a ſpace from his preſence. And Virgil's Brazen Horſe, is here ſuch a Doctor among the ſpecies, that the moſt diſeaſed of thoſe animals was preſently cured by looking only upon it. Theſe rarities, with the ſpacious city he built upon an egg, were to be ſeen, as precious or profitable reliques at Naples, when this book was firſt written; and doubtleſs that great Lady's tinderbox, at which he obliged all the citizens of Rome to light their candles, who would rekindle the fires he had extinguiſhed throughout that city, would have been as great a curioſity, had it been repoſited among the reſt. But ſuch an artiſt he was, in building the wonderful bridge here deſcribed; which how performed, no man knew, but all men could paſs ſafely over, as might make us wiſh him now alive at Weſtminſter; and Friar Bacon's Brazen Head ſeems to have been but a loggerhead in compariſon of that here affirmed to be of Virgil's making; which was endowed with ſo much brains, as to anſwer all queſtions, and foretel all events, and thoſe with ſuch true Oracular Amphibology, that it proved too hard for it's maker; who, unable rightly to interpret one of it's reſponſes, fell a ſacrifice to his own art; which, with other ſuch like curious particulars, here mentioned of him, have eſcaped ſome of his moſt conſiderable editors; and may in the whole, ſuggeſt to us, the extenſive aſſiduity of Popiſh impoſture and avarice, in raiſing profit and admiration from the ignorant, out of miracles and reliques, in every other ſcience, as well as the diſtricts of ſanctity; out of Heathen as well as Chriſtian examples, and wherever they think any name of Antiquity is venerable enough to ſolemnize their abſurdities and impoſitions, as well in profane as ſacred ſtory (84). This book ſeems to have been very attractive in it's time, and had other editions after this; one of them, to make it the more amuſing, was adorned with many more wooden cuts than either of theſe; tho' ſeveral of them have no reference to any thing mentioned in the book. There is an abridgment of Caxton's Prologue at the beginning, but his name as the tranſlator is ungratefully ſunk by one of his own profeſſion; ſo early did they begin to be unfaithful in reprinting of books, or tranſmitting them unmaimed and complete to poſterity (85).

(84) See Thymage or Myrrour of the World. Part iii. cap. xiii Of the Mervailles, that Virgyle made by Aſtronomye in his time, &c.

(85) This edition is intituled, The Myrror and Dyſcryptyon of the Worlde; with many Marveylles and the Seven Sciences, &c. emprynted by Laurence Andrewe at the Golden Croſs by Flete Bridge, fol. without date.

Next after this, is mentioned by Caxton himſelf in his *Golden Legend*, as tranſlated out of French, and printed by him, 'The *XV bokes of Metamorphoſes, 'in which ben 'contayned the Fables of Ovid.*' This book is placed by Ouduin under this year, where he ſays, *Libri XV. Metamorphoſeon Ovidii in Anglicam proſam per Caxtonum converſi, A. D.* 1480. And after him, Mr Lewis mentions it in the ſame year; but John Bagford dates it a year before. In Mr Samuel Pepys his library at Magdalen-Coll. in Cambridge, there is a MS. copy of part of this book, intituled, *A Proſe tranſlation of Ovid's Metamorphoſes, beginning at the tenth book*; and at the end, this colophon; 'Thus endeth Ovyde his booke of Metamorphoſe, 'tranſlated and fyniſhed by me William Caxton at 'Weſtmeſtre, the xxii day of Apryll, in the yere of C 'our LordM.IIII.LXXX, and the xx year of the regne 'of Kynge Edward the fourth.'

The third book printed by Mr Caxton this year, was *The Chronicles of Englond*; to which is added, *The Deſcripcion of Englond, Wales, and Scotlond, and alſo Yrlond*, in folio. Many authors have fallen into errors and miſtakes about this book; and many have cenſured Caxton, as the compiler, who was but the Printer of it. He ſays himſelf, that he endeavoured to emprint the ſame at the requeſte of divers gentilmen, and only ordeyned a table of the matters ſhortly compiled and chapitred, that every man may find more readily what he pleaſes to rede. Which booke begyneth at Albyne, and endeth at the begynnyng of the regne of Kyng Edward the IIIIth (86). The title of the firſt chapter is, *The Names of this Londe*, which begins thus — In the noble Londe of Sirrie, there was a noble Kyng and myghty—At the end, Caxton ſays it was emprinted by him in thAbbey at Weſtmynſter. Fyniſhid and accomplyſhid the x day of Juyn the yere of thIncarnacion of our Lord God M CCCC. LXXX, and in the xx yere of the regne of Kyng Edward the fourth. Upon the miſapprehenſion of Caxton's being the author of this Chronicle, many reflections have been made on him. John Major, the Scotiſh Hiſtorian, (87) charges him with improbabilites and inconſiſtencies, and ſays, the invective againſt Robert and David Bruce, contains as many falſhoods as words, when he ſhould have accuſed the author from whom he printed. Yet, as he incorporates the Engliſh and the Scotch Hiſtory together, he takes the greateſt part of what relates to his own country from the Engliſh writers (88), as Bede, Froiſſart, and Caxton; which laſt, he owns he often literally tranſlates; and chuſes to follow his Hiſtory, at the ſame time that he is quarrelling about the truth of it; eſpecially, where it aſſerts the dependency of the Crown of Scotland upon that of England. But Biſhop Nicholſon, in his reflexions on Caxton, as encouraging his readers, by the opportunity he had of being acquainted with the Court tranſactions of his own time, in the reign of King Edward IV, to hope for great matters from him, when his fancy only led him into an undertaking above his ſtrength (89); has therein moſt ſeverely reflected on himſelf, by falling into the cenſure of that which was beyond his knowledge; for if he had read theſe Chronicles, he would have found at the very entrance, as it has been obſerved, that they conclude at the beginning, and not at the end of the ſaid King Edward's reign. In theſe Chronicles it is reported, that King John was poiſoned at the Abbey of Swineſhed near Lincoln by a Monk of that houſe, for which Caxton has been ignorantly cenſured, as the firſt broacher of that ſtory, at leaſt in Engliſh Hiſtory. He was the firſt Printer of it, it is true; but it was faithfully, from an old Engliſh manuſcript, which was the original of this whole Chronicle (90), ſo that it is no otherwiſe to be called his, than as it paſſed his preſs; and ſo thoſe who know how to ſpeak of it, do diſtinguiſh; as John Stow, where he ſays — The Engliſh Chronicle, printed by William Caxton, and therefore, called Caxton's Chronicle (91), &c. yet Robert Parſons the Jeſuit, who was not enough acquainted with this Chronicle to make ſuch diſtinction, charges Caxton with being the firſt author of this ſtory (92), and a late writer of notes on Rapin's Hiſtory of England, as the firſt who mentions it in Engliſh (93). Withal adding, that it is not mentioned by any Hiſtorian who lived within ſixty years of King John's death, or before 1276; when his being poiſoned is mentioned in the Chronicle of John abbot of Peterburgh, which ends in 1259. How can Caxton, John Fox, or Sir Francis Haſtings, be accuſed juſtly of malice or forgery in diſplaying this ſtory, when there are more ancient Hiſtorians, who have ſo circumſtantially and poſitively avouched the ſame (94), that even ſucceeding writers, who have been friends to Monkery, have made no ſcruple to believe it? And why ſhould they not? ſays the learned and judicious Dr John Barkham in the life of this King, ſince an author, more ancient and unexceptionable than all the reſt, even King John's ſon and ſucceſſor in his kingdoms averred it, when the Prior of Clerkenwell ſaucily told him, being in that houſe, 'That, as ſoon as he ceaſed to do juſtice towards his 'Prelates, he ſhould ceaſe to be a King:' To which his Majeſty enraged with his traitorous threat, reply'd, 'What! mean you to turn me out of my king-'dom, and afterwards to murder me, as my father was 'dealt with (95).'

(86) See Caxton's Prologue to the Chronicles of England.

(87) De Geſtis Scotorum, 4to. 1521.

(88) Mackenzie's Lives of the Scots Writers, Vol. II. fol. 315

(89) Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, fol. edit. 1736, p. 69.

(90) There are ſeveral MSS. of this Chronicle one in Bennet college Library &c.

(91) Annal. i. Hen. VI.

(92) Father Parſons his Warn Word to Sir Fr. Haſtings's Waſt word, 8vo, 1602 Enc. 2. cap. 1:

(93) Engliſh edit of Rapin, in 8vo Vol. III. p. 242

(94) Eulogium MS. in Bibl. D Rob. Cotton. And another MS Hiſt. writ in th reign of King Edward I. Alſo Pet. Langtoft; R. Higden; Joh of Tynmouth; Thom. Otterbourne, the Franciſcan; John of Lichfield, the Monk of Leiceſter, &c. &c.

(95) Mat. Pari Hiſtor. Major. p. 354. Alſo in Dr Barcham's Life of King John, in Speed Chronicles.

With theſe *Chronicles of England* is uſually joined, *The Deſcription of Englond, Wales*, and *Scotlond*, and alſo *Yrlond*; which was fyniſhed the 18th day of Auguſt the yere of our Lord God 1480, and the 20th yere of the reign of King Edward IV. This was printed from John de Treviſa's Engliſh tranſlation of Ranulph Higden, author of the *Polychronicon*, and afterwards reprinted with the *Fructus Temporum*, &c.

This

the abbey, and the firſt, if not the only Printer there, in a chapel within the limits of that monaſtery, as we are informed by Mr Bagford; who adds, that Caxton and he held a cloſe correſpondence (*b*). 'Tis thought that Caxton furniſhed him with a ſet of the types he could beſt ſpare; and thoſe indeed which he did uſe, do much reſemble ſuch of Caxton's as were rudeſt or moſt worn: 'Tis preſumed alſo, that Caxton taught him his art of Printing, as well as furniſhed him with materials to exerciſe the ſame (*c*). There was alſo a little practice of the art, about the ſame time, in the city of London. Of the few books that were printed there, as well as at St Albans, and eſpecially the chief of them, a Chronicle, comprehending the ſubſtance of Caxton's in the note laſt mentioned, which, for want of proper diſtinction, has occaſioned ſome confuſion in the citation thereof, we ſhall give a ſhort account below [*L*]; and ſo proceed to enquire after

(*b*) Bagford's Life of Caxton, p. 4.

(*c*) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 48.

This Deſcription conſiſts of twenty-nine chapters. It has been obſerved, 'That from the Conqueſt down to 'the reign of King Henry VIII. our Engliſh Geogra-'phers, have either been very few, or the want of 'Printing has occaſioned the loſs of moſt of them, 'and that this of Caxton's is the only thing in it's 'kind which we have (96).' And yet it is certain, as another author truly obſerves, this is not Caxton's but Higden's Deſcription, and only printed by him from Treviſa's tranſlation of it into Engliſh, as has been hinted before (97).

(96) Biſhop Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library.

(97) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 4.

[*L*] *We ſhall give a ſhort account below.*] The moſt ancient book printed at either of theſe places, that has been taken notice of, was a *Treatiſe of Rhetorick*; and according to the printed catalogue of the choice library of the late Dr John More, Biſhop of Ely, ſet forth at St Albans in 1480 (98). Though it is ſaid, the copy of this book, which is in Bennet College Library, has neither at the beginning or end, any account of the Printer's name, or of the place or time, where or when it was printed. The next in courſe of time was Jacobus de Valentia's book on the Pſalms, printed in the city of London by John Lettou, the next year (99). This printer was in all probability a Frenchman, or a German, who was then allowed to practiſe that art in this city. And at the ſame time there was another foreign printer in the ſaid city, William of Machlin, who printed another religious book in Latin, called *The Chriſtian's Mirror*, at the expence of a Dutch Merchant, who is named in the title thereof, as it is here likewiſe exhibited in the Margin (100). Theſe two foreigners alſo printed in conjunction, as well as apart, but neither was their letter ſo fair or clear, nor their compoſing ſo regular as Caxton's. They ſet forth Sir Thomas Littleton's Tenures, in a thin folio, ſoon after the others, as we before obſerved; and in the Latin Colophon at the end, mention that book to have been newly imprinted by them, in the city of London, near the Church of All Saints, or All Hallows; but which church they meant of that name is not now very diſtinguiſhable. There was one John Latton, who was Autumn Reader of the Inner Temple, in the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth years; Double Reader in Lent, the twenty-fourth; and Treaſurer of the ſaid ſociety the twenty-ſixth of King Henry the VIIIth, whom ſome have imagined to be either the printer of thoſe Tenures; or, as an eminent lawyer, had ſuch reſpect for that book, and the merits of it's author, that it was, at leaſt, by his procuration and expence, the ſaid Machlin printed the ſame; but therein they are as erroneous as Sir William Dugdale is, in the account he gives of the ſaid book (101); for if that Lettou had been this Latton, and was at the charge of printing that work, he would have been diſtinguiſhed in like manner as the other benefactors to their other impreſſions were. Beſides, one of the two religious books above was printed by Lettou himſelf, without any aſſiſtance of Machlin; which ſhews that he was a profeſſor of the art; but where do we ſee any eminent Lawyers, even in our days, when that art is much better knownn, and more generally practiſed in this city, than it was then, employing their time in printing of Pſalm-books, or any other? But the book which has neareſt relation to any of Caxton's, and was printed not long after theſe, was that chronicle abovementioned in the text, ſaid to have been printed at St Alban's, and is therefore often ſtiled *The Book of St Albans*, and *The Chronicle of St Albans*; it is entituled, The *Chroniclis of Englonde, with the Frute of Timis*, printed in a thick ſhort folio 1483. Which part, relating to the latter title, being tranſlated or gathered moſtly from foreign authors, chiefly concerning Scripture, and foreign hiſtory, the book is improperly quoted thereby as Caxton's (102), tho' his chronicle printed three years before, and relating chiefly to the affairs of England, or the MS. he followed, is involved therein. In the prologue, the ſaid Chronicle and Fruit of Times, are ſaid to be compiled together at Saynt Albons, in the year aforeſaid; but it is not mentioned to be printed at St Albons, nor even compiled, or printed by the ſchool-maſter there; much leſs by *John Inſonuch*; a name ſurely that was never aſcribed to the compiler or printer of this book, 'till it appear'd in Sir Henry Chaunty, where he is giving an account of the firſt printing at that monaſtery (103). Indeed Wynken de Worde, at the end of his edition of this book in 1497 ſays, 'That '*Chronicle*, with the *Frute of Tymes*, was compyled 'in a Booke, and emprynted by *one ſome time ſcole-'maſter* of St Albans.' If there was any ſuch flaw or obſcurity about thoſe words, *one ſome time* in Sir Henry's copy of that impreſſion, as might tempt any body who thought they could reſtore the true reading, to ſuppoſe it ſhould be, and therefore made out of it that name, Sir Henry might have ſome colour of authority for his aſſertion; but it is rather believed the firſt word of the book itſelf, which is *Inſomuch*, ran in his head for the name of the author. This work is divided into ſeven parts; the laſt part makes half the book, and begins at the Conqueſt. Not only the initials of every chapter, but many other capitals in every chapter are drawn or painted with red ink. The leaves are not paged at top, nor have they any words of direction from page to page at bottom; but they have ſignatures. There are three ſimple wooden prints in ſome of the leaves towards the beginning, of the Tower of Babel, the City of London, and that of Rome, with ſome few others. This author propoſes in the prologue, that the *ſeventh* or laſt part of theſe chronicles ſhould be continued, 'from the Normans, *to oure tyme*, whych 'is, under the regne of Kynge Edward the fourth, '23 yere, *whoof noble Cronycles, by cuſtome, may not 'be ſeen.*' Yet, in the beginning of the *ſeventh* part of the *table*, it is added again, '*Continuying to our dais*, 'that is to ſay, to the regne of King Edward the IV. 'the twenty-third yere.' But at the end of the chronicle, this compiler does not deſcend ſo low by near a dozen years, being as it is thought cut off by death, for the laſt paragraph ends with the popedom of Sixtus IV, who was choſen 1471; and is yet, at the makyng of this bokc, ſais he; concluding that, 'John abbot 'of Habingdon was this Popys Legate in Englonde, 'to diſpoſe of the treſour of the chirch, to withſtand 'the myſbylevabull Turke, *&c.*' In a copy of this firſt edition, which I have ſeen, there are ſeveral eraſements with a pen, either by the examiners of heretical paſſages in ſuch old books, or ſome zealous bigot to Popery, of ſome paſſages, which were thought not very conſiſtent with the polity of holy Church; and as he all along interlaces the hiſtories of Emperors and Popes in this work, ſo where he ſpeaks of one of them, it gave ſuch offence, that the words were entirely croſſed over with a pen in that manner; but being not indiſcernable, I could read them to be as follows, '*Johan-'nes Anglicus* of the nacion of Maguntynne, about this 'tyme was Pope, and ſhe was a woman, arrayed in 'mannys garmentys: Bot ſhe profetid ſo in holy Scrip-'ture, that ther wos founden none lyke hir. Then 'ſhe wos choſen Popc; bot afterward, ſhe wos with 'childe; and when ſhe ſhuld have gone opynly in 'proceſſion, ſhe traveled and deceſſid: And this is the '*ſixt pope* the whiche, to this tyme, had the nam of 'Holyneſſe, and were *vecius:* And this perſon, as 'other curſed popis wer, was punyſhed of God; nor 'ſhe wos not nombred in thee boke of Popis (104).'

(98) Intituled, Rhetor.ca Nova Fratris Laurentii Gulielmi de Saona, ordinis Minorum, compilata in Alma Univerſitate Cantabrigiæ, ann. 1478. Impreſſa ap. Villam St Albani 1480.

(99) Jacobus de Valentia in Pſalterium, Excuſ. in Civitate Londonienſi, ad expenſas Wilhelmi Wilcox, per me Johannem Lettou, fol. MCCCCLXXXI.

(100) Speculum Chriſtiani — Iſte Libellus impreſſus eſt in opulentiſſima Civitate Londoniarum, per Wilhelmum de Machlinia, ad inſtantiam nec non expenſas Henrici Uankenbergh Mercatoris.

(101) Origines Juridiciales, fol. edit. 1671, p. 58.

(102) So Richard Graſton in his Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. II. As ſayth Caxton in his Chronicle which he calls *The Fruit of Tyme*. So Fox — It is found in the Chronicle of William Caxton, called *Fructus Temporum*.

(103) In his Hiſtory and Antiquities of Hertfordſhire.

(104) *The Frute of Timis*, at the end of the fifth Part.

Yet

after the next off-spring of W. Caxton's press; which seems to have been intituled, *The*

Yet was there no English chronicle in these popish times so generally read, nor any for above an hundred and fifty years after, so often reprinted, as this was, by Wynkin de Worde, Richard Pynson, Julyan Notary, &c. even to five or six impressions in the space of thirty years. I have seen a remark, written in one of Pynson's copies, printed 1510, upon the last leaf but one, after the words, *hawyng Possessyon of all the Realme*, that *here ends Caxtons Chronicle*. These later editions of this *Fruit of Times and Chronicle*, have annexed to them *The Description of Englond*, &c. beforementioned, which Caxton reprinted from *Trevisa*'s *Polychronicon*, though both their names are omitted in Pynson's edition; which concludes with a short Latin epilogue, briefly enumerating the Kings of England from the Conquest; which we find not in the others. They all are embellished with wooden cuts, different from one another; and the last edition has most of them in number. But the next most famous book that was printed at St Albans, and this being, also printed, it seems, with Caxton's letter, is all we shall here take notice of, as the off-spring in these early times of that press; and the rather not to be omitted, because of divers mistakes that have been made, concerning both it, and it's author. This book treats of Hunting, Hawking, and Heraldry; and is ascrib'd to an illustrious and heroic Lady, of great gifts in body and mind; a second Minerva in her studies, and another Diana in her diversions; in short, an ingenious *Virago*, as Bale and Pits call her, who lived about 1460, and yet she was no less than an Abbess, as Sir Henry Chauncy, or Priores, as Dr Middleton stiles her, of the strict and mortified Nunnery at Sopwell in Hertfordshire; who says also, that she was sister to Richard Lord Berners of Essex (†). But that the said Juliana Barnes was such a religious Lady, and so nobly descended, no author, as yet, has attempted to prove. As for the book in question, it has been sometimes called *The Gentleman's Recreation*, and *The Gentleman's Academy*, or book of *St Albans*. But of the original edition now before us, there is a colophon comprehending the true title, in these words, *Here, in thys boke afore, ar contenyt the bokys of* Haukyng *and* Huntyng, *with other plesuris dywerse, as in the boke apperis: and also of* Coot Armuris, *a nobull werke. And here now endyth* The boke of Blasyng of Armys, *translatyt and compylyt togedyr at* Seynt Albons, *the yere from the Incarnacion of owre Lorde Jhu Crist* M.CCCC.LXXXVI. In the last leaf, there is a kind of coat or scutcheon, stampt from a wooden print in colours, representing Gules, a Saltire, in a bordure, Or, within a rundel; out of which arises a kind of double cross having a bar above and below, argent. There is this inscription at top, *Hic finis diversorum Generosis valde utilium, ut intuentibus patebit*: and at bottom, *Sanctus Albanus*. The first paragraph of the book sufficiently expresses the contents of the first treatise, which begins with the same word as the Chronicle of St Albans did, as follows, 'Insomoch, that gentillmen and honest persones have grete delite in *Haukyng*, and desire to have the maner to take Haukys: and also how, and in waat wyse, they shulde gyde theym ordynateli: and to knaw the gentill termys in communyng of theyr Haukys; and to understonde theyr sekenes, and enfermitees: and also to knawe medecines for theym according; and mony notabull termys that been used in Haukyng, both of their Haukys and of the Fowles, that their Haukys shall sley: therefore, this book followyng, in a dew forme, shewys veri knawlege of suche plesure to gentillmen and persons disposed to se itt.' To particularize the chapters, and all the terms that were used in this sport, and of the birds of prey that were kept to make it, whereof so many volumes have, with so much unprofitable industry been written, were enough both to furnish out a Dictionary of the jargon, mostly derived from the French, and expose the immoderate application of our ancestors at the same time, in making such a profound science of it. A sport, unknown to the Romans (105), nor mentioned 'till about the time of Alaricus the Goth, by Julius Firmicus. From the Turks and other Barbarians, the Europeans, and the English especially, ap'd it in great extravagance down to the last century, tho' perhaps to little more benefit or importance, than the Persians did, who trained up their sparrows to hawk after butterflies (106); it appearing in the last chapter of this book before us, that there were Hawks appropriated to all degrees of the people, from an Emperor, down to the holy-water Clerk, and poor man, or the beggar: so true it is, that he was accounted nobody, who in those ages, wherein the indulgence of falconry so licentiously reigned, had not an hawk on his fist; especially, as I said among us; seeing that, even by foreigners, who have practised these bewildering diversions themselves with excess, our English Nobility have been reproached as more inordinately addicted to them. And, as if they had nothing better in them, or depended on nothing more noble to prove their gentility, than Hawking and Hunting (107). Nay, these sports have been maintained as the most preferable accomplishments by some of our Nobility themselves, in those of their own rank; as may be seen in the wise speech of that lordly scorner of Literature, who said, *It was enough for Noblemens sons to winde their horn, and carry their hawk fair, and leave study and learning to the children of mean people*: To whom, the learned Secretary of King Henry VIII, reply'd, *Then you and other Noblemen must be content that your children may winde their hornes, and keep their hawks, while the children of mean people manage affairs of State* (108). How deep would the Mad Doctor in Poggius have fousd this sportsman in his pit, for the restoring him to his senses? especially, if it were considered, that from such as he, so much trespassing of one neighbour upon another, has been occasioned; so much litigiousness and enmity towards one another; and so much expence, not only in law-suits, but in accommodations for the sport itself; so far exceeding the example produced by that facetious Florentine, of one who expended four hundred crowns *per annum*, to kill five or ten crowns worth of birds, that among the instances of greater prodigality in our nation, we have it recorded of Sir Thomas Monson, who was a very expert Falconer, that he was at a thousand pounds charge in goshawks, only for one flight (†): All which considered, it is no wonder the diversion at length dwindled away to that moderation in which it deserves, as well as all other sports, to be exercised. This treatise of *Hawking*, which is written in prose, and has no author's name ascribed to it, consists of fifty-one pages; where it is shown to be at an end, by the word *explicit*. The next leaf begins thus — *Lykewise, as in the booke of* Hawkyng, *aforesayd are writtyn and noted the termys of plesure belongyng to gentillmen hawyng delite therin: in the same maner thye booke followyng sheweth to sych gentill personys, The manner of* Huntyng *for all maner of Beestys, wether thay be Beestys of Venery, or of Chace, or Rascall. And also it shewith all the termys convenyent, as well to the Howndys as to the Beestys aforsayd*, &c. This treatise of Hunting is written in verse, divided into several chapters; and the whole poem contained in twenty-three pages. It seems in general to consists of two parts, and the readers are addressed throughout the first, in the person of a woman, who begins the work, with distinguishing the beasts of Venery; and having advised, wheresoever you are, in wood or in field, to give heed to what *Tristram* says, or informs you of; she also adds, if you will listen, you shall learn of your *dame*, which kinds those beasts of Venery are; so names the Hart, the Hare, the Boar, and the Wolf; then proceeds to the Beasts of the Chase, &c. And in several other parts, speaks to her sons of Venery, and bids them

Say childe where you goo, yowre dame taght you so.

In the chapter of Hunting the hare, there are many French terms used, as the fashionable phrase in that sport at those times. What we call the second part, is a kind of dialogue in several chapters, between the *Master Hunter and his Man*. At the end of the whole poem we read these words, '*Explicit* Dam *Julyans* '*Barnes, in her boke of Huntyng*.' In the next page, there are three or four short chapters distinguishing, which are Beasts of the Chace; of the Sweet, and Stinking Foot: The various names of Hounds: The Properties of a Grayhound; and how to be trained, or what he is fit for every year. After which we have a long list in two leaves, of the proper terms, by which any *companies of beasts and fowls*, as well as several bodies

(†) Dr Middleton's Origin of Printing, &c. p. 14.

(105) Jul. Scaliger Comment. in *Tur.* fol. 344. Salmuth, Comment. in Pancirol. De Nov. Repert.

(106) Sir Anthony Shirley's Relation of his Travels into Persia, Lond. 4to, 1613.

(107) Paulus Jovius in Descr. Britan.

(108) Ric. Pacai De Fructu qui ex Doctrina percipitur, Basil. 4to, 1517.

(†) Sir Anthony Weldon's Court and Character of King James, 12mo, 1650, p. 105.

The Conqueſt of Jeruſalem, by Godfrey of Bologne, a book which had been written to inſtigate

bodies or ſocieties of *men* and *women* are to be called in the Sportſman's Dialect; among which, there are ſome, one would ſcarcely expect to meet with from a Lady of that holy calling and character which are aſcribed to the writer of theſe pieces; as, *an Uncredibilitie of Cocoldis; abominable ſight of Monkis; a rage of Mydenys; a ſuperfluyte of Nunnys*, &c. which however true, thoſe diſtinctions might be, are not very conſiſtent with a woman in that character. But indeed, there are words ſo blunt and indecent, both in the treatiſe of Hawking (110), and in this poem on Hunting (111), as were very unbecoming a woman, in any character. There is another liſt in the next page, of the terms or phraſes then uſed in carving, or, as it is called, of breekyng or dreſſyng divers Beeſtis, Fowlis, and Fyſshes. Laſtly, there is a table in another page, of all the Shyreys and Byſhopryches in the Reolme of Englond: but what congruity it bears with any thing in the foregoing treatiſes we perceive not. Thus all we ſee of Juliana Barnes is, that ſhe verified a tract upon Hunting written by Sir Triſtram, whom Mr John Manwood of Lincoln's-Inn, in his treatiſe of *Forreſt Law*, calls a Monk and an old Forreſter, and always in quoting it aſcribes it to him, and never to her (†).

(110) In the Chap. of Medicines for *Wormys*, called *Anguillis*.

(111) In the laſt Chap. *How ye ſhall breke an Hert.*

(†) Manwood's Laws of the Forreſt, edit. 4to, 1665, p. 98, 104, &c.

The next treatiſe printed in this book, tho' of a martial nature, and perhaps leſs likely to engage the ſtudies of a religious woman, is yet by authors aſcribed alſo to this Lady, tho' her name appears neither before nor after it. Beginning thus, *In thys booke following is determyned, The Lynage of Coote Armuris, and how Gentilmen ſhall be knowen for ungentill Men; and how Bondeage began, firſt in Aungell, and after ſucceded in Mankynde; as it is ſhewede in proceſſe, boothe in the childer of Adam and alſo of Noe, and how Noe devyded the worlde in thre partes to his thre ſonnys. Alſo there be ſhewyd the nine Colowris in Armys, figured by the nine Orderis of Aungelis; and it is ſhewyd by the forſaid Colowris, wych ben Worthy, and wych ben Royall; and of Rigalities, whiche ben Noble, and wich ben Excellent. And ther ben here the Virtuys of* Chyvalry, *and many other notable and famowſe Thyngs, to the Pleſure of noble Perſonys, ſhall be ſhewyd, as the werkys followyng witteneſes, whoſoever likyth to ſe thaym and rede thaym, wych were to long now to rehers: and after theys notable Thyngs aforeſayde, followeth,* The Blaſyng of all maner Armys *in Latyn, French, and Engliſh:* ſo it begins with, *Incepit Liber Armorum.* Some fabulous Antiquities, Application, and Alluſions, in this part of the ſaid work, ſeem to have been gathered from another of much the like complexion (112), which informs us, the beginning of theſe laws of arms were before the ten commandments of God. It is here alſo obſerved, that Chriſt was a gentleman, by his mother's ſide; and Prince of Cote Armure. After this part, intituled, *The Lynage*, &c. conſiſting of twenty-two pages, follows the laſt part, concerning *The Blaſyng of Armys*; in which there are a hundred and ſeventeen coats or ſcutcheons printed from wood, coloured, and blazoned in Latin, French, and Engliſh. The example of higheſt Antiquity here produced, is that of King Arthur; who is ſaid to have changed his Three Dragons, and his other Shield of Three Crowns, for a Croſs of Silver, in a Field of Vert; with the Image of our Lady on the right, and her ſon in her arm. A little further it is obſerved of the Arms of France, which were, 'Three Flowris in 'maner of Swerdis, in a Felde of Aſure, that they 'were given (from heaven) to the Kyng of Fraunce, 'in ſygne of everlaſtyng trowbull, and that he and 'his ſucceſſaries, allway with bataill and ſwerddys 'ſhulde be punyſhid.' A little further, ſpeaking of a coat conſiſting of a corded croſs, the author ſays, 'The which croſs I ſe bott late, in the Armys of a 'Nobull Man; the wich in very deed was ſumme 'tyme a craſty man, a Roper, as he hym ſelfe ſayd.' Where the quartering of the Arms of France and England is ſpoken of it is thus accounted for, that thoſe of France appear firſt. 'It ſhall not be tedeous to 'no man, that Fraunce is put before Englonde in 'blaſing; bot the cauſe is this, for thArmys of 'Fraunce, in armys to be put afore, and we have a 'generall rule, that whenſumever in armys be two 'colouris, or moo, in the poynt of the Shelde, then 'ye ſhall not begyn at the poynt to blaſe them, bot in 'the right parte, or ſide, of thoſe armys: that ſame 'coloure, ther founde, in the right ſide of the Shelde, 'is nott the Felde of thArmys; for it may be for-'tune, it is not the greateſt coloure in thArmys afor-'ſayd, but les, or with othir equall; and never the 'les ye ſhall begyn to blaſe ther.' Another remarkable quartering is obſerved in the Arms of Queen Anne, the wife of King Richard II, who bare 'ThArmys 'of Englond, Fraunce, and thEmperor of Almayn 'quartili, and in twenty one partes: that is to ſay, in the 'right ſide of the Shelde, in the firſt quarter, ſhe 'bare thArmys of Fraunce, Thre Flore Delucis of 'Golde, in a Felde of Aſure; and in the ſecond 'quarter, Thre Libartis of Golde, in a Felde of 'Gowles; and in the third quarter, An Egle ſplayd, 'with two Neckis; and in the fourth, A black Lyon 'rampyng, in a Felde of Silver; and ſo chaungeably 'ſhe bare theſe Armys, in twenty one quarteris, the 'which ſeldyn is feen in Armys.' Further, on treating of Bordures Gobonated, it is ſaid, 'This ſame 'Bordure baare that nobull Prynce the Duke of 'Glouceſtyr, brothyr to that nobull weriowre Kyng 'Henri the fiſth; the wich Royall Duke bare in his 'Armys, The hooll Armys of Fraunce and Englond 'quartily, with a Bordure Gobonatit of Silver and 'Sable.' And after having diſcuſſed a nice point upon the Arms of Roger Mertemor Earl of Marche, whether they ſhould be called Bordured or not, there is mention made, in another chapter, 'Of certain Nobles 'who bore Fuſils in their Arms; of the nombur of 'which, ſais our author, my Lord of Glauceſtur that 'nobull Prince, uncle to King Henry the ſext, was:' adding, 'That he bore Three Fuſſils in a bar, in his 'Arms (but they are wrong blazoned in the text, or 'coloured in the ſcutcheon here) by the reſon of cer-'tain Londes belongyng to the Mounte.' This ſeems to be one of the lateſt inſtances taken notice of in theſe examples of Blazonry, except that of the noble Roper at firſt mentioned, and the notice taken of Duke Humphrey's arms. And this laſt part conſiſts of fifty-ſix pages, beſides that which contains the Arms of St Albans at the end, beforementioned. Thus have we paſſed through this whole book; and it is a more ample deſcription, or account of it, than has been yet given; the ſcarcity whereof has occaſioned many erroneous aſſertions. Tho' no name is aſcribed to this laſt part or book of Arms, yet has it been appropriated like the others to the pious Lady aforeſaid. The author was apparently converſant abroad in the world, often among courtiers, and men of quality. And how likely ſuch a perſon, ſuch a critick in the doctrine and laws of Chivalry, a ſcience ſo full of oſtentation to the world, was to have any ſuperintendency over a Nunnery of religious votaries, trained to ſtrict abſtinence, ſanctity, and retirement from the world, is not eaſy to reſolve. But in ſhort, this very treatiſe is ſaid to be abſtracted from that part of Dr Nicholas Upton's book of *Military Affairs*, which treats *De Inſignibus Anglorum Nobilium* (113), who died in 1457, ten years after his patron Duke Humphrey, beforementioned, in the ſaid treatiſe; to whom it was originally dedicated: And how inconſiſtent with the character and decorum that muſt have been expected in a Lady ſo religiouſly devoted, the other tracts in this book are, has partly before appeared. It ſeems not, that Bale or Pits ever ſaw this original edition, becauſe they alſo mention with it, a book of Fiſhing, as of this Lady's writing; which is not to be met with, but in the ſecond edition of theſe tracts, printed by Wynkin de Worde at Weſtminſter, in folio, 1496; and therein it is neither aſcribed to her, nor any body elſe; but only printed in this larger volume of thoſe ſubjects relating to the Gentry and Nobility; that every idle and ordinary perſon might not be able to purchaſe it, as they would if it had been publiſhed in a little pamphlet by itſelf. And in the Preface to that *Treatyſe of Fyſshynge wyth an Angle*, there is expreſſed ſome intentions alſo of publiſhing a Treatiſe of Fowling. But nothing more of Juliana Barnes appears, than her name at the end of the ſaid doctrine of Hunting, as was before obſerved; from whence ſuch high characters have been drawn of her, with ſuch noble alliance, and ſuch holy profeſſion imputed to her, as are beforementioned. In that ſecond edition, it has been noted, that ſhe propoſed in her ſaid poem on Hunting, as her model, *A Deſcription of the Myrthes of Huntynge by the Duke of York*,

(112) Geſtis Troianorum.

(113) Vide N. Uptoni De Militari Officio, Lond. fol. 1654.

gate the Princes of Christendom to another Holy War, against the Turks; in order to dispossess them of the Holy Land. The same year also, he translated out of the Dutch tongue and printed, a political discourse called *Reynard the Fox*; besides two books of Cicero's, and two orations of Banatusius Magnomontanus (*d*), which are commonly bound in one volume together; of which three books, or six discourses, since the reader may expect some distinct account, as hath been given of the others, we shall in like manner draw together some description or memorials of them at the bottom of the page [*M*]. The next production of

(*d*) J. Lelandi Comm. de Script. Britan. p. 48.

York, Master of the Game; and he might feign himself to appear in the character of the old Tristram beforementioned, or it might be the name of his principal Huntsman or Forester. However that was, when the book appeared afterwards in a later edition, published, not improbably, by Gervase Markham, he says expressly in the title page, that the book of Hunting, Hawking, and Armory, were *all compiled by* Juliana Barnes in the year 1486 (114). And yet in the first paragraph of the treatise of Hunting which is here all reduced to prose, he says, These, and none other be the ancient laws of Sir Tristram; hence, Mr Manwood, in his Forest-Laws, as was said afore, always quotes Sir Tristram, and never Mrs Barnes; and not only gives him the title of Knighthood, but makes him a Monk withal. Sir Henry Chauncey never saw the edition printed at St Albans of this book, nor perhaps any other, because he calls it by a wrong title; *The Gentleman's Recreation*, &c. and makes the press delivered of it in 1481, five years before it's time (115). But he contradicts himself in calling her Abbess of Sopwell, when he has a distinct chapter upon the religious foundation there, and only calls it a Priory; but mentions nothing of Juliana Barnes, in that place. The first person I have met with, who calls her Lady Prioress of that Nunnery, is the author of the printed catalogue of Bishop More's library, where he is giving a title of this book; and as for what has been more lately advanced (†), that Mrs Barnes was sister to Richard Lord Berners of Essex; in none of the pedigrees we have seen of this name, neither that in Sir Henry Chauncey's History last quoted, nor that, more copious, drawn up by the late Mr Peter Le Neve, Norroy King of Arms (116), nor that lately published in the History of the county of Essex (117) does any such Lady Abbess, or Lady Prioress, or any other Lady, of one name, or the other, appear, like those of her in question. And indeed, such a contrast of characters in one person, is apt to raise very contesting ideas. One cannot reconcile the notions those subjects inspire, of their authors being so expert and familiarly practised in those robust and masculine exercises, with the character of such a sedate, grave, pious, matron-like Lady, as the Prioress of a Nunnery is imagined to be; a conjunction of such extreams, seeming quite unnatural. Indeed, we have, and so we may have had, your romping, roaring hoydens, that will be for horsing and hunting after the wildest game, in the most giddy company: but to join so much of these rough and impetuous diversions, as is required to obtain the proficiency aforesaid, with the most serene and solemn profession of a mortified and spiritual life in herself, and the charge or care of training it in others, must make an unaccountable mixture. In that light, there appears such a motley masquerade, such an indistinction of petticoat and breeches, such a problem and concorporation of sexes, according to the image that arises out of the several representations of this religious Sportswoman or Virago, that one can scarcely consider it, without thinking Sir Tristram, the old Monkish Forester, and Juliana, the Matron of the Nuns, had united to confirm John Cleveland's *Canonical Hermophradite* (118): but other examples of the like inconsistencies being also united to dress up one character, might make this appear the less extraordinary, if there was any need to instance them.

(114) The Gentleman's Academy, or Book of St Alban's, &c. Reduced into a better method by G. M. Printed for H. Lownes, 4to, 1595.

(115) Sir Henry Chauncey's Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire, fol. 1700, p. 448, 449.

(†) Dr Middleton's Origin of Printing.

(116) The Pedigree of Katherine Knyvet, &c. lineal heir of Sir John Bourchier, Knight of the Garter, the first Lord Berners, by P. Le Neve Norroy, 1717.

(117) The Hist. and Antiquities of the County of Essex, fol. by N. Salmon.

(118) The Works of Mr John Cleveland, &c. 8vo, 1687, p. 20.

[*M*] *Description or memorials of them at the bottom of the page.*] The first of these here mentioned, is intituled, *The Siege and Conquest of Jherusalem, with many other Historyes therein comprysed: and of the Mescases of the Crysten men in the holy Lande; and of their Relcef*, &c. *and how Godeffroy of Bolayne was first Kyng of the Latyns in that Royamme; and of his Deth: translated* and *reduced* out of *Frenshe* into *Englyshe*, by me symple persone *William Caxton*; being begun the 12th of Marche, fynyshed the 7th of Juyn, and enprynted the 20th of Novembre, fol. 1481. The design of this work, as we said was, that every Christian man might be the better encouraged to enterprize war for the defence of Christendom, and to recover the said city of Jerusalem also, that Christians may go thither with strong hand to expel the Saracens and Turks out of the same, that our Lord might be there served, &c (119). Matters of fact seem to have been the chief pursuit of the author in this History, and tho' some *mervayllous workes* do occur in it, yet it seems not so over-run with enthusiastick romance, as some other Histories of this age, on that subject are. Our translator says, he presents this book to King Edward IV. which very presentation book was sold in the auction of Mr Richard Smith's library (120). That expedition was incited by Pope Gregory VII. and it was reported, that no less than two hundred thousand Christians were confederated therein, old and young, rich and poor, went without any pressing or compulsion. Besides Godfrey of Boloyne, there were other chief leaders, as Bemond, Duke of Naples; and Hugh, the King of France's brother: and this passagn was made by the Vysyon of our Lady, as Master Caxton informs us in another book (121). The next work, intituled, *Thystorye of Reynard, or Reynart the Fox*, in 4to, was looked upon by the late Mr Thomas Hearne, the Antiquary of Oxford, to be an admirable piece, written with a good design to represent a wise and politic government. In the first page of it, as Mr Lewis informs us, for this is one of Caxton's pieces we have never seen; there is his cypher, before spoken of (122), printed in this manner, but larger; in memory, as it is presumed, of the year in which, and the person by whom, the art of Printing was first practised among us. We are by the same author informed, that Caxton says there is in this book, 'Wreton the 'parable of good Leryng, &c. for an example to the 'people.' And that he says further, 'I have not added ne mynyshed, but have followed, as nigh as I 'can my copi, whiche was in Dutche; and by me 'Wyllyam Caxton, translated into this rude and 'symple Englyshe, in the Abbaye of Westmestre 'the vi day of Juyn in the yere of our Lord 'M.CCCC.LXXXI, and in the xxi yere of the reigne 'of Kynge Edward IIII.' The third volume he printed this year, is intituled, — *Tullius his book of* OLD AGE; *whereunto is added, his book of* FRIENDSHIP; *and the Decleracyon, shewing wherein* HONOURE *sholde reste:* emprynted by William Caxton, fol. 1481. He does not mention who was the translator of the first part of this work, which is *Tully de Senectute*, as Leland has also observed: but a late author informs us of a memorial of Wyllyam de Wyrcestre, alias *Botaner*, which he has entred against the year 1473, by which it appears that he was the translator of this piece; in which memorandum it is said, 'On the 20th of August, I presented to Wyllyam 'Waynflete, Bishop of Wincheſter, the book of *Tulley* '*of Old Age*, translated by me into English (123).' This Wyllyam Wyrcestre was an Antiquary and Physician, from whence he had the name perhaps of *Botaner* or Herbalist; and also an Astronomer of great abilities for the age he lived in. He was born in the city of Bristol, *anno* 1415, and was sometyme servaunte and soget, or subject, withe his reverent master John Fastolf Chevalier, and exercised in the werres contynuelly above 44 yeres, (†) and in so great favour he was with Sir John, that he left him one of the executors of his last will, which is dated a little while before his death on the third of December 1459. In faithful and cordial affection to the memory of his said renowned master, he wrote a book of the *Life and Actions of the said Sir John Fastolf*, which we hear is in being, and likely to be published. That account of his being the translator of this book is further confirmed by what Caxton says in his Preface before it, 'That it was 'translated and thystoryes openly declared by the or- 'denannce and desyre of the noble auncyent Knyght 'Sir

(119) Catalogus Bibliothecæ Harleianæ, Vol. III. 8vo, 1744. p. 193.

(120) Bibliotheca Smithiana, 4to, 1682, p. 275.

(121) Caxton's Chronicle, in the year 1061.

(122) Life of Caxton, p. 51.

(123) Mr Anstis's Register of the Order of the Garter, Vol. II.

(†) Itinerarium Will. Worcester, MS. in Bennet-Coll. Library.

of Caxton's preſs, was a copious body of Hiſtory in the year 1482, intituled *Polychronicon*, according to the Engliſh tranſlation of John de Treviſa, from the Latin of Ranulphus Higden, the Monk of Cheſter. Upon this Hiſtory, Caxton beſtowed ſome extraordinary pains; not only in tranſcribing it intirely over, to modernize, and render the obſolete ſtyle more conformable to the phraſe or language of his own time, but he compiled and added alſo a *Continuation* thereof, down to the beginning of the King's reign under whom he then lived; and after that, he was at the trouble of collecting, and writing into the margins of his impreſſion, the ſeries of *Chronology*, which was wanting in the copy he followed. And yet here, as in all other of his books, he ſpeaks of his moſt toilſome endeavours with ſo much diffidence and humility, as if he feared they would prove more offenſive than acceptable, and procure him rather the cenſure than approbation of his readers; as may appear in the abſtract of his own account of the ſaid Hiſtory ſubjoined, and the obſervations which others have made thereon [*N*]. The next year, 1483, there are no leſs

'Sir Johan Faſtolf of the countee of Norfolk Bannerette, lyving the age of fourſcore yere; exercyſyng the warrys in the Royame of Fraunce and other countrees, for the diffence and unyverſal welfare of bothe Royames of Englond and Fraunce, by forty yeres endurying; the fayte of armes hauntyng, and in admynyſtryng juſtice and politique governaunce under three Kyngs; that is to wete, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, and was Governour of the Duchye of Angcou, and the countree of Mayne; Capytayne of many townys, caſtellys, and fortreſſys, in the ſaid Royame of Fraunce; having the charge and ſauſgarde of them dyverſe yeres, ocupyeng and rewlynge three hondred ſperes, and the bowes acuſtomed thenne; and yeldyng good acompt of the forſaid townes, caſteilys, and fortreſſes to the ſeyd Kyngs, and to their Lyeutenauntes, Prynces of noble recommendacion; as Johan, Regent of Fraunce, Duc of Bedford; Thomas, Duc of Exeter; Thomas, Duc of Clarence, and other Lyeutenauntes.' It appears further in Caxton's ſaid proem, That this treatiſe of *Old Age* had been tranſlated out of Latin into French by Laurence de Primo Facto, at the command of Lewis, Duke of Bourbon; and as Caxton prays his reader, to take this reducing patiently, ſubmitting himſelf to his amendment or correction; he might have an hand in modelling the ſaid diſcourſe, according to the neweſt mode of ſtile from the ſaid French tranſlation; yet in the main, he might follow, as to the ſenſe, the tranſlation made by Wyrceſtre from the Latin, it ſeems at the command of Sir John Faſtolf; becauſe he ſays ſome things that in the original are compendiouſly ſpecified, and in a manner hard or obſcure in the text, are more amply expounded, and rendered ſweeter to the reader, keeping yet the juſt ſentence of the Latin. To this is joyned the ſecond treatiſe, which is of *Friendſhip*, beginning thus; — 'Here followeth the ſaid *Tullius de Amicicia*, tranſlated into our maternal Engliſshe tongue, by the noble famous Erle, therle of Wurceſtre (ſone and heyre of the Lord Typtoft) which in his tyme flowred in vertue and cunnyng; to whom I knew none lyke emonge the Lordes of the temporalitie in Science and moral vertue.' This treatiſe is marked with ſignatures in the ſame manner as the former at the bottom of the pages, but in neither are they numbred at top. Laſtly, follow the *Two Declarations* made by Publius Cornelius Scipio and Gayus Flamyneus, rivals for the love of Lucrice. Shewing wherein *True Honour and Nobility conſiſts*: the former placing it in blood, riches, and the worſhipful deeds of his anceſtors, without urging any thing of his own life or manners; the latter inſiſting that nobleneſs cannot be derived from the glory and merits of another man, or from the flattering goodneſs of fortune, but muſt reſt in his own proper virtue and glory. After theſe orations, Caxton concludes with requeſting his readers to remember the tranſlator, both of them, and the treatiſe of Friendſhip before them; 'I mean, *ſays he*, the Right, Vertuous, and Noble Erle, therle of Wurceſtre, whicb late pytouſly loſt his life; whos ſoul I recommende vnto youre ſpecial prayers; who alſo in bis time made many otber vertuous workes, whiche I have hard of. O good bleſſyd Lord God! what grete loſſe was it of that noble, vertuous, and well diſpoſed Lord? whan I remembre and advertyze his lyf, his ſcience, and his virtue; methinketh God not diſpleſyd ouer grete loſſe of ſuch a man, conſyderyng his eſtate and conning; and alſo thexerciſe of the ſame; with the grete laboures in gooing on pylgremage to Jherufalem; viſytyng there the holy places that our bleſſyd Lord Jheſu Criſte holowed with his bleſſyd preſence, and ſhedding there his precious blood for our redempcion, and from thens aſcended unto his fader in heaven. And what worſhip had he at Rome, in the preſence of our holy fader the Pope? And ſo in all other places unto his deth; at which deth, every man that was there, might lern to dye, and take his deth paciently; wherin I hope, and doubte not but that God receyved his ſoul into hes everlaſting blyſſe: for as I am enformed, he ryght adviſedly ordeyned alle his thinges, as well for his laſt will of worldly goodes, as for his ſowle helthe; and pacyently and holyly, without grudchyng in charyte to fore, that he departed out of this world, which is gladſom and joyous to here, *&c.* This John Lord Tiptoft, Earl of Worceſter, thus praiſed and lamented by his editor, was born at Everton in Cambridgeſhire, educated at Baliol-College in Oxford, where he attained to great learning; was created by King Henry VI. a Viſcount, Earl of Worceſter, and Lord High Conſtable of England; and by King Edward IV. Knight of the Garter; he was twice Lord High-Treaſurer of England; and in 1467, Deputy-Lieutenant of Ireland. In the Civil Wars between thoſe Kings, he could not be ungrateful to one, who had ſo much advanced him, nor diſloyal to the other in whom the right of the Crown lay; ſo he viſited the Holy Iſland, and at Rome made ſuch an oration before Pope Pius II, that with the eloquence thereof, it drew tears from his eyes. But returning home in the ſhort and unlucky interval of King Henry's reſtitution, which was remarkable for nothing but the death of this worthy Lord; he was accuſed of ſome pretended rigor in the government of Ireland, being ſuſpected of favouring ſecretly King Edward's party; ſo in 1470, the ax cut off more learning in this Nobleman at a blow, than it left in the heads of all the Nobility beſides. He wrote ſome orations and epiſtles beſides thoſe two tranſlations abovementioned, and was buried in the Dominican's Convent in London, according to Leland, who beſtows high commendations upon him, not only for his great learning and Ciceronian eloquence, but his many virtues and other deſerts (124).

[*N*] *In the Abſtract of his own Account of the ſaid Hiſtory, and the Obſervations which others have made thereon.*] Becauſe this *Polychronicon, tranſlated from the ſaid Ranulphus Hygden, Monk of Cheſter, by Sir Johan Treviſa, Chapelayn unto Lord Thomas of Barkley*, and dedicated to him, comprehends the occurrences of many ages, it is ſo called; and from *His* great example, who wrought all his works in ſix days, and reſted on the ſeventh, he divides it into ſeven books. The firſt deſcribes all countries in general, more eſpecially Britain; the other ſix are a conciſe model of civil hiſtory, from the Creation down to his own time; that is under the reign of King Edward III. Treviſa, in his Dialogue prefix'd, in defence of *Tranſlation* ſays, that Higden brought the Hiſtory down to his laſt days. It ends in 1357; which therefore gives more credit to their report, who write, that this hiſtorian died in 1363, than theirs, who prolong his life fourteen years beyond that (125). But Treviſa's account of the time when he finiſhed the ſaid tranſlation, printed at the concluſion of this work, is an error of the preſs, or of the copy, which Caxton followed; for here in print it is 1357, the ſame year that Higden finiſhed the hiſtory itſelf; whereas Treviſa mentions later days in his own notes or additions interſperſed, as we have before obſerved;

(124) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 48, *&c.* See alſo Bale, Camden, Brook, Sir James Ware, de Script. Brit. Fuller's Worthies, and Dugdale's Baronage.

(125) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 24.

leſs than ſix books, ſaid to be of his printing, extant, if not one or two more alſo printed in the ſame year, that are undated. Theſe are intituled, *The Pilgrimage of the Soul*; *Liber Feſtivalis*; John Gower's *Confeſſio Amantis*; *The Legend of the Saints*; Cato's *Diſtichs*; and *The Knight of the Tower*. As the account that is to be given of theſe need not be very circumſtantial, they may all be comprehended under one note [O]. There have

ſerved (126); however Archbiſhop Uſher, and Biſhop Nicholſon after him, among other miſtakes, ſay, thoſe interpolations were not made by Treviſa, but the editor (127). But as Mr Lewis rightly obſerves, out of the old manuſcript of this tranſlation, it was ended by Treviſa in 1387; which will comprehend the lateſt date mentioned by him in thoſe notes. After the ſaid ſeven books, we have one more compiled by Caxton himſelf, which continues the hiſtory down to 1460, 'and the firſt year of King Edward IV. which amounts 'to an hundred and three years,' ſays he, in his epilogue, at the end of the book; which exactly correſponds with the year in which Higden concluded his Chronicle. But in reſpect to the edition Caxton has made, he complains for want of thoſe advantages which printing, had it been in uſe in that period, might have afforded, by the intelligence or communication of hiſtorical materials for his purpoſe; that few writers could be heard of in thoſe days, who preſerved in their regiſters the occurrences of the times; ſo that he could meet with no other authorities than a book entituled, *Faſciculus Temporum* (128); and another, called *Aureus de Univerſo*, which yet contributed but little to his undertaking. Indeed the fifteenth century has not been accounted very fruitful in eminent writers, eſpecially of hiſtory: And it has been obſerved, particularly of the reign of Edward IV, that even the favourers of juſtice and his cauſe, have not known what account to give of the times (129), or how to form a regular hiſtory out of ſuch an heap of confuſion. Yet there were authors in that age who might have been aſſiſtant to Caxton, could he have arrived at the knowledge of them; but their writings remaining in manuſcript, and, as it were locked up in obſcure confinement, 'till they were ſet at liberty by the preſs, are come to be better known in our times, than when they were written (130). We ſhall only obſerve further of Treviſa's tranſlation, that the chronological tables, wherewith Higden ſays he charged his margins, in double and treble columns, were omitted in the copy that Caxton followed, or at leaſt left unprinted by him; wherefore in ſome of the printed copies, thoſe tables are written throughout with red ink, and probably with his own hand. And all we ſhall further add of Ralph Higden, the reputed author, is, that by a compariſon which has been made of ſome old MS. copies of this *Polychronicon*, with the *Polycratica Temporum* of Roger Ceſtrenſis, a Benedictine Monk alſo of St Werberg, that are repoſited in the *Harleian Library*, there have been ſome reaſons found to believe, that our Ralph of Cheſter did endeavour to appropriate Roger of Cheſter's labours to himſelf; and particularly by a crotchet he uſed in the initial letters of the ſeveral chapters, which begin his *Polychronicon*, out of which it has been obſerved there may be read theſe words, *Præſentem Chronicam compilavit frater Ranulphus Monachus Ceſtrenſis*. But this was a whimſey uſed by other hiſtorians of thoſe times, as an author before cited has obſerved (131).

[O] *They may all be comprehended under one note.*] Yet that we may ſpeak diſtinctly of them, we ſhall begin with that which is called, *The Pylgremage of the Sowle; tranſlated out of Frenſhe into Engliſhe: Full of devout maters towching the ſowle, and many queſtyons aſſoyled, to cauſe a man to lyve the better in this world*, &c. It was printed by Caxton at Weſtminſter, and finiſhed the ſixth day of June, ſol. 1483. 'and the *firſt* 'yere of the regne of Kynge Edward the Fyfthe (132).' This *Pylgremage* is related in the manner of a dream. The author was a man of copious imagination; and this verſion out of French, with ſomewhat of additions, as it is ſaid at the end, was made in the year of our Lord 1413. Mr Mattaire ſays it was written in French by Antoine Gerard, and entituled by him *Le Pelerinage de l'Ame*, and printed at Paris 1480. (133). As for the tranſlator, it does not directly appear who he was, but among the additions abovementioned to be made, ſome, if not all of the poetry, ſeems to be a part; and much of that, written in the ſtile and ſtanzas of John Lydgate. This is remarkable, that the thirty-fourth chapter of that poet's *Life of the Virgin Mary*, which is a digreſſion in praiſe of Chaucer, and the author's lamentation for the loſs of him, who uſed to correct his works, he being then newly dead; and that, the thirty-fourth chapter of the ſecond book of this Pilgrimage ſhould be the ſame poem; which being unſuitable for any body to repeat, to whom Chaucer had not done ſuch ſervices, offers ſome probabilities that this tranſlation was made by Lydgate (134). The next he this year printed is entitled,

Liber Feſtivalis: or Directions for kerping Faſt all the year. 'Tis ſaid to be printed at Weſtmynſtre by William Caxton the laſt day of Juyn, Anno Domini 1483, in quarto (135). It conſiſts of ſhort diſcourſes or ſermons on the principal ſundays and holy days in the year. There have been many editions of this book. We never ſaw this of Caxton's: but one printed, though without the printer's name, by Wynkin de Worde in 1496, we have ſeen, and others. Thoſe ſermons on the principal Faſts and Feaſts, &c. are interlarded with hiſtorical narratives out of the legends; that the clerks who excuſed themſelves for default of books, might have this to teach their pariſhioners therein, and ſhew them, what the ſaints ſuffered and did for God's ſake. Mr Hearne obſerves, 'That this 'book conſiſts of a courſe of homilies, in which are 'many *odd ſtories*: That it goes by no other name 'but that of *Feſtivall*, among curious men, who are 'very inquiſitive after copies of it (136).' It may be further obſerved, that ſome of thoſe odd ſtories are ſuch, that the Papiſts are now aſhamed of them. Mr Lewis ſpeaks of four ſermons more added to this edition, which were alſo of Caxton's printing, as he ſays, and which, we, as well as Mr Palmer, have ſeen in a ſeparate book; but printed alſo by Wynkin de Worde, though his name is not mentioned therein; yet viſibly his performance, as well by his type, as his cuſtom of regiſtring at the end, the number of his ſignatures. This Engliſh book, printed at Weſtminſter the ſame year as the other, 1496, has a Latin title, and is called *Quatuor Sermones*, though it is not very diſtinctly divided into four ſermons; but the two firſt ſeem to be comprehended under certain topics, by which we are inſtructed how to attain the knowledge of God. As the articles of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Commandments (137), the ſeven Sacraments, the ſeven Deeds of Mercy, the ſeven deadly Sins, and the nine Torments of Hell. The third ſermon treats of the three parts of Penance; contrition, confeſſion, and ſatisfaction: And that which ſeems to be the laſt ſermon is called the *General Sentences*, or *Church Curſes*; which were read to the congregation quarterly; ſome of which are ſingularly obſervable; ending very expreſsly againſt the with-holders of *Tythes*. After which follows the *Modus Fulminandi Sententiam*, in Latin; wherein all the violators of any articles mentioned in the ſaid general ſentence, are excommunicated, anathematis'd, given up to the Devil, and damn'd by *holy Church*, to all intents and purpoſes; wherever they are, in whatever doing, unleſs they repent and make ſatisfaction; after which ſentence the lights were extinguiſhed *ad Terrorem*, and all the bells ſet a jangling (138). This quarterly cuſtom of curſing and damning the people, was begun, it ſeems, by Archbiſhop Langton, in the year 1222; of which conſtitution, and the expoſition of John Wicliff thereupon, more may be read in one of the authors before quoted (139). We are in doubt, whether there be any older editions of the *Liber Feſtivalis*, and the *Quatuor Sermones*, in Engliſh, than thoſe here mentioned, however they have been aſcribed to Caxton, under the year aforeſaid; and if there is not, they ſhould be reſtored to Wynkin de Worde.

The next book he printed this year, is entitled, *Confeſſio Amantis: That is to ſaye in Engliſhe, The Confeſſion of the Lover; made and compyled by* Johan Gower, *ſquyre, borne in* Walys, *in the Tyme of King* Richard *the ſecond. Which book treteth, how he was confeſſyd*

(126) See the marginal remark (3) in the note [A].

(127) Vid. Uſſeri Hiſt. Dogm. edit. ab Hen. Wharton. p. 157, 439; and Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, edit. fol. 1736, p. 65.

(128) Mr Maittaire mentions a book called *Faſciculus Temporum*, per *Joannem Pryſt*, fol. Argentine, Anno Dom. 1487.

(129) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 63.

(130) As, Froiſſart, R. Aveſbury, Tit. Livy, T. de la More, J. Roſſe, H. Knyghton, T. Walſingham, J. Wethamſted, and T. Otterborne, &c. &c.

(131) Biſhop Nicholſon, as above, fol. p. 64, 65, 67.

(132) This young Prince began his reign April 9, and was murdered in the Tower, and ſucceeded by his uncle Richard III. on the 22d of June in the ſame year.

(133) Annal. Typogr.

(134) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 126.

(135) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 67, 68.

(136) Hearne's Chron. of Robert of Glouceſter, Vol. II.

(137) Of the Cenſure and Danger there was in reading only the Pater Noſter, Creed, &c. in Engliſh above twenty years after this book was printed, See Lewis, p. 69. out of Fox, Tindal, Archbiſhop Arundel, &c.

(138) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 388.

(139) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 74.

have alſo been two other books entered into the Catalogue of his Works, under the ſame

confeſſyd to Genyus *preeſt of* Venus, *upon the Cauſes of Love, in his five Wyttes, and ſeven dedely Synnes*, &c. *with divers Hiſtoryes and Fables, touching every matere compryſed therein.* This is the title of the ſaid book. And at the end we read as follows, *Emprynted at Weſtmeſtre, by me* Willyam Caxton, *and fynißed the 2d day of Septembre, the* fyrſt *yere of the regne of King* Richard the Third, *the yere of our Lord* a Thouſand CCCCLXXXXIII. which, to agree with that year of the ſaid King, muſt manifeſtly be a figure of X too much; like the error of ſetting one too few, in the early printed book, beforementioned, at Oxford. The very Title of this original edition may ſerve to correct ſeveral errors; and among others, even in ſo eminent an Antiquary as Leland; who ſays, as Fuller alſo does, and every body elſe after him, that Gower was born in Yorkſhire (140), whereas he appears, in the very front of this book, to have been a Welſhman: Then again, they have made him of the knightly order, and called him Sir John Gower, after Bale, &c. But here we ſee he is called no more than a ſquire. The ſame author would alſo make him *Poet Laureat*, from the little band or fillet, with four roſes, or white quarter-ſoyles, that were carved about the head of his monumental effigies in St Mary Overy's church, as if it had been a wreath of bays; and Fuller, from the ſame, would think him a Judge (141), though that, with the collar of SS. carved round his breaſt, and a white ſwan at the end of it, were no other than the cognizances of Henry Earl of Darby, afterwards King Henry IV. which his eſquires, or ſome of his officers wore; as may hereafter more particularly appear elſewhere. But there is an error in Mr Mattaire, of miſpelling his name, which Mr Lewis has fallen into (142), and which could proceed from nothing elſe, but the miſtaking one letter in his name, as it appears in that old print, for two; where the firſt ſtem of the w appearing ſo much longer than the others, they have taken it for an l and a v, ſo inſtead of Gower they have called him Golver. This work he begun at the encouragement of King Richard the ſecond, as his own words inform us (143), and in the ſixteenth year of his Majeſty's reign. When, as he more particularly tells us, meeting that King upon the river of Thames, his Majeſty call'd him into his own barge, and among other diſcourſes, enjoined him to undertake ſome new work for his own entertainment. Therefore he reſolved upon ſuch a performance as might neither be void of prudence for the wiſe, nor matter of diverſion for thoſe who were gallantly diſpoſed. And becauſe few men then wrote in Engliſh, as he tells us, in his ſecond prologue (144), 'he determined to write this book in our 'own tongue, for the general uſe of his countrymen.' Thus we ſee his motive for writing this book, the matter it treats of, and the time when he began it; but through the frequent interruptions of ſickneſs and natural infirmities of old age, it ſeems he did not finiſh it long before the ſaid King was murdered in Pontefract Caſtle in Yorkſhire. And about that time he addreſs'd it by the ſecond prologue to that Prince's ſucceſſor, Henry of Lancaſter, aforeſaid. This laſt prologue, only, was printed with this firſt edition of Gower; but from ſuch an imperfect copy, as 'tis ſaid, that it wanted in ſeveral places, not only leaves, but whole columns and pages; which, together with the changing of words, and tranſpoſing of ſentences, made this eaſy author unintelligible, as the next editor, Tho Barthelette, pretends (145), who was printer to King Henry VIII, dedicated his edition of this book to the ſaid Prince, and in his preface thereto reſtores the original prologue. Chaucer and he uſed to ſubmit their works to each other's correction; and he wrote many other books, beſides this, both in verſe and in proſe; and one or more of them is in being, though none beſides was ever printed. He was blind ſome time before he died, if after he was ſo, he preſented his ſong in *Praiſe of Peace*, to King Richard aforeſaid; and it is not unlikely but he ſurvived Chaucer ſome few years, though the time of his death is not diſtinctly agreed on.

(140) De Script. Britan.

(141) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkſhire.

(142) Life of Caxton, p. 80.

(143) Gower's Confeſſio Amantis, the firſt Prologue printed in the ſecond edit. by Tho. Barthelette, fol. 1532.

(144) Printed in this firſt edition.

(145) T. Barthelette's Preface to his edition of Gower, as before.

The next product of Caxton's preſs, in the ſame year was, *The Golden Legende: wherin ben conteyned alle the hygh and grete Feſtys of our Lord; the Feſtys of our bleſſyd Lady; the Lyves, Paſſyons, and Myracles of many other Sayntes; and other Hyſtoryes and Actes. Fynyſhed at Weſtmeſtre, by Wyllyam Caxton* 1483. This is the firſt edition of the Golden Legend in Engliſh; it is printed in double columns on a ſpacious form, and that copy which we have ſeen, is perhaps the largeſt and moſt pompous of Caxton's printing; adorned with many wooden cuts, different from thoſe in the following editions; with the initial letters in red ink At the end, whence the title above is extracted, we alſo read theſe words; 'Whych werke I have accom-'pliſshed at the commaundemente and requeſte of the 'noble and puyſſaunte Erle, and my ſpecyal good Lord 'Wylliam, Erle of Arondel.' There is but one preface to this edition; but to his next, in a ſmaller ſize, there is alſo another; expreſſing, that as the work would be over-chargeable to him, he began to deſpair of going through with it; 'till the ſaid Earl ſent a gentleman to him, named John Stauncy, who ſollicited him, in no wiſe to leave off, and promiſed that the ſaid Lord during his life 'Shold geve, *ſays he*, and 'graunt to me a yerely fee; that is, to wete, a bucke 'in fommer, and a doo in wynter; with whych fee 'I hold me wel contente, &c.' It is an error in Biſhop Nicholſon, where he ſays, That *Capgrave's Legenda Sanctorum Angliæ* was tranſlated into Engliſh by Caxton, and firſt printed in the year 1516 (146). Tho' indeed, he does, as he is charged by that author in the Legend of St Urſula, add 15,000 men to the martyrdom of the 11,000 virgins, from what he had heard at Cologne. But after all the monſtrous improbabilities of that ſtory, how rationally the ſaid 26,000, may be reduced to two perſons, may appear in a modern French Hiſtoriographer, who is of Father Sirmond's opinion about this Legend, that thoſe who firſt broached it, finding, in ſome old martyrological MSS. *St Urſula, & Undecimilla V. M.* that is, *St Urſula & Undecimilla, Martyrs*; and imagining that *Undecimilla* with the *V.* and *M.* which followed, was an abbreviation for *Undecem Millia Martyrum Virginum*; did thence out of *two virgins*, make *eleven thouſand* (147). The truth is, of this whole volume, it is no tranſlation from any one author; for Caxton tells us, he had by him a Legend in French; that we ſuppoſe, called *La Legend d'Oree*, and another in Latain, and a third in Engliſh, which varied in divers places; and alſo that many Hiſtories were compriſed in the two other books, which were not in the Engliſh one: therefore, ſays he, 'I have wryton one oute of the 'ſayd thre bookes; which I have orderyd otherwyſe 'than the ſayd *Engliſshe Legendis*, which was ſo tofore 'made (†).' The following editions have ſeveral of the Lives and Hiſtories differently diſpoſed. For this begins with the Advent, Nativity, &c. of our Lord: and this edition has at the end, *The noble Hiſtory of the Expoſicion of the Maſs*, and the *Twelve Articles of our Faith*, which are wanting in the following editions; but it concludes with the life of St Eraſmus, the holy Biſhop, as they do (148). Beſides another edition of this book, printed by Caxton, the ſame year, as Mr Richard Smith has reported, in the copy he had thereof in his library (149), there was another printed by Julyan Notary; who has ſuppreſſed Caxton's name at the end, as his cuſtom was in reprinting his books (150); and afterwards there was another impreſſion made of it by Wynkin de Worde; who at the end thereof ſays, that it hath been diligently amended in divers places, where it was requiſite (151). The reaſon why it was called the *Golden Legend*, is therein given to be, 'That as gold paſſed all other metalls in 'value, ſo this Legend excelled all other books.' Yet an ingenious Spaniard has deſcribed it by a compariſon of it's author to metals of a much inferior value (152), which indeed, in relation to ſeveral of the Monkiſh miracles in it, are more ſuitable thereto. The next he printed this year was,

(146) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, fol. the laſt edit. p. 98.

(147) Valeſiana, 8vo, Amſterd. 1693.

(†) Caxton's firſt Pref. to the Golden Legend.

(148) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 134.

(149) Idem, p. 120.

(150) The Golden Legend, &c. imprynted by Jul. Notary, fol. 1503.

(151) Legenda Aurea, &c. Lond. fol. 1527.

(152) Ludovicus Vives, de Diſciplinis, l. ii. p. 91.

The boke ſaid or called Cathon, tranſlated out of Frenſshe into Engliſshe, in thAbbaye of Weſtmeſtre 23 *of Decembre* 1483. It contains Cato's Diſtichs or Precepts in Latin, with a Verſion and Comment in Engliſh. And he tells us, it had been tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh by Maſter Benet Burgh, late Archdeacon of Colcheſter (153), and High Canon of St Stephen's at Weſtminſter; but becauſe there had lately fallen into his hands this book in French, which rehearſed many fair inſtructions, he had tranſlated that into Engliſh;

(152) See Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. II.

ſame year; but as we find not that they have any dates to them, whereby they can be poſitively fixed under this year, that which we have to ſay of them may be mentioned apart [*P*]. The next year, 1484, we meet with no more than a ſingle ſpecimen of his performance, unleſs that mentioned in the laſt note was printed the ſame year. Or this, and three more which we find of his printing the next year, 1485, it may be expected we ſhould give ſome deſcription, as of the reſt [*Q*]. There has been a *Book*

liſh; which he preſented to the city of London, and moſt gratefully tenders his ſervice thereto; where he calls himſelf a *Conjurye*, or ſworn citizen of the ſame, of the fraternity and fellowſhip of Mercery; and ſays, he owes of right his ſervice and good-will to it, being in duty naturally bound to aſſiſt and counſel her as far as he can, even as to his mother, of whom he received his nouriture and living; and that he ſhall pray for the proſperity and policy of the ſame during his life.

(154) Inſtructions.

The laſt we meet with of his, dated this year, is, *The booke of Thenſeignementes* (154) *and Techinge that the* Knyght of the Toure *made to his* daughters, *and ſpeketh to many fayre Enſamples. Enprinted* at Weſtmiſtre, fol. the laſt day of Janyver, 1 Richard III. This he tranſlated, he ſays, into our maternal Engliſh, at the requeſt of a noble Lady, who had brought forth many fair daughters, for the love ſhe always had towards them, and a deſire to increaſe their knowledge in virtue; wherefore he entreats thoſe who ſhould learn any thing therein, 'By whiche they ſhould ben wyſer and 'better, that they ſhould give laud and thankynge to 'the ſayd Ladyes good grace, *&c.*'

[*P*] *That which we have to ſay of them, may be mentioned apart.*] Theſe two books Mr Lewis mentions as printed by Caxton under the year aforeſaid, 1483, tho' there appears no date into them. The firſt, he named, *The Fables of Æſop, Avian, Alphonſus, and Poggius: tranſlated out of Frenſhe into Englyſh, at Weſtmeſtre.* 'The leaves of this book, he ſays, are 'numbered, I°. II°. III°. and it has the ſignatures, 'but not the direction, or catch-word; nor any date '(155).' As we remember not to have met with it, we can ſpeak no more of it. The other is intituled,

(155) Life of Caxton, p. 79.

The book of the Ordre of Chyvalry or Knyghthode: tranſlated out of the Frenſhe, and imprinted by William Caxton, 4to, without date. Mr Lewis (156) has, by ſome miſtake, inſerted the year 1483, in that part of Caxton's Reherſal, at the end of this book, which he tranſcribes. We remember no other volume of ſo ſmall a ſize of Caxton's printing. It conſiſts of about an hundred pages, and is perhaps one of the ſcarceſt of his performances that are now in being: Tho' no date of the year when it was printed is expreſſed, it may be gueſſed at within a year, over or under, by ſuppoſing it in 1484, from the ſhort reign of that Prince to whom it is inſcribed at the end, as we ſhall ſee. There are large initial letters uſed at the beginning of the chapters, and only one ſort of points which are oblique or ſloping daſhes; there are alſo ſome double or united types, as in his other books; alſo ſignatures, but no catch-words at the bottom of the leaves, nor any numbers at top. It is divided into eight chapters. The I. ſhews how a Knight, who was an Hermit, beſtowed this rule or order of Chivalry upon a ſquire. The II. treats of the original of Chivalry or Knighthood. III. Of the Office of Chivalry. IV. Of the Examination that ought to be made of the Eſquyre, when he enters into the Order. V. In what manner the Squire ought to receive Chivalry. VI. Of the *Signeſyaunce* of the Arms belonging to a Knight. VII. Of the Cuſtoms that appertain to a Knight: and VIII. Of the Honours that ought to be done to a Knight. By all which it will appear, how different the Honour, the Profeſſion, and the Qualifications required in Knights anciently were, from thoſe for which they have been created in latter days (157). At the end, we have Caxton's Epilogue or Reherſal; in which he ſays, this tranſlation was made by him at the requeſt of a genteel and noble Squire, according to the copy he delivered him; which book, he ſays, was not fit for ordinary perſons, but only thoſe noble gentlemen, who by their virtue intend to enter into the order of Chivalry; which had not been exerciſed as in ancient times, when the noble acts of the Knights of England were renowned through the univerſe, ſuch, as before the days of Chriſt, were Brenius and Belinus; who from Britain, now called England, even to Rome, and beyond, conquered many realms; whoſe noble acts remain in the Hiſtories of the Romans. And ſince the Incarnation, behold, ſays he, that noble King of Britain, King Arthur, with all the brave *Knights of the Round Table*, whoſe deeds of Chivalry, fill ſo many volumes, as is incredible to believe. 'O ye Knyghts of Englond! 'where is the cuſtom and uſage of noble Chyvalry, 'that was uſed in tho dayes? *What do you now*, but 'go the *baynes* (*), and *playe at dyſe?* And ſome not 'well adviſed uſe not honeſt and good rule, ageyn all 'ordre of Knyghthode. Leve this, leve it; and 'rede the noble volumes of Saynt Grael, of Lancelot, 'of Galaad, of Triſtram, of Perſeforeſt, of Percyval, of Gawayn, and many mo: there ſhalle ye 'ſee manhode, curtoyſe, and gentleneſs. And loke 'in latter days of the noble actes ſyth the Conqueſt; 'as in Kyng Richard's dayes, *Cuer du Lyon*; Edward I, and the III, and his noble ſones; Syre 'Robert Knolles, Syr John Hawkewode, Sir Johan 'Chaundos, and Syre Gaultier Manuy: rede *Froiſſart* (†). And alſo behold that victoryous and noble 'Kynge Harry the Fyfthe, and the Captayns under hym; 'his noble brethren; therle of Salyſbury, Montagu, 'and many other, whoos names ſhyne glorioufly by 'their virtuous nobleſſes and actes that they did in 'thonour of thordre of Chyvalry. Allas! what do 'ye, but ſlepe, and take eaſe, and ar all diſordered 'fro Chivalry. I wold demaunde a queſtion, yf I 'ſhould not diſpleaſe. *How many Knyghtes ben there 'now in Englond, that have thuſe and thexcercyce of 'a Knyght?* That is, to wete, that he knoweth his 'hors, and his hors him? That is to ſaye, he beynge 'redy at a poynt, to have al thyng that longeth to a 'Knyght; an hors, that is accordyng, and broken after 'his hand; his armures and harnoys mete and fyttyng, 'and ſo forth. I ſuppoſe, and a due ſerche ſhold be 'made, ther ſhold be many founden that lacke; the 'more the pyte is. I wold it pleaſyd our ſoverayne 'Lord, that twyes or thryes in a yere, or at leſt ones, 'he wold do crye *Juſtes of Pees*, to thend that every 'Knyght ſhould have hors and harneys, and alſo the 'uſe and crafte of a Knyght, and alſo to tornoye one 'ageynſte one, or two ageynſt two, and the beſt to 'have a prys, a dyamond, or jewel, ſuch as ſhold 'pleaſe the Prynce. This ſhold cauſe gentylmen to 'reſorte to thauncyent cuſtoms of Chyvalry, to grete 'fame and renowmee; and alſo to be alwey redy to 'ſerve theyr Prynce, when he ſhalle calle them, or 'have nede. Thenne late every man that is come of 'noble blood, and entendeth to come to the noble 'ordre of Chyvalry, rede this *lytyl book*, and doo 'therafter, in keeping the lore and commaundements 'therin compryſed: and thene I doubte not he ſhall 'atteyn to thordre of Chyvalry, *&* *cetera.*' So he preſents the ſaid book to his dread ſovereign Lord King Richard, King of England and France, that he may command the ſame to be read to the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen within his Realm; that the ſaid noble order of Chivalry may be hereafter better practiſed and honoured, than it had been of late times. So praying for his Majeſty's welfare, and after this life, for one everlaſting, he concludes (158).

(*) Baths, or Bagnios.

(†) If Caxton had tranſlated and printed this Hiſtorian, it is preſumed we ſhould have had a more correct and genuine work, than his French editors have given us; by whom the Engliſh names at leaſt, if not the facts, were much corrupted.

(157) Britiſh Librarian, p. 191.

(158) Reherſal to the Book of Chyvalry.

[*Q*] *It may be expected we ſhould give ſome deſcription, as of the reſt.*] The firſt of theſe four is called, *The Ryal book: or book for a Kyng.* In which is compriſed, The Ten Commandments: The Twelve Articles of Faith: The ſeven deadly Sins: The Seven Petitions of the Pater-Noſter: The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt: The Seven Virtues, *&c.* It was compiled, as Caxton ſays, at the requeſt of *Philip le Belle* of France 1279, and was reduced by himſelf out of French into Engliſh at the requeſt of a ſingular friend, a worſhipful Merchant and Mercer of London, for a ſpecial book, to know all vices and branches thereof, and alſo all virtues; which for the great ſubſtance compriſed therein, ought above all others to be called *The Royal book: or book of a King*; every man being ſuch, as the Scripture calls him, who can wiſely and perfectly govern himſelf according to virtue: and alſo becauſe

Book of Homilies aſcribed to him the ſame year, though it ſeems to be no other than the *Liber Feſtivalis* before mentioned, which my author has, among other errors, multiplied into two books more (*e*); and alſo entitles him to another in 1486, from Mr Bagford, which neither of them we believe ever ſaw (*f*). It is better atteſted, that in the year following he printed *The Book of Good Manners* in folio, which was compiled by Jaques le Graunt, an Auguſtine Friar, from the Scriptures, Holy Fathers, *&c.* It was delivered, as Caxton ſays, to him, by his ſpecial friend, who was a Mercer of London, named William Praat, and tranſlated by him out of Frenſhe, finiſhed the eighth of June, the year laſt mentioned, and *emprynted* the 11th of May after, 1487. The year after this, we meet not with any books that are expreſsly mentioned to have been printed by him; whether he was interrupted by any ſickneſs, as he was now grown very aged, and probably infirm; or the books he printed this year happen to be loſt; or whether they were ſome of thoſe he printed without dates, we cannot now determine. Indeed Mr Palmer aſcribes one to him in this year, 1488, but erroneouſly; for it appears not to have been printed 'till after his death (*g*). In the year 1489, we meet with two books appropriated to him; an account of which may appear in the note referred to [*R*]. And two more of his

(*e*) Directions for keeping the Feaſts, *&c.* and An Expoſition on the Lord's Prayer, *&c.* See S. Palmer's Hiſtory of Printing, *&c.*

(*f*) A Treatiſe againſt Pride, ib.

(*g*) Intituled, Dives and Pauper: a Dialogue on the X Commaundments; emprynted by Ric. Pynſon, fol. 1493, and by W. de Worde, 1496, *&c.*

becauſe it was compoſed at the requeſt of that noble King Philip. It was printed the 2d of Richard III. fol. with figures (159).

(159) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 96, where, by miſtake, he ſays it was printed in the 2d of Ric. II.

The next is intituled, *Thyſtorye of the noble, right, valyant, and worthy Knyght*, Parys, *and of the fayr* Vyenne, *the Daulphyns Doughter of* Viennoys; *the whyche ſuffred many Adverſitees, bycauſe of theyr true Love, or they coude enjoye the Effect thereof of eche other: tranſlated out of Frenſhe into Englyſhe by William Caxton, at Weſtmeſtre*, &c. Emprynted, fol. 1485. That Dauphin is here named, Sir Godfrey of Alaunſon, kinſman to Chatles, King of France in 1271. The ſtory ends, after all their diſappointments, with the Marriage of that Conſtant Pair. It does not appear, in Dr Middleton's catalogue of thoſe books printed by Caxton, which are preſerved in the publick library at Cambridge, that there is any copy of it there.

But what was accounted his capital work this year, is a large thick volume, intituled, *The Byrth, Lyf, and Actes of King* Arthur; *of his noble* Knyghtes *of the* Round Table, *their marvaylous Enqueſtes and Adventures; thAchyevyng of the* Sang real; *and in the end,* Le Morte D'Arthur; *with the dolorous Deth and Departyng out of thys World of them Al. Whiche book was reduced to the Engliſhe by Syr* Thomas Malory, Knyght, *and by me* (William Caxton) *devyded into twenty one bookes; chaptyred, and emprynted and fynyſhed in th'Abbey Weſtmeſtre, the laſt day of July, the yere of our Lord* 1485. That Sir Thomas Malory ſeems to have drawn this voluminous romance out of ſeveral manuſcripts, written in the French and Welſh tongues, of the ſaid King Arthur and his Knights; and to be converſant in the adventures of ſuch redoubted champions, Caxton thought would inſpire a noble ſpirit of valour in our gentry, which made him recommend it to them, as was before obſerved (160). If this Sir Thomas Malory was a Welſhman, as Leland, and others after him aſſert, he was probably a Welſh Prieſt; as appears not only by the legendary vein which runs through all the ſtories he has thus extracted and wove together, but by his concluſion of the work itſelf, in theſe words: 'Praye for me, whyle I am on lyve, 'that God ſende me good delyveraunce; and when 'I am deed, I praye you all, praye for my ſoule; 'for this booke was ended the 9th yeer of the reygne 'of Kyng Edward the Fourth, by Syr Thomas Ma- 'leore, Knyght, as Jeſu helpe him for his grete myght 'as he is the *ſervaunte* of Jeſu, bothe day and nyght.' As the author has not made his heroes any great commanders of their paſſions in their amours, nor rigorouſly confined them to honour and decorum, in point of fidelity and continence, his book became a great favourite with ſome perſons of the higheſt diſtinction for a long time. It had two or three impreſſions afterwards, and ſeems to have been kept up in print, for the entertainment of the lighter and more inſolid readers, down to the reign of King Charles I (161), though Mr Aſcham had long before paſſed ſuch a cenſure upon it, as might have put it out of continuance upon his remembring, at what time, and in what place, it had ſupplanted all others; where he obſerves that, in our forefathers time, when Papiſtry, as a ſtanding pool, covered and overflowed all England, few books were read in our tongue, ſaving certain books of Chivalry, as they ſaid for paſtime and pleaſure; which, as ſome ſay, were made in Monaſteries, by idle Monks, or wanton Canons; as one, for example, MORTE ARTHUR; the whole pleaſure of which book ſtandeth in two ſpecial pointes; in open man-ſlaughter and bold bawdry. In which book, thoſe be counted the nobleſt Knights that kill moſt men without any quarrel, and commit fouleſt adulteries by ſubtleſt ſhifts; as Sir Lancelot, with the wife of King Arthur, his maſter; Sir Triſtram, with the wife of King Mark, his uncle; Sir Lamerock, with the wife of King Lote, that was his own aunte. This is good ſtuff for wiſe men to laugh at, or honeſt men to take pleaſure in! Yet, ſays he, I know when God's Bible was baniſhed the Court, and MORTE ARTHUR received into the Prince's chamber (162).

(160) Caxton's Book of the Ordre of Chivalry, in the Reherſal.

(161) One edit. called The Storye of the moſt noble and worthy Kynge Arthur, *&c.* folio, emprinted by Thomas Eaſt. Another is, The moſt ancient and famous Hiſt. of the Renowned Arthur, *&c.* 4*to*, 1634, *&c.*

(162) Roger Aſcham Schole-Maſter: or, a plaine and perfect Way of Teaching children to underſtand, write, and ſpeake the Latin Tonge, *&c.* 4*to*. 1571, Book i.

The third book we meet with of his printing this year, bears the title of *Thyſtory and Lyf of the moſt noble and Cryſten Prince, Charles the Grete, Kyng of Fraunce, and Emperour of Rome: reduced out of Frenſshe, by William Caxton, and by him emprinted the firſt day of Decembre, fol.* 1485. This work, through it's great ſcarceneſs, has not been ſufficiently deſcribed in the Hiſtories of our firſt printed books. Dr Middleton, by not mentioning it, implies, that they have it not in the publick library at Cambridge: and Mr Lewis mentions it in ſuch a curſory manner, as if he had never ſeen it (163). Though it was originally compiled moſtly to the honour of Frenchmen, yet, as our tranſlator obſerves, it is for the profit of every man. Herein, beſides the Hiſtory of *Charlemain* himſelf, the reader will find that of *Richard* of *Normandy*, with the feats of *Rowland* and *Oliver*, and ſeveral others of his champions. Much of that vein which was in the ſpiritual inſpirers of Invaſions againſt the Turks, Saracens, and other Miſcreants, as they were called, under the title of the *Holy War*, appears in this book. It was firſt gathered together by our tranſlator, at the incitement of Henry Bolounyer, Channon of Lauſanne, the whole three parts out of two French Books; that is to ſay, The firſt and third part, out of an old authentick book, named (‡), *Myrrour Hyſtoryal* (a fine copy whereof was in Iſaac Voſſius his library) and the ſecond part out of an old romance; and at the requeſt of ſome ſingular friends, eſpecially Mr William Daubeny, one of the Treaſurers of King Edward IV. Jewels, tranſlated into Engliſh, and printed as above. Whether that treatiſe of the Actions and Manners of the Emperor Charles, which is ſaid to have been written by Chriſtiana of Piſa beforementioned in French, and finiſhed on the laſt day of November 1404 (164), was ſerviceable in the compiling of this, we know not, having never ſeen it.

(163) Life of Caxton, p. 97.

(‡) This ſeems to be the ſame work with the *Speculum Hiſtoriale* of Vincentius Belluacenſis.

(164) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 97.

[*R*] *An account of which may appear in the note referred to.*] The firſt of theſe books is intituled, *The Doctrine of Sapience.* It is a collection of diſcourſes upon moral and divine ſubjects, illuſtrated with examples and parables; and divided into eighty-three chapters. The two laſt whereof are, 'Firſt, The Excu- 'ſacyon of hym that made thys booke.' And the other, 'The Complaint of hym that made thys 'boke.' In the former of theſe, we find that the ſame was firſt made in the year of our Lord 1388, by the Rev. Father in God, Guy de Roy, Archbiſhop of Sens; but the year after, a religious brother of the Order of Clugny, reading it diligently over, and finding it deficient in examples and authorities, he ſupplied it therewith; preſerving, however, all convenient brevity; becauſe, in matters of devotion, the world

was

his books which bare date the ſucceeding year, are alſo to be met with in the libraries of the curious. The one a proſaick tranſlation of Virgil, or Hiſtory drawn out of his poem of Æneas; and the other, a book of neceſſary inſtructions or preparations for death; a doctrine he now very wiſely took to the learning of, ſince he was ſo near putting it in practice. Theſe are the two laſt books we have met with of his printing that are dated; and as there are always ſome hiſtorical memorials, or other remarkable particulars, in the proems or poſtſcripts of his other books, that are worthy of preſervation or revival, ſo there are in theſe; which therefore deſerve ſome extract to be made of them, like the reſt [S]. Others have entitled him to the printing of ſeveral books beyond

was then ſo moderate, as to be ſatisfied with a little, and preferred ſhort maſſes, but long meals. It was tranſlated by Caxton, out of French at Weſtmeſtre, and fynyſhed the 7th of May 1489. One of the authors who have written of Caxton, mentions this as the firſt book he had ſeen with Caxton's cypher printed at the end of it; but it is to be found, as we have obſerved, in ſome, much earlier. If he did not uſe it ſo early as to the book of Chefs, it might be found taken out of another book, and bound up with it, and ſo anſwer Mr Palmer's account, that it did appear therein; but it is wanting in many of his books, wherein it was firſt printed, becauſe being printed often on the laſt or ſpare leaf, at the end, it has, as a picture, been torn out by children (165). Not that it is always a proof the book was printed by Caxton, wherein it does appear; for it is well known to thoſe who have been converſant in our firſt printed books, that Wynkin de Worde uſed Caxton's cypher to many books by him printed ſeveral years after Caxton's death, which has occaſioned frequent miſtakes in our catalogues, and multiplied the liſt of Caxton's books, far beyond the number he printed.

(165) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 99.

The other work printed by Mr Caxton the ſame year is called, *The book of the Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye: made and drawen out of ſeveral authors, by Chryſtyne of Pyſe, in Frenſh:* tranſlated into Engliſh, and printed by *William Caxton*, fol. 1489. This Lady was born at Piſa in Italy; but removing with her father to Bologne in France, ſhe wrote her book in the language of that country, and flouriſhed about the year 1400. In her Prologue to this book, ſhe apologizes for herſelf, to thoſe who would object, that the handling of her diſtaff and ſpinning-wheel might have better become her, than meddling with thoſe warlike ſubjects, according to the example of Minerva; by anſwering, that the invention and even uſe of arms, were owing to that Goddeſs, as well as arts. Her work, divided into four parts, is gathered out of *Frontinus, Vegetius,* and *Tharbre of Batayllés; with many other thynges ſett into the ſame, requiſite to Werre,* &c. There are ſome chapters towards the end, treating of that final Trial of Right, *&c.* by *ſingle combat, within the liſts,* as it was allowed and ordained by the Imperial and Lombard laws; which have been eſteemed the moſt curious part of the book. What opinion King Henry VII. had of it, may appear by Caxton's own words at the end, where he ſays, 'It was delivered to him by that King in his Palais of Weſtmeſtre the 23 of January in the 4th year of his regne; who deſired and wylled him to tranſlate it into Engliſh and put it into print, that every gentleman born to arms, and all manner of men of warre, *&c.* ſhould have knowledge how to behave themſelves in feats of war, *&c.*' Accordingly the tranſlation was finiſhed the 8th of *Juyll* the ſaid year, and emprynted the 14 day of Juyll next following, and full finiſhed (166).

(166) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 265.

[S] *Some extract to be made of them, like the reſt.*] The firſt of theſe two books is intituled, *The Boke of* Eneydos; *compyled by* Vyrgyle: *which hath he tranſlated oute of Latine into Frenſhe, and oute of Frenſhe, reduced into Engleyſhe, by me* William Caxton, *the 22d day of Juyn, the Yere of our Lorde* 1490; in a thin folio. This reduction of that epic poem to an hiſtorical narrative in proſe, was then a very acceptable and much approved work, to familiarize ingenious men to the contents thereof, and attract them to a better acquaintance with the original. As to the author, he ſeems to be that perſon, whoſe book in French, upon the ſame ſubject, was printed ſeven years before (167). This work begins ſo high as the building of Troy by Priamus, and is continued beyond the ſlaughter of Turnus by Æneas, to the ſucceſſion of his ſon Aſcanius, and two or three ſucceſſions beyond. In the fifth chapter the author has ſome digreſſory animadverſions upon Boccace, for relating the ſtory of Dido, in his *Fall of Princes,* differently from Virgil; and recites his account, as well as that of his author. And in chapter 33, he paſſes over Æneas's deſcent into hell, *becauſe 'tis feign'd,* and *not to be believed*; as if ſeveral other parts of this ſtory, which he has repeated, were not as incredible as that. But to paſs to the Tranſlator and Printer; we obſerve his ſtyle to be more *ornate,* as he terms it, or dreſſed up in ſuperfine words, eſpecially of the Freneh extract, than we believe it would have been, had he not ſubmitted it to ſuch correction as he gratefully owns was done by him. There appear alſo ſome improvements in the printing of this book, beyond what may be obſerved in ſome of thoſe before ſpoken of, by a greater regard to regularity in the page, and not running out, but keeping the lines all even at the end. There are alſo here large initials at the beginning of every chapter, and beſides commas and periods, alſo colons and ſemicolons, or what might be deſigned as ſuch, though not always printed perhaps to anſwer the purpoſe of them (168). Our Tranſlator, in his preface, which is near two leaves, informs us, that ſitting in his ſtudy, where lay divers *taunſiettis* and books, this work in French happened to come to hand; in reading whereof he took great pleaſure, for it's judicious and eloquent ſtyle; for which, as well as the ſubject matter, he thought it would be very proper for the inſtruction of young Noblemen, as it had long ſince been learned daily in ſchools, eſpecially in Italy and other places; ſo he undertook to tranſlate it. But when he ſaw and conſidered the fine and ſtrange terms to be uſed therein, he doubted whether it would pleaſe ſome gentlemen, who had lately objected, that in his tranſlations he had adopted ſome over-curious terms, which could not be underſtood by the common people, and deſired him to make uſe of *old and homely termes* in his tranſlations; that is, long-accuſtomed and native, not new-fangled and foreign words; and he wiſhes he could ſatisfy every body; ſo he took an old book and read in it, but he found the Engliſh ſo rude and broad that he could not well underſtand it. And the Lord Abbot of Weſtminſter (†) ſhewed him certain evidences written in old Engliſh, for him to reduce into the then current language, and he found them ſo written, that, he ſays, they approached nearer Dutch than Engliſh, and he could not make them plainly underſtood. 'And certaynly, ſays he, our langage, now uſed, varyeth ferre from that which was uſed and ſpoken whan I was born; for we Englyſh men ben borne under the domynacyon of the mone, which is never ſtedfaſte, but ever waverynge; wexyng one ſeaſon, and waneth and dyſcreaſeth another ſeaſon; and that comyne Englyſhe that is ſpoked in one ſhyre varyeth from another. In ſo muche, that in my dayes happened, that certaine merchauntes were in a ſhip in *Tamyſe,* for to have fayled over the ſee into Zelande, and for lacke of wynde, they taryed atte *Forlond,* and went to lande, for to refreſhe them; and one of them, named Sheffelde, a Mercer, came into an hows, and axed for mete, and ſpecially he axed *for eggs,* and the goode wyfe anſwerde, *that ſhe coude ſpeke no Frenſhe*; and the marchaunt was angry, for he alſo coude ſpeke no Frenſhe, but wolde have hadde egges, and ſhe underſtode hym not. And thenne at laſte another ſayd, that *he wolde have eyren*; then the good wyf ſayd, that ſhe underſtod him wel. Loo, what ſholde a man in thyſe days wryte, *egges,* or *eyren?* Certaynly it is harde to playſe every man, by cauſe of diverſite and chaunge of langage. For in theſe days, every man, that is in ony reputacyon in his countre, will utter his communicacyon and matters in ſuch manners and termes, that fewe men ſhall underſtonde them; and ſom honeſt and grete Clerkes have ben wyth me, and

(167) Livre des Eneides, compilé par Virgyle, tranſlaté de Latin en François, par Guillaume de Roy, Lyon. 1483.

(168) The Britiſh Librarian, p. 127, &c.

(†) This was Dr Thomas Milling, as was before obſerved, p. 1220, (and not John Iſlip) who ſhewed him theſe old Saxon Deeds.

beyond this year, 1490; but their miſ-reckonings, with the cauſes thereof, may manifeſtly appear. Indeed, beſides all thoſe books abovementioned, which are ranged in their annual order, according to the direction of their dates, we find that he printed alſo ſeveral others, which are undated; therefore cannot be diſtinctly remitted to the years under which they firſt appeared. And ſome there are, which neither mention the time when, the place where, nor the perſon's name by whom, they were printed; yet were probably ſet forth by him, though not after the year aforeſaid, nor all of them, that have been aſcribed to him; becauſe both his type and his cypher, having been ſometimes uſed by his ſucceſſor, as hath been obſerved, have miſguided ſome; as an erroneous opinion that he lived three or four years longer than he did, has others, to father performances upon him in which he could have no hand. Of all theſe undated books we ſhall make the cleareſt diſtinction we can, and ſpeak in the beſt order our intelligence has enabled us, under one more head or diviſion [*T*]; and then, all that remains more to be obſerved is, that

' and deſired me to wryte the moſte curyous termes ' that I coude fynde: and thus, between playn, rude, ' and curious I ſtand abaſhed. But in my judgmente, ' the comyn termes that be dayli uſed ben lyghter to ' be underſtonde than the old auncyent Engliſshe. ' And ſor as moche as this preſent booke is not for a ' rude uplondyſh man to labour therin, ne rede it, ' but only a Clerk and a noble gentleman, that feleth ' and underſtondeth in faytes of armes, in love, and ' in noble Chyvalry; therfor in meane betwene bothe, ' I have reduced and tranſlated this ſayd booke into ' our Englyſshe; not over-rude, ne curyous; but in ' ſuch termes as ſhall be underſtanden, by Goddys ' grace accordyng to my copye. And yf ony man wyll ' entermete in redyng of hit, and fyndeth ſuche termes ' that he cannot underſtande, late hym goo rede and ' lerne Vyrgyll, or the Pyſtles of Ovyde; and ther he ' ſhall ſee, and underſtande lightly all, yf he have ' a good redar and enformer; for this booke is not ' for every rude and unconnynge man to ſee, but ' Clerkys and very gentylmen that underſtands gentylnes and ſcyence. Then I praye alle them that ſhall ' rede in this lytyl treatys, to holde me for excuſed for ' the tranſlatynge of hit; for I knowleche my ſelfe ' ignorant of connynge to empryſe on me ſo hie and ' noble a worke. But I praye Mayſter *John Skelton*, ' late created Poete Laureate in the Unyverſite of ' Oxenforde, to overſee and correcte thys ſayd booke; ' and taddreſſe and expowne where as ſhall be ſounde ' faulte, to thym that ſhall requyre it: for hym I ' knowe for ſuffycyent to expowne and Englyſshe ' every dyfficulte that is therein: for he hath late ' tranſlated the Epyſtles of Tulle, and the booke of ' Dyodorus Syculus (†), and dyverſe other workes oute ' Latyn into Engliſshe, not in rude and olde langage, ' but in polyſhed and ornate termes craftely; as he ' that hath redde Vyrgyle, Ovyde, Tullye, and all ' the other Poets, and Oratours, to me unknowen: ' and alſo he hath redde the ix Muſes, and underſtands their muſicalle Scyences, and to whom of ' them eche Scyence is appropred: I ſuppoſe he hath ' dronken of *Elycon*'s Well. Then I praye hym, ' and ſuch other, to correcte, adde, or mynyſshe, ' whereas he, or they, ſhall fynde faulte; for I have ' but folowed my copye in Frenſshe, as nygh as me is ' poſſible. And yf ony worde be ſayd therein well, ' I am glad; and yf otherwyſe, I ſubmytte my ſayd ' boke to theyr correctyon; which boke I preſente ' unto the hye born my tocomynge naturell and ' ſoverayne Lord *Arthur*, by the Grace of God, ' Prynce of Walys, Duc of Cornewayll, and Erle of ' Cheſter, fyrſt begoten ſone and heyer unto our moſt ' dradde, naturall, and ſoverayn Lorde, and moſt ' Cryſten Kynge Henry the VII, by the Grace of ' God, Lorde Kynge of Englonde, and of Fraunce, ' and Lorde of Ireland; byſeching his noble Grace ' to recyve it in thanke of me his moſt humble ſubget and ſervaunte: and I ſhall praye unto Almighty ' God for his proſperous encreaſyng in vertue, wyſdom, ' and humanyte; that he may be egal with the moſt ' renouned of alle his noble progenytours; and ſo ' to lyve in this preſent lyf, that after this tranſitorye ' lyf, he, and we all, may come to everlaſtynge lyf ' in heaven; *Amen*.' We read in Mr Lewis, That the bright and accurate author of the *Dunciad* tells us, ' Caxton tranſlated into proſe Virgil's Æneis as an Hiſtory; and that he ſpeaks of it in a *a very ſingular* ' *manner*, as of a book *hardly known*.' But this cenſure, ſays my author, is confuted by the very copy of Caxton's Preface to this book, which even this ingenious writer has printed in his appendix. So he extracts ſome particulars before recited; and concludes, with, *How eaſy a matter it is to make dunces at this rate* (169)!

(†) A MS. of his Tranſlation of this author, if not the other, is ſtill in being.

(169) Life of Caxton, p. 149.

The other book he ſet forth the ſame year is called *A Lityll Treatiſe, ſhorte and abredged, ſpekynge of the arte and craſte to knowe well to Dye: tranſlated oute of Frenſshe into Englyſshe, by William Caxton, the xv day of Juyn*, and printed by him, *folio*, 1490. This important ſubject, of ſuch univerſal behoof, was prudently undertaken by Mr Caxton at the age he was now advanced to, and under the decay he now perhaps felt approaching, which put an end to his laudable labours by then he was about a twelvemonth older. It is the more to be regarded, in that he choſe, by this work to ſet himſelf the example of that doctrine which is therein recommended. It is divided into ſix parts; treating Of the Praiſe of Death, and how we ought to die gladly; Of the Temptations we are under at the Point of Death; Of the Queſtions that ought to be made at that Time; Of the Inſtructions that ought to be given; Of the remembrance of God's Dooings and Sufferings for us; and Of certain devout Prayers that ought to be ſaid by, or for, the dying Perſon. From all which articles it may evidently appear, as the author concludes, That to every perſon who would die well, it is neceſſary that he learn to die, before death comes, and prevents him (170).

(170) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 129.

[*T*] *And ſpeak in the beſt order our intelligence has enabled us, under one more head or diviſion.*] And firſt of thoſe who are thought to have been among ſome of his earlieſt productions. Among theſe, as he had a ſingular reſpect for Chaucer, ſo after he had it in his power to extend his renown, by the publication of his works, he ſeems to have no longer deferred this juſtice to them, than he could procure the manuſcripts that would inſpire him to pay it. From thence he printed, I. *Boecius de Conſalatione Philoſophie*, in folio, without date, or place where printed; without capital initials to the chapters, ſignatures, catch words at bottom, or numbering of pages at top. In his poſtſcript at the end, he ſays, that foraſmuch as the ſtyle is difficult to be underſtood by ſimple perſons; ' Therefore, the ' worſhipful Fader and firſt ſoundeur and enbeliſsher of ' ornate eloquence in our Engliſh; I mene Maiſter ' Geffery Chaucer hath tranſlated this ſayd worke oute ' of Latyn, into oure uſual and moder tonge; ſolowyng ' the Latyn as neygh as is poſſible to be underſtande; ' wherein, in myne oppynyon, he hath deſervid a ' perpetuell lawde and thanke of all this noble Royame ' of Englond; and in eſpeciall of them that ſhall rede ' and underſtande it.' Then he tells us further, that becauſe this tranſlation was not diſperſed, nor known; ' att the requeſte, *ſays he*, of a ſinguler friende and ' goſſib of myne, I William Caxton have done my ' debuoir and payne tenprynte it, in form, as is here ' afore made, in hopyng that it ſhal prouffit moche ' peple, to the wele and helth of their ſoules, and ' for to lerne to have and kepe the better pacience in ' adverſitees. And furthermore, I deſir and require ' you, that of your charite ye wold praye for the ' ſoule of the ſayd worſhipful man, Geffery Chaucer, ' firſt tranſlatour of this ſayde boke into Engliſh, and ' embeliſsher, in making the ſayde language ornate and ' fayr, which ſhal endure perpetuelly, and therefore ' he ought eternally to be remembrid; of whom the ' body and corps lieth buried in thAbbay of Weſtmeſtre beſide London to ſore the chapele of Seynte ' Benet,

that though he printed no more books, yet had he ſuch a ſhare of health, or at leaſt ſuch ſtrength

'Benet, by whos ſepulture is wreton on a table hang-'yng on a pylere, his epitaphye maad by a Poete 'Laureat, whereof the copye foloweth, &c.' This epitaph, conſiſting of thirty-four lines in Latin, was compoſed by Stephen Surigon, Poet-Laureate of Milan, at the coſt and inſtance of Mr Caxton; and may be ſeen in ſeveral editions of Chaucer's works (171). It is not improbable, but Chaucer himſelf was under ſome ſuch tribulation, when he tranſlated this book, as the author was, when he wrote it: but of that, we have no room to expatiate here. Another part of the ſame author, Caxton alſo printed, as we are informed, which was, II. *A Collection of Chaucers and Lydgates Poems*, quarto. This book is without any ſignatures, date, or name of place, or printer, and contains fourteen pieces of theirs and John Skogan's writing, as they are enumerated by Mr Lewis (172). That this collection was of Caxton's printing, we cannot affirm, having never ſeen it. But others of Chaucer's works are well known to have been firſt ſet forth by him, as III. *The Canterbury Tales*; tho' it doth not appear, that any of our Typographical Hiſtorians have ſeen a perfect copy of his edition, becauſe they have quoted nothing from the proem, or epilogue of it. That which we have ſeen in the Harleian library was imperfect, ſo is another that Mr Samuel Pepys was poſſeſſed of, which is preſerved with his other books, in Magdalen College Cambridge. The contents thereof were tranſmitted by Dr Daniel Waterland, Maſter of the ſaid college, to my author, when he was writing upon this ſubject, and he has printed the ſame (173); wherein it appears, that the number of Prologues and Tales in the ſaid copy amounts to fifty; beſides, as it ſeems, Chaucer's tract of Repentance or Retractation for writing his Parſon's Tale; which, in ſome following editions, was rejected as ſpurious, and an impoſition upon his name, contrived by ſome of the Prieſts, in revenge for his having expoſed them. We have been informed, that Caxton publiſhed two editions of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, but ſome have obſerved, that he could not get ſuch complete copies as have ſince been diſcovered, and that therefore his editions have fallen into ſuch neglect and decay. We have ſeen ſome other little pieces of Chaucer's that were alſo printed by him, as IV. His *Troylus and Creſeyde*, folio, without date; and V. *The Book of Fame, made by Geffrey Chaucer*, emprinted by Wylliam Caxton, fol. without date. This poem is in three books, and towards the end of the ſecond, there is, in a note written upon the margin of the copy that was in the Harleian Library, in a modern hand, theſe words, 'Here all other editions are imperfect; and 'there are ſome lines in others which are not here, 'and therefore are to be ſuſpected.' Caxton, at the concluſion of this work, has given a great encomium of Chaucer (174). Theſe two pieces are printed in a leſs character than the edition beforementioned of the Canterbury Tales, which we have ſeen; but it might be of the ſame ſize with that of the other edition that is ſpoken of; and ſo Caxton might by degrees, as he could meet with the manuſcripts deſign a compleat and uniform edition of Chaucer; but we think he never did proceed much forward towards the ſame, than what we have ſpoken of. But to the other Poet lately mentioned with him, we have ſeen entitled, VI. *The Lyf of our moſt bleſſyd Lady, Mayde, Wyf, and Moder of our Lord Jheſu Cryſt: Compyled by Dan. John Lydgate, Monke of Burye, at the Excitation and Styryng of the Noble and Victoryous Prince, King Harry the fyfthe. Emprynted by Wyllyam Caxton.* Folio, without date. This is a poem, divided into eighty-two chapters, three of which are concerning the Virgin's Midwives; and therein are to be found, which is more than every body knows, the names of them. In the concluſion we have ſome of Maſter Caxton's poetry, with two ballads, as he calls them, in Latin and Engliſh (175). There is another work of the ſame author printed alſo by him under the title of VII. *The Laberous and moſt Merveylous Werkes of Sapience*; a thin folio, without date. Though neither the Author's nor Printer's name appears to this poem, it was viſibly enough printed by Caxton, and compoſed by Lydgate, had we not the authority of John Stow for it, in the catalogue of his writings. The author tells us it was written at the command of his Sovereign, perhaps King Henry V. and it ſeems to be one of the ſcarceſt of his pieces extant. It is not mentioned, as we remember, by any writer who has undertaken to enumerate Caxton's works. There ſeems to be more invention in it, and variety of matter, than in moſt other of his compoſitions; diſplaying, after a copious debate between *Mercy* and *Truth*, *Juſtice* and *Peace*, a diſtinct ſurvey throughout the palace and domains of *Sapience*, of all the products of Nature, Arts, and Sciences, in ſeveral chapters; with his further references at the end of each, to the authors who have written upon them (176). We have alſo VIII. his book named, *Speculum Vitæ Chriſti: or, The Myrrour of the bleſſyd Lyf of Cryſte: Compiled from the Latin Booke of Dr Bonaventure*, De Meditacione Vite Jheſu Criſti. *Together with a ſhorte Treatyce of the hyheſt and moſt worthy Sacramente of Cryſtes bleſſid Body, and the Merveylles thereof*, &c. folio. Imprinted by William Caxton, without date. This book is divided into ſeven parts, according to the ſeven days of the week; and in the Latiu Proem before it we are informed, that whatever is tranſlated therein from the work aſcribed to Bonaventure, is diſtinguiſhed in the margin by a B, and all the reſt, which is interlaced by the Tranſlator, is ſignified by an N. It is further ſaid in that Proem, that, about the year 1410, the Compiler preſented the ſaid tranſlation and additions, to Archbiſhop Arundell, for his inſpection and examination, before it was publiſhed; who ſingularly approved of it, and exerted his Metropolitan authority in recommending it to the publick, for the edification of the Faithful, and the confutation of the Lollards. It is adorned with many wooden cuts; and the firſt of them, printed before the ſaid Proem, repreſents the Tranſlator preſenting his book to the ſaid Archbiſhop of Canterbury (177). The reaſon given for the title of this book, as Mr Lewis obſerves, or it's being called *The Myrrour of the bleſſyd Lyf of Jheſu Criſte*, is becauſe the Life of Chriſt may not be fully deſcribed, as the Lives of other Saints, but in a manner of likeneſs; as the image of a man's face is ſhewed in the *Mirror*, or looking-glaſs (178). The next that occurs, is IX. Three Eccleſiaſtical pieces in Latin, intituled, *Directorium Sacerdotum: ſive* Ordinale Secundum Uſum Sarum; *una cum* Defenſorio ejuſdem Directorii: Item *Tractatus qui dicitur* Crede Mihi, ſol. without date. To this book is prefixed a Calendar; at the end of which is Caxton's cypher; and in the Prologue that follows, it appears, that the ſaid Ordinal was written by Clement Maydeſtone, Prieſt, the ſame, we take it, who was a learned Carmelite, and wrote the Hiſtory of Archbiſhop Scroop's Martyrdom (179), beſides other things. At the end of the *Defenſorium Directorii*, there is a colophon, expreſſing, That Directory and Defence of it to have been printed by William Caxton at Weſtminſter near London. After which follows the *Crede Mihi*, which was ſo named, becauſe it might be depended upon, as the true and approved form or rule of the church of Sarum (180). Theſe three are ſaid to be the only tracts we have of Caxton's printing in Latin; though there is a good deal of Latin text mix'd with ſeveral of the tranſlations he publiſhed; as Cato, Boëtius, and two or three more; which are proofs ſufficient that he did not confine himſelf only to the printing of Engliſh books. X. *The Chaſtyſing of Goddes Chyldren*, a book prouffytable for manne's ſoule, and ryght comfortable to the body; and ſpecially in adverſite, fol. without date (†), or any appearance of the Printer, further than by Caxton's cypher. There is a copy of it in Secretary Pepys's library. XI. *A booke compoſed of dyvers Goſtly Matters*; of which the firſt is named *Orologium Sapiencie:* ſhewing ſeven points of true love of everlaſting wiſdom. At Weſtmiſtre, folio This name was given it, becauſe the ſubject of it was communicated to the author in a viſion, under the figure of a fair *Orloge*, adorned with roſes, and cymbals ſweetly ſounding. There is beſides in this book, 2. *The Twelve Prouffytes of Tribulacion*, and 3. *The Holy Rule of Seynt Benet*. Printed alſo at Weſtmiſtre, at the deſire of certain worſhipful perſons, perhaps rather at Caxton's preſs than by him, as the Latin lines by my author quoted ſeem to imply (181). XII. *The Curiale of Alayn Charetier*, tranſlated out of French into Engliſh, and printed in a very thin folio,

(171) As that printed by Thomas Godfray, fol. 1532; and that by Geo. Biſhop, fol. 1602, &c.

(172) Life of Caxton, p. 104.

(173) Idem, p. 105, &c.

* One of theſe editions might be only ſupervis'd or corrected by Caxton: for Richard Pynſon, in the Proheme to his edition of the *Tales*, ſtyling Caxton his worſhipful Maſter, ſays, that, 'This 'boke had bin di-'ligently ovir-'ſene, and duely 'examined, by *his* '*Politike Reaſon*, '*and Overſight*.'

(174) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 242.

(175) Id. p. 122.

(176) Ib. p. 229.

(177) Id. p. 122.

(178) Life of Caxton, p. 110.

(179) H. Wharton's Anglia Sacra, Vol. II. p. 369, &c.

(180) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 111.

(†) The only edition we have ſeen, with other tracts annexed, was printed in a thin folio by Wynkin de Worde, 1493. Vide Catal. Bibl. Harleian. Vol. III. p. 125.

(181) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 112, &c.

ſtrength of intellects in the advanced years he was now arrived at, that he kept preparing

folio, by W Caxton, without date. This is the copy of a letter he wrote to his brother, who deſired to come and live at Court (182). That Charetier was a famous French Poet and Hiſtorian, and Secretary to Charles VI and VII, Kings of France. He was a great refiner of the French language, and died in 1458 (183). By which it may be computed, that his poem called *La Belle Dame ſans Mercy*, could never be tranſlated by Chaucer, though an old tranſlation of it is printed in his works. XIII. *The Lyf of the Holy and bleſſyd Vyrgyn Saynt Wenefryde.* It is a very thin folio, of fifteen leaves only, without date, but, at the end of the Life is this colophon, 'Thus endeth the Decol-'lacion, the Lyf after, and the Tranſlacion of Saynte 'Wenefrede Virgyn and Martir, whiche was reyſed, 'after that her Hede had been ſmyton of the ſpace of '15 Yere; reduced into Engliſh by me William 'Caxton.' Then follow the Offices of the Popiſh Church, in Latin, upon the day of her paſſion, her tranſlation, &c (184). Whether this is a tranſlation of that religious Romance from the Epitome of her Legend in Friar Capgrave, or from his original, written more at large by Robert prior of Shrewſbury, we have not leiſure to examine; but from a copy of this prior's Life of her, there was an Engliſh tranſlation publiſhed above an hundred years ſince (185), which being reprinted towards the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, with additions, by it's Popiſh editor, of ſeveral miraculous cures performed at Winifred's Well in Wales, there was another impreſſion given of it the next year by Dr William Fleetwood, then Biſhop of St Aſaph, with ſuch learned and judicious notes annexed thereto (186), as may ſerve to reduce the zeal of her Pilgrims to a due temper, and correct the jeſuitical doſe of miracles, to the ſatisfaction of all readers, having either affection for the reaſonableneſs of our Eſtabliſhed Faith, or averſion for the dotages of Popery.

There are ſtill ſome other books, which have been thruſt into the liſts of Caxton's Works, which we have met with no certainty that he ever printed: ſuch as, 1. *The Siege of Rhodes*, in proſe; written, and dedicated to King Edward IV, by John Kay his humble Poet Laureat. 2. *The Spouſage of a Virgin.* 3. *The Book of Arts and Sciences.* 4. *De Fide et Cantu Famule ſue.* 5. *The goodly Narration, how St Auguſtine, the Apoſtle of England, raiſed two dead Bodies at Long Compton: Collected out of divers authors; tranſlated by Jhon Lidgate Monk of Bury.* This ridiculous miracle is pretended to have been performed upon the corps of a patron of the church there, who had been excommunicated an hundred and ſeventy years before, and on the corps of the Prieſt who had ſo expelled, to confront him, becauſe he had refuſed to pay the ſaid Prieſt his tythes (187). Of this fiction, which betrays it's own inconſiſtency with the age it pretends to concern, there is alſo a MS. in the Cottonian Library; and ſuch a tract, with the aforeſaid title, was printed in quarto about the year 1525, but no body has produced, or pretended to hear of one, printed ſo early as Caxton's time. There has been likewiſe 6. *The Life of St Edward the Confeſſor*, aſcribed to him in Mr Bagford's Catalogue of his Works, which is all the authority others alſo ſeem to have had for repeating it in theirs. Some books he might print no further than in part, and leave them unfiniſhed, which might be compleated by his ſucceſſor; others he might recommend, or leave in charge, to be printed after his death. Hence, perhaps, we may ſome how account for that different expreſſion at the end of ſome books which are reputed his, *Caxton me fieri fecit.* In one of thoſe caſes, the leaving of a book behind him, which he had not quite printed, or compoſed at the preſs, we are told there is an example in 7. *The Lyff of that glorious Vyrgyn and Martyr Saynt Katheryn off Sene: With the Revelations of Saynt Elyſabeth, the Kynges Daughter of Hungarye. Emprynted at Weſtemyſtre, by Wynkyn de Worde*; fol. without date. It is thought that Caxton tranſlated this book, and printed the greateſt part of it; being viſibly with his type, all but the laſt page, and two or three leaves beſides in the book, which are ſaid to be printed with Wynkin's letter; if the difference in that book which occaſioned this obſervation, was not owing to the taking ſome leaves out of one impreſſion to compleat the ſaid copy, which might be of another. As for Caxton's cypher at the end of it, it has been ſaid before, that Wynkin uſed it to ſeveral books he printed entirely himſelf after Caxton's death; yet perhaps with ſome regard or diſtinction to ſuch only, as Caxton might have ſome hand in, deſign of printing, or deſire to have printed. That remarkable Legend was compiled by Fryar Reymond, of the Order of St Domynic, Doctor of Divinity, and Confeſſor to this Holy Virgin. He ſays the truth of what is here written may be proved by the writings of her Confeſſors, and alſo the witneſſes he propoſes to cite at the end of each chapter; and they were doubtleſs thought needful; here being many miracles faſtened upon her, as well after, as before her death, which happened on the twenty-ſixth of April, 1380. As for St Elizabeth, who ended her life in 1261, ſhe declared ſhe had ſo great certainty of all her *Revelations*, that 'She wolde rather ſuffree Deth, thenne 'doubte ony lytyll part of theim, that they were not 'trewe (188).' As for that St Katherine, the ſaid Wynkin alſo printed afterwards a book of her *Revelations*, in which ſhe is called the New Seraphical Spouſe of Chriſt, and ſhe concludes her work with begging of him 'That ſhe may renne in the deedly 'way, with the lyghte of Holy Faythe; with the 'whiche lyghte me ſeemeth, thou haſe made me now 'lately, *Ghoſtley Drunke* (189).' The work is ſaid to have been written as ſhe indited, in her mother tongue, was tranſlated into Engliſh by *Dane James*, and printed at the coſt of Richard Sutton, Eſq; Steward of the monaſtery of Syon. The copy, whence theſe obſervations were made on it, had belonged to the Lady Elizabeth Strickland, a ſiſter of that monaſtery, and is ſtill in being. The laſt book we ſhall take notice of that has been aſcribed to Maſter Caxton, is intituled, 8. *Vitas Patrum: The right Devoute, moche lowable, and recommendable Lyff of the ould ancyent holy Faders Hermytes; late tranſlated out of Latyn into Frenſhe, and diligently corrected in the City of Lyon, the Yere of our Lord* 1486, *upon that which hath be wryten, and alſo tranſlated out of Greke into Latyn, by the bleſſyd and holy Saynt, Saynt Jerom, &c. and other ſolytary relygyous Perſones after him; and after, in the Yere of our Lorde* 1491 *reduced into Englyſhe; following the Copy, alwaye under Correccyon of Doctors of the Chirche. Emprynted in Weſtmynſtre by Wynken de Worde*, folio, with ſeveral wooden cuts, 1495. The ſaid Wynkin, in his colophon at the end of thoſe Lives of the Hermits, or *Holy Faders lyvynge in Deſerte*, informs us, *it was tranſlated out of Frenſhe into Englyſhe by Wyllyam Caxton of Weſtmynſtre, late deed*, and that *he fynyſhed it at the laſte Daye of his Lyff.* Had theſe particulars been duly regarded, they might have prevented thoſe errors, which have been the conſequence of ſtretching his life two or three years beyond that in which he died. There have been other miſtakes made about this book, as if it were only a different edition of the *Golden Legend* before mentioned. But it is indeed a different book from any already ſpoken of, and may properly enough be admitted into the Catalogue of Caxton's Works, in his character as a Tranſlator, though not as the Printer thereof (190).

This is all we have here to ſay of Caxton's Works in particular; ſome more pieces there are, we might be thought tedious to ſpeak any further of, which have, in certain Catalogues, been attributed to him; wherein through ignorance, or craft to advance their value, his name is often joined to old black-lettered books, which he did neither tranſlate or print; as others, which he did, may have been loſt, before their antiquity rendered them rarities, and deſirable to be preſerved in the libraries of the curious. His judgment in the choice of thoſe authors or arguments upon which he did beſtow his time and labour, is rarely to be called in queſtion; becauſe, as we have often obſerved, the ſubjects were commonly pitched upon, and he enjoined and encouraged by others, perſons of the higheſt rank and authority, to ſet them forth. As for the choice or form of his type or letter, his, like that of the other firſt Printers, muſt have been taken from the moſt eſtabliſhed, and beſt known writing then in uſe; for had they uſed any new invented character, men muſt have gone to ſchool again to have read it. As for other diſtinctions, in the mechaniſm of his work, or his improvements in the art of Printing, than we have incidentally ſpoken of, we ſhall refer our readers

(182) Catal. Bibl. Harl. Vol. III. p. 122.

(183) Vid. Oudini Com. de Script. Eccleſ. et Baillet Jugemens des Savans, edit. Amſterd. 4to. Tom. IV. p. 10.

(184) Cat. Bibl. Harl. Vol. III. p. 29.

(185) The admirable Life of Saint Wenefride, Virgin, Martyr, Abbeſs, and Patroneſ of Wales, by J. F. with a copper print of her *Well*, and herſelf kneeling before a crucifix, *Permiſſ. Superior.* 8vo, 1635.

(186) The Life and Miracles of St Wenefrede, together with her Litanies, with ſome Hiſtorical Obſervations made thereon, 8vo, 1713.

(187) Selden's Hiſt. of Tythes, edit. 4to. 1618, cap. ix, x. Alſo Sir W. Dugdale's Hiſt. & Antiq. of Warwickſhire. Dr Prideaux's Origin of Tythes, p. 165; and Biſhop Kennet's Paroch. Antiq.

(188) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 125.

(189) The Orcharde of Syon, in whiche is conteyned the Revelacyons of Seynt Katherine of Sene; with ghoſtly Fruytes and precyous Plants for the Helthe of Mannes Soule. Imprynted at London by Wynkyn de Worde, fol. 1519.

(190) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, Vol. III. p. 127.

paring copy for the preſs to the very laſt. And indeed, that a man ſhould, for twenty years together, after age had crept over, and begun to make impreſſions upon him, when others naturally covet a ceſſation from labour, eſpecially of the brain; that he ſhould ſtill, after he had given between fifty and threeſcore teſtimonies of his indefatigable diligence, in the publications he had made, which are computed to have amounted to that number; and now, as he could be little leſs than fourſcore years of age, that he ſhould be deſirous of giving ſtill freſh and further inſtances of his zeal to promote or diſperſe the moſt virtuous examples and pious inſtructions among his countrymen; theſe, as they are no ordinary proofs of the painful ſervices he beſtowed upon them, ſo they have deſerved no common acknowledgments. 'Tis eaſy to recollect, from what has been ſaid, that the novelty and uſefulneſs of his art, recommended him to the ſpecial notice and encouragement of three crowned heads, and their royal families, beſides ſome of the greateſt Noblemen in their reigns. And ſurely, as he juſtly merited thoſe honours, he has alſo, praiſes that might be equal to them. It was the leaſt then that Bale could beſtow upon him, and yet ſome ignorant or ungrateful Tranſlators have made itſtill leſs, where he ſays that he was *Vir non omnino ſtupidus, aut ignaviâ torpens*; a man by no means dull, or benummed with ſloth: *Sed propagandæ ſuæ Gentis Memoriæ ſtudioſus admodum*; but exceedingly intent upon ſpreading abroad the Hiſtory of his country (*h*), and ſuch other topicks, as we have ſeen, that he thought would moſt effectually inculcate religion, virtue, and good manners; to promote which, his great age ſeems not to have any ways abated his conſtant application; for he was now aſſiduouſly engaged in tranſlating from the French, a large volume of the *Holy Lives of the Fathers Hermets living in the Deſerts*; a work that ſtill, from the examples of quiet and ſolemn retirement therein ſet forth, might further ſerve to wean his mind from all worldly attachments, exalt it above the ſollicitudes of this life, and inure him to that repoſe and tranquillity, with which he ſeems to have reſigned it. For we are informed by Wynkin de Worde, that this book was tranſlated in the year 1491, by Wi liam Caxton, and that he finiſhed it the laſt day of his life, as we have before obſerved in the preceding note. So that, nothing can be plainer, than that he finiſhed his life and tranſlation together, on the ſame day in that year; which, though others had alſo read, who have ſpoken of his death, yet has it been miſtaken by moſt of them, becauſe the book was not printed by the ſaid Wynkin 'till four years after, in 1495; which date, and the expreſſion of it's being tranſlated by W. Caxton, *late deed*, they regarding more than the date of the tranſlation, have concluded that he either died that year (*i*), or the year before (*k*). But Wynkin's account of his maſter's death is ſo true, that it agrees with the memorandum in being, of ſome expences at his funeral in St Margaret's church at Weſtminſter, where, between the twenty-ſeventh of May 1490, and the third of June 1492, in the ſecond year of this account, *viz.* 1491 (*l*), it appears, in the Warden's account-book of the ſaid pariſh, that ſix ſhillings and eight pence were charged for four torches, and ſixpence for tolling the bell (*m*), at the burying of the ſaid William Caxton; and further, in the ſame book, among the receipts ſix years after, that he had leſt (we ſuppoſe in his laſt Will, though it is not to be found in the Prerogative Office) thirteen copies of his *Golden Legend*; and by another book, preſerved alſo in the ſame place, being a Regiſter of many particulars relating to the Abbey, that his executors gave to it, thirteen years after his death, two copies of *The Life of St Katherine*, and two of *The Birth of Our Lady*.

'Tis

(*b*) Palæus, Script. Illuſtr. Major. Brytan. Catal. edit. Baſil. fol. 1557, Cent. 8. cap. 43.

(*i*) Mr Bagford.

(*k*) Dr Middleton.

(*l*) Mr Lewis, p. 117, makes it 1492, which ſhould be corrected.

(*m*) Idem, p. 118.

readers to Mr Palmer's remarks, who was a good judge, being a good Printer himſelf; and to the obſervations that may be made by an attentive inſpection of Caxton's own books for that purpoſe. If any aſk, How it came to paſs that he printed none of the Greek or Roman Claſſicks? we may anſwer, by another queſtion, How came it that none of them were printed in thoſe days at either of the Univerſities? why, it was not the taſte of that age; it was not the reading in faſhion: no, the Heathen and Profane examples in thoſe old Greek and Roman Poets and Hiſtorians, were not ſo reliſhable to Mother Church, as Ordinals, Confeſſionals, and ſuch books as would inſpire pious contributions, and enlarge eccleſiaſtical revenues; or ſuch as would inſtruct them in Holy Knight Errantry, in Pilgrimages or Sainterings to the Holy Land, or the brave attempts of Military Chriſtianity, to raviſh it out of the hands of it's Miſcreat Profeſſors by Holy Wars. As for his not printing any of the Engliſh tranſlations of the Old or New Teſtament, as Treviſa's, and others there were, beſides Wycliff's in his time, as well as ſome more early and leſs liable to objection; the danger of ſuch an undertaking may appear in the words of Sir Thomas More, where he ſays, 'That on account of the penal-'ties ordered by Archbiſhop Arundel's Conſtitution' (which were the ſame with thoſe of being the Fautors of Hereſy, *viz.* the greater excommunication and death (191) 'though the old tranſlations that were before 'Wycliffe's days remayned lawful, and were in ſome 'folkis handys had and red, yet he thought no Prynter 'would lyghtly be ſo hote to put any Byble in prent at 'hys own charge, and then hange upon a doubtfull 'tryall, whyther the firſt copye of hys tranſlacyon was 'made before Wycliff's dayes, or ſynnis: for yff yt 'were made ſynnys, yt muſt be approved byforc the 'prynting.' But ſuch an approbation, my author intimates, was not then to be obtained (192). In ſhort, how much this new ART of PRINTING alarmed the Prelacy, and how much they feared it would uncloke the myſteries in which they had involved religion, ſo produce the *Reformation* which enſued, cannot better appear than in a letter of Cardinal Wolſey's to the Pope, where he ſays, That his Holineſs could not be ignorant what divers effects the new invention of Printing had produced; for as it had brought in, and reſtored books and learning, ſo together it had been the occaſion of theſe ſects and ſchiſms which daily appeared in the world, but chiefly in Germany; where men begin now to call in queſtion *the preſent faith and tenets of the Church*, and to examine how far religion is departed from it's primitive inſtitution. And that which was particularly to be moſt *lamented*, they had exhorted *lay* and *ordinary men* to *read the Scriptures*, and to *pray in their Vulgar Tonge*. That if this were ſuffered, beſides all other dangers, the common people at laſt might come to believe, that there was *not ſo much uſe of the Clergy*: for if men were perſuaded once, they could make *their own way to God*, and the *prayers* in their *native* and *ordinary language*, might pierce Heaven as well as in *Latin*; How much would the authority

(191) Lyndewood's Provinciale.

(192) Sir Thomas More's Dialogues, fol. edit. 1529, p. 49, col. 1.

'Tis thought he died unmarried, as there is no intelligence of his leaving any other iſſue than theſe of his preſs; which may ſerve as a MONUMENT of his induſtry and benevolence to poſterity, 'till ſome of his ſucceſſors in the art, ſhall, in juſtice to him, or in honour to themſelves, raiſe him *one* in *marble*.

thority of the *Maſs* fall? How prejudicial might this prove to all Eccleſiaſtical Orders (193)? However, Mr Caxton cannot be charged with any deſign, in eſtabliſhing the *Art* among us, but what was very laudable: He had no thought of diſturbing the faith, or tenets of the Church: He made choice of ſuch books to print, as had a tendency to promote religion, and encourage virtue and good manners; or 'Books, in which he 'found many good enſeignmentis, and learnynges, 'and good enſamples for all maner of peple in gene-'rally: ſpecial books to know all vyces and braunchis 'of them, and alſo al vertues,' as he expreſſes it in his own ancient phraſe; for the frequent and neceſſary uſe whereof, throughout this account of his Life, we may be allowed the ſame apology as was made by one of our late learned Antiquaries upon the like occaſion (194), who hopes the extracts he has made will not be diſreliſhed, becauſe they have been inſerted in their primitive ſpellings and obſolete terms; which he dares own are, like the precious ruſt and canker upon antique coins and medals, the moſt convincing marks both of their *antiquity* and *genuineneſs*. G

(193) Liberty of Conſcience, the Magiſtrates Intereſt, &c. 4to. 1668, p. 21; from Lord Herbert's Hiſtory of King Henry VIII.

(194) Mr Anſtis, in his Order of the Garter.

CECIL (WILLIAM) Baron of Burghley, Burleigh, or Burly, Secretary of State in the reigns of Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards Lord High-Treaſurer of England; one of the ableſt Stateſmen, and one of the worthieſt Miniſters, that this, or perhaps any other, nation, has produced (*a*). There is no douht that he was deſcended of a very antient and honourable houſe, and therefore there was no need that he ſhould be flattered with a fabulous deſcent from an old Roman family. He was himſelf very knowing in genealogies, and made many of thoſe collections, which have enabled ſuch as have conſidered this matter ſince, to trace his pedigree with great perſpicuity and exactneſs (*b*) [*A*]. His father was Richard Cecil, Eſq; Maſter of the Robes to King Henry VIII, and his mother Jane, daughter and heireſs of William Hickinton of Bourn, in the county of Lincoln, Eſq; both perſons of very great character and worth (*c*), and for whoſe memories their ſon teſtified the higheſt reſpect, even in his moſt exalted fortune [*B*]. He was born in the houſe of his grandfather David Cecil, Eſq; at Bourn in Lincolnſhire,

(*a*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, chap. v.

(*b*) Camden's Remains under the title of ſirnames, p. 40. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 405.

(*c*) Life of William Lord Burleigh by one of his Domeſticks, MS. differing in ſome particulars from that publiſhed.

[*A*] *With great perſpicuity and exactneſs.*] It is juſtly obſerved, by a very judicious author, that ſirnames in our country were a long time before they took any ſettled form, and that how well ſoever the deſcent of a family might be proved, there would be ſtill great variations in the manner of ſpelling the name by which it was diſtinguiſhed (1). As for inſtance, in the preſent caſe; Sitſilt, Sicelt, Seycil, Seiſel, after which it came to be wrote Cycele, then Cycyl, as it ſtands in many of the old manuſcripts of the reigns of King Henry VIII and Edward VI; laſt of all, it came to be ſpelt Cecil, as we write it now (2); and the reader will forgive me if I tell him, what I think he will not meet with any where elſe, that this new orthography ſeems to have been the invention of Polydore Virgil, at leaſt the firſt time I have met with it, appears in a letter of his addreſſed to the noble perſon who is the ſubject of this article (3). From hence ſome took occaſion to ſuggeſt, the deſcent of this family from a Patrician ſtock of the ſame name amongſt the Romans, and a certain writer upon our Antiquities ſpeaks of this very ſeriouſly (4): 'Of the 'families of the Camber Britons, ſays he, otherwiſe 'called Welſhmen, or of ſuch as being iſſued from 'Wales, do now remain in England, I ſhall not need 'to ſpeak, conſidering their ſirnames are eaſily known, 'by being commonly accnrding to their own moſt an-'cient cuſtom. With this people it is not to be 'doubted, but that during the ſpace of about five 'hundred years that they were ſubject to the Romans, 'divers of the Romans ſettled and mixed themſelves 'among them, whoſe poſterity bath ſince remained in 'account, as being of the ancient families of Wales, 'and I do find very probable reaſon to induce me to 'think, that, among others, the honourable family of 'the Cecils being iſſued from Wales, is originally 'deſcended from the Romans.'

But the truth of the matter is, that this ſirname is as little Welſh as Roman, for the beſt Genealogiſts agree, that Robert Sitſilt, an aſſiſtant to Robert Fitz Hamon in the conqueſt of Glamorganſhire, in the fourth year of King William Rufus, anno 1091, was the anceſtor of the family (5); which Robert was rewarded with lands by the ſaid Robert Fitz Hamon, for his ſervices, and afterwards by marriage had Alterennes in that part of Herefordſhire called Ewyas land, with other lands in Herefordſhire and Glouceſterſhire (6). From this Robert Sitſilt the founder, the family is very clearly traced down to Philip Siſelt, who married Maud, daughter and heir of William Philip Vaughan of Tilliglaſſe, by whom he had two ſons, Philip, who enjoyed the eſtate of Alterennes in the pariſh of Walterſton, in the county of Hereford; and David, who was the grandfather of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, of whom we are ſpeaking (7).

This David Siſelt having purchaſed a fair eſtate in Lincolnſhire, founded, 22 Hen. VII, a chantry in St George's in Stamford (8), and in 3 Hen. VIII, was conſtituted Water Bayliff of Wittleſey-mere in the county of Huntingdon, and alſo Keeper of the Swans there, and throughout all the waters and fens in Huntingdon, Cambridge, Lincoln, and Northamptonſhire, for the term of thirty years (9). Alſo in 5 Hen. VIII. he was made one of the King's Serjeants at Arms, and having this employment at Court, obtained, for Richard his ſon and heir, the office of a Page of the Crown (10). Likewiſe in 8 Hen. VIII, he obtained a grant for himſelf and ſon, of the Keeperſhip of Clifford Park in the county of Northampton (11). And in 15 Hen. VIII, continuing ſtill Serjeant at Arms, he was conſtituted Steward of the King's Lordſhip of Coly Weſton in that county, and was Eſcheator of the county of Lincoln from 15 November 21 Hen. VIII, to 15 November 22 Hen. VIII (12). In 23 Hen. VIII, on the death of Sir William Spencer, Knt. he was conſtituted Sheriff of Northamptonſhire for the remaining part of that year, and was alſo Sheriff the next enſuing year (13). And having been three times Alderman of Stamford, departed this life in the year 1541, the 32d of Hen. VIII, as ſhould ſeem by the probate of his laſt Will and Teſtament, which bears date that year (14). It is very remarkable, that in this Teſtament, he is ſtiled David Cyſſell of Stamford in the county of Lincoln, Eſq; and that it appears he left behind him two ſons, Richard and David, and a daughter Joan. His body, according to his directions, was interred in the pariſh-church of St George at Stamford (15), and it was at this gentleman's houſe, that the great man of whom we are ſpeaking was born, as is mentioned above in the text; ſo that there was no kind of reaſon for recurring to art or contrivance, much leſs to fiction or forgeries, to entitle him to an ancient and honourable deſcent.

[*B*] *Even in his moſt exalted fortunes.*] It is requiſite that we ſhould here give ſome account of the parents of Lord Burleigh; and firſt then of his father, who, as we have ſhewn, was the eldeſt ſon of David Cyſſell of Stamford in the county of Lincoln, Eſq; and his own name Richard. By the intereſt of his father at Court, he was preferred, in the eighth year of

(1) Camden's Remains, p. 95.

(2) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 405.

(3) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 145.

(4) Verſtegan's Reſtitution of decayed Intelligence in Antiquities, p. 244. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 473.

(5) Powel's Hiſt. of Wales, p. 124, 141, 142. Hollingſhed's Chronicle, p. 1255.

(6) Barnes's Hiſt. of Edward III. p. 75.

(7) From an ancient Pedigree of this Family, drawn by the hand of Camden.

(8) Pat. 22 Hen. VII. m. 1.

(9) Pat. 3 Hen. VIII. m. 11.

(10) Pat. 8 Hen. VIII. m. 11.

(11) Pat. 8 Hen. VIII. m. 13.

(12) Pat. 15 Hen. VIII. m. 1.

(13) Fuller's Worthies in Com. Northam. p. 299.

(14) Butcher's Survey of Stamford, at the cloſe of Peck's Antiquarian Annals of that town, p. 27. Ex Regiſt. Spert. qu. 3. in Cur. Prerog. Cant.

(15) Peck's Antiquarian Annals of Stamford, in the cloſe.

Lincolnſhire, September 13, 1520 (*d*), and received the firſt tincture of letters in the grammar-ſchool at Grantham, from whence he afterwards removed to Stamford (*e*). About the year 1535 he was removed to the univerſity of Cambridge, and entered of St John's college, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the regularity of his life, and a very ſtrict, indeed a very ſurpriſing, application to his ſtudies (*f*) [*C*]. When he had laid a ſolid foundation of ſound and uſeful learning, according to the laudable cuſtom of that age, his father thought fit to ſend for him up to London, and about the year 1541 placed him at Gray's Inn (*g*), with an intention to have bred him in the profeſſion of the Law, which, though his fortunes afterwards took another turn, was a circumſtance very happy for him, as it led him to a perfect acquaintance with the conſtitution of his country, of which he was always a paſſionate admirer, and in every ſtation of life zealous in it's defence and protection. While he was thus employed, an accident introduced him to the knowledge and favour of his Sovereign. It fell out, that O-Neil, a famous Iriſh Chief, being at Court, brought with him two of his Chaplains, who were very great bigots, not only to the faith, but to the power of the Roman Pontiff, with whom Mr Cecil, coming to ſee his father, chanced to have a very warm diſpute, which was managed in the Latin tongue, with ſo great ſkill and vivacity on the part of Cecil, that the two Prieſts, finding their deficiency in point of argument, fell into a downright paſſion. This being reported to the King, who, whatever failings he might have, was certainly one of the moſt learned Princes of his time, he had the curioſity to ſee the young man, and after a long converſation was ſo much taken with his abilities, that he directed his father to find out a place for him, but as there was nothing vacant, the old old gentleman aſked the reverſion of the *Cuſtos Brevium*, which was readily granted, and ſome years afterwards came into his poſſeſſion (*h*). This early introduction at Court gave a new biaſs to Mr Cecil's inclinations, and induced him to think of puſhing his fortune in that road which he had ſo happily entered.

(*d*) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(*e*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks.

(*f*) See this matter fully explained in the ſubſequent note.

(*g*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

(*h*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks.

of Henry VIII, to be one of the Pages of the Crown (16). In 12 Hen. VIII, he waited on the King at that famous interview with the King of France, between Calais and Guiennes; and in 22 Hen. VIII, being Groom of the Robes to that King, obtained a grant of the office of Conſtable of Warwick-caſtle, then in the Crown (17). In 27 Hen. VIII, being one of the Grooms of the Wardrobe, he had a grant of the office of Bayliff of the King's water called Wittleſey-mere, and the cuſtody of the ſwans, and of thoſe waters called Great Crick and Merys, in the counties of Cambridge, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Northampton, for the term of thirty years, after the expiration of the term granted to David Cyſſell his father (18). In 31 Hen. VIII, he was Sheriff of Rutlandſhire (19). In 32 Hen. VIII, being wrote Richard Cecyll of Burley in the county of Northampton, Eſq; he had a grant to him, his heirs and aſſigns for ever, of the ſcite of St Michael's priory near Stamford, and the church, and 299 acres of arable land, lying in the pariſh of St Martin's in Stamford, in the county of Northampton (20). In 34 Hen. VIII, being then Yeoman of the Wardrobe, he was made Yeoman of the King's manors of Naſſington, Yarwel, and Upton, in the county of Northampton, for life (21). In 36 Hen. VIII, he purchaſed the manor of Eſyngdon in the county of Rutland, then alſo in the Crown, as a parcel of the Earl of Warwick's lands (22). In 37 Hen. VIII, he furrendered his cuſtody of Warwick caſtle (23). He remained Yeoman of the Robes to King Edward VI to the laſt day of his life, which was the nineteenth of May 1552 (24), and dying at Court, his body was interred in the pariſh church of St Margaret's Weſtminſter. In the month of April, 1553, a commiſſion was iſſued to Sir Richard Cotton, Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir Walter Mildmay, Knights, together with Edmund Pidgeon, Clerk of the Wardrobes, any three or two of them, to take an account of Jane Cecil, and Sir William Cecil, Knt. Adminiſtrators of the Teſtament of Richard Cecil, for certain robes, apparel, and jewels of the King, in the cuſtody of the ſaid Richard (25). As for his widow, who was the daughter of William Hickington of Bourn in the county of Lincoln, ſhe ſurvived, and remained his widow thirty-five years, and was a very grave, religious, and virtuous Lady, delighting much in works of piety and charity, as well in her life-time as at her deceaſe, and ſhe had the comfort of ſeeing her children, and her childrens children, to the fourth and fifth generation, departing this life March 10, 1587, when ſhe had lived ſeven years above fourſcore. Beſides the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, theſe worthy perſons had three more children, all daughters, *viz.* Margaret, who married firſt Roger Cave of Stamford, Eſq; and after his deceaſe, Ambroſe Smith of Boſworth, Eſquire; Elizabeth, married firſt to Robert Wingfield of Upton, Eſq; afterwards to Hugh Allington, Eſq; and Anne, who was married to Thomas Whyte of Tucksford, Eſq (26); The Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh cauſed to be erected at the upper end of the north chancel in St Martin's church at Stamford, a noble monument to the memory of his parents, and by it is his own.

(16) Pat. 8 Hen. VIII. m. 11.

(17) Pat. 22 Hen. VIII. m. 2.

(18) Privat. Sigill. 27 Hen. VIII.

(19) Wright's Hiſt. of Rutlandſhire, p. 12.

(20) Pat. 32 Hen. VIII. m. 7.

(21) Pat. 36 Hen. VIII. m. 7.

(22) Pat. 36 Hen. VIII. m. 28.

(23) Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 134.

(24) As appears from the inſcription mentioned hereafter.

(25) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 491.

(26) Peck's Antiquarian Annals of Stamford, in the cloſe, p. 69.

[*C*] *Indeed a very ſurprizing application to his ſtudies.*] He was entered of St John's college May 27, 1535 (27), and finding ſeveral perſons of diſtinguiſhed parts then ſtudents there, this inſpired him with ſuch a thirſt for learning, that he made an agreement with the Bell ringer to call him up at four o'clock every morning, applying himſelf with ſuch vigour to his ſtudies, that with much fitting a humour fell into his legs, of which, not without difficulty, he was cured, though his Phyſicians conſidered it as one of the principal cauſes of that inveterate gout with which he was tormented in the latter part of his life (28). Dr Nicholas Medcalfe, who was at this time Maſter of the college, was his great patron, and frequently gave him money to encourage him (29), but the ſtrong paſſion he had to excel his contemporaries, and to diſtinguiſh himſelf early in the univerſity, was the chief ſpur to his endeavours. At ſixteen he read a Sophiſtry Lecture, and at nineteen a Greek Lecture, not for any pay or ſalary, but as a Gentleman for his pleaſure, which was the more remarkable at that time, as there were but few who were maſters of Greek, either in that college or in the univerſity; but though he applied himſelf with ſo much aſſiduity to Greek literature, yet he always affected a general knowledge, as never intending to tie himſelf up to the ſtudy of any ſingle branch of ſcience (30). He purſued the ſame method when at Gray's-Inn, and took the aſſiſtance of converſation as well as books in both places, delighting very much in free diſputes upon all ſorts of ſubjects, by which he became very early both a copious and correct ſpeaker. He was very happy in two qualities which rarely meet, for he had a ſtrong memory and a ſound judgment. He aſſiſted both, by an indefatigable application, by recording every thing with his pen that occurred either in reading or from obſervation, and this in the moſt methodical manner, as is evident from the vaſt collections he left behind him upon a great variety of ſubjects (31). He addicted himſelf particularly to the Antiquities of his own country, and to the Hiſtories of the great families, which he underſtood better than moſt men of his time; neither did he forſake his ſtudies when he came into great employments, but was perpetually reviewing and adding to his notes, which gave him that admirable facility of writing, in which he ſurpaſſed moſt in his time, and was hardly excelled by any (32).

(27) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(28) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks.

(29) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 95.

(30) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(31) As appears from what are ſtill preſerved in ſeveral publick and private Libraries, beſides numbers that are loſt.

(32) The reader may find ample teſtimonies of this in the Appendixes to Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Strype's Memorials, Strype's Annals, &c.

[*D*] *To*

entered. In all probability he was encouraged to this by the family to which he became allied by marriage; for having eſpouſed Mary, the ſiſter of Sir John Cheeke, a gentleman of fair character and great learning, which ſeems to have happened about this time (*i*) [*D*], he was by him recommended to the favour of the Earl of Hertford, uncle to his royal pupil, ſo well known afterwards by the title of Duke of Somerſet (*k*). In the beginning of the reign of Edward VI, he came into the poſſeſſion of his office of *Cuſtos Brevium*, which brought him in two hundred and forty pounds a year (*l*); and having married to his ſecond wife Mildred, daughter of Sir Anthony Cook, the Director of the King's ſtudies, he found himſelf as well ſupported in his pretenſions at Court as he could deſire (*m*). In 1547, his noble patron, the Protector, gave him at once a great proof of his favour, and a high mark of his confidence, by appointing him Maſter of Requeſts, an office, not of diſtinction only, but of great truſt (*n*). He was quickly after favoured with another mark of the Protector's kindneſs, who took him with him in his expedition into Scotland, where he was preſent in the battle of Muſſleburgh, Sept. 10, in the ſame year (*o*), and his life was very narrowly ſaved there by the tenderneſs of one of his friends, who in puſhing him out of the level of a cannon, had his arm ſhattered to pieces by that ſhot, which otherwiſe had diſpatched Mr Cecil (*p*). Upon his return to Court he grew into ſuch favour with his excellent maſter, that in 1548, he was advanced to the high poſt of Secretary, which he enjoyed twice in that reign, and for want of diſtinguiſhing this, ſome eminent writers have fallen into great confuſion (*q*) [*E*]. But as there is no courſe of life ſo ſubject to ſudden turns of fortune as that in a Court, ſo it was not long before Mr Cecil learned this from experience; for the very year after, a ſtrong party being formed againſt the Lord Protector, many of whom were members of the Privy-Council, they aſſembled at London, while the King and the Lord Protector with his friends were at Hampton-Court, and finding themſelves ſupported by the city of London, they ſent a bold charge to the King, againſt the Duke of Somerſet, to Windſor-caſtle, whither he was then removed, which produced all that they expected; for that noble perſon being of a mild and gentle diſpoſition, and above all things apprehenſive of a civil war, ſuffered himſelf not only to be diveſted of his power, but alſo to be made priſoner (*r*). At the ſame time, his friends, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir John Thynne, Edward Wolfe, and William Cecil, Eſqs; were committed to cuſtody; and though it is aſſerted by ſome great Hiſtorians, that when the reſt were ſent to the Tower, Mr Cecil was diſcharged (*s*), yet we find in his own Diary that he was ſent to that priſon in November 1549, and we are alſo told, that he continued there about the ſpace of three months (*t*). His behaviour however having been always juſt and moderate, had procured him many friends, and theſe

(*i*) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(*k*) Camden's Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

(*l*) As appears from his own computation in his Diary.

(*m*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

(*n*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

(*o*) Lord Burleigh's Diary. Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks. Camden. Annal. p. 774.

(*p*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks.

(*q*) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(*r*) Sir John Hayward's Life and Reign of Edward VI. in the Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 306, 307. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. ii. p. 136. 137.

(*s*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation. P. ii. p. 138. Rapin's Hiſt. Vol. VIII. p. 71.

(*t*) Life of William Lord Burleigh. by one of his Domeſticks. The entry in his Diary runs thus: *Mense Novembri* iii Ed. VI. *fui in Turre.*

[*D*] *To have happened about this time.*] The author of his Life tells us, that on the 8th of Auguſt, 33 Henry VIII, he took to wife Mary Cheeke, ſiſter of Sir John Cheeke, Knight, who lived with him not above a year and a quarter, by whom he had his firſt ſon Thomas. The ſame writer farther obſerves, that this was after he had ſpent ſome time at the Inns of Court (33). This does not very well agree with what Camden tells us, for he ſays expreſsly, that he married this lady in the twentieth year of his age, while he was at St John's; that ſhe lived with him a year or two, and that after he came to Gray's Inn, he married his ſecond lady (34). The truth of the matter is, that the former writer is ſomewhat, but Mr Camden is almoſt in every particular, miſtaken. Lord Burleigh, in his manuſcript diary, has ſet down the day of his birth, Sept. 13th, 1520. Mr Camden places his birth in the year 1521. Lord Burleigh, in his diary, ſets down the time of his coming to Gray's Inn thus, *May* 6th, 1541, *I came to* Gray's Inn, *when in my twenty-firſt year*; and he marks the time of his marriage thus, *Auguſt* 8th, 1541, *I married Mary Cheke at* Cambridge; ſo that it is plain he married his firſt wife after he was at the Inns of Court, as the writer of his life ſays. In Lord Burleigh's diary we find, that his eldeſt ſon Thomas was born May 5, 1542, and that his firſt lady died Feb. 22, 1543, at two in the morning, ſo that ſhe muſt have lived longer with him than the writer of his life mentions.

(33) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(34) Camden's Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

[*E*] *Some great writers have fallen into much confuſion.*] It does not appear that any of our hiſtorians had the leaſt intimation of Mr Cecil's being Secretary of State ſo early. The writer of his life ſays, that in the ſecond year of King Edward VI. he was committed to the Tower about the Duke of Somerſet's firſt calling in queſtion, that he remained there a quarter of a year, and was then enlarged, he then proceeds thus, *The Duke of Somerſet perceiving the King's great liking to Mr Cecil about the third year of the King's reign, preferred him to be Secretary of State, being but twenty-five years old, and Anno* 5 *Ed.* VI. *he was made a Knight* (35). All which is equally confuſed and incorrect, for Mr Cecil was much older than he ſpeaks of when King Edward came to the Crown, and it was not in the third, but in the ſecond year of his reign, that Mr Cecil was made Secretary of State, the firſt time; which we learn from his own diary, where he entered it thus —— *Sept* 1548. *cooptatus fum in Officium Secretarii*, i. e. I was admitted to the office of Secretary in Sept. 1548. It appears from Biſhop Burnet, that when the great diſturbance happened in October, 1549, Sir William Petre and Sir Thomas Smith were Secretaries (36), but as we hear nothing of his removal, it is very probable that Mr Cecil was Secretary likewiſe, ſince as the reader will obſerve in the text, there were afterwards three Secretaries in this reign. It is plain, that Biſhop Burnet was miſtaken in affirming, that Mr Cecil was diſcharged at Windſor, and not committed with the reſt to the Tower, ſince both himſelf and the writers of his life poſitively ſay the contrary (37). King Edward, in his Journal, makes no mention at all of Mr Cecil's being removed from his poſt, or of his being ſent to the Tower; but he takes notice, that Dr Wotton was made Secretary of State at this time (38); and though Biſhop Burnet is clear, that it was in the room of Sir Thomas Smith, yet it might as well be in the room of Mr Cecil, for Mr Camden, who mentions Sir Thomas Smith's being Secretary in this reign, ſays, that he was made ſo when Cecil was the other Secretary, and from thence it is not poſſible to diſtinguiſh when he was made (39). It appears from King Edward's Journal, that Mr Cecil did not long continue in diſgrace, but was very ſoon brought into buſineſs again, though he was not reſtored to his office (40). When this happened we learn from thoſe words in the King's Journal, Sept. 6th (1550) *Mr* Wotton *gave up his Secretaryſhip, and* Mr Cecil *got it of him* (41). In the month of October following the King granted him an annuity of one hundred pounds, in conſideration of his ſaid office, during his Majeſty's pleaſure, to be paid from the augmentation from the Michaelmas preceding (42). And thus we have done all in our power to clear up this matter.

(35) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(36) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 135.

(37) Life of William Lord Burleigh. Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(38) See the King's Journal, in Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. Append. p. 9.

(39) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 318.

(40) See the King's Journal, as before, p. 17.

(41) Ib. p. 20.

(42) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 493.

[*F*] *For*

these taking advantage of the King's personal regard for him, not only procured his liberty, but brought him again to Court, where his abilities were found so useful, that the Duke of Northumberland, who had now the greatest credit, was willing that he should be restored to his office, and accordingly, by the resignation of Dr Wotton, this was brought about (*u*). There are many writers who fix this promotion to the eleventh of October 1551, but his own Diary assures us it was in the month of September, and it appears from King Edward's Journal of his own reign, that it was upon the sixth of that month (*w*). But it is true, that on the eleventh of October he was knighted, and sworn of the Privy-Council (*x*). His credit and favour was now greater than ever, and his interest with his Royal Master such, that he was believed to have a great share in those productions that were said to fall from the King's pen; for when a letter from his Majesty, in relation to her perverseness in religion, was presented to the Princess Mary, she could not help crying out, *Ah! Mr Cecil's pen took great pains here* (*y*). He steered with all the caution and circumspection that those critical times required, and was particularly careful to avoid taking any share in the Court quarrels that were so frequent during that short reign. Yet it was not possible for him, with all his skill and diligence, to escape falling under some difficulties, more especially in that fatal business of the death of the Duke of Somerset, towards whom he is by some charged with much unkindness, for which, however, there is no visible foundation (*z*) [*F*]. The Duke himself was a man, though of a tender nature, sometimes intemperate in speech, and there is reason to doubt, that some who were pretty near him, might take occasion to excite and draw from him those unguarded expressions, which were afterwards made use of as a pretence, though a very poor pretence it was, to take away his life (*a*). Sir William Cecil did indeed keep his ground at Court, when his noble patron fell, but this was not owing to the Duke of Northumberland's favour, but to several other causes (*b*). In the first place, his abilities were wanted, and his moderation esteemed, the Duke of Northumberland being no enemy to men of capacity who did not oppose him. Sir William Cecil stood extreamly well with the King, had his ear very much, and was the person to whom his Majesty confided his most secret thoughts; so that, without some apparent offence in him, no wise man would ever entertain a thought of his removal; add to all this, that he lived in strict friendship with the most eminent and worthy persons about the Court, and more especially with those who were immediately about the King's person, and we shall easily discern, why Northumberland himself, with all his power and his peevishness, chose rather to use the Secretary with the utmost civility, than to aim at giving him any uneasiness (*c*). Neither is there any necessity of recurring to any sinister motives, to account for that high regard shown by this powerful favourite to our rising Statesman, since, while all the rest of the Courtiers

(*u*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domesticks.

(*w*) See the King's Journal in Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. P. II. in p. 20 of the Appendix.

(*x*) Stow's Annals, p. 604. Godwyn's Hist. p. 244, 245.

(*y*) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. P. ii. p. 174.

(*z*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 476.

(*a*) Hayward's Hist. of the Life and Reign of Edward VI, in Kennet's Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 321.

(*b*) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 223.

(*c*) See the Life of Sir Thomas Smith, by Mr Strype.

[*F*] *For which however there is no visible foundation.*] After what has been said in the former notes, and the variety of authorities alledged in support of the facts laid down in them, we may safely trust the reader with a piece of libel which was transmitted to the Lord Burleigh himself, when he was High-Treasurer of England, by one of his agents abroad, who extracted it from a Latin treatise, written and published by the Papists on purpose to defame him, in which there is collected all that had ever been whispered by his enemies to his prejudice, in regard to the first scenes of his life, thus it runs, 'Of the Lord Treasurer's pedigree they write in this manner; Cecil his father, 'groom of the Wardrobe, was never called master but 'in jest; and his mother would never suffer herself to 'be called mistress but when her son was made Baron 'of Burleigh. His grandfather, one of the King's 'guard, kept the best Inn in Stamford, himself first of 'all bell ringer in St John's College in Cambridge, 'and after grew by learning and cunning, by the help 'and favour of Sir John Cheeke, and Sir Anthony 'Cooke, to be Secretary to the Duke of Somerset, 'Protector, to whom he was a stickler, to set him 'against his own brother, the Admiral, for pleasing 'the Duchess, and to cut off his head, as he did; the 'principal instrument to bring in Father Latimer to be 'an agent, as he was in that tragedy, and for this service, by the Duchess of Somerset's procurement to 'her husband, Mr Cecil was made Secretary to King 'Edward VI. After seeing Dudley Earl of Warwick 'more cunning and potent than the Duke of Somerset, 'his master, he secretly forsook him, and betrayed 'him, and gave matter of overthrow to Warwick 'against him; for which service Mr Cecil was set up 'by Warwick, and brought into the King's favour and 'council again, and he followed that man's fortune so 'long as he stood in prosperity, even to the deprivation of all King Henry VIII. his children, and penned the proclamation and oaths that the Duke of 'Northumberland and Suffolk set forth against them, 'and could have been content to have dispatched them 'with his own hand, if Northumberland would have 'put him to it (43).' As to his descent, and the estates of his family, when this noble person was born, they have been so fully set out from records, that no doubts can be entertained about them. As to the Lord Admiral, it is very probable, that in his post of Secretary of State Mr Cecil might draw some of the proceedings against him; but that either he or the Duke were instigated by the Duchess to put that great man to death, is a vulgar calumny, since it is certain his own crimes made it necessary, and there are very few acts of attainder that can be so well justified as that by which he fell. He endeavoured to supplant his brother the Duke of Somerset, in the first year of his nephew's reign; he aimed at marrying the Lady Elizabeth, but being defeated in that, he privately espoused the dowager Queen Catherine, who it was strongly suspected he poisoned. He then renewed his addresses to the Lady Elizabeth, engaged the master of the Mint to cheat the King of ten thousand pounds a month, to enable him to raise a rebellion; and the very last words he spoke before his execution were, to direct his servant to carry two letters which he had written, to excite the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth to revenge his death upon the Protector. It was his own knowledge of this man's crimes, and not Mr Cecil's insinuations, that induced the pious martyr Latimer to speak against him in his Sermons (44). As for Mr Cecil's attachment to the Duke of Somerset, he lost his liberty and his office for him; and before his last troubles began, the Duke was so far from suspecting Cecil, that he sent for, and communicated his fears to him, upon which he made him this answer (45), *That if he was innocent, he might trust to that, and if he was otherwise, he could but pity him*, which does indeed prove the Secretary's prudence, but without the least prejudice to his integrity. As for the latter part of this libel, it will be cleared up by considering what is said in the text of his dislike to the whole proceeding, with regard to King Edward's will, founded upon incontestible authorities.

(43) Extract of a seditious Treatise, written in Latin, and published in the Low Countries under the feigned name of *Philopatris*, sent by one of the Lord Treasurer's servants by way of information.

(44) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 476, 477.

(45) King Edward's Journal of his own reign.

[*G*] *Which*

Courtiers almoſt were involved in factions and intrigues, he conſtantly attended the buſineſs of his office. He was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for eſtabliſhing a new body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and though Sir John Hayward affirms that this came to nothing (*e*), yet in that, as well as in many other things, he was miſtaken (*f*). Secretary Cecil was alſo very aſſiduous in ſettling the debts of the Crown (*g*), and in contriving ways and means for their diſcharge, and, which muſt appear ſomewhat ſtrange, conſidering the confuſion of the times, he, at this juncture, framed a ſcheme for the benefit of trade, which ought to render his memory immortal [*G*]. It appears plainly, that notwithſtanding the great favour the Secretary ſtood in with his maſter, and the court that was paid him upon this account by the greateſt men, yet he neither made private advantages to himſelf by grants, nor would he hinder in any manner the fortunes of other men, as is clear from his conſenting to the appointment of Sir John Cheeke, Third Secretary, with Sir William Petre and himſelf, and as that gentleman was his brother-in-law, it is very probable that he was inſtrumental in his promotion (*h*). On the 12th of April, 1553, Sir William Cecil was made Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, with an annual fee of an hundred marks, a very moderate reward ſurely for his many and great ſervices (*i*). In reference to the diſpoſition of the Crown, made by the King his maſter to the Lady Jane Grey, eldeſt daughter to Frances Ducheſs of Suffolk, who was alſo the eldeſt daughter of Mary, Queen-Dowager of France, and Ducheſs of Suffolk, younger ſiſter to Henry VIII, it was an affair in contriving of which he had no concern, but, on the contrary, when he diſcovered it in agitation, he made ſuch a diſpoſition of his effects as he thought proper for their ſecurity, in caſe he was impriſoned, or obliged to leave the kingdom (*k*). A certain author indeed charges him with having a great hand in it, and with drawing moſt of the papers relating to that ſettlement, but without any colour of juſtice, for the inſtrument was drawn by the Judges, who thought to ſecure themſelves from being anſwerable for what they did by taking out the King's pardon (*l*). Sir William Cecil, when he was deſired to ſign this inſtrument, as a Privy-Counſellor, by the King himſelf, refuſed to do it, but, at his Majeſty's earneſt entreaty, ſubſcribed ſimply as a witneſs of the King's ſigning (*m*). After the deceaſe of King Edward, the Duke of Northumberland would have had him draw the Proclamation of his daughter-in-law, declaring her title, and ſhewing the legality of it; but Sir William very judiciouſly obſerved, that this was entirely out of his province, and ſo transferred it upon the Attorney and Sollicitor-General, as better ſkilled in the Law. The Duke would afterwards have put him upon writing a letter in juſtification of the Lady Jane's title, in which Queen Mary was to be treated as a baſtard, but he plainly refuſed him, and his example being followed by every body elſe, the Duke was forced to draw it himſelf (*n*.) All this time the Privy-Counſellors were in the Tower, and looked upon themſelves as little better than priſoners, which put Sir William upon contriving means for their eſcape, which was effected after the Duke of Northumberland's march into Cambridgeſhire, by aſſembling the Privy-Council at the Earl of Pembroke's houſe, called Baynard Caſtle, where moſt of thoſe who met declared for Queen Mary, the Earl of Arundel and Lord Paget going off to her that very night, and Sir William Cecil followed the next day, and though ſome attempts had been made to prejudice

(*e*) Hayward's Life and Reign of Edward VI, in Kennet's Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 236, 237.

(*f*) Strype's Eccleſiaſtical Memorials, Vol. II. p. 479.

(*g*) A Compleat View of what the King owed in the month of Feb. 1551, from the MS. of Sir William Cecil, is inſerted in the 9th chapter of the ſecond Book of Strype's Memorials of the reign of Edward VI.

(*h*) See the Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 135.

(*i*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 506. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 330.

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 223, 224.

(*l*) Sir John Hayward's Hiſt. of the Life and Reign of Edward VI, as before cited.

(*m*) This is taken from an account of that whole tranſaction drawn up by order of Sir William Cecil himſelf, for clearing up his conduct in that affair.

(*n*) Strype's Memorial, Vol. II. p. 476.

[*G*] *Which ought to render his memory immortal.*] It was at this juncture that the liberties of the Merchants of the Steel-yard were ſeized into the hands of the Crown, from whence we may date all the beneficial trade of this kingdom (46). It is true, that our commodities and manufactures were exported before, and it is likewiſe true, that corporations multiplied apace; that new trades were continually ſpringing up, and that a ſpirit of induſtry began to diffuſe itſelf through the nation. Yet our commerce was in a bad ſituation; we had hardly any ſhipping, the ſtaple of our woollen trade was at Antwerp, the Italians remitted our money, and the Germans and Flemings carried on the whole trade of export and import; ſo that while we were in this wretched ſituation, the people laboured and ſweated, and the ſtrangers ran away with all. A very few Engliſh merchants there were, and they took abundance of pains to give the government ſome light into this affair, and Sir William Cecil comprehending what they ſaid, ſupported their cauſe ſo well in council, that they carried their point againſt the foreign merchants, by which I may venture to ſay the commerce of this iſland was ſet free; not that I concur in the common opinion, of there being little or no traffick before the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but becauſe I am ſatisfied, from a very laborious enquiry into this matter, that though the trade of England was very conſiderable even then, yet the trade of the Engliſh was very inſignificant, and muſt have continued ſo, if it had not been for this bold ſtep, which ſhows how much good ſtateſmen may do to their country, when they really mean it well, and take pains to inform themſelves how it's welfare may be promoted. But beſides this, Sir William Cecil was the patron of another project, which though it was not brought to bear, yet plainly ſhews how indefatigable he was in conſulting the publick good. This project conſiſted in aboliſhing the ſtaple at Antwerp, and opening two free ports in England, *viz.* Southampton and Hull. There is ſtill extant a paper, containing the whole of this ſcheme, digeſted in the cleareſt method poſſible, ſhowing upon what motives the ſtaple at Antwerp ought to be ſuppreſſed, how far that conjuncture was favourable to ſuch a deſign, the reaſons why Southampton and Hull were made choice of in preference to other parts, the favourable conſequences that might be expected from ſuch eſtabliſhments, and the danger and difficulties that were to be apprehended in making this attempt, with their remedies. We may from hence diſcern, that Sir William Cecil was none of thoſe haſty miniſters, who after taking a ſcheme into their heads, or having it propoſed to them, proceed all at once to carry it into execution, without weighing or conſidering it's conſequences; but a wiſe and prudent manager, who took care to examine every undertaking to the bottom, by viewing it in all the lights poſſible. The troubles and perplexities of that reign ariſing from factions at home, and the unſettled ſtate of things abroad, prevented him at this time from performing, what, upon mature deliberation, he judged beneficial for the nation; but he never loſt ſight of his deſign, or abandoned his care of trade, 'till by degrees, and as occaſions offered, he delivered it from moſt of thoſe difficulties and embarraſſments with which, 'till his time, it had been encumbered; and therefore we had reaſon to ſay in the text, that his conduct in this reſpect ought, amongſt a wiſe, free, and grateful people, to render his memory immortal.

(46) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 207. Sir John Hayward's Life and Reign of Edward VI. p. 326. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 350.

prejudice him in her Majeſty's favour, yet he was very graciouſly received, and with very good reaſon (*o*) [*H*.] But as he very well knew that he had many powerful enemies, and foreſaw the complexion of the enſuing reign, he made uſe of this early favour to obtain a general pardon (*p*). It is ſcarce to be doubted, that if he would have changed his religion, he might have continued in his office, but he choſe to loſe this that he might keep that. He did not however apprehend, that his having no ſhare in the miniſtry, obliged him either to oppoſe thoſe who had, or to forget the perſonal friendſhip and great intimacy in which he had lived with many of them, which therefore he kept up, and being well acquainted with the moderate and mild diſpoſition of Cardinal Pole, he conſented to go with the Lord Paget and Mr Haſtings to invite him to England, which he accordingly did, and returned with him November 23, 1554 (*q*), in hopes that he might ballance the power of Dr Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, Lord High-Chancellor, and Prime-Miniſter to Queen Mary, a Prelate of great abilities, but very zealous for the religion and power of the Church of Rome, though he had not been always of that opinion (*r*). In the month of May 1555, he attended the Cardinal, with other Lords commiſſioned to treat of a peace, and remained beyond the ſeas two months (*s*). After his return, a Parliament being ſummoned to meet the twenty-firſt of October following, he was choſen Knight of the Shire for the county of Lincoln, and behaved in the Houſe of Commons, not only with great freedom and firmneſs, but with much ſpirit and vivacity, having a large ſhare in a debate which produced the rejecting of a bill from the Houſe of Lords, for confiſcating the eſtates of ſuch as had quitted the kingdom on the ſcore of religion (*t*). This behaviour, as it might be naturally expected, created him ſome trouble, out of which however he extricated himſelf by his great addreſs, without the loſs either of liberty or of reputation (*u*) [*I*]. He was again choſen to repreſent the county of Lincoln in the laſt

(*o*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*p*) Sir William Cecil's Vindication of his own conduct.

(*q*) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(*r*) Sir Thomas Smith's Life, by Mr Strype.

(*s*) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(*t*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*u*) See this matter clearly explained in the note.

[*H*] *And with very good reaſon.*] There is ſomething very ſingular in the account which a celebrated hiſtorian has been pleaſed to give us of Sir William Cecil's behaviour, for after telling us, that he waited upon the Queen, was graciouſly received, and might have kept this employment, if he would have complied ſo far as to have declared himſelf of her Majeſty's religion, he cloſes theſe matters of fact with the following remark (47), 'He was nevertheleſs expoſed to 'no perſecution on account of his religion, whether 'his artful behaviour gave no advantages againſt him, 'or his particular merit procured him a diſtinction 'above all other Proteſtants.' As to the artfulneſs of his behaviour, it will beſt appear from the anſwer he gave to thoſe honourable perſons, who by command of the Queen communed with him on this ſubject, to whom he declared, 'That he thought himſelf bound 'to ſerve God firſt, and next the Queen, but if her 'ſervice ſhould put him out of God's ſervice, he hoped 'her Majeſty would give him leave to chuſe an ever-'laſting, rather than a momentary ſervice; and as for 'the Queen, ſhe had been his ſo gracious Lady, that 'he would ever ſerve and pray for her in his heart, 'and with his body and goods be as ready to ſerve in 'her defence as any of her loyal ſubjects, ſo ſhe would 'pleaſe to grant him leave to uſe his conſcience to 'himſelf, and ſerve her at large as a private man, 'which he choſe rather than to be her greateſt coun-'ſellor (48).' The Queen took him at his word, and this was all the art Sir William uſed to procure liberty of conſcience for himſelf, unleſs we ſhould call it art that he behaved himſelf with much prudence and circumſpection afterwards. We may add to this however, that the remark is falſe in fact, as well as capable of being taken in a ſiniſter ſenſe, for there were many other Proteſtants treated with the like indulgence, ſuch as Sir Thomas Smith, who had been alſo Secretary of State, and who had treated both Gardiner and Bonner roughly enough in the days of King Edward, and yet was not only ſuffered to live in peace, but alſo had a penſion given him of one hundred pounds per annum (49). The famous Roger Aſcham alſo, who had been Latin Secretary to King Edward, enjoyed both his freedom and his employment, and this by the favour of Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, as is plain from the letter he wrote that prelate, to deſire his favour (50). It is therefore not unkind barely, but unjuſt, to repreſent Sir William Cecil as the only Proteſtant unperſecuted under the reign of Queen Mary, and as particularly diſtinguiſhed in that reſpect, whereas others ſhared the ſame liberty, and were even better treated than he.

(47) Rapin's Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 624.

(48) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(49) Strype's Life of Sir Thomas Smith.

(50) Aſchami Epiſtolæ, p. 263.

[*I*] *Without the loſs either of liberty or of reputation.*] The buſineſs particularly mentioned in the text was occaſioned by Sir William's oppoſition to the bill, for confiſcating Proteſtants eſtates, and ſome warm ſpeeches the ſame day on other ſubjects, but more eſpecially in relation to a money-bill, in all which Sir William Cecil delivered himſelf frankly againſt the conduct of the adminiſtration. One day, ſays the author of his life, when he had ſpoken with more than ordinary applauſe, Sir Anthony Kingſton, Sir William Courtney, Sir John Pollard, and ſeveral other members, invited themſelves to dinner with him. Sir William ſaid they ſhould be welcome, provided they ſaid nothing at table of parliamentary affairs, to which they agreed. At dinner, however, ſome of them talked a little too freely, for which Sir William reproved them, and charged them with breach of promiſe. The Privy-Council had intelligence of all that paſſed, and ſending for the knights and gentlemen, committed them all, reſerving Sir William Cecil to be laſt examined. As ſoon as he came into the room, and had paid his obedience to the Council, he made it his humble requeſt, that they would not treat him as they had done the reſt, which he owned he thought was a little ſevere, *viz.* in committing them firſt, that they might hear them afterwards, whereas it was his ſuit, to be heard firſt, and if then there ſhould appear juſt cauſe, he was content to be committed. 'You ſpeak, Sir William, ſaid Lord 'Paget, like a man of experience, go on.' Sir William making uſe of this licence, proceeded to ſet the affair in ſuch a light, that by the conſent of all the Council he was diſcharged (51). But neither the riſque he run upon this occaſion, or the violent counſels that prevailed in the latter part of Queen Mary's reign, could deter him from rendering his country ſervice in that ſtation in which he had alone power to act, ſince Popery became again the eſtabliſhed religion. His own account of this matter, ſet down by way of remark in his diary, will at once ſhow the ſituation he was in, and his ſentiments on that ſituation, and therefore I ſhall tranſcribe it, as more ſatisfactory than any thing that could be offered on this head by another pen (52). xxi *Octobris* 1555 *comitia erant celebrata Weſtmonaſterio in quibus ego interfui, aliquo cum periculo. Nam quamquam invitus electus fueram, ut eques conſularis pro Lincolnicenſi provincia, tamen in illo conſeſſu libere ſententiam dixi, unde odium mihi peperi. Sed melius fuit obedire Deo quam hominibus.* 'On the 21ſt 'of October the parliament met at Weſtminſter, in 'which, not without ſome danger, I diſchaged my 'duty as a member. For though I ſought it not, yet 'being returned knight for the county of Lincoln, I 'ſpoke my mind freely, whereby I incurred ſome diſ-'pleaſure. But better it is to obey God than men.' It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that this voluntary choice of Sir William Cecil for the county of Lincoln, both in this and in the ſucceeding parliament, which was the laſt of that reign, does equal honour to him, and to thoſe who choſe him, for even at that time of day the court exerted both art and power in order

(51) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(52) Lord Burleigh's MS. Diary.

laſt Parliament of this reign, in which he obſerved the ſame ſteady conduct, and while he was thus employed in the ſervice of his country openly, he entertained a private correſpondence with the Lady Elizabeth, the preſumptive heir of the Crown, to whom he gave ſuch notices from time to time, as were highly uſeful to her in her diſtreſſed circumſtances (*w*). As this could not be done without danger to himſelf, ſo it was very gratefully as well as graciouſly acknowledged by that Princeſs on her acceſſion to the throne, November 16, 1558 (*x*). The firſt ſervice that he rendered her was, upon the very day that ſhe became Queen, by preſenting her with a paper, conſiſting of twelve particulars which were neceſſary for her to diſpatch immediately (*y*). At the time of her ſiſter's deceaſe, Queen Elizabeth was at her manor of Hatfield, whither before it was long moſt of the great men repaired to her, and on the twentieth of the ſame month her Council was formed, when Sir William Cecil was firſt ſworn Privy-Counſellor and Secretary of State, and as he entered thus early into his Sovereign's favour, ſo he continued in it as long as he lived, which if in one ſenſe it does honour to the abilities and ſervices of Cecil, it was in another no leſs glorious to the Queen his miſtreſs, who, in this reſpect, did not act from any ſpirit of partiality or of prepoſſeſſion, but with that wiſdom and prudence which directed her judgment in all things (*z*). She ſaw plainly that Sir William Cecil's intereſts were interwoven with her own, and ſhe very judiciouſly diſcerned, that he was fitteſt to be her Counſellor, whoſe private ſafety muſt depend upon the ſucceſs of the counſel he gave. It was neceſſary to make theſe remarks, becauſe it ſhews the reader the true ſtate in which he ſtood with his miſtreſs; for though there were other perſons, who were ſometimes as great or greater favourites than Cecil, yet he was the only Miniſter whom ſhe always conſulted, and whoſe advice ſhe very rarely rejected (*a*). The very firſt thing he adviſed was to call a Parliament, and the firſt thing he propoſed to be done there was the ſettlement of religion, in reference to which he cauſed a plan of Reformation to be drawn, with equal circumſpection and moderation; for though no man was a more ſincere Proteſtant, yet he had no vindictive prejudices againſt Papiſts, nor did he, on the other hand, lay any greater weight upon indifferent things, than he judged abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving decency and order; for he very well knew, that without an Eſtabliſhed Church the State could not at that time ſubſiſt; and whoever conſiders the ſhare he had in eſtabliſhing it, and has a juſt veneration for that wiſe and excellent eſtabliſhment, cannot but allow, that the moſt grateful reverence is due to his memory (*b*) [*K*]. The conſtant and daily buſineſs of his office, which, to have diſpatched in the manner he did, would have taken up all another man's time, and actually took up a very large porportion of his, did not, however, hinder him from interpoſing in all the great affairs that related to the ſervice of the Crown and the welfare of the Nation. Amongſt

(*w*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*x*) Camden. Annal. p. 26.

(*y*) Strype's Annals, Vol I. p. 5.

(*z*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia.

(*a*) Life of Lord Burleigh,

(*b*) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 82. Oſborne's traditional Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 246.

order to carry it's point in parliament, and it plainly appears, from the collections of ſtate papers (53), and private letters relating to thoſe times, that both the influence of miniſters, and downright corruption, were employed to gain the members to compliance, as alſo to engage the people to chooſe members that would comply (54). The proceeding therefore of ſo great a county as Lincoln in ſuch a caſe, was a clear proof, that the men of property therein had eſcaped the contagion, and that theſe uncorrupt perſons ſhould without any ſollicitation, or even application, of Sir William Cecil, fix upon him to be knight for their ſhire, is a noble teſtimony of his merit, as it very clearly proves that he was thought a man of the greateſt candour and courage by thoſe who knew him beſt, and who, as they were incorruptible themſelves, would moſt certainly take care in their choice to have ſuch a repreſentative as they thought above corruption.

(53) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. in the Collection of Records.

(54) Collection of State Papers in the hands of J. C.

[*K*] *The moſt grateful reverence is due to his memory.*] We have an account from Camden of the wiſdom and prudence of this reformation, and he gives a ſuccinct account of the heads of that famous paper which was drawn up for the management of it (55). This paper is alſo mentioned by Burnet in his Hiſtory of the Reformation (56), and is actually inſerted in his collection of records (57), and there is another copy of it printed by Strype (58), but it is not yet agreed who was the author of this paper: ſome think it was John Hales, others aſcribe it to Mr Beale, Clerk of the Council; but Strype is rather inclined to think it was penned by Sir Thomas Smith; the title of it is, *The Device for the* alteration *of* religion *in the firſt year of Queen* Elizabeth, *offered to Secretary* Cecil. It conſiſts of *ſeven* queſtions, all of them very ſhort, propounding the principal things to be done towards a Reformation, with their anſwers, at large. Two things are certain with regard to this paper, firſt, that it was the baſis of all that was afterwards done in parliament; and ſecondly, that it was offered to the Queen, and ſome of her principal miniſters, by Secretary Cecil. To me, I muſt confeſs, it is very apparent, that it was either written by, or under the direction of, Sir William Cecil himſelf, though he took the neceſſary precaution of making it paſs for a thing propoſed to him, that he might not ſeem to aſſuming, and that he might not be obliged to enter into the defence of every particular in it, if the Queen or her miniſters, had thought proper to vary it in any reſpect. In parliament he argued for every part of it learnedly, and clearly, and it was his advice that all ſuch as were affected to Popery, might be allowed too ſpeak freely upon that occaſion, which they did, and fiercely too, but with very little weight; ſo that all that was done had not only the outward form and appearance of a legal and conſtitutional ſanction, but really and truly received it, without any interpoſition of force, of influence, or of corruption (59). This great ſtateſman himſelf, in a treatiſe upon the Felicities of the Queen his Miſtreſs's reign, ſets down, as one of the firſt, her ſettlement of religion, of which he ſpeaks with great modeſty, and moderation, affirming, that the Queen ever declined the title of Head of the Church, though ſhe deſired to be eſteemed, what of right ſhe was, the ſovereign of all her ſubjects, eccleſiaſtical as well as civil. Of his own concern in this buſineſs he is altogether ſilent; but it appears from the moſt authentick papers, that he was the principal manager of it, both in reſpect of matter, and manner (60). He was the promoter of all things in the Houſe of Commons; by his direction bills were propoſed in the Houſe of Peers; he thought of Dr Parker for Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and upon the whole, Strype had reaſon to ſay as he does, 'There was indeed great oppoſition made to the 'reformation of religion by many men at court; and 'had it not been for Cecil's diligence, wiſdom, and in'tereſt with the Queen, in all likelihood, it had not 'proceeded with that roundneſs it did.' *This*, ſays he, *I ſet down here as a debt of gratitude, owing from this* Church *to his* memory (61).

(55) Annal. Eliz. p. 30, 31, 32.

(56) Hiſt. Reformation, Vol. II. p. 377.

(57) Collection of Records, p. 327.

(58) Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 4. in the Appendix.

(59) Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, p. 29, 30.

(60) Life of Lord Burleigh. Meditation on the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Lord Burleigh, MS.

(61) Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 82.

[*L*] *But*

mongſt theſe he very juſtly reckoned the regulation of the coin, which had been debaſed in the reign of Henry VIII, had been alſo practiſed upon in that of Edward VI to ſuch a degree, as to be thought paſt reſtoring, and an attempt being made for that purpoſe which miſcarried in the reign of Queen Mary, the impoſſibility of doing any good in it, paſſed, at this time, for a thing certain (*c*). But it was Cecil's maxim that whatever was neceſſary muſt be expedient, and therefore he perſuaded the Queen to ſet about it without delay, which ſhe did, and though the deſign was not immediately brought to perfection, yet the ſucceſs that attended this firſt ſtep gave very great hopes, and at laſt his ſcheme took effect entirely, which, to thoſe who are proper judges, will not only appear a great felicity, but one of the moſt important in this reign [*L*]. As he contributed by this ſtep very much to the ſettling affairs at home, by removing many of the difficulties, which, though they were ſeverely felt, had never been underſtood, or their true cauſe diſcovered, ſo he was very far from neglecting affairs abroad, which were alſo exceſſively embroiled, Spain being already a ſecret, and France a declared, enemy, with the advantage of having Scotland much in her power, and a very plauſible pretence from the Queen of Scotland's marriage to have it wholly, ſo by Cecil's advice the Queen looked cloſely to what was neareſt, and took thoſe under her protection which ſtood up for the Reformed Religion in Scotland, well knowing that ſhe had it in her power to ſupport her friends there with much leſs trouble and expence than the French, and in the mean time ſuffered the buſineſs of a general peace to proceed in the ſlow way of a negociation, in which Spain pretended to have the Queen's concerns at heart, but with little ſincerity (*d*). When the French found that the oppoſition in Scotland was not to be got over by any force that they could ſpare, they began to try another method, and their Ambaſſador at London was directed to propoſe to Queen Elizabeth the yielding up of Calais. The loſs of this town was ſaid to have broke Queen Mary's heart, the reſtitution had been vigorouſly inſiſted upon by Queen Elizabeth, and the Spaniards themſelves, to keep up a ſhew of good intention, for ſome time ſupported her inſtances upon this head; yet now, when ſhe might have had it without any obligation to the Spaniard, ſhe anſwered very ſteadily and wiſely, That ſhe would not deſert her friends for a paltry fiſhing town (*e*). The French, upon this, finding ſhe would not go their way were obliged to go her's, and to offer a negociation in Scotland for reſtoring the peace of that kingdom. This was very readily accepted, Sir William Cecil and other Commiſſioners were diſpatched into that country, and by concluding the convention of Leith, and the treaty of Edinburgh, raiſed their miſtreſs's reputation, and ſecured the peace of the kingdom on that ſide (*f*). Upon his return he was received with great marks of eſteem by his Sovereign, who, upon the death of her good ſervant and faithful Counſellor Sir Thomas Perry, beſtowed his place of Maſter of the Wards; Jan. 10, 1561, on Sir William Cecil. As there never was a Princeſs more frugal of honours or ſlower in preferments than Queen Elizabeth, ſo the examples of pluralities under her reign were ſo very few, that it is not at all ſurpriſing they were attended with much envy (*g*). Sir William had his ſhare of this while he was Secretary only, but when he was alſo made Maſter of the Wards the clamour grew louder, but without much affecting him, for having enough to do with the Queen's buſineſs and his own, he troubled not himſelf with peoples ſpeeches. His new office brought upon him freſh cares and an additional load of buſineſs, which however he went through with patience and diligence, and diſcharged it to the ſatisfaction of all, but thoſe who were reſolved not to be ſatisfied (*b*) [*M*]. It is generally agreed, that Parliaments in this reign were very different from

(*c*) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(*d*) Camden. Annal. p. 40.

(*e*) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(*f*) Camden. Annal. p. 66, 67.

(*g*) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(*b*) See this point fully juſtified in the notes.

[*L*] *But one of the moſt important in this reign.*] We are told by the author of his life, that it was a common ſaying of this great man, *That a kingdom cannot be rich while it's coin is baſe* (62). He had indeed extraordinary judgment in things of this kind; and even in King Edward's time he had conſidered the matter very maturely, for it was with a view to this that he engaged his learned and worthy friend, Sir Thomas Smith, to write a treatiſe on the value of Roman money, which he accordingly did, and addreſſed it to Sir William Cecil (63). The truth of the matter was, that the coin had been ſcandalouſly debaſed, for the ſhilling, which in the firſt of Henry VIII contained one hundred and eighteen grains of fine ſilver, was in the latter part of his reign reduced to forty, and in the reign of Edward VI it was brought down to twenty grains (64). And this was the true cauſe of the ſuppoſed dearneſs of moſt commodities, which though in reality very little raiſed in their value, were however in appearance ſold for four or five times as much money as in former times. But this alteration, like every other meaſure of which he had the direction, was not brought about haſtily, and with violence, but in ſo eaſy, and ſo gentle a manner, that while both the Crown and people bore a ſhare in the burthen of the reformation, yet they eaſed one another ſo much, that the load was hardly felt. By proclamation (65) the value of baſe money was reduced, though not ſo low as it's intrinſick worth. At this rate, which was ſufficient to encourage the ſubject to bring it in, the Queen received it at her mint, and from thence iſſued again ſterling ſilver, for during the whole courſe of her Majeſty's reign, gold and ſilver only were coined, and the money of England, from being as bad as any, became very ſoon the faireſt and fineſt in Europe (66). This having opened a paſſage, and made ſuch a thing practicable, the prices of moſt neceſſaries were reduced, that the publick might reap the advantage of ſo wiſe a regulation. There was likewiſe due care taken, that ſoldiers, ſervants, and day-labourers, ſhould be juſtly and regularly paid, and have a ſhort and ſecure remedy againſt any that might attempt to oppreſs them. As to the firſt, it was a common ſaying in the army, during her whole reign, and it was ſurely a ſaying that did honour to her adminiſtration, *viz. The Queen pays* bountifully, *though ſhe rewards* ſparingly (67).

[*M*] *Who were reſolved not to be ſatisfied.*] His enemies were in hopes that this preferment would have been fatal to him. The poſt of Maſter of the Wards had been always executed by a Lawyer, and becauſe Sir William Cecil profeſſed himſelf none, they were ready to take him at his word, and flattered themſelves they ſhould ſoon find him tripping. Their hopes were much increaſed upon his firſt coming into the court, where

(62) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(63) Life of Sir Thomas Smith, by Strype, and the heads of the treatiſe itſelf, which is now loſt, are to be found in the Appendix.

(64) Mr Lowndes his Extract from the Mint, in Locke's Diſcourſe upon the Coin, p. 69.

(65) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(66) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 75.

(67) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, chap. i.

from what they have been ſince, and that great points of State were ſeldom ſuffered to come under the conſideration of the Houſe of Commons. There wanted not, however, ſome buſy ſpirits then as well as in ſucceeding times, who flattered themſelves with the hopes of becoming conſiderable, either by pretending to an extraordinary degree of loyalty, or a flaming zeal for their country; and theſe gave the Queen and her Miniſters no ſmall trouble, more eſpecially with regard to the ſucceſſion, a point of which they were very tender, and with very good reaſon, for the Queen being the laſt of her family, and unmarried, there wanted not ſome who were deſirous to preſs the change of her condition upon their miſtreſs, under a colour of love and reſpect, and others again were very ſollicitous to have the ſucceſſion proviſionally ſettled, as a thing equally neceſſary for the Queen's ſecurity, and the tranquillity of her ſubjects (*i*). But Elizabeth was too wiſe to conceive very highly of the fidelity of either of theſe parties, and therefore made it her conſtant ſtudy to quiet both, having very ſubſtantial reaſons againſt declaring in favour of either (*k*). This too was her Miniſter's point, which, though he managed in the Houſe of Commons with great dexterity, and, generally ſpeaking, with good effect, yet, he raiſed himſelf thereby many warm enemies amongſt both parties, who perſecuted him with all the bitterneſs and venom imaginable, by defaming him both to his Sovereign and to the people. Sir William Cecil was very ſenſible of this, and yet he was very far from retorting this uſage on his enemies; on the contrary, he was very courteous to men of all parties, received whatever informations or complaints were addreſſed to him, and did what he could towards giving every body ſatisfaction, meddling as little as it was poſſible in Court intrigues, and neglecting nothing that fell properly under his care, as a Secretary of State or Privy-Counſellor (*l*) [*N*]. It was early diſcovered, that, notwithſtanding all his fair pretences, King Philip II. of Spain was very far from being ſincerely well-affected to Queen Elizabeth, nor was that Princeſs appriſed of it earlier by any body than by her Secretary, Cecil, who from time to time laid before her the diſcoveries that were made of his Catholick Majeſty's practices, and the reaſons ſhe had to apprehend, that he meant to do her ſtill worſe offices than thoſe he had done already. Yet the Secretary conſtantly adviſed the Queen not to break with that Monarch, but to diſſemble her ſenſe of his ill uſage, and at the ſame time propoſed ſending the Lord Viſcount Montacute at the head of an embaſſy into Spain, that from time to time ſhe might find new pretences for negociations, rather than be obliged to commit hoſtilities (*m*). This the enemies of Cecil repreſented as the effects of a weak and timorous diſpoſition, detrimental to the Queen's credit abroad, and injurious to the glory of the nation. But in regard to the French, Sir William Cecil purſued quite another conduct, for he had adviſed the Queen to liſten to the propoſals made by the Proteſtants in that kingdom, and to aſſiſt them with ſhips, men, and ammunition, as well as money, which ſhe accordingly did, and this proved the cauſe of new clamours, for thoſe who before held him fearful and puſillanimous, charged him now with raſhneſs and diſregard of the publick ſafety, whereas, in fact, he acted very conſiſtently in both buſineſſes (*n*). He thought the power of the King of Spain too great to be diſputed with 'till that of his Miſtreſs

(*i*) Camden. Annal. p. 125. Strype, Hollinſhed, Stowe, &c.

(*k*) Camden, ubi ſupra. Oſborne's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Strype's Annals.

(*l*) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(*m*) Camden's Annal. p. 70.

(*n*) Strype, Hollinſhed, Stowe, &c.

where it is allowed that he turned all things upſide down; for finding the forms and practice very different from, or rather directly oppoſite to, the rules preſcribed by former maſters, he firſt conſidered them, and finding they were juſt and right, be obliged the practiſers to conform to them (68). They ſtruggled vehemently at the beginning, and talked loudly of the known forms, but Sir William Cecil told them, they muſt ſtick to the known rules, for that theſe would regulate both his conduct and theirs. Whereas by the other method they were parties, practiſers, and judges, all at once, which for his own dignity, the eaſe of the ſuitors, and the credit of the court, he could not allow (69). His method was, to hear patiently all that could be alledged without haſtily declaring his own opinion; but he held the Lawyers to the point, and would not let them digreſs to ſhow their eloquence, or their wit. His decrees were ſhort and plain, which he delivered firſt ſlowly, and with much ſolemnity, and then in a clear and regular method, he delivered the reaſons of his decree, from point to point, and would always have the latter entered with the former. He raiſed the Queen's revenue, and reformed many abuſes, but without bearing hard upon the ſubject, or making his court odious to the nobility. Contempts of the court, which before had been regarded as matters of practice, he treated ſeriouſly and ſeverely; for he ſaid, that even thoſe who could not do, were under no neceſſity of declining juſtice, and that, as he did not ſit there to oppreſs, ſo he would not be trifled with, or ſuffer the Queen's authority to be deſpiſed. He kept alſo the ſheriffs, and all the officers of the court, in great awe; and as he was very exact himſelf, ſo he loved and expected punctuality in others (70). He willingly heard the Lawyers argue in any court where he ſat, and would often argue himſelf, with great weight and perſpicuity. Yet his ſkill in the Law ſerved, in his private capacity, to no other purpoſe, than to keep clear of it; for it is ſaid, that in his whole life-time he never ſued or was ſued (71). So exact was his regard to juſtice, and ſo extenſive his patience.

(68) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(69) Remarks on the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, and upon the Character of her principal Miniſters. Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(70) Memoirs of William Cecil Lord Burleigh, p. 35, 36.

(71) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

[*N*] *As a Secretary of State, or a Privy-Counſellor.*] It might be imagined, that the great reſerve which Sir William Cecil conſtantly kept upon the ſubject of the ſucceſſion, might poſſibly ariſe from his complaiſance, or deference, for the behaviour of the Queen his miſtreſs; but it ſeems more likely, that his advice influenced her behaviour, in reference to this tickliſh point. There were no leſs than three claimants publickly mentioned, *viz.* the Queen of Scots, the family of Haſtings, and the family of Suffolk; and the partizans of each of theſe were equally vehement and loud (72). The Queen obſerved a kind of neutrality, but ſtill in ſuch a manner, as ſufficiently intimated ſhe favoured the firſt title, or rather looked upon it as the beſt, notwithſtanding the jealouſies ſhe had of her preſumptive ſucceſſor. This appeared by her confining John Hales, who wrote a book in defence of the Suffolk line (73), and by impriſoning one Thornton, upon the complaint of the Queen of Scots (74), for writing againſt her title. The Secretary kept himſelf clear of theſe buſineſſes, and never gave the leaſt intimation of his own ſentiments, farther than that he wiſhed the queſtion of the ſucceſſion might reſt during the Queen's life, or 'till ſhe thought proper to determine it in a legal way; for thus much we find delivered in ſome of his diſcourſes, all, or moſt of which, I ſuppoſe, to have been brought to the Queen's ear or eye, as being calculated entirely for her ſervice (75).

(72) See Leiceſter's Commonwealth. Doleman's Treatiſe of the Succeſſion, and other pieces of the like kind.

(73) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 410.

(74) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 128.

(75) A Meditation of the State of England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by the Lord Treaſurer of England, the Lord Burleigh, MS.

Miſtreſs was better eſtabliſhed, but he judged otherwiſe of the ſtate of the French, and was willing that the Engliſh troops ſhould gain experience, and the navy ſtrength, at the expence of a foreign power, that for many years had been practiſing againſt the ſafety of his country (*o*). It is very probable, that the moſt potent of his enemies were well enough apprized of the reaſons by which he ſupported the advices he gave to the Queen, but, as parties are very ſeldom guided by any principle, when they found themſelves, as they thought, ſtrong enough, they made no ſcruple of attacking him with all the violence imaginable; in order to which, they repreſented the ſtate of publick affairs as very dangerous, and in a manner deſperate, and charged him with being the author of all the meaſures by which they became ſo; but the Queen was too wiſe to be deceived by ſuch ſtories, and a Princeſs of too great ſpirit, to give up a Miniſter who had ſerved her faithfully, to reſentments which he had drawn upon himſelf by his fidelity in her ſervice (*p*) [*O*]. One would have imagined, that this would have ſecured Sir William Cecil from any future attacks of the like kind, but it was very far from having this effect, for as it ſhewed the Queen's high eſteem of his perſon and counſels, ſo it raiſed the malice and jealouſy of the Earl of Leiceſter, his principal competitor, to the utmoſt height, and therefore he was a conſtant ſpy upon all his actions, and left no method untried to bring about his diſgrace. Some years after, another opportunity preſented itſelf, which Leiceſter determined to make uſe of (*q*). Some Spaniſh ſhips, having great treaſure on board, put into the Engliſh ports to ſecure it from the French, and afterwards landed it, the Queen's officers aſſiſting, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador ſolemnly affirming it was his maſter's money, and that he was ſending it into the Netherlands for the pay of his army. The Secretary, in the mean time, received advice, that not one piece of eight belonged to the King of Spain, but that it was the money of ſome Genoeſe Bankers, who were in the greateſt terror, leſt the Duke of Alva ſhould convert the ſame to his Maſter's uſe, in order to carry on ſome great deſign, which the Court of Spain kept as an impenetrable ſecret. Sir William Cecil therefore adviſed the Queen to take the money herſelf, and give the Genoeſe ſecurity for it, by which method he ſhewed her, that ſhe would greatly advantage her own affairs, diſtreſs the Spaniards, relieve the Netherlands, and wrong no body (*r*). The Queen took his advice; upon which the Duke of Alva ſeized the effects of the Engliſh in the Netherlands, the Queen made repriſals, and out of them immediately indemnified her own merchants. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador at London kept no meaſures upon this occaſion. He gave Secretary Cecil ill language at the Council-Table, and libelled the Queen, by appealing to the people againſt their Sovereign's adminiſtration (*s*). This produced a great deal of diſturbance, and Leiceſter and his party took care to have it publiſhed every where, that Cecil was the ſole author of this counſel. While things were in this ferment, Leiceſter held a private conſultation with the Lords he had drawn to his intereſt, wherein he propoſed that they ſhould take this occaſion of removing a man, whom they unanimouſly hated. Some of the Lords enquiring How this could be done? Sir Nicholas Throgmorton anſwered, 'Let him be charged with ſome matter or other in Council when the Queen is not preſent, commit him to the Tower thereupon, and when he is once in priſon, we ſhall find things enough againſt him (*t*).' It ſo happened, that about this time a flagrant libel was publiſhed againſt the Nobility; Lord Leiceſter cauſed Cecil to be charged before the Council, with either being the author of it, or it's patron, of which he offered no other proof than this, that it had been ſeen on Cecil's table. This the Secretary readily confeſſed, but inſiſted that he looked upon it in the ſame light they did, as a moſt ſcandalous invective; in ſupport of which he produced his own copy with notes on the margin, affirming that he had cauſed a ſtrict enquiry to be made after the author and publiſher of the work (*u*). All this however would have been but of little uſe to him, if the Queen had not had private notice of their deſign. While therefore the Secretary was defending himſelf, ſhe (little expected, and leſs wiſhed for) entered the Council-Room, and having in few words expreſſed her diſlike of ſuch cabals, preſerved her Miniſter, and ſhewed even Leiceſter himſelf that he could not be overthrown: another ſingular inſtance of the Miniſter's good fortune, and of the Queen's firmneſs (*w*) [*P*]. The affair of the Duke of Norfolk's ruin followed,

(*o*) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(*p*) See this point clearly explained in the notes [*O*] and [*P*].

(*q*) Memoirs of the Life and Adminiſtration of William Cecil, Baron Burleigh, p. 47.

(*r*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia.

(*s*) Camden. Annal. p. 177.

(*t*) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(*u*) Memoirs of the Life and Adminiſtration of the Lord Burleigh, p. 48, 49.

(*w*) Camden Annal. p. 178.

[*O*] *By his fidelity in her ſervice.*] It is not a little uncertain when this firſt attempt was made againſt Sir William Cecil, but in all probability, as it aroſe on the ſcore of the ſuccours and money which the Queen ſent to France, it might be in the year 1553, when that matter was upon the carpet, for at that time there were abundance of ſtories ſpread about to the Secretary's diſadvantage; and this not only without regard to truth, but even with manifeſt contempt of probability; as for inſtance, that he had changed his religion in Queen Mary's time, and laboured to be Secretary, if that Princeſs would have conſented; and that, being diſappointed of his hopes, he correſponded with the Princeſs Elizabeth, and was new modelling the Court entirely to his own mind. Theſe ſtories were circulated by his enemies at home and abroad, to juſtify the attempts that were to be made to drive him out of the Queen's favour; but as ſhe knew better than any body, that what was alledged was directly falſe, that he had never diſſembled his religion, and that the motives to his conduct were very different from thoſe which were ſuggeſted, ſhe readily gueſſed at the true ſources of theſe intrigues, and gave her favourites to underſtand, that ſhe was miſtreſs of her own reſolutions, and would keep, or remove, her Miniſters, as ſhe thought proper (76).

[*P*] *And of the Queen's firmneſs.*] This ſecond ſcheme, which was carried to a much greater length than the former, or than any of the former; for Camden intimates, that there was more than one deſigned before this againſt Cecil (77), was concerted by the greateſt men in the kingdom, and may be truly conſidered as the ſtrongeſt attack that was ever made upon a Miniſter without bringing him to ruin. The beſt way of repreſenting facts of this nature is, from original writers, who lived in the times when they happened, and of theſe I ſhall produce two; the firſt is a Po-

(76) Naunton's Fragment Regalia, chap. i.

(77) Annal. Eliz. p. 178.

piſh

followed, not long after he had been embarked in the faction againſt Cecil, and therefore we find this Miniſter ſometimes charged, though very unjuſtly, with being the author of his misfortunes, a calumny from which he vindicated himſelf with candour, clearneſs, and vivacity (*x*), as equally abhorring the thoughts of revenge, and hazarding the publick ſafety, to facilitate his private advantage. The truth of the matter is, that Cecil had no greater ſhare in the Duke's misfortune, than was neceſſarily impoſed upon him by his office of Secretary, and which conſequently it was not in his power to avoid; to which we may add, that the Duke himſelf was in ſome meaſure acceſſary thereto, by acting under the deluſive influence of his capital enemy as well as Cecil's (*y*) [*Q*]. In the mean time that furious rebellion broke out in the North, which in part juſtified the truth of what he ſuggeſted to have been the real deſign of his enemies, when they laid that deep plot for his deſtruction (*z*), and he returned the Queen his miſtreſs the kindneſſes ſhe had ſhown him in preſerving him from ſo powerful a confederacy, by confounding the devices of his and her enemies, and extinguiſhing the flame of rebellion, though powerfully fomented from abroad, and ſecretly abetted by numbers at home, almoſt as ſoon as it blazed (*a*), and this, rather by the aſſiſtance afforded by his intelligence, for he was then ſole Secretary, and by the wiſe diſcourſes he penned, for he delighted in ſhowing the nation that they were governed by reaſon, and not by the Queen's will or that of her Miniſters, than by the troops that were employed, which were militia, whoſe cauſe rather than diſcipline was better than that of the rebels. Thus the prudence of Cecil prevailed more than arms, and hindered that defection from becoming general, which the Earl of Weſtmoreland's influence in the North made dangerous enough in every particular (*b*) [*R*]. After ſo glorious

(*x*) See the particulars of this in the note.

(*y*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 542.

(*z*) Biſhop Carleton's thankful Remembrances of God's Mercies, p. 15.

(*a*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*b*) See an extract of the Life of Pope Pius V. written by Jerom Catena, in Carleton's Remembrances, p. 17.

piſh writer, who ſets down the matter thus, 'Cecil 'being rejected by Queen Mary got to ſerve the Lady 'Elizabeth, and entered with her when ſhe came to 'the crown, to the change of religion, &c. the Earl 'of Arundel was cozened by him, and Bacon with 'hopes of having the Queen in marriage, &c. Theſe 'proceedings of Cecil and Bacon ſeeming intolerable 'to the antient nobility of the realm, they joined in 'the old Lord Treaſurer's houſe to pull them both from 'her Majeſty by violence, and to hang them at the 'Court gate; but Cecil eſcaped, by abuſing the Duke 'of Norfolk with weeping and fair promiſes, and paid 'him afterwards with cutting off his head, &c (78).' The other account I ſhall mention is from Camden, who, very probably, ſpoke from his own knowledge, he ſays the pretence was, the adviſing the Queen to ſeize the money that was going to the Low-Countries; but that the true reaſon was, that the great men who were concerned in this buſineſs looked upon him as a favourer of the houſe of Suffolk. Theſe great men were the Marquis of Wincheſter, Lord Treaſurer; the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Arundel, Northumberland, Weſtmorland, Pembroke, Leiceſter, and others, and that at a ſecret council held by them, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton gave it as his advice, to clap the Secretary into the Tower (79), and when he was once in priſon they ſhould find matter enough againſt him; but that the Queen coming in ſuddenly upon them ſpoiled all their projects, and protected her Miniſter from their intended malice. The writer of his life makes this to have ariſen from a ſeditious book that was publiſhed at that time, in which moſt of the Miniſters, and many of the nobility were traduced; and becauſe he had it very early in his cloſet his enemies would have ſuggeſted, that either by his direction, or at leaſt with his privity, it was written, whereas in fact he procured the book only with an intent to anſwer it; upon this, he ſays, he was called before the Council, with an intention to commit him whatever defence he might make; but that the Secretary being informed of this wrote to the Queen, who thereupon ſent orders that nothing ſhould be done to him without her knowledge, which prevented his being ſent to the Tower (80). As to the book, it is very probable, they knew more of it than he, for it was a libel penned by the Spaniſh Ambaſſador under the feigned name of Amadis Oriana, and contained abundance of ſcandalous reflections upon the Queen herſelf. It is moſt likely, that the Secretary eſcaped this dangerous contrivance, by diſcovering to the Queen what was at the bottom of it, and that was the proclaiming the Queen of Scots heir to the crown, which he well knew was a thing ſhe could not bear (81). The writer of his life ſays, that he had another, and narrower eſcape ſoon after, for a perſon being hired to ſit at the bottom of the ſtairs that led from the Queen's cloſet, and to ſtab him as he came down from thence, he had notice of it barely time enough to ſave himſelf, by going another way (82). Such were the perilous times in which this ſtateſman lived, and ſuch the deſperate politicks of thoſe who were his enemies.

(78) Extract of a Treatiſe written in Latin by John Philopatris.

(79) Camd. Annal. ubi ſupra.

(80) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(81) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 178.

(82) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

[*Q*] *Of his capital enemy as well as Cecil's.*] This Duke of Norfolk, then the only man of that quality in England, was a perſon as much admired for his virtues, and beloved for his amiable qualities, as reſpected for his high birth, and the great influence his rank, and large fortune, gave him (83). He was not, however, without his failings, and certainly he made but an indifferent judgment of men, who truſted Leiceſter and ſuſpected Cecil, which he did to ſuch a degree, that his marriage to the Queen of Scots being ſpoke of in the preſence of the Secretary, the Duke bid him *go prattle that in the Queen's ears*; to which Sir William Cecil mildly anſwered, *That though he was no tale-bearer, yet he ſhould be ready at any time to carry what might render him ſervice, for whom he had as great a regard as for any nobleman in the kingdom* (84). The Duke, who was naturally a worthy and well-natured man, took this kindly, and explained himſelf freely, upon which Sir William Cecil adviſed him to open himſelf to the Queen, and he procured him an opportunity for that purpoſe, which if he had taken, Leiceſter's ſchemes had been overturned, and the Duke had very probably ſaved his own head, and that of the Queen of Scots (85). But he was fatally blinded, and betrayed by Leiceſter. Nor did his once getting out of the Tower, and procuring the Queen's pardon, in which Cecil had a great ſhare, prevent his dipping again into the ſame dangerous practices, which in the end brought him to the ſcaffold in 1572 (86). In ſeveral papers written long after the Duke's death, the Lord Burleigh lamented his fate, and profeſſed the ſincerity of his affection towards him ſo far, as conſiſted with the care of the publick, and his duty to his ſovereign (87).

(83) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 540.

(84) Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of William Lord Burleigh, p. 50.

(85) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 540.

(86) Camden. Annal. p. 255.

(87) Particularly in his Diſcourſe of the Felicities of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, under the title of *A Meditation*, &c.

[*R*] *Made dangerous enough in every particular.*] It has been ſaid, and that from inconteſtible authorities, that in the ſuppreſſing of this rebellion Sir William Cecil exerted his abilities to the utmoſt, in three different methods, all of which were extremely well calculated for extinguiſhing this dangerous flame, and for ſecuring the publick peace (88), *viz.* I. By procuring intelligence of the manner in which theſe northern Lords intended to proceed, and of the foreign aids they hoped for, whereby their own meaſures were baffled, and the arrival of foreign troops prevented, as alſo the Queen's forces eaſier raiſed, and better poſted, than they could otherwiſe have been. II. By the publication of honeſt and pathetick writings, addreſſed to the Commons of England, wherein they were ſhewn the folly and danger of ſuch wicked proceedings, the wretched characters thoſe men had on whom they depended, and the miſerable condition they would be in when their attempts ſhould be overthrown, whereby numbers who were inclined to the party were reſtrained within the bounds of their duty, and

(88) Camden, Strype, Stowe, Hollinſhed, Rapin.

glorious an inſtance, not of his zeal and ability only, but of his ſucceſs in her ſervice, the Queen could not well avoid rewarding him, how ſparing ſoever ſhe might be in conferring honours, and therefore in February 1571, ſhe created him Baron of Burleigh, with the univerſal approbation of her ſubjects (*c*). At this time, as it appeared that he ſtood firm in the Queen's favour, of which none had intereſt enough to diſpoſſeſs him, many who had been formerly either ſecretly or openly his enemies, ſhewed an earneſt deſire of being reconciled, and living for the future upon good terms with him, which, as he was a man of a benevolent diſpoſition, and a great lover of peace, muſt have given him peculiar ſatisfaction (*d*). Amongſt theſe was Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, of all his adverſaries, the Earl of Leiceſter excepted, the moſt able and the moſt active; but this ſtep is ſaid to have coſt that gentleman dear, for he died not long after ſuddenly, and ſome ſay violently alſo (*e*.) But notwithſtanding this, our great Stateſman was very far from being ſafe, ſince, within a very ſhort time after his being raiſed to the title of Lord Burleigh, another conſpiracy againſt his life was diſcovered by one of the accomplices, which made a very great noiſe, on account of the ſhare that the Spaniſh Ambaſſador had in it, upon whom the two aſſaſſins, Barney and Mather, charged it at their execution (*f*). For this, and other offences, the ſaid Ambaſſador was ordered to depart the kingdom. To comfort the Lord Burleigh under the ſenſe he muſt have of his danger, as well as to reward him for his diligence and fidelity, the Queen, in the month of June 1572, made him Knight of the Garter (*g*); and in the month of September following, upon the death of the Marquis of Wincheſter, Lord High-Treaſurer, Lord Burleigh was raiſed to that great office (*h*), which brought with it a new acceſſion of cares, and an additional load of buſineſs, which however he went through with ſo much prudence and patience, as amazed that age, and will hardly be believed in this (*i*) [*S*]. If we ſhould particularly take notice of all the great tranſactions in which he had a principal ſhare, this article would ſwell into a hiſtory, but it is ſufficient for our purpoſe to obſerve, that tho' few Princes ſhewed a greater jealouſy than Queen Elizabeth did of her authority, yet there hardly ever was a Miniſter in this kingdom that had a larger ſhare of power than the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh (*k*). It was by his advice that all foreign affairs were tranſacted, except the ſending over the Earl of Leiceſter into Holland, which was the pure effect of that Nobleman's own contrivance (*l*). In all affairs of the Church he was applied to as it's ſteady friend and conſtant protector, which was very probably the reaſon, that his competitor Leiceſter ſet himſelf at the head of the Puritans (*m*). As Chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, the Lord Treaſurer had a large province under his peculiar inſpection, and the reſpect which he had for that learned body, ſhewed itſelf by a diligence in promoting their intereſts, compoſing their differences, and preferring their members in ſuch a degree, that upon the peruſal of the addreſſes made to him on this head only, one cannot help admiring, how he could find time to take ſuch conſtant and particular notice of them as he did (*n*). Beſides all this, the buſineſs of the Treaſury was done with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs and punctuality; the diſburſements from thence were made with the greateſt exactneſs, ſo that every body who had any thing to do with the Crown, was ſecure of juſtice, as well as obliged to do juſtice (*o*). His Lordſhip heard cauſes alſo in the Exchequer and in the Star-Chamber, aſſiſted conſtantly at the Privy-Council, and in the time of Parliament managed the buſineſs of the Crown in the Houſe of Peers (*p*). The diſcharge of ſuch a variety of duties muſt have been very fatiguing, and yet they were much heightened by other difficulties he had to ſtruggle with. The Popiſh and Spaniſh emiſſaries, but more eſpecially the Jeſuits, were his mortal enemies, and not contented with aſperſing and defaming him at home, publiſhed voluminous libels abroad, of which he had conſtant intelligence, and to

(*c*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 406. Pat. 14 Eliz. p. 9. Fuller's Holy State, p. 256.

(*d*) Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of William Lord Burleigh, p. 5.

(*e*) Camden Annal. Eliz. p. 221, 222.

(*f*) Carleton's Remembrances, p. 33.

(*g*) Aſhmole's Order of the Garter, p. 715.

(*h*) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XVI. p. 716. Stowe's Annals, p. 672. Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1864.

(*i*) See this explained in the note.

(*k*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, chap. v.

(*l*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 195.

(*m*) Strype's Annals. Life of Archbiſhop Parker. Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift.

(*n*) See the Letters to, and Anſwers by, the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, in the Appendixes to the ſeveral books cited in the foregoing note.

(*o*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*p*) Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of William Lord Burleigh, p. 69.

and inclined rather to keep their lives and eſtates in peace, than to hazard both in other folks quarrels. Theſe pieces are yet extant, and ſhew clearly what ſort of writings are beſt ſuited to the minds of the Engliſh nation, as well as what may be expected from an honeſt explanation of meaſures well deſigned. III. The Secretary exerted a ſkill in politicks unknown to any other man or times. He laid hold of the information from various counties of ſtrollers, vagabonds, and idle perſons, and directing a private ſearch on a day certain throughout the kingdom, he ſhut up ſome thouſands of diſorderly people, and thereby preſerved the publick peace, and the priſoners themſelves. It was by theſe wiſe, legal, and gentle methods, that he extricated the Queen and the nation, from the terrors of this publick calamity, which if it recommended him to his ſovereign's favour, procured alſo the people's applauſe.

[*S*] *And will hardly be believed in this.*] We will ſtate at once the facts themſelves, and the evidence by which they are ſupported, and this by citing what is ſaid by the writer of his life, who ſpoke only of what he ſaw and knew. This then is his account (89). 'The reputation of his juſtice, and of his integrity, 'drew upon him ſuch a multitude of ſuits as was 'incredible, except to us who ſaw it. For beſides all 'buſineſs in Council, or other weighty cauſes, and 'ſuch as were anſwered by word of mouth, there was 'not a day in Term wherein he received not threeſcore, 'fourſcore, or a hundred petitions, which he commonly read that night, and gave every man an anſwer the next morning as he went to the hall. 'Whence the excellence of his memory was greatly 'admired, for when any of theſe petitioners told him 'their names, or what countrymen they were, he 'preſently entered into the merit of his requeſt, and 'having diſcuſſed it, gave him his anſwer. Nor was 'this his practice towards perſons of condition only, 'but he would anſwer the pooreſt ſoul in the world by 'word of mouth: and when at any time hs was forced 'to keep his chamber, or his bed, he took order that 'poor ſuitors ſhould ſend in their petitions ſealed. 'Upon every petition he cauſed his anſwer to be written on the backſide, and ſubſcribed it with his own 'name. Thus he held on his courſe like himſelf, 'prayed for by the poor, honoured by the rich, 'feared by the bad, and loved by the good. To his 'Prince, and country, loyal, and to the ſubjects moſt 'pleaſing. For wondering at his great wiſdom and 'gravity, praiſing his juſtice and integrity, moſt men 'honoured him with the title of Father of the Commonwealth.'

(89) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

[*T*] *And*

to which he never failed to give ſober and ſuitable anſwers, and in them defended not only his own cauſe, but the cauſes of other Miniſters, and of his Queen and country alſo (*q*) [*T*]. At Court likewiſe, he was for many years in a ſtate of continual apprehenſion, having to do with men that ſtuck at nothing to ſerve their purpoſes, who as ſoon as one ſcheme was detected, invented another, and when their old inſtruments were either puniſhed, or deſerted their ſervice, always knew where to find out others (*r*). By their intrigues and oppoſition, the Treaſurer found himſelf often in ſuch perillous circumſtances, that he had thoughts of reſigning, and ſeeking in privacy and retirement that peace, which, from experience he learned, was incompatible with power. But the Queen hindered him from this, and was ſo far from liſtening to any propoſals of that ſort when he made them, that ſhe was wont to treat them as the effects of low ſpirits and the ſpleen, upon which ſhe ſometimes wrote him letters (*s*) with great vivacity and freedom [*U*]. But his diſquietudes were

(*q*) Of theſe there are many publiſhed by Strype and others, but there are many more in MS.

(*r*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 201.

(*s*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 166.

[*T*] *And of his Queen and country alſo.*] There never was a Miniſter, that with ſo much power as Lord Burleigh had, picqued himſelf ſo much upon acting always according to reaſon. We have already mentioned his declaring conſtantly in the Court of Wards, in the Court of Exchequer, and in the Star-Chamber, the motives of his decrees; and whenever his publick actions were queſtioned, he was no leſs ready to juſtify himſelf in reſpect to them. In general, there came out nothing abroad, there was nothing tranſlated ſent over privately, and diſperſed here at home, to the diſcredit of the Queen's government, or might contribute to heighten the ſpirit of diſaffection amongſt her ſubjects, but he preſently wrote, or cauſed to be wrote, an anſwer to it, in which every point was diſtinctly conſidered, and either fully juſtified, or clearly refuted. Of theſe there are many extant in print, ſome known to be his, others not; but there are others which now remain only in manuſcript, though I ſuppoſe that theſe were printed and diſperſed, but being ſmall pieces, were very quickly loſt, ſo that nothing but the originals remain. As for inſtance, upon the coming out of a large Latin libel abroad, the Lord Burleigh wrote a ſhort and clear anſwer to it, which I have now lying before me, and I take it to be the very libel from whence the reader has already ſeen ſome extracts. The title of his lordſhip's anſwer (90), for though the libel was printed whilſt he was Secretary, yet it did not appear 'till he was Lord Treaſurer, run in theſe words, 'Slanders and lies, maliciouſly, groſsly, and impudently, vomited out, in certain traiterous books and 'pamphlets, concerning two counſellors, Sir *Nicholas* 'Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and Sir 'William Cecil, Principal Secretary of State to her 'Majeſty.' He then ſtates, in few words, the amount of what is aſſerted, under the title of objections; and that the reader may the better conceive the nature of his lordſhip's deſign, we will mention theſe objections in his own words. I. *That they are of baſe degree, and the firſt gentlemen of their genealogy.* In anſwer to this he remarks, on behalf of Sir William Cecil, that there were very few gentlemen capable of proving a better deſcent than he; for as he obſerves, when King Edward III. was in Scotland, there aroſe a diſpute between Sir John Sitſilt and Sir William Fakenham about their arms, upon which a duel would have enſued, if the King had not forbid it, and left the deciſion to the Lord Mowbray, and another Lord; who, upon a fair hearing, certified under their hands, that Sir John Sitſilt was lineally deſcended from James Sitſilt, Baron of Beauport, who was ſlain at the ſiege of Wallingford caſtle, in the reign of King Stephen; that from this John Stitſilt, Sir William Cecil lineally deſcended, not indeed of the elder line, for the grandfather of the ſaid Sir William was the younger brother of Richard Cecil of Alterennes in Hertfordſhire, and fled to Henry VII in Brittany, when he was only Earl of Richmond, and for his ſervice there was rewarded, by that prince, with certain lands in Lincolnſhire, in fee-farm, which lands are now, by deſcent, in poſſeſſion of Sir William Cecil. This David Cecil, his grandfather, married an heireſs, and ſo did his ſon Richard, which lady, mother of Sir William Cecil, is living, and proofs are in the hands of the family of three hundred years old, not to mention the Welſh books, wherein they are recorded to be of the ſtock of the ancient Britons, ſo far is he from being the firſt gentleman of his family. II. *They abaſe the Nobility of this realm.* It is ſaid in anſwer to this, that theſe two counſellors act in conjunction with many of the nobility, from whom, upon all occaſions, they have received the higheſt aſſurances of friendſhip and good will, which would never have happened had this been true, that neither of theſe counſellors have, or ever ſought to have, Lands, Houſes, or Goods, of any nobleman attainted; nor do they enjoy any of the offices by ſuch formerly poſſeſſed. If any of the noblemen, who have brought themſelves to diſaſters, who were formerly their friends, had followed their advice and counſels, they had undoubtedly avoided their ill fate, as ſome have confeſſed; and that thoſe mentioned in the libel, and adviſed to be wary of theſe counſellors, have publickly declared, that they are ready to defend the integrity of the ſaid two counſellors, to the Queen and ſtate, with their tongues and ſwords, againſt whoever ſhall deſame them. III. *They two attempt to alter the ſucceſſion of the Crown, and to ſet up the houſe of Suffolk, with whom they are allied, and their children incorporated.* It is aſſerted, in diſproof of this, that both theſe counſellors laboured heartily, and ſincerely, to perſuade her Majeſty to marriage, that the dominions of her royal anceſtors might deſcend to the iſſue of her body; and that none were ſo much prejudiced by her Majeſty's rejecting that advice, as theſe two counſellors. That as to the houſe of Suffolk, it is a ſtrange reaſon given for their partiality, that they are allied to it, becauſe no allowance is made for their alliance to the Duke of Norfolk; though the daughter of one of theſe counſellors married the couſin-german of this Duke, and the Duke left his ſon, the Earl of Surry, at the time of his deceaſe, to the care of one of theſe counſellors. That in regard to the houſe of Suffolk, neither of them had interfered, for the preſervation of the Earl of Hertford, or of the Lady Catharine, who was the immediate heir of that houſe; the former lying in priſon many years, and the latter 'till ſhe was releaſed by death, the marriage between them diſſolved by ſentence, and the Earl himſelf fined twenty thouſand pounds for his offence; from all which it is very clear, that either theſe counſellors have not that power, which in this libel they are ſuggeſted to have, or elſe far from ſhowing their attachment, they have given no great proofs of their goodwill to the houſe of Suffolk.

(90) Taken from a Copy of this Diſcourſe, a MS.

[*U*] *With great vivacity and freedom.*] At ſuch a diſtance of time as this, it is almoſt impoſſible to gueſs what were the particular cauſes that made the Lord Treaſurer, at this time, ſo very uneaſy; and yet, conſidering the vaſt number of hiſtories, annals, memoirs, and political treatiſes, relating to that reign, this ſhould ſeem but an indifferent excuſe. We will therefore uſe our endeavours to give the reader ſome hints of what might probably create in the Lord Treaſurer a deſign of retiring (91). In the firſt place, the Spaniſh and Popiſh faction clamoured againſt him loudly at home and abroad, repreſenting him as the ſole author of their perſecution in England; and the Puritans alſo were very little ſatisfied, becauſe of his great regard for the Biſhops, his preſerving the revenues, and ſupporting the authority of the Church upon all occaſions. In the next place, there was a ſtrong party againſt him in the Queen's council, who made falſe and malicious comments upon every thing he advanced, or approved, which party he began now to fear, more eſpecially as the Earl of Leiceſter had ſet himſelf openly at their head; and laſtly, he thought the Queen herſelf did not ſuſtain him in things of very great importance, but on the contrary affected to ſtand neuter, and even to endure a behaviour which he thought injurious to her authority; and beſides all this, we have ſome hints of other uneaſineſſes in the ſpring of 1583, for while he was raiſed at abroad as the enemy, his miſtreſs ſometimes affected to ſuſpect him of a ſecret friendſhip for,

(91) Theſe particulars are collected by comparing Camden, Hollingſhed, Stowe, and the private Memoirs and State Papers of that Reign.

were confined to his hours of privacy, he never ſuffered them to break in upon the publick buſineſs, nor is there a ſingle mark of timidity viſible in the long courſe of his adminiſtration. On the contrary, his counſels were remarkably vigorous, for he maturely weighed things before he came himſelf to any ſettled determination; but when that was once fixed, he was againſt delays, and laboured for a briſk and ſpeedy execution (*t*). He was no diſſembler himſelf, and he hated thoſe that were, as appears by the plainneſs with which he wrote his mind to the potent Earl of Leiceſter, when he thought he had evidence of his treating him in an unfriendly manner (*u*). Neither was he deterred from doing whatever he thought became him in his offices, by any conſideration of the conſequences, as is moſt evident from his conduct in the moſt critical ſervice in which he ever engaged, *viz.* the trial, condemnation, and execution of the Queen of Scots. It is certain that this meaſure was very ſtrongly promoted, if not originally propoſed, by the Lord Treaſurer (*w*), after the diſcovery of that called Babington's conſpiracy; from a perſuaſion, that the Queen his miſtreſs could never be ſafe in her perſon and government, while her competitor was living. It was from him that Popham, the Queen's Attorney-General, received his inſtructions, as to the method of forming the commiſſion, and of drawing the indictment, as well as every other ſtep that was of particular weight or moment in that whole tranſaction (*x*). He aſſiſted alſo at her trial in quality of one of the Lords Commiſſioners (*y*); and it is plain enough from what paſſed upon that occaſion, that the Queen of Scots looked upon him as one of the principal inſtruments of her deſtruction (*z*) [*W*]. There was a conſiderable interval between the time of paſſing the ſentence and the putting it in execution, during which, ſeveral applications were made to Queen Elizabeth that the ſentence might take effect; to which her Majeſty, either through prudence, pity, or an affectation of clemency, ſeemed always very averſe, and frequently intimated, that ſome other way ſhould be taken for the ſecurity of her own perſon, than this, of publickly executing a Lady of her own blood, whom ſhe had ſo often honoured with the appellation of ſiſter (*a*).

(*t*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 475.

(*u*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 456.

(*w*) Camden's Annals, p. 485.

(*x*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 362, 363.

(*y*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 145.

(*z*) Manner of proceeding againſt the Q. of Scots at Fotheringay-Caſtle, &c.

(*a*) Carleton's Remembrances, p. 123.

At

(92) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 383, 384, 385.

and intelligence with, the Queen of Scots (92); in the ſame manner as before ſhe had hinted at his great affection for the Duke of Norfolk, and yet, after that Nobleman was beheaded, placed that to his account, as we ſhall hereafter ſee ſhe did the Queen of Scots; ſo that reflecting on the dangers and difficulties paſt, finding himſelf in preſent trouble, and foreſeeing new perils that were to come, he ſollicited his miſtreſs for leave to reſign in the month of April, upon which ſhe wrote him the following letter, which it appears, by an endorſement in his own hand-writing, he received on the 8th of May (93). It is impoſſible to give any key to the particular expreſſions in it, or why ſhe calls him Spirit, which in the manuſcript is wrote Sprite; and I cannot help thinking, the Queen uſed it in the ſame ſenſe as we do the word Ghoſt, alluding to the vulgar opinion, that there is no touching or ſtriking a ghoſt; but this I leave to the reader's deciſion, when he has read the letter, which runs thus (94).

(93) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 166.

(94) Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of Lord Burleigh. See alſo another inſtance of this kind, in note [*Z*]

'Sir Spirit,

'I Doubt I do nickname you: For thoſe of your kind, they ſay, have no ſenſe; but I have of late ſeen an *Ecce ſignum*, that if an aſs kick you, you feel it ſoon. I will recant you from being Spirit, if ever I perceive that you diſdain not ſuch a feeling. Serve God, fear the King, and be a good fellow to the reſt. Let never care appear in you for ſuch a rumour, but let them well know, that you rather deſire the righting of ſuch wrong, by making known their error, than you to be ſo ſilly a ſoul as to foreſlow that you ought to do, or not freely deliver what you think meeteſt, and paſs of no man ſo much as not to regard her truſt, who putteth it in you.

'God bleſs you, and long may you laſt *omnino*.'

E. R.

[*W*] *As one of the principal inſtruments of her deſtruction.*] It will be requiſite, in order to render what is ſaid in the text abſolutely perſpicuous, to give here a ſuccinct account of the principal ſteps taken in this myſterious affair. In the firſt place, after the general aſſociation for the defence of Queen Elizabeth's perſon, the ſame was confirmed by an Act of Parliament in the 27th of that Queen's reign, *Anno Domini* 1585, intituled, *An Act for the ſecurity of the Queen's royal perſon, and the continuance of the realm in peace.* By which law her Majeſty was enabled, in caſe any perſon pretending title to the Crown after her deceaſe, ſhould compaſs or imagine any thing to the hurt of her Majeſty's perſon; or if any other ſhould compaſs or imagine ſuch a deſign, with the privity of a perſon ſo claiming, to iſſue a commiſſion under her Great Seal, to the Lords of her Privy-Council, and other Lords of Parliament, to the number of twenty-four at leaſt, who, with the aſſiſtance of the Judges, ſhould have power to examine all the offences aforeſaid, and circumſtances thereof, and thereupon to give ſentence, or judgment, as upon good proof to them ſhould appear, and after ſuch ſentence and declaration thereof, publiſhed by proclamation under the Great Seal, all perſons againſt whom ſuch ſentence ſhould be given, were diſabled for ever to have or claim the Crown; and thereupon her Highneſs's ſubjects may lawfully, by virtue of this act, and her Majeſty's direction, purſue to death, by all poſſible means, every ſuch wicked perſons (95). On the 14th of Sept. 1586, Anthony Babington was condemned, and on the 20th of the ſame month executed for a conſpiracy againſt the Queen, to which the Queen of Scots was ſuppoſed to be privy (96). In the month of October following, the Queen granted a commiſſion for the trial of the Queen of Scots, directed to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Bromley, Knight, Chancellor of England, William Lord Burleigh, Lord Treaſurer, &c (97). In purſuance of that ſtatute, and on the 11th of October the Commiſſioners came to Fotheringay Caſtle in Northamptonſhire, before whom the Queen was brought, and a long charge exhibited againſt her, at which time the Lord Treaſurer delivered himſelf in very ſtrong terms, and particularly ſaid, *Many things you have propounded time after time concerning your liberty, that they have failed of ſucceſs is along of you or the Scots, and not of the Queen. For the Lords of Scotland actually refuſed to deliver the King as an hoſtage, and when the laſt treaty was held concerning your liberty*, Parry *was ſent privately by* Morgan, *a dependant of your's, to murder the Queen.* At theſe words the Queen of Scots cried out, *Ah! you are my adverſary* To whom the Lord Treaſurer anſwered, *Yea, I am adverſary to Queen Elizabeth's adverſaries.* At the ſame time the Lord Treaſurer mentioned her intention to convey her title to the Spaniard, and then took occaſion to ſhew, that the kingdom of England could not be conveyed (98). The Court was then prorogued to the twenty-fifth of October, at the Star-chamber at Weſtminſter, and on that day ſentence was given againſt the Queen of Scots agreeable to the ſtatute before-mentioned. Upon this, in the enſuing Parliament, applications were made to the Queen both by the Lords and Commons, that the ſentence might be publiſhed and executed, which ſhe declined; but afterwards, in the month of December, it was proclaimed by the Queen's orders as the Act of Parliament directed (99), and in the February following it was executed.

(95) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 145.

(96) Carleton's Remembrances, p. 119.

(97) See the commiſſion at large in Camden, and from him in the State Trials.

(98) Camd. Annal. p. 504.

(99) State Trials, Vol. I.

[*X*] *And*

At last however, she, of her own motive, sent for Davison, who was Secretary of State, and directed him to prepare a warrant, which was to be carried to the Chancellor, that the mandate for her execution might pass the Great Seal (*b*). This was accordingly done, and she signed it, and Davison thereupon acquainted the Lords of the Privy-Council, of whom the Lord Treasurer was the chief, and by their direction it was sent to Fotheringay-castle, where the Queen was actually put to death (*c*), Feb. 8, 1586-7. It is impossible to say what were the real sentiments of Queen Elizabeth in reference to this affair, for when she first heard it she showed excessive concern, broke out into tears, put on mourning, and in her letters to King James, solemnly and positively denied her giving orders for his mother's execution, or that she had it at all in her intention (*d*); adding, however, that the thing was just, and that therefore if she had commanded, she would have avowed it. To give the greater colour of truth to what she affirmed, she directed Secretary Davison to be prosecuted, as he was, in the Star-Chamber (*e*); forbid Lord Burleigh's appearing in her presence; and behaved towards him in other respects with such severity, as seemed calculated to prove, that she was truly much offended at what he had done; nor was it without great difficulty, and many submissions, that he recovered her favour, and this very slowly, and as it were with reluctancy (*f*) [*X*]. After this storm was blown over, he had the same credit and power as ever, and was the person to whom almost all kind of intelligence was addressed, and by whom all matters of importance, of what nature soever, were commonly dispatched; and though his strength began to decline, and his constitution was greatly impaired by such a series of continual labours, yet he was to the full as careful and assiduous as ever, drawing most of the State-papers of importance with his own hand, and giving constant attendance both at the Council and in the Star-Chamber (*g*). All these high employments and arduous cares, did not, however, hinder him from entering with the utmost tenderness into the duties of private life, so that we find him deeply affected with the death of his mother, which happened March 10, 1587, upon which the Queen

(*b*) See Davison's Apology.

(*c*) Camden. Annal. p. 537.

(*d*) Hist. of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 335.

(*e*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 625.

(*f*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 374.

(*g*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

[*X*] *And as it were with reluctancy.*] In order to apprehend clearly what share the Lord Treasurer Burleigh had in this transaction, and what reason her Majesty might derive from thence to be offended with him, it will be necessary to look upon Secretary Davison's Apology, in which there is the best and most authentick account of this matter any where extant (100).

(100) Ap. Camd. Annal. p. 545.

'The Queen (says he) after the departure of the 'French and Scotish Ambassadors, of her own motion, 'commanded me to deliver her the warrant, for exe- 'cuting the sentence against the Queen of Scots; 'when I had delivered it, she signed it readily with 'her own hand; when she had so done, she com- 'manded it to be sealed with the Great Seal of Eng- 'land, and, in a jesting manner, said, Go tell all this 'to Walsingham, who is now sick, although I fear he 'will die for sorrow when he hears it. She adding 'also the reasons of deferring it so long, namely, lest 'she might seem to have been violently or maliciously 'drawn thereto, whereas, in the mean time, she was 'not ignorant how necessary it was. Moreover she 'blamed Powlet and Drury that they had not eased 'her of this care, and wished that Walsingham would 'feel their pulses touching this matter. The next day, 'after it was under the Great Seal, she commanded 'me, by Killigrew, that it should not be done; and 'when I had informed her that it was done already, 'she found fault with such great haste, telling me, 'that in the judgment of some wise men another 'course might be taken. I answered, that that course 'was always best and safest which was most just. 'But fearing lest she would lay the fault upon me (as 'she had laid the putting of the Duke of Norfolk to 'death upon the Lord Burleigh) I acquainted Hatton 'with the whole matter, protesting that I would not 'plunge myself any deeper in so great a business. He 'presently imparted it to the Lord Burleigh, and the 'Lord Burleigh to the rest of the Council, who all 'consented to have the execution hastened, and every 'one of them vowed to bear an equal share in the 'blame, and sent Beale away with the warrant and 'letters. The third day after, when, by a dream 'which she told of the Queen of Scots death, I per- 'ceived that she wavered in her resolution, I asked 'her, Whether she had changed her mind? she an- 'swered, No, but another course (said she) might 'have been devised; and withal she asked me, Whe- 'ther I had received any answer from Powlet? whose 'letter, when I had shewed her (101), wherein he 'flatly refused to undertake that which stood not with 'honour and justice, she, waxing angry, accused him 'and others (who had bound themselves by the asso- 'ciation) of perjury, and breach of their vow, as those 'that had promised great matters for their Prince's 'safety, but would perform nothing. Yet there are '(said she) who will do it for my sake. But I shewed 'her how dishonourable and unjust a thing this would 'be; and withal, into how great danger she would 'bring Powlet and Drury by it. For if she approved 'the fact, she would draw upon herself both danger 'and dishonour, not without censure of injustice; 'and if she disallowed it, she would utterly undo men 'of great desert, and their whole posterity. And 'afterwards she gave me a light check, the same day 'that the Queen of Scots was executed, because she 'was not yet put to death.' It seems from hence, that the Lord Burleigh was to bear only his share of this offence, the whole load of which however devolved solely upon him. So that he was a fortnight restrained from Court and from the Queen's presence, notwithstanding that in that space he wrote several letters to the Queen, some parts of which have been published, and show them to be very submissive at least, if not something more (102). At last, upon his coming to Court, he was very strangely treated, so that he thought fit of himself to refrain coming to the Council-Table, and, to justify his behaviour in that point, he wrote a paper which he sent to the Vice-Chamberlain, dated March 15, beginning with these words (103): 'I am 'so wounded in the heart, with the late sharp and 'piercing speeches of her Majesty to myself, in the 'hearing of my Lord of Leicester and Mr Secretary 'Walsingham, expressing therewith her indignation, 'at such time as I was called to her presence for mat- 'ters of the Low-Countries, myself giving no occasion 'by any speech of the matter of the Queen of Scots, 'until her Majesty did charge me therewith; as since 'regarding in great anguish of heart the weight of her 'Majesty's displeasure so settled and increased, as I 'then deeply conceived, and mine own humility not 'being able to abide the continuance of such her dis- 'pleasure, I am therefore most careful how by any 'means possible I may shun all increase of the weight 'thereof; knowing it very true, that was said by the 'most wise King, *Indignatio Principis Mors est.* And 'though my conscience doth certainly bear witness 'with me in the sight of God, that I never had 'thought, nor did ever any act, with mind to offend 'her Majesty. But now finding this heavy burthen of 'her Majesty's displeasure in mine old years, so long 'faithfully, painfully, and dangerously spent only 'for her service, to be lately rather increased, since 'her Majesty's princely compassion permitted me to her 'presence, a few days past, I have great cause to fear, 'that this increase groweth more by means of some 'secret enemies to myself, than of any influence of 'her own princely nature.'

(101) See both Walsingham's and Davison's Letter to Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury, and their Answer, in Robert of Glocester's Chronicle published by Thomas Hearne, Vol. II. p. 673.

(102) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 370.

(103) Strype's Appendix, p. 145.

[*Y*] *Some*

Queen sent to condole with him, but being at the same time mindful of her own affairs; advised him to seek relief from his melancholy, not by shutting himself up, but by engaging more earnestly in publick business (*h*). In the succeeding troublesome year, when the Spanish invasion threatened the kingdom with a dangerous war at home, the Lord Treasurer drew up those schemes for the defence of England, that were followed with so great success, and his eldest son Thomas, by his own choice, as well as his father's command, ventured his life freely in that fleet, which, under the command of the Lord High-Admiral Howard, gloriously defeated that, which had been so falsely, as well as foolishly, stiled the Invincible Armada (*i*). It was not long after this, the Lord Treasurer met with the severest stroke in his family that he had ever yet felt, by the death of his beloved wife, April 4, 1589, after they had lived together in the sincerest harmony and affection for three and forty years (*k*). She is allowed to have been one of the most extraordinary women of her time, in point of piety, learning, and prudence, of which posterity has received many, and those too unexceptionable testimonies, of which, in the note, some notice shall be taken (*l*) [*Y*]. The loss of her affected the Treasurer to a great degree, as appears plainly by many of his writings, and made a great alteration in his temper; so that, notwithstanding the death of some whom he took to be his adversaries, by which undoubtedly his authority was augmented, and the promotion of his son Robert who grew daily more and more into the Queen's favour, he became very thoughtful and melancholy, and, about two years after, was very earnest and sollicitous for leave to quit his employments, that he might spend the remainder of his days in quiet (*m*). But the Queen who saw no decay in his abilities, and who, though she willingly granted all the indulgencies possible to his infirmities, would by no means consent to that; on the contrary, as she had formerly rallied him out of a design of the same kind, so she had now recourse again to the like method, and by a paper written with great wit and spirit, diverted him absolutely from this serious purpose (*n*) [*Z*]. The remaining part of his life was spent in the discharge of his high and painful office, with all the care and diligence, all the study and application possible; nor do we find that he gave himself any relaxations, even in his last days, beyond what the weakness of his body, and the diseases he laboured under, absolutely

(*h*) Strype's Annals. Vol. III. p. 488.

(*i*) Camden. Annal. p. 582.

(*k*) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 337.

(*l*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*m*) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 77.

(*n*) See this paper at large in the note.

[*Y*] *Some notice shall be taken.*] This Lady, who was the daughter of Sir Anthony Cook, died in the sixty-third year of her age, having been the faithful companion of her husband in all his fortunes, from the first rise of them in the reign of Henry VIII, to their completion under Queen Elizabeth (104). She was wonderfully learned, especially in the Greek tongue, as appears from the testimony of the Lord Burleigh himself, and of several other great men, and of which she left clear evidence, in a letter penned by her in that language to the university of Cambridge, upon her sending thither a Hebrew Bible, by way of present to the Library (105). She had read most of the Greek Fathers with great diligence and critical accuracy, and was one of the greatest patronesses of her time, maintaining for many years two scholars at St John's College in Cambridge, and before her death rendered this perpetual, by procuring lands to be bought in the name of the Dean of Westminster, and by him assigned to the college. She likewise gave the Haberdashers company in London, a sum to enable them to lend to six poor men twenty pounds a-piece every two years; and a charity of the like kind of twenty marks, to six poor people at Waltham and Cheshunt in Hertfordshire. Four times every year she relieved all the poor prisoners in London, and many other acts of benevolence she did, with as great secrecy as generosity; so that she seems to have well deserved all the praises that have been, by different writers, bestowed upon her memory (106).

(104) Extract from Lord Burleigh's Latin inscription intended for his Lady's tomb.

(105) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 595, 597.

(106) Dedication of the History of France to one of her daughters, in which is a large character of this Lady.

[*Z*] *From this serious purpose.*] It would be a very difficult, perhaps an impracticable, task, should one endeavour to write a commentary capable of explaining the following singular piece, and therefore we shall leave it entirely to the contemplation of the reader; observing only, that it is a strong piece of irony throughout, in which the Queen seems to rally the pains taken by her Minister, in the more vigorous part of his life, to adorn and beautify his *villa* for the sake of recreation, and when older, and wanting that recreation most, wished to turn it into a gloomy retreat, where he might wear away his lonesome hours in brooding over his cares (107).

(107) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 77.

'ELIZABETHA *Anglorum, id est, a nitore Angelorum Regina formosissima & felicissima:* To the disconsolate and retired Spryte, the Heremite of Tybole, and to al oother disaffected sowles, claiming by, from, or under, the said Heremit, sendeth greeting: Whereas in our high Coourt of Chancerie it is given us to understand, that you Sir Heremite, the abandonate of nature's fair works, and servaunt to Heaven's woonders, have, for the space of two years and two moonthes, possessed yoorself of fair Tybollet, with her sweet rosary the same tyme, the recreation of our right trusty and right wel beloved Sir William Sitsilt, Knt. leaving to him the old rude repoze, wherein twice five years (at his cost) yoor contemplate life was relcived, which place and fate inevitable hath brought greefs innumerable (for lover greef biddeth no compare) suffering yoor solitary eye to bring into hiz house desolation and moorning, joyes destroyers, and annoye frendes, whereby Paradice is grown wildernefs, and for green grass are comen gray hearz, with cruel banishment from the frute of long laboure, the possession whereof he hath holden many yearz, the want of the mean profit thereof (health and gladness) having been greatly to his hindrance, which tooucheth us much in the interest we have in his faithful fervicez, besides the law of his looving neibours and frends infinite, as by the record of their countenaunce most plainly may appear.

'Wee, upon advised consideration, have commanded you Heremit to yoor old cave, too good for the forsaken, too bad for oour worthily belooved Coouncillour. And becauz we greatly tender yoour comfort, we have given poour to oour Chauncillour to make oout such and so many writs, as to him shal be thought good, to abjure desolations and mourning (the consumer of sweetness) to the frozen seas, and Deserts of Arabia Petrosa, upon pain of 500 despights to their terror and contempt of their torments, if they attempt any part of yoour hoous again: Enjoyning you to the enjoyment of yoour own hoous and delight, without memory of any mortal accident or wretched adversary.

'And for that you have been so good a servaunt to common tranquility, we command solace to give the full and pacifick possession of al and every part thereof: Not departing until oour favour (that ever hath inclined to your meek nature) have assured you peace in the possession thereof. Wherein we command al cauſez within the prerogative of oour high favour to give you no interruption. And this under the paine aforesaid they shal not omit. *Teste meipsa apud Tyboles*, 10^mo *die Maii Regni nostri* 33°.'

On the backside of this charter is Per Cancellor. Angl.

CHR. HATTON.

[*A A*] *Of*

lutely required (*o*). In the year 1592, beſides all the great pains he took in the Treaſury and in the Privy-Council, he was alſo charged with the management of the Queen's concerns in the Houſe of Peers, more eſpecially with a view to obtain ſuch a ſupply from Parliament, as her Majeſty's occaſions at that time neceſſarily required, in furtherance of which we have a copy of the ſpeech he made in the Upper Houſe, in which there is a very large, diſtinct, and curious detail, of the general ſtate of affairs in Europe at that time, and which affords us a much better notion of the ſtate of things at that ſeaſon, than almoſt any of the Hiſtories that are extant (*p*) [*AA*]. In the next year we find him extreamly occupied, as well in providing for the ſucceſs of his Miſtreſs's arms abroad, as for preſerving the peace and tranquillity of the nation at home; in reference to which there are many papers of his ſtill preſerved, which, at the ſame time that they ſhow he really occupied the poſt of Prime-Miniſter, and directed whatever was undertaken in almoſt every branch of the adminiſtration, demonſtrate alſo, that he did this with equal diligence and exactneſs, conſidering every head by itſelf, ſetting down under it the ſeveral points to be provided for, and the means by which they might be provided (*q*). To him we find all degrees of people addreſſing themſelves to the very laſt; the Biſhops and Clergy, ſome for encouragement, ſome for protection, and many for preferment; the Puritans and Sectaries, for favourable treatment and compaſſion; many of the fugitives abroad for pardon, in conſideration of the intelligence they gave him of the deſigns of the King of Spain, and of others the Queen's enemies; the Lieutenants of ſeveral counties for inſtructions and advice; the Lord High-Admiral for aſſiſtance and ſupplies; the great Sir

(*o*) Life of William Lord Burleigh. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 484, 485. Oſborne's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth.

(*p*) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 106.

(*q*) Collections from the MSS. of Lord Treaſurer Burleigh.

[*AA*] *Of the hiſtories that are extant*] It cannot but afford ſome ſatisfaction to the modern reader, to ſee in what manner the great buſineſs of the State was tranſacted in thoſe times, of the wiſdom of which fame ſpeaks ſo loudly. The ſpeech mentioned in the text was delivered in that Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, which met November the 19th, 1592, and was diſſolved April 10th, 1593 (105), and in all probability in the beginning of it. At the entrance of his ſpeech the Lord High-Treaſurer takes notice (106), of the many injuries, and acts of injuſtice, done by the King of Spain, and thoſe acting under him, to the Queen his Sovereign, and her ſubjects, but not to fatigue their lordſhips with too long a detail, he is content to paſs by all particulars preceding the year 1588, and alledges, that what he has to offer from that time is not at all to lead or to direct their opinions, but purely to obtain the aſſiſtance of their counſels in aid of an old man broken with age, feeble with infirmities, and oppreſſed with a load of buſineſs; he then explains the nature of the King of Spain's deſigns, and of the wars into which he entered, which, he ſays, were not like thoſe of former times, for ſtrong fortreſſes, or for convenient provinces, but for whole kingdoms. That Philip II. had already uſurped Portugal, and all the dominions of that crown, both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. That by fomenting a barbarous and bloody rebellion in France, he had at this juncture a great part of that kingdom at his devotion, more eſpecially the provinces of Brittany and Normandy, by which he was become a frontier enemy to all the Weſt of England; and to all the South parts, ſuch as the counties of Suſſex, Hampſhire, and the Iſle of Wight; and by his intereſt in St Maloes a very dangerous neighbour to the iſlands of Jerſey and Guernſey. That by this means he had a vaſt additional force ariſing from his power in France, of which he meant to make himſelf King, or to make his daughter Queen, and appoint her a huſband to be his vaſſal That theſe vaſt deſigns alone ought ſufficiently to alarm the Engliſh nation, even if he had not diſcovered any formal intention to invade them. That however this was ſo far from being the caſe, that the chief aim of this ambitious Prince, for the two laſt years, was to prepare every thing neceſſary for ſuch an invaſion; in order to which he had built a great number of ſhips of War, of the ſize and ſtrength of Engliſh ſhips, that they might be the fitter to navigate the narrow ſeas; that he had a ſtrong fleet of gallies on the coaſt of Brittany, which he intended to ſend this ſummer to Newhaven; that for two years paſt he had bought and built many great ſhips in the Eaſt Countries, and that by the corruption of our faint and covetous neighbours in Holland, he had recovered, with ſilver hooks, mariners, ſhips, cordage, and proviſions; that all theſe preparations muſt be neceſſarily againſt England, for having already the whole ſea-coaſt of France at his devotion, he could have no need of a naval force to proſecute his deſigns againſt that kingdom. That a farther proof of his intention was, the inexpreſſible diligence he uſed to ſecure to himſelf a party in this kingdom to ſecond his invaſion; and he was ſorry to ſay, this was not without effect. That however, there was yet behind a ſtronger and clearer proof, which was his intrigues in Scotland, into which he had promiſed to ſend twenty-five thouſand men, upon a promiſe of ſome diſcontented Lords to join them with ten thouſand; that of theſe, thirty thouſand were to march into England, and the five thouſand Spaniards were to remain in that kingdom, to aſſiſt the Papiſts in depoſing their King. That this information came from no ordinary hand, and was attended with the moſt extraordinary proofs, that King James himſelf was the diſcoverer, that he had ſeized the meſſenger, intruſted with the bonds of the Earls of Errol, Huntley, and Angus, to the King of Spain, for the performance of their engagements; that theſe Lords were fled into the Weſtern Iſlands, in hopes of being ſupported there from Spain; that the King was gone in perſon in purſuit of them; and, that the very day before he marched with what forces he could raiſe, he had cauſed one Fentry, a man of good family, and great eſtate, to be hanged, for the ſhare he had in this conſpiracy. This very long ſpeech he concluded with theſe words, 'Thus far have I obſerved my purpoſe, to ſhew the 'danger; and to give counſel to the remedy, *Hoc opus 'hic labor eſt.* And I would moſt gladly have ſome 'company, of whom I might have ſome light how to 'find out the darkneſs of the queſtion: Wherein when 'time ſhall ſerve I will not be ſilent, but deliver mine 'own opinion, and reform it upon good ground.'

(105) Index Parliament. tempor. Eliz. Regin. p. 31.

(106) This Speech is amongſt the Cecilian MSS. from whence it was printed in Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 107.

But this was not all that our ſtateſman did upon this important occaſion, for having taken ſo much pains to ſet before the Houſe of Lords the true ſtate of the nation in this perilous conjuncture, he was no leſs careful that the Houſe of Commons ſhould be acquainted therewith, and that all the circumſtances and particulars of the account given there, ſhould perfectly agree with what he had already ſet forth in the upper houſe. It was with this view that he drew up a paper, which is ſtill remaining in his own hand-writing, conſiſting of fourteen ſeparate heads, made up, for the moſt part, of matters of fact, and the ſubſtance of the intelligence which the Queen, the Privy-Council, and himſelf, had received. The meaning and intent of this paper, the reader will eaſily perceive by the title, which runs thus (107), *Inſtructions for the Speaker's ſpeech: Drawn up in ſeveral articles by the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, Feb. 13th* 1592. To render this note as compleat as it is poſſible, it may be proper to ſhew, what the effects were of all this diligence, and how theſe wiſe and wary methods conduced to the end propoſed by them (108). To this there is nothing more requiſite, than to inform the reader, that the Clergy in 1593 granted to the Queen two ſubſidies, of four ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in two years; and the Temporality three ſubſidies, and ſix fifteenths and tenths, by which ſeaſonable ſupply her Majeſty was enabled to defeat all the deſigns of her enemies, and to defray the expences of a war, both by ſea and land, without having recourſe again to her ſubjects for upwards of four years.

(107) Amongſt the ſame MSS. and printed in the ſame Work, p. 124.

(108) Hiſtory of Taxes, p. 257.

Sir Walter Ralegh in publick and private concerns, ſometimes for favour, ſometimes for juſtice; the principal officers in the Cadiz expedition, with accounts of it's execution and ſucceſs; in a word, to him was addreſſed whatever regarded the State, and it appears by his indorſements upon ſome papers, and ſhort marginal notes upon others, that nobody addreſſed him in vain, or without notice; ſo that it is not eaſy to conceive, how he could poſſibly find time to go through ſuch a variety of extraordinary buſineſs, beſides what belonged to his poſt, at all, much leſs in the cautious and circumſtantial manner he did; ſo that every thing that came before him ſeems to have been conſidered with as much leiſure and attention, as if he had no other thing in view, agreeable to his own favourite and excellent maxim, *That the ſhorteſt way to do many things, was to do only one thing at once* (r). The laſt memorable act of his life, was to endeavour the giving a peace to his country, when reaſonable terms might have been obtained from Spain. This was vehemently oppoſed by the Earl of Eſſex, who, as Camden ſays, having been bred to the ſword, and gained ſome reputation by it, was unwilling to ſheathe it. The arguments he made uſe of were, the implacable hatred of the Spaniards to the Engliſh, their being bigotted Papiſts, and a people naturally both obſtinate and ſubtle; in ſpeaking to theſe, he delivered himſelf in ſuch terms, that the Treaſurer was moved to ſay, *He ſeemed intent upon nothing but blood and ſlaughter.* At the cloſe of the debate Lord Burleigh pulled out a Prayer-Book, and without ſpeaking, pointed to the following words, *Men of blood ſhall not live out half their days* (s). This ſhews that our Stateſman preſerved his courage and integrity to the very verge of life, for at this time it was more dangerous to be a friend to peace at home, than to ſhare in the war abroad. As this was his laſt effort in Council, ſo when confined to his bed by his laſt ſickneſs, he ſettled a new treaty between the Queen and the States, whereby the nation was eaſed of an expence of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds *per annum* (t). As to his end, it was comformable to his life, eaſy, natural, in the midſt of his family, full of years and of glory. In a word, he died poſſeſſed of the favour of his Prince, the love of the people, the reſpect even of his enemies. He had alſo, what he often ſought to reſign, the greateſt and moſt honourable offices in the kingdom, beſides a large eſtate, and dutiful and excellent children. Thus bleſſed with all that a man could deſire, on the fourth of Auguſt 1598, about four in the morning, in the preſence of twenty, children, friends, and ſervants, he yielded up the ghoſt with wonderful ſerenity, being upwards of ſeventy-ſeven years of age (u). It would be a very unneceſſary, indeed a very needleſs, attempt, ſhould we proceed to ſwell this article with the character of this great perſon, which has been already drawn ſo fully; we will conclude therefore with a very few obſervations, that will enable us to give the reader ſome uſeful and curious particulars in the notes. His exterior form was very anſwerable to the diſpoſition of his mind, and it might be truly ſaid, that no man's temper ſuited better with the eaſe and gracefulneſs of his perſon than his did [*B B*]. In reference to his manner of living, it was ſuitable to the high rank he held, and the cuſtom of the times in which he lived; for though he was a man diſtinguiſhed both for his virtue and learning, as well as by his exemplary probity, yet he did not think that any of theſe, or all taken together, could juſtify a ſingular and reſerved behaviour, or the paſſing through life in a manner altogether inconſiſtent with that, which others have led when in his ſtation. It was from theſe reaſons, and not from vanity or oſtentation, that he kept up an extraordinary degree of ſplendor and

(r) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(s) Lloyd's States Worthies, p. 483. Life of William Lord Burleigh. Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 324.

(t) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(u) Camden. Annal. p. 773. Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 334. Stowe, Holliſhed, &c.

[*B B*] *Than his did.*] We learn from the author of his life, and from other contemporary writers (109), that though he was not remarkably tall, nor eminently handſome, yet his perſon was always agreeable, and became more and more ſo, as he grew in years, age becoming him better than youth. The hair of his head and beard grew perfectly white, and he preſerved almoſt to his dying day a fine and florid complexion. His temper contributed much towards making him generally beloved, for he was always ſerene and chearful; ſo perfect a maſter of his looks and words, that what paſſed in his mind was never diſcoverable from either; patient in hearing, ready in anſwering, yet without any quickneſs, and in a ſtile ſuited to the underſtanding of him to whom he ſpoke. Idleneſs was his averſion; and though from twenty-five years of age, at which he was ſworn a Privy-Counſellor, being then the youngeſt, as at his death the oldeſt in Europe, he laboured under a great weight of publick buſineſs; yet when he had any vacant moments, he ſpent them not in trifles, or in purſuit of ſenſual pleaſures, but in reading, meditating, or writing. He had a perfect knowledge, not only of foreign countries, but of foreign courts, knew the genius of every Prince in Europe, his counſellors and favourites. At home he kept exact liſts of all the great officers, and particularly of the ſages in the Law. He was acquainted with the courſe of every court of judicature in England, knew it's riſe, juriſdiction, and proper ſphere of action; within which he took care that it ſhould act with vigour, and was no leſs careful that it ſhould not exceed it's bounds. He wrote not only elegant Latin in proſe, but alſo very good verſe in that, and in the Engliſh language. He underſtood Greek as well as moſt men in that age; and was ſo learned in Divinity, that Divines of all perſwaſions were deſirous of ſubmitting to his judgment. His peculiar diverſions were the ſtudy of the ſtate of England, and the pedigrees of it's nobility and gentry; of theſe laſt he drew whole books with his own hand, ſo that he was better verſed in deſcents, and families, than moſt of the Heralds; and would often ſurprize perſons of diſtinction at his table, by appearing better acquainted with their manors, parks, woods, &c. than they were themſelves. To this continual application, and to his genius, naturally comprehenſive, was owing that fund of knowledge, which made him never at a loſs in any company, or upon any ſubject. It was alſo owing to this, that he ſpoke with ſuch wonderful weight on all publick occaſions, generally at the end of the debate, but without repetition of what was ſaid before, ſtating the matter clearly, ſhowing the convenience ſought, the inconveniences feared; the means of attaining the former, and the methods by which the latter might be avoided, with a ſuccinctneſs and accuracy which, perhaps, hardly ever fell to any other man's ſhare. But what was ſtill more ſurprizing, was the great facility with which he did this, for he required no preparation, no time for his moſt laboured ſpeeches, nor ever turned a book for his moſt learned writings, but thought and ſpoke, digeſted and dictated, without any heſitation, with the greateſt perſpicuity of ſentiment, and the utmoſt fulneſs of diction.

(109) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

and magnificence in his houſes, gardens, and every thing belonging to him [*CC*]. Yet he was in other reſpects a man of ſtrict œconomy, and ſhowed very plainly from his conſtant practice in private life, that he was very little attached to the pleaſures of ſenſe or ſhow, but was wholly bent upon enjoyments of the mind, and preſerving that peace which is the inſeparable attendant of a clear conſcience, and of a ſoul ſuperior to ordinary gratifications [*DD*]. It was with great reaſon therefore, that Mr Camden concluded his character with this obſervation, 'That he was one of thoſe few who lived and died 'with equal glory. Such a man, as while others regard with admiration, I, after the 'antient manner, am rather inclined to contemplate with the ſacred applauſe of ſilent 'veneration.'

[*CC*] *And every thing belonging to him.*] He had, during Queen Elizabeth's reign, four places of reſidence; his lodgings at court, his houſe in the Strand, his family ſeat at Burleigh, and his own favourite ſeat at Theobalds (109). At his houſe in London he had fourſcore perſons in family, excluſive of thoſe who attended him at court. His expences there, as we have it from a perſon who lived many years in his family, were thirty pounds a week in his abſence, and between forty and fifty when preſent. At Theobalds he had thirty perſons in family; and beſides a conſtant allowance in charity, he directed ten pounds a week to be laid out in keeping the poor at work in his gardens, *&c.* The expence of his ſtables were a thouſand marks a year: So that as he had a great income, and left a good eſtate to his children, he was not afraid of keeping up alſo a port ſuited to his offices, though it provoked the envy of his enemies, and did, as it will always do, engage many mouths to murmur at him, becauſe they were not fed by him. He carried things ſtill farther: He kept a ſtanding table for gentlemen, and two other tables for perſons of meaner condition, which were always ſerved alike, whether he were in town or out of town. About his perſon he had people of great diſtinction, inſomuch that our author tells us, that while in his ſervice he could reckon up twenty gentlemen retainers, who had each a thouſand pounds a year; and as many among his ordinary ſervants, who were worth from 1000 *l.* to 3, 5, 10, and 20,000. Twelve times he entertained the Queen at his houſe for ſeveral weeks together, at the expence of 2 or 3000 *l.* each time. Three fine houſes he built, one in London, another at Burleigh, and the third at Theobalds: All of which were leſs remarkable for their largeneſs and magnificence, than for their neatneſs, and excellent contrivance. Yet with all this mighty expence, it was the opinion of competent judges, that an avaritious man would have made more of his offices in ſeven years, than he did in forty. At his death he left about 4000 *l.* a year in land, 11000 *l.* in money, and in valuable effects about 14000 *l.* I crave leave to add to this note, a few very curious particulars from a private letter of Lord Burleigh's to an intimate friend, written in the month of Auguſt 1585 (110), on account of ſome calumnies, that the perſon to whom this letter was addreſſed acquainted him, flew about, as to his power and fortune. 'They that ſay in a raſh and ma-'licious mockery, that England is become *Regnum 'Cecilianum*, may pleaſe their own cankered humour 'with ſuch a device; but if my actions be conſidered, 'if there be any cauſe given by me of ſuch a nick-'name, there may be found out in many other juſter 'cauſes to attribute other names than mine. If my 'buildings create diſlike in them, I confeſs my folly 'in the expences, becauſe ſome of my houſes are to 'come, if God ſo pleaſe, to them that ſhall not have 'land to maintain them; I mean my houſe at Theo-'balds, which was begun by me with a mean meaſure, 'but increas'd by occaſion of her Majeſty's often 'coming; whom to pleaſe, I never would omit to 'ſtrain myſelf to more charges than is that of my build-'ing. And yet not without ſome ſpecial direction of 'her Majeſty, upon fault found with the ſmall mea-'ſure of her chamber, which was in good meaſure for 'me, I was forced to enlarge a room for a larger 'chamber, which need not be envied of any for riches 'in it, more than the ſhew of old oaks, and ſuch 'trees, with painted leaves and fruit. I thank God I 'owe nothing to theſe backbiters, though indeed 'much to many honeſt perſons; whom I mind to pay 'without bribery or villainy. For my houſe in Weſt-'minſter, I think it ſo old as it ſhould not ſtir any, 'many having of later times built larger by far, both 'in city and country. And yet the building, altera-'rations, and repairs thereof, coſt me the ſale of lands 'worth 100 *l.* a year in Staffordſhire, that I had of 'good King Edward. My houſe of Burghley is of 'my mother's inheritance, who liveth, and is the 'owner thereof; and I but a farmer. And for the 'building there, I have ſet my walls upon the old 'foundation. Indeed I have made the rough ſtone 'walls to be of ſquare, and yet one ſide remaineth as 'my father left it me. I truſt my ſon ſhall be able to 'maintain it, conſidering there are in that ſhire a 'dozen larger houſes of men under my degree.' In the poſtſcript to this letter he adds, 'For myſelf, I 'have not made nor obtained any ſuit from her Maje-'ſty theſe ten years. In my whole time I have not, 'for theſe twenty-ſix years, been beneficed from her 'Majeſty, ſo much as I was within four years of King 'Edward. I have ſold as much land in value as ever 'I had of gift of her Majeſty. I am at charges by at-'tendance in court, and by keeping of my houſhold, 'eſpecially in Term times, by reſort of ſuitors, at more 'than any counſellor in England. My fee, for the 'Treaſurerſhip, is no more than it hath been theſe 'thirty years. Whereas the Chancellor, and others, 'have been doubly augmented within theſe few years. 'And this I do affirm, that my fees of my Treaſurer-'ſhip do not anſwer to my charge of my ſtable, I 'mean not my table. And in my houſhold I do ſel-'dom feed leſs than an hundred perſons. And for 'that purpoſe I buy in London my bread, my drink, 'my achates, my fewel. And in the country I buy 'my grain, my beef, my mutton, and all achates; 'and for my ſtable, I buy my hay for the greateſt 'part; my oats, my ſtraw totally. For my ſervants, 'I keep none to whom I pay not wages, and give li-'veries; which I know many do not.'

[*DD*] *And of a ſoul ſuperior to ordinary gratifications.*] In regard to his private life, he was conſidered as the beſt parent of his time, for he had all his children, and their deſcendants, conſtantly at his table; and in their converſation lay the greateſt pleaſure of his life, more eſpecially while his mother lived, who was able to ſee the fifth deſcent from herſelf, there being no degree of relation, or conſanguinity, which at feſtival times were not to be found at Lord Burleigh's table (111). It was there that, laying aſide all thoughts of buſineſs, he was ſo affable, eaſy, and merry, that he ſeemed never to have thought of any, and yet this was the only part of his life which was entirely free therefrom; and his frankneſs and familiarity brought ſuch, and ſo many, perſons of high rank to his houſe, as did him great credit and ſervice. In reſpect to his friends, he was always eaſy, chearful, and kind; and whatever their condition was, he talked to them, as if they had been his equals in every reſpect; yet it is ſaid, that he was held a better enemy than friend; and that this was ſo well known, that ſome oppoſed him from a view of intereſt. It is certain, that thoſe who were moſt intimate with him, had no ſort of influence over him, and did not care to aſk him for any thing, becauſe he did not readily grant, and was little pleaſed with ſuch ſort of ſuits. One reaſon of this was, that moſt of thoſe whom he preferred became his enemies, becauſe he would not gratify them in farther pretenſions. His ſecrets he truſted with none, indulged a general converſation, and would not ſuffer affairs of ſtate to be canvaſſed in mixed company, or when friends were met to divert themſelves. With reſpect to his enemies, he never ſaid any thing harſh of them, furthered on every occaſion their reaſonable requeſts, and was ſo far from ſeeking, that he neglected all opportunities of revenge, always profeſſing, that he never went to bed out of charity with any man; and frequently ſaying, that patience, and a calm bearing of aſperſions, and injuries, had wrought him more good than his own abilities. He was far, however, from being an ungrateful man, for without intreaty he would ſerve his friends as far as it was juſt; and for his ſervants, and thoſe about him, he was very careful of their welfare, moſtly at his own expence.

(109) Fuller's Holy State. Winſtanley's Lives Lloyd's State Worthies. Life of William Lord Burleigh. Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of Lord Burleigh.

(110) From a much more correct MS. than that uſed by Strype.

(111) Life of William Lord Burleigh. Lloyd's State Worthies. Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of William Lord Burleigh.

'venration.' We have ſo many accounts of the manner in which his funeral was performed, that they have created ſome doubts about where he lies interred. There is no doubt that a very ſolemn funeral was performed for him at Weſtminſter, on the 29th of Auguſt 1598, after which we are told that his body was privately conveyed to Stamford, and placed in the vault under that magnificent tomb erected to his memory (*x*). Yet in the pariſh-regiſter it is expreſsly ſaid, that William Lord Burleigh was buried there (*y*), Auguſt 29, 1598, from whence one would imagine, that his body was not conveyed to Weſtminſter at all, but rather ſent immediately to Stamford. As in other things he was happier than moſt great Miniſters, ſo particularly in this, that his deſcendants have continued, for a long ſeries of years, in the quiet poſſeſſion of high titles and large eſtates; and the female branches of this family have intermarried with the nobleſt houſes in this iſland, which were bleſſings, that, of all others, this noble and venerable perſon moſt eſteemed [*EE*]. Beſides, his fame hath not only triumphed over the envy of his contemporaries, and the calumnies that were ſpread by his adverſaries, who were alſo thoſe of this nation, over all Europe, but lives freſh in the memory of good men, and is recorded with the higheſt ſtrains of praiſe in the moſt authentick of our Hiſtories; ſo that it may ſafely, and without the leaſt exaggeration, be affirmed, that his fortune, in all reſpects, is the faireſt reward that can be propoſed, in order to move future Miniſters to follow his example.

(*x*) Stowe's Annals, p. 737. Holland's *Heroologia Anglicana.*

(*y*) Regiſter of St Martin's pariſh in Stamford.

expence. He never raiſed his own rents, or diſplaced his tenants; and as the rent was when he bought land, ſo it ſtood, inſomuch, that ſome enjoyed for twenty pounds a year, during his whole life, what might have been let for two hundred: Yet in his publick character he was very ſevere; and as he never meddled with the Queen's Treaſure himſelf, ſo he would ſee that it was not embezzled by others; for it was his ſaying, that whoever cheated the Crown oppreſſed the people. In the midſt of all his grandeur he was ever eaſy of acceſs, free from pride, and alike complaiſant to all degrees of people: For as he was grave in council, exact in courts of juſtice, familiar towards his friends, outwardly and inwardly fond of his children, ſo when he went into the country he would converſe with all his ſervants as kindly as if he had been their equal; talk to country people in their own ſtile and manner, and would even condeſcend to ſooth little children in their ſports and plays; ſo gentle his temper, and ſo abundant his good-nature. At Theobalds he had fine gardens, which coſt him a great deal of money, and which were laid out according to his own directions. He had a little mule, upon which he rode up and down the walks; ſometimes he would look on thoſe who were ſhooting with arrows, or playing with bowls; but as for himſelf, he never took any diverſion, taking that word in it's uſual ſenſe. He had two or three friends, who were conſtantly at his table, becauſe he liked their company; but in all his life he never had one favourite, or ſuffered any body to get an aſcendant over him. His equipage, his great houſe-keeping, his numerous dependance, were the effects of his ſenſe, and not at all of his paſſions, for he delighted little in any of them; and whenever he had any time to ſpare, he fled, as his expreſſion was, to Theobalds, and buried himſelf in privacy.

[*EE*] *This noble and venerable perſon moſt eſteemed.*] We have already ſhewn, that he had by his firſt wife, Mary Cheke, daughter of Peter Cheke, Eſq; and ſiſter of Sir John Cheke, his eldeſt ſon Thomas, a nobleman of great courage, and of unblemiſhed probity, who in the laſt year of Queen Elizabeth's reign was honoured with the Garter; in the third year of King James he was created Earl of Exeter, which was in thoſe days thought a very extraordinary favour, ſince it was the firſt inſtance, where the title of a county town, was given to one family, while the title of the county remained in another, as it then did, in Mountjoy Earl of Devonſhire (112). His Lordſhip married firſt Dorothy, one of the daughters and coheireſſes of John Lord Latimer, by whom he had iſſue five ſons and eight daughters. His ſecond wife was Frances, daughter to the Lord Chandois, by whom he had only one daughter, who died in her infancy. He died February 7th, 162½, and was buried in St John's chapel (113), in the collegiate church of St Peter at Weſtminſter. By his ſecond wife, Mildreda, eldeſt daughter of Sir Anthony Coke, of Giddy-Hall, in Eſſex, the Lord Burleigh had iſſue one ſon and two daughters, *viz.* Robert, who ſucceeded him gradually in his employments, and of whom at large in the next article. Anne was married to Edward Earl of Oxford, who, when he could not prevail upon his father-in-law to ſave his friend, the Duke of Norfolk's life, told him in great wrath, *He would do all he could to ruin his daughter*, and he kept his word, for he deſerted her bed, ſpent moſt of his own great eſtate, and by a ſeries of ill uſage broke her heart (114). Elizabeth, who married William Wentworth, Eſq; Both theſe ladies his lordſhip out-lived, and by his will provided generouſly for the children of the former. As for the latter, her huſband died before her, and by him ſhe had no iſſue (115). By his will the Lord Burleigh conſtituted Dr Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Weſtminſter, his old faithful friend, and Thomas Bellot, his Steward, who had lived long in his family, his executors (116), and left them a very large ſum of money to be diſtributed in charitable uſes, which was moſt punctually and faithfully performed (117). By the care of theſe two diligent and faithful perſons, his college at Stamford was duly ſettled; and many other things, according to that worthy perſon's deſire, who was yet ſo far from affecting to appear charitable in his laſt moments, or to diſpoſe of what he could no longer keep, that he left nothing to be done then which it was before in his power to do, for he raiſed the commons of the ſtudents at St John's College in Cambridge, a third in his life-time, as I have ſeen in a letter of his to his ſon, Sir Robert Cecil, wherein he mentions it as a reaſon, why the Queen ſhould allow him more freely to intercede for that college. It was alſo by his procurement, that his kind maſter, King Edward VI. left alſo a legacy to that college, but whether it was complied with, or not, does not appear. By the fidelity alſo of his lordſhip's executors, his real and perſonal eſtate was preſerved intire and untouched, though a very exact account of it was taken of it by Queen Elizabeth's order, who, very probably, might have a notion, that being ſo long in her ſervice he died in her debt. In this reſpect ſhe had been remarkably exact, or rather ſevere; ſhe cauſed the Earl of Leiceſter's goods to be ſold for the money due to her, though he had ſtood ſo high in her favour; ſhe is ſaid to have broke Chancellor Hatton's heart, by demanding of him ſuddenly an old debt; and though at the requeſt of the Lord Treaſurer ſhe granted Sir John Perrot's eſtate, who died under ſentence, to his ſon, yet after that ſon's death ſhe reſumed the forfeiture, though it was upon very good grounds believed, that old Sir John Perrot was her brother. But Lord Burleigh knew her diſpoſition ſo well, that he took care to guard againſt it, by keeping the accounts in the Treaſury in conſtant order, never paying any thing without her expreſs warrant, and never touching a penny of publick money for his private uſe, during his whole adminiſtration, though it had been the cuſtom of his predeceſſors to borrow money out of the Treaſury, and pay it again. But he was too wiſe to follow any example of ſo dangerous a nature; and by this caution, and the great integrity of his executors, who were perfectly acquainted with his management, there was no room left ſo much as for a ſuſpicion that any of the Queen's money was in his hands, and therefore the inſpection into the eſtates and effects of which he died poſſeſſed, the record of which is ſtill extant, turned only to the benefit of his heirs and his family, and to heighten that high reputation which for prudence and probity he had acquired while living; ſo that in private, as well as in publick life, after, as well as before his deceaſe, all reſearches into his conduct brought nothing to light, but what added to the general eſteem for his perſon, or to that veneration which was borne, and will be ever borne to his memory, ſo long as regard is paid to unſpotted virtue, exalted abilities, and unparallelled application. E

(112) Yorke's Union of Honor, p. 144.

(113) Antiquities of St Peter's Weſtminſter, Vol. I. p. 169.

(114) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 199.

(115) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(116) Memoirs of William Lord Burleigh.

(117) Camden, Annal. p. 775.

CECIL, or CECYLL (ROBERT) the first Earl of Salisbury, and one of the ablest Statesmen in Europe, in the end of the sixteenth, and beginning of the seventeenth Century; was the son of William Lord Burleigh, by his second Lady, Mildred, eldest daughter of Sir Anthony Cook (*a*). He was born about the year 1550 [*A*], and being of a weakly constitution, was tenderly brought up by his mother. Afterwards, he was educated by a careful and excellent Tutor, under whom he very much improved in every branch of Learning (*b*). For his further improvement, he was sent to St John's College, Cambridge, the same in which his father the great Lord Burleigh had received his education. He there took, or had conferred upon him, the degree of Master of Arts: for he was incorporated in the same at Oxford, August 30, 1605 (*c*). But his greatest advantage, was, that he was a Courtier from his cradle; and being trained under his excellent father, became a very great proficient in the knowledge of all State-affairs. As he was the inheritor of the Lord Burleigh's wisdom, so by degrees he succeeded him in his places and favour at Court. For, living in those times, when Queen Elizabeth had most need of the ablest persons, and being such an one himself, she employed him in affairs and negotiations of the highest consequence (*d*). Having conferred on him the honour of Knighthood, she sent him assistant to the Earl of Derby, Embassador to the King of France. At his return, she made him, in 1596, second Secretary of State with Sir Francis Walsingham; after whose decease he continued Principal, as long as he lived (*e*). Whilst he continued in that office, he was, as one expresses it (*f*), a Craftsmaster in foreign intelligence, which he had from all parts of the world; holding, at his own charge, a correspondence with all Embassadors, and neighbouring States (*g*): By which means he discovered Queen Elizabeth's enemies abroad, and private conspiracies at home. For this the Queen extremely valued him, and the Papists hated him as much [*B*]. He was one of the chief instruments in the disgrace and fall of Robert, Earl of Essex, who had all along opposed his promotion (*h*). In 1597, he was constituted Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (*i*), and was also Lord Privy-Seal (*k*). In 1598, he was one of the Commissioners (*l*) sent into France, to negotiate a peace between that Crown and Spain (*m*): and in 1599, succeeded his father, the Lord Burleigh, in the office of Master of the Wards [*C*]; for which he resigned a better place, that of Chancellor of the Duchy (*n*). He succeeded him also in the high post of Prime Minister, and from that time the publick affairs seem to have been entirely under his direction; which he conducted with a capacity worthy of his Prince and Country, and an integrity so firm and constant, as more than once exposed his life to the implacable malice of the Spaniards and Jesuits, as will presently appear. During the last years of the reign of his glorious Mistress, he supported her declining age with that vigour and prudence, as at once enabled her to assist her allies the States, when they were ingloriously abandoned by France, and to baffle a dangerous Rebellion in Ireland, fomented and cherished by a strong assistance from Spain (*o*). Tho' he was a faithful servant to his Mistress Queen Elizabeth, yet, like many others, he adored the rising Sun, and kept a correspondence with her Successor King James I (*p*). At one time, he was very near being discovered [*D*], but by uncommon presence of mind he avoided the danger (*q*). His private services to that Monarch, or else the interest of Sir George Hume (*r*), so effectually recommended him to King James, that he took him into the highest degree of favour [*E*], and continued him in his office of Prime-Minister

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 407, and Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, edit. 1732, in Life of William Lord Burleigh, Vol. I. B. i. p. 7.

(*b*) See Ten Precepts, which William Lord Burghley gave to his second son Robert Cecil, in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, edit. 1732, fol. B. i. p. 7.

(*c*) Wood, Fasti, edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 171.

(*d*) Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, edit. 1653, 12*mo*, p. 78, 79. and Aulicus Coquionariæ, edit. 1650, 8*vo*, p. 50.

(*e*) Aulicus Coquinariæ, ibid. and Camden's Ann. of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1596.

(*f*) Naunton, ubi supra.

(*g*) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 59.

(*h*) See Camden's Annals as above, under the years 1596, 1597, &c.

(*i*) Ibid. under the year 1597. Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. published by Edm. Sawyer. Esq; Lond. 1725, fol. Vol. I. p. 41.

(*k*) Desiderata Curiosa, published by Fr. Peck, Vol. I. Book ii. p. 1. edit. 1732.

(*l*) The others were, Sir Tho. Wilks, and John Herbert, Esq; Master of Requests.

(*m*) Camden's Annals, as above, under the year 1598, and Wood, edit. 1721. Fasti, Vol. I. col. 106.

(*n*) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. as above, p. 41.

(*o*) Memorials, &c. as above, Preface to Vol. I.

(*p*) See Life of King James, by W. Sanderson, p. 258, edit. 1656, fol.

(*q*) Life and Reign of King James I. by A. Wilson, in Complete Hist. of England, edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 662.

(*r*) Weldon's Court and Character of King James, London 1650, p. 10.

[*A*] *He was born about the year* 1550.] We have not been able to discover any where the exact time of his birth; but have reason to conjecture it was about the year specified here. For his father married Mildred Cooke, December 21, 1546: Robert was the second child by her, and therefore born about 1549, or 1550 (1). He was one of the young Nobility, that went on board the English fleet against the Spanish Armada (†): and was one of the Representatives in Parliament for the county of Hertford, 34 and 39 Elizabethæ (‖).

(1) Life of William Cecil Lord Burghley, as above, p. 7.

(†) See Ar. Collins's Peerage under the title of Earl of Exeter.

(‖) Sir H. Chauncy's History of Hertfordshire, p. 17.

[*B*] *The Papists hated him.*] And vented their malice against him in several libels, both printed and manuscript: reflecting in them, very grossly, upon his birth and honour; and threatning to murder him. He returned an answer to some of them, both in English and Latin, intitled, *Adversus Perduelles*; wherein he declares, That he despised all their threats, for the service of so good a cause as he was engaged in; namely, that of his Religion and Country (2).

(2) Aulicus Coquin. p. 52; and Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. Vol. II. p. 192, 193.

[*C*] *He succeeded his father* ——— *in the office of Master of the Wards.*] In which he was so restrained by new Orders, that he was a Ward himself; as he expresses it (3).

(3) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 41.

[*D*] *At one time he was very near being discovered.*] For, as the Queen was taking the air upon Blackheath near Greenwich, a Post riding by, her Majesty enquired from whence it came; and being told, 'From Scotland,' she stopped her coach to receive the packet. Sir Robert Cecil, who was in the coach with her, fearful lest some of his secret conveyances should be discovered; having a ready wit, calls for a knife suddenly to open it, that delays and puts-off might not beget suspicion. When he came to cut it open, he told the Queen, It looked and smelt very ill, coming out of many nasty budgets; so that it was proper to open and air it before she saw what it contained. Now, the Queen having an extreme aversion to ill-scents, that sudden thought of the Secretary's hindred her from smelling out his under-hand contrivances (4). After the Queen's decease, it was he who first publickly read her Will, and proclaimed King James (5).

(4) Wilson, as above.

(5) Ibid.

[*E*] *His private services,* ——— *or else the interest of Sir George Hume (afterwards Earl of Dunbar) recommended him to King James.*] One author, if he deserves credit (6), relates the following story. 'Sir 'George Hume being the only man that was the guider 'of the King, and his affairs, all the wiser sort of 'English made their addresses unto him; amongst 'those Sir Robert Cecill, a very wise man, but much 'hated in England, by reason of the fresh bleeding of 'that universally beloved Earle of Essex, and for that 'was clouded also in the King's favour. He came to 'Yorke, but lay close, unseene, or scarce known to 'be in the city, untill he knew what entertainment he 'should receive from the King; for he was in his 'owne, and all men's opinions, so under the hatches, 'as not ever to appear above-board againe (nor did 'any of the counter-faction to Essex, besides himselfe, 'ever attaine to the King's favour); but those friends 'raised by his wit, and purse, did so co-operate (of 'which

(6) Weldon, Court and Character of King James, p. 10, 11.

Miniſter (s). And though, in that reign, the publick affairs were not carried on with the ſame ſpirit as in the laſt, the fault cannot, with juſtice, be charged on this great Miniſter, but on the King; who, being of a fearful and unenterprizing temper, was reſolved to have peace with all the world, and eſpecially with Spain, at any rate (t). But, notwithſtanding Sir Robert Cecil was far from approving in his heart the meaſures taken for obtaining that inglorious peace, yet he ſo far ingratiated himſelf with his Sovereign, that he was raiſed by him to great honours. For, on the 13th of May 1603, he was created Baron of Eſſenden in Rutlandſhire; on the 20th of Auguſt 1604, Viſcount Cranborne in Dorſetſhire (being the firſt of that degree that ever uſed a Coronet); and, on the 4th of May 1605, Earl of the city of Saliſbury (u) [F]. Auguſt 30, 1605, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, as he ſtood at Cambridge (w). And alſo was Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge (x), and May 20, 1605, inſtalled Knight of the Garter (y). He ſhewed himſelf all along a true Servant to his Prince, but without neglecting at the ſame time the real Intereſt and Advantage of his Country. As an inſtance of which, he never heartily eſpouſed the Spaniſh Intereſt; though it was the only one countenanced by King James; and ſome of our Courtiers, by encouraging it, got immenſe riches [G]. The Court of Spain were ſo ſenſible of his little inclination, or rather extreme averſion, to them [H], that they endeavoured to alienate the King his Maſter's favour from him, by means of the Queen (z); and it was moved there in Council, to ſend complaints to England of his malignant humour, or enmity, to the Spaniſh nation: upon which, if he did not alter his conduct, then a ſhorter courſe ſhould be taken with him; that is, they would deſtroy him (a). Afterwards, they came to have great hopes of him, and reſolved to omit no means to gain him over to their ſide (b). But when all the Popiſh deſigns happened to be blaſted, by the diſcovery of the Gunpowder-plot; a plot in the diſcovery whereof this Lord was very active; ſo enraged thereupon was the body of the Roman Catholicks, that ſome of them formed a combination againſt him (c). That however taking no effect, they attempted to ruin him in the King's favour, by reporting he had a penſion of forty thouſand Crowns from the States of the United Provinces, for being their ſpecial favourer, friend, ſupporter, and patron (d). Moreover, they branded him with the appellation of a Puritan [I], a name very odious to King James (e). Finally, they plotted to murder him, by a muſket, ſhot out of the Savoy, or ſome other houſe near, as he ſhould be going by water to Court (f). But all their wicked machinations proved unſucceſsful [K]. In the Parliament, which met at Weſtminſter, November 9, 1605, he got much reputation, love, and honour, for the zeal he then expreſſed for the Proteſtant religion (g). In the year 1606, he entertained King James, and the King of Denmark, who was then in England,

(s) Preface to Vo'. I. of Memorials, &c. as above.

(t) Memorials, &c. in Preface, as above.

(u) Pat. 1 Jac. p. 14; Pat. 2 Jac. p. 12; and Pat. 3 Jac. p. 12. See alſo Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 407: Rafe Brooke's Catal. in the *Earls of Saliſbury*.

(w) Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 171.

(x) Dugdale, ibid.

(y) Liſt of the Knights of the Garter, in Aſhmole; and Camden's Annals of King James I. under the year 1606.

(z) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. as above, Vol. II. p. 159.

(a) Ibid. p. 130.

(b) Ibid. p. 159.

(c) Ibid. p. 170, 171, 172, 193, 202, 203.

(d) Ibid. p. 229, 440.

(e) Ibid. p. 464.

(f) Ibid. p. 230, 236.

(g) Ibid. p. 216, 219.

'which Sir Roger Aſton, that plaine man was princi-
'pal, for which he loſt not his labour) That Sir Geo.
'Hume, and Sir Robert Cecill had many ſecret meet-
'ings, and did ſo comply, that Sir Robert Cecill, to
'the admiration of all, did appeare, and come out
'of his chamber like a giant, to run his race for
'honour, and fortune; and who in ſuch dearneſs and
'privacy with the King, as Sir Robert Cecill: as if
'he had been his faithful ſervant many years before.'
But Dr Goodman, author of *Aulicus Coquinariæ* (7), thinks, That Sir Robert Cecill's merit; his perpetual correſpondence by emiſſaries of his own into Scotland; and the great want King James had of his advice and directions, how to render himſelf moſt acceptable to his new ſubjects; were recommendation enough with that Monarch, without any need of Sir George Hume's intereſt or interpoſition.

(7) Page 51.

[F] *Earl of the city of Saliſbury.*] He, and his elder brother, Thomas, Earl of Exeter, were both created Earls in one day; but Sir Robert was created firſt, and by that means had the precedence: which, it ſeems, occaſioned for ſome time great uneaſineſs between thoſe two noble families.

[G] *Some of our Courtiers, by encouraging it, got immenſe riches.*] We are told (8), 'That there was
'not one Courtier of note, who taſted not of Spain's
'bounty, either in gold or jewels; and, among them,
'not any in ſo large a proportion as the Counteſs of
'Suffolk, who ſhared in her Lord's intereſt, being
'then a potent man, and in that intereſt which ſhe
'had, in being miſtreſs to that little great Secretary (||)
'(little in body and ſtature, but great in wit and
'policy) the ſole manager of ſtate-affairs.'

(8) Weldon, ubi ſupra, p. 27.

(||) The Earl of Saliſbury.

[H] *The Court of Spain were ſenſible of his little inclination, or rather averſion, to them.*] He received intimations of it, from Sir Charles Cornwallis, Embaſſador in Spain: who thus writes to him: '———
'Great doubt they [the Spaniards] make of your
'Lordſhip's diſpoſition towards them: but, I have
'ſo well reſolved them, as they ſeem to ſhew more
'confidence; yet more they deſire, if by any means
'they might obtain it. I tell them, that the beſt
'advice is, *Ama & amaberis*. I aſſure them ſuch to be
'your Lordſhip's noble diſpoſition, as where you find a
'ſoundneſs in good will to the King and your Country,
'you need not be ſollicited for your affection (9) ——
'And elſewhere —— This State, though admiring
'your worthe, and ſetting the true eſteem upon your
'abilities, yet reſts ſettled in a prejudicate opinion of
'your affection *to them*. For myne own parte, ——
'I have travelled to myne uttermoſt to perſuade them
'the truthe, *viz.* That your onely Blancke is the
'honor and ſafety of your King and Country, not
'paſſion or partial inclination (10).'

(9) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. II. p. 119.

(10) Ibid. p. 316. See alſo Vol. III. p. 43.

[I] *They branded him with the appellation of a Puritan.*] But Sir Charles Cornwallis fully reſolved them to the contrary, 'Giving them (to uſe his own words
'to his Lordſhip) to underſtand your noble temper
'and integritye in all your actions: ——— ending
'with theſe words, That God having bleſſed you
'with ſo great wiſdom, ſoe highe a place in your
'Prince's favours, and ſo happy an eſtate; might
'alſoe, being a meane of a peace to the univerſall
'Church, lay a perpetuall foundation to your Houſe
'and Fame (11).' The anſwer his Lordſhip made with regard to theſe and the like calumnies, was every way worthy of his noble mind. 'I have learned to
'deſpiſe the malicious ſtinge of evill tongues, which
'hate me for my Religion, and my Countrye (12).'

(11) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 464.

(12) Ibid. p. 293.

[K] *All their wicked machinations proved unſucceſsful.*] They had not made an end, even in the year 1609. For in June that year, Sir Ch Cornwallis adviſed his Lordſhip, 'That four Jeſuits lately ſent into
'England, had in charge for one of their eſpecial
'Commiſſions, to acquaint themſelves with ſome neere
'attendants to my Lords of Canterbury and Saliſbury;
'and whatſoever it ſhould coſt to drawe them by poy-
'ſon or other private meanes or practice to make an
'end of thoſe two Lords, as the greateſt obſtacles and
'enemies to the holy Catholique Cauſe in England
'(13).

(13) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 43, 48, 49.

[L] *Got*

England, four days together, at his ſeat at Theobalds (*b*). Upon the death of Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorſet, Lord High-Treaſurer of England, in April 1608, he ſucceeded him in that moſt eminent office, on the 4th of May (*i*): and the choice the King made of him for that place was univerſally applauded; a great reformation being expected from him in the Exchequer (*k*): which he accordingly effected. And finding it almoſt totally exhauſted, he deviſed theſe ſeveral means to repleniſh it with money, namely, by cauſing the Royal Manors to be ſurveyed, which before were but very imperfectly known: by reviving the cuſtody of Crown lands, by commiſſions of Aſſerts: by taking care to have the King's woods and timber viewed, numbred, marked, and valued: by having an exact ſurvey made of the Copyhold lands held of the Crown, which he ordered to be printed: by compounding with the Copyholder of inheritance, and the poſſeſſors of Waſtes and Commons originally appertaining to the King: by appointing Commiſſioners, to gather in the fines ariſing from penal laws, and ſuch as accrued from the King's manors; and alſo to ſurvey the eſtates that were extented, or ſeized, for debts to the Crown: by improving the cuſtoms, from eighty-ſix thouſand, to one hundred and twenty-thouſand, and afterwards to an hundred and thirty-five thouſand pounds *per ann.* by bargaining, for the New-River water to be conveyed to London, which brought a great yearly revenue: by ſurrendring up his patent of Maſter of the Wards to the King, for his benefit and advantage (*l*): and likewiſe by Privy-Seals; and by ſelling ſome of the Crown-Lands (*m*). While he thus ſtudied his Maſter's advantage, he did not, at the ſame time, neglect his own, but got a conſiderable eſtate for himſelf [*L*], and exchanged his ſeat of Theobalds with the King, for the noble manor of Hatfield in Hertfordſhire (*n*). However, this juſt commendation is due to him, That he conſulted in general the intereſt of the nation, more than moſt Prime Miniſters, before or ſince him, have done. For, he always encouraged induſtry and manufactures: as the home-making of Allom; ſalt by the Sun; buſſes for fiſhing; ſalt upon ſalt, by new fires and inventions; copper and copperas of iron and ſteel; that the ſubjects at home might be kept on work, and the ſmall treaſure of the nation hindred from going abroad. He likewiſe took great care of improving Ireland; by plantations there, and tranſplantations of the natives, to advance the cuſtoms, and to abate the charges of the garriſons: and introduced an univerſal courſe of law and juſtice, in the moſt barbarous and remote parts of that nation (*o*). In 1609, he aſſerted the prerogative of the Crown of England, in reſtraining foreigners from fiſhing upon our coaſts (*p*). The ſame year, he made a remarkable ſpeech in Parliament, wherein he demanded a yearly revenue of two hundred thouſand pounds for his Majeſty [*M*]. The Houſe of Commons deſiring to know, before they made any anſwer to that demand, what return the King would make them for the ſame? were checked for it by the Lord Treaſurer, as guilty of want of reſpect (*q*). This Lord's extreme and indefatigable application to buſineſs threw him at length into a conſumption of the lungs. After having for ſome time been in a declining condition, he was attacked, in the beginning of the year 1612, with a tertian ague, which turned to a complication of dropſy and ſcurvy (*r*). Being adviſed to go to the Bath, for the recovery of his health, he ſet out for that place the 27th of April, and continued there 'till the

(*b*) Edm. Howe's Continuation of Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 885.

(*i*) Pat. 6 Jacobi, p. 30.

(*k*) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. II. p. 399.

(*l*) Aulicus Coquin. p. 55—61.

(*m*) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 239, 301, 309.

(*n*) Weldon, as above.

(*o*) Aulicus Coquin. p. 59, 60.

(*p*) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 49, 50.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 123, 125.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 332, 338, 363. Aulicus Coq. p. 62.

[*L*] *Got a conſiderable eſtate for himſelf.*] We are told (14), that he fleeted off the cream of the King's manors in many counties, not any two lying in any one county; and made choice of moſt in the remoteſt counties: moreover (15), that he had one trick to get the kernel, and leave the Scots but the ſhell, yet caſt all the envy on them. He would make them buy books of Fee-farms, ſome one hundred pounds *per annum*, ſome one hundred marks, and then would compound with them for a thouſand pounds; which they were willing to embrace, becauſe they were ſure to have them paſs without any controul or charge, and one thouſand pounds appeared to them that never ſaw ten pounds before, an inexhauſtible treaſure: then would he fill up this book with ſuch prime land, as ſhould be worth ten or twenty thouſand pounds, which was eaſy for him to do, being Treaſurer. By this means his Lordſhip inriched himſelf infinitely, yet caſt the envy on the Scots, in whoſe names theſe books appeared, and are ſtill upon record to all poſterity; though they had but part of the wax, and the Earl of Saliſbury the honey. The ſame author obſerves urther (16), That the advantage the Lord Treaſurer had, in exchanging Theobalds with the King, was as great, as if he had ſold his Majeſty Theobalds for fifty years purchaſe. And alſo, that he had reſerved to himſelf and his poſterity the being perpetual keepers of the houſe and parks adjacent. Finally, that, to ſatisfy his revenge upon ſome neighbour gentlemen, that formerly would not ſell him ſome convenient parcels of land bordering on Theobalds, he put the King on enlarging the Park, walling and ſtoring it with red Deer.

(14) Weldon, as above, p. 51.

(15) Ibid. p. 60.

(16) Ib. p. 51, 52.

[*M*] *He made a ſpeech in Parliament, wherein he demanded a yearly revenue of* 200,000 l. *for his Majeſty.*] Amongſt other reaſons and inducements which he uſed then, he alledged this; That at the time of his coming into the office of High-Treaſurer, he found the King indebted thirteen hundred thouſand pounds, whereof part grew in the late Queen's time, for ſupplying of the wars of Ireland under the Earls of Eſſex and Devonſhire, and the reſt ſince the King's coming to the crown; ſpecifying particularly the manner and occaſions of the expence. That ſince the ſaid time there had been nine hundred thouſand pounds of the ſaid debts acquitted, ſo that there remained yet four hundred thouſand pounds to diſcharge. He ſhewed moreover, that the ordinary expence of the King amounted to eighty one thouſand pounds yearly more than his whole revenue, beſides the incidents of extraordinaries; which he ſaid there is no man but in the ſupputation of his private accounts did commonly find to amount to the fourth part of his ordinary charges. So that both for the diſcharging of the remainder of the King's debts, and the due ſupplying hereafter of his expences (whereof he did not omit to repreſent the new increaſe coming upon him by the inſtallation and emancipating of the Prince) his concluſion and demand was, That the Houſe would yield a yearly and perpetual Grant, and that without neceſſity of new conſents and aſſemblies, of two hundred thouſand pounds for a ſubvention to his Majeſty's charges. And the better to incline and encourage the Houſe to the granting this high and extraordinary demand, he willed every one of them to bring and proffer freely any ſuch griefs as they had, and promiſed in the King's name, that his Majeſty would redreſs the ſame, and give them all ſatisfaction therein, as far as ſhould lye in his power (17).

(17) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 41.

[*N*] *The*

the 21st of May following (*s*). The King visited him before his departure (*t*), and expressed the utmost value for him [*N*]. But the Bath not doing him the service that was expected, he set out again for London on the 21st of May: however he did not live to reach that city; for he died, in Mr Daniel's house at St Margaret's in Marleburgh [*O*], on Sunday the 24th of May 1612 (*u*). His body being embalmed was brought to Hatfield in Hertfordshire, where it was magnificently buried (*w*): and a sumptuous monument was some time after erected to his memory [*P*]. By his Lady, Elizabeth, daughter of William Brooke Lord Cobham, he had William, who succeeded him in his honours and dignities; and a daughter named Frances, married to Henry Lord Clifford, son and heir apparent to Francis, Earl of Cumberland (*x*). As to Robert Earl of Salisbury's person, and character: for the first he was not much beholden to nature, for he was very much crooked. But he had a good face, which indeed was the best part of his outside. What he wanted in shape was amply made up in prudence, and exquisite good sense; in which respect he was his father's own son. For, as one expresses it (*y*), upon his little crooked body he carried a head, and a head-piece of a vast content. And therein it seems nature was so diligent to compleat one and the best part about him; as that, besides the perfection of his memory, she took care also of his senses, and gave him very quick and sharp eyes. In his temper, he was of a sweet disposition, full of mildness, courtesy, honest mirth, bounty, kindness, and gratitude (*z*): but, in what he found to touch the honour and interest of his Sovereign, it was his custom to speak roundly and plainly (*a*). In his political capacity, he was the most sufficient and able Counsellor that ever King was served with (*b*), of noble endowments of mind, of a great genius, and perfectly acquainted with the state and interest of this nation (*c*): a person of great dexterity, sincerity, and judgment, in the dispatch of publick affairs (*d*). This is abundantly evident not only from his whole conduct, but also from his many Letters to our Ambassadors abroad [*Q*]; in which he expresses himself like a person of great abilities, and like an honest man, and a good Christian. But since, as all other officers of State, he hath had a double character, it will therefore be proper to see what hath been said to his disadvantage. He is charged by some (*e*), with having done ill offices to this nation, in discovering the nature of the people; and shewing the King the way, how to enhance his prerogative so above the laws, that he might inslave the nation: which, though it took well then, yet hath been of sad and dangerous consequence in after-times. For, first, he caused a whole cart-load of Parliament-precedents, that spake the subjects liberty to be burnt (*f*). Next, he raised two hundred thousand pounds for making two hundred Baronets; telling the King, 'He should find his English subjects like asses, on whom he might 'lay any burden, and should need neither bit nor bridle, but their asses ears.' And when the King said, 'It would discontent the generality of the gentry;' he replied, 'Tush, 'Sir,

(*s*) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 367. Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, Vol. I. edit. 1732, B.vi. p. 9, &c.

(*t*) Aulicus Coquinaria, p. 62.

(*u*) Ibid. and Memorials, &c. and Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, &c. as above.

(*w*) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 63. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 408.

(*x*) Dugdale, ibid.

(*y*) Naunton, Fragmenta Regalia, &c. p. 78, 80.

(*z*) From the Lord Treasurer Dorset's Character of him, in Collins's Peerage, 8*vo*, 1734, Vol. II. P. i. p. 79.

(*a*) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. II. p. 440.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 74.

(*c*) Rapin's Hist. of Engl. edit. 8*vo*. 1729, Vol. IX. p. 239, 310.

(*d*) Collins's Peerage, ubi supra, p. 78.

(*e*) Weldon, as above, p. 11, 12.

(*f*) Dr Goodman observes, That no man can be so sottish as to believe this, who knows how strictly the Records are kept by sworn officers. Aulicus Coquin. p. 53.

[*N*] *The King visited him before his departure, &c.*] His Majesty visited him twice, soon after the beginning of his illness, and gave charge to the Physicians upon their heads to be careful of him; and commanded all men for four days to forbear speaking to him upon any business (18). Immediately before his departure, his Majesty visited him again at Salisbury-house, and with tears, at parting, protested to the Lords attending, his great loss of the wisest counsellor and best servant, that any Prince in Christendom could parallel (19). And when a report came from Bath, of his being likely to recover, the King sent purpofely the Lord Hay to him, with a token, which was, a fair diamond, set, or rather hung, square in a gold ring without a foil, and this message, 'That the favour and affection he bore him, was, and 'should be ever, as the form and matter of that Ring, 'endless, pure, and most perfect.' From the Queen he received by the same hand another gracious message, and a token; and at the same time the like remembrance from the Prince delivered by Sir John Hollis: All which were comforts and confirmations of his never otherwise than most faithful and best deserving service (20). And this by the by seems to be a sufficient confutation of the story told by Sir Anthony Weldon (21), That the Duke of Bouillon, who was then in England, about the overture of that unfortunate match between the Palsgrave and the Lady Elizabeth, had so done the Lord Treasurer's errand, and discovered his juggling; that it is most certain, he had been stript of all his great places, if he had lived to return to Court.

(18) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 338.

(19) Aulicus Coquin. p. 62.

(20) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 368.

(21) Court and Character of King James, edit. 1650. 8*vo*, p. 13.

[*O*] *He died at Mr Daniel's house at St Margaret's in Marleburgh.*] Some authors of very slender credit, and much given to detraction, give the following account of his death. That he died of the Herodian disease [vermin]; and, for all his great honours and possessions, and stately houses, found no place but the top of a mole-hill (22), near Marleborough, to end his miserable life; so that it might be said of him, and truly, he died of a most loathsome disease, without house, without pity, without the favour of that master that had raised him to so high an estate (23). —— The other writer here referred to (24), speaks thus — 'Nor 'was his death, by prejudice, looked upon as Herod's, 'nor the place it attacked him on, *viz.* Sarisbury-'plaine in his Coach, nor Po his Physician then pre-'sent (a mere empirick, and celebrated for no skill 'but in the cure of the ——) small inducement to the 'reports which followed: —— Moreover, his body 'burst the lead it was wrapped in, with so much noise 'and stench as affrigbted the by-standers; which his 'calumniators esteemed an effect of God's vengeance.' But, besides that these accounts vary in several material circumstances from the text above, which is taken from very authentick writers; it is certain, there is not the least hint of what is asserted by these two scandalous authors, in the relation of this Lord's last moments, minutely given in a letter by his domestick Chaplain Dr Bowles (25); and by Mr Fynett, who was one of his constant attendants (26). One author suspects (27), that his Lordship died not without suspicion of poison from Sir Robert Carr.

(22) The ground of this aspersion is, That the day before his death, swooning in the way, he was taken out of his litter and laid into his coach. Naunton, p. 84.

(23) Weldon, ubi supra, p. 13, 14.

(24) Osborne, as above, p. 86, 87.

(25) See Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. I. B. vi. p. 9, &c.

(26) Memorials, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 367, 368.

(27) First fourteen years of King James, edit. 1651, 4*to*, p. 11.

[*P*] *A monument was some time after erected to his memory.*] It is in a Chapel, built by this Lord, on the North-side of the Chancel. The monument, is, a table of black marble, with his Lordship's effigies in white marble, lying upon it with his staff. This is supported by the four cardinal virtues, in virgin-habits, on their knees, carved in white marble, each with her proper emblem. Underneath is another table of black marble, upon which lies the skeleton of the Earl curiously carved (28).

(28) History of Hertfordshire, by N. Salmon, fol. Lond. 1728, p. 213.

[*Q*] *His many letters to our Ambassadors abroad.*] There are great numbers of them in the three volumes of *Memorials of State*, published by Edmund Sawyer, Esq; in three volumes, fol. Lond. 1725. There is also one letter of his to his father, printed in the *Cabala*, or Mysteries of State, &c. Lond. 1663, fol. pag. 133.

[*R*] *He*

'Sir, you want the money that will do you good, the honour will do them very little.' And by these courses he raised himself, friends, and family, to offices, honours, and great possessions. He is also accused (*g*), of having sold great quantites of Crown-timber. But, the person who brings this accusation, does in a great measure discharge the Lord Treasurer from it; by observing, that millions of oaks were felled and sold at vile prices, not only during the life of the Earl of Salisbury, but all the reign of King James. He is likewise blamed, for having raised money by several means which were looked upon as oppressive. But in reality the blame of this must be laid upon the extravagance, and, in consequence of that, upon the indigence, of his master King James. Whenever he had an opportunity, he endeavoured to curb his Majesty's extreme profuseness [*R*]. His greatest blemish, was, the being a promoter of the unfortunate Sir Walter Raleigh's fall (*h*). And, before that, his sharp proceedings against the Earl of Essex; and his inclosures of Hatfield-chace; had created such a hatred for him in the generality, that the black cloud of detraction fell upon all he said or did: to which the misfortunes accompanying him from his birth did not add a little. Upon all these accounts he hath been reviled and libelled. But, how many soever his faults were, he is universally allowed, even by his enemies, to have been of an incomparable prudence: and is highly extolled for other excellencies by his friends [*S*]. Coming so near such an unadvised scatterer as King James, he might have enriched his family better than he did, but that he looked upon low things with contempt, leaving much to the gleanings of his servants. What was said of Gregory the Great in another case, was not improperly applicable to him. 'That he 'was the first ill treasurer, and the last good, since Queen Elizabeth's days;' he not standing charged with any grosser bribery or corruption, than what lay inclusive under the ceremony of new-years-gifts, or his own, or servants, sharing with such as by importunity, rather than merit, had obtained debentures out of the Exchequer (*i*). In a word, by the confession of all parties, he had great parts, was very wise, full of honour and bounty, a great lover and rewarder of virtue, and able parts in others, so as they did not aspire too high in places, or look too narrowly into his actions (*k*). Besides his book against the Papists, and his letters and dispatches already mentioned; he was author of several speeches in Parliament (*l*), and of some notes on Dr John Dee's Discourse about the reformation of the Calendar (*m*).

(*g*) Traditional Memoyres, *&c.* as above, by F. Osborne, p. 92.

(*h*) Art. Wilson's Life and Reign of King James, in Complete Hist. Vol II. edit. 1706, p. 663.

(*i*) Fr. Osborne, as above, p. 90, 91.

(*k*) Weldon, as above, p. 14.

(*l*) Memorials, *&c.* as above, Vol. III. p. 159, 194.

(*m*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. edit. 1725. p. 355.

[*R*] *He endeavoured to curb his Majesty's extreme profuseness.*] Particularly once, the King having given a peremptory warrant to Sir Robert Carr, afterwards Earl of Somerset, for twenty thousand pounds (29), the Lord Treasurer (who, in his exquisite prudence, found that not only the Exchequer, but the Indies themselves would want fluency to feed so immense a prodigality, and not without reason apprehending, that the King was ignorant of the value of the gift he had made to his favourite) caused the sum abovementioned, all in silver, to be laid upon the ground (30), in a room through which his Majesty was to pass, being invited to dinner at Salisbury house. The King amazed at the quantity, and probably having never seen the like before, asked the Treasurer, 'Whose 'money it was?' He replied, 'Your Majesty's, be-'fore you gave it away.' Whereupon the King fell into a passion, and protested he was abused, never intending such a gift: and casting himself upon the heap, scrabled out the quantity of two or three hundred pounds, and swore Carr should have no more. However it being the King's minion, Cecil durst not provoke him farther, than by permitting him only to have the half of that sum (31).

(29) Wilson says, it was only 5000*l.* Life of King James, in Complete History, edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 688.

(30) According to R. Coke, the money was laid upon four tables, in a gallery thro' which the King was to pass, 500*o*/. upon each table; and the King suffered Carr to have but 5000*l.* of it. *Detection, &c.* edit. 1719, Vol. I. p. 65, 66.

(31) Fr. Osborne, as above, p. 84, 85.

[*S*] *And is highly extolled for other excellencies by his friends.*] Sir Charles Cornwallis writes to his Lordship from Spain in the following words. —— 'Well may your Lordship's hearte be comforted in 'this, That the infallible testymonies gou have given 'of your love to truthe and temper, your watchfull 'eye over the Master you serve, and your incessant 'cares and travailes for the safety of your countrye, 'cannot but breed you favour with God, love and 'respect with the King, and make you deare to as 'many of your countrye as have eyther eyes or judg-'ment to discerne your true and rare deservings (32).' And in another place (33), —— 'That my Lord of 'Salisburye was so compleate and perfect a servante 'and lover of his King and countrye, as there were 'no meanes uppon earth to draw him to enclyne to 'any the least poynte that should not soundly agree 'with their honnor and fecurity.'

(32) Memorials, *&c.* as above, Vol. II. p. 316.

(33) Ibid. p. 319.

C

CHALONER (Sir THOMAS) a gallant Soldier, an able Statesman, and a very learned Writer in the XVIth century. He was descended from a good family in Wales, and born at London about the year 1515 (*a*). His quick parts discovered themselves even in his infancy, so that his family, to promote that passionate desire of knowledge for which he was so early distinguished, sent him to the university of Cambridge, where he remained some years, and obtained great credit, as well by the pregnancy of his wit, as his constant and diligent application, but more especially by his happy turn for Latin Poetry, in which he exceeded most of his contemporaries (*b*). Upon his removing from college, he came up to Court; and being taken notice of there for his extraordinary abilities and excellent behaviour, which recommended him to the esteem of the best, and the friendship of the greatest, men, about it, he was soon sent abroad into Germany with Sir Henry Knevet, as the custom was in the reign of Henry VIII, when young men of great hopes were frequently employed in the service of Ambassadors, that they might at once improve and polish themselves by travel, and gain some experience in business (*c*). He was so well received at the Court of the Emperor Charles V, and so highly pleased with the noble and generous spirit of that great Monarch, that he attended him in his journies, and also in his wars, particularly in that fatal expedition against Algiers, which cost the lives of so many brave men, and was very near cutting short the thread of Mr Chaloner's, for in that great tempest by which the Emperor's fleet was shattered on the coast of Barbary in 1541, the vessel on board of which he was suffered shipwreck, and Mr Chaloner having quite wearied and exhausted

(*a*) Bale, de Script. Britan. p. 108.

(*b*) See this matter explained in note [*A*].

(*c*) Strype's Memorials. Lloyd's Worthies. Herbert's History of the Reign of Henry VIII.

himself by swimming, and that too in the dark, at length beat his head against a cable, of which laying hold with his teeth, he was providentially drawn up into the ship to which it belonged, though with the loss of some of them (*d*). He returned soon after into England, and as a reward of his learning and services, was promoted to the office of First Clerk of the Council, in which post he served during the remainder of that reign (*e*). In the beginning of the next he came into great favour with the Duke of Somerset, whom he attended into Scotland, and was in the battle of Musselburgh, where he distinguished himself so remarkably in the presence of the Duke, that he conferred upon him the honour of knighthood 28 Sept. 1547, and after his return to Court, the Duchess of Somerset presented him with a rich jewel (*f*). The first cloud that darkened his patron's fortune, proved fatal to Sir Thomas Chaloner's pretensions, for being a man of a warm and open temper, and conceiving the obligation he was under to the Duke, as a tie that hindered his making court to his adversary, a stop was put to his preferment, and a vigilant eye kept upon his actions; but his loyalty to his Prince, and his exact discharge of his duty, secured him from any farther danger; so that he had leisure to apply himself to his studies, and to cultivate his acquaintance with the worthiest men of that Court, particularly Sir John Cheke, Sir Anthony Coke, Sir Thomas Smith, and more especially Sir William Cecil, with whom he always lived in the strictest intimacy (*g*). Under the reign of Queen Mary he passed his time, tho' safely, yet very unpleasantly, for being a zealous Protestant, he could not practise any part of that complaisance, which procured some of his friends an easier life. He interested himself extreamly in the affair of Sir John Cheke, and did him all the service he was able, both before and after his confinement. This had like to have brought Sir Thomas himself into trouble, if the civilities he had shewn in King Edward's reign, when they were in a state of humiliation, to some of those who had the greatest power under Queen Mary, had not moved them, from a principle of gratitude, to protect him. Indeed it appears from his own writings, that, as he was very honest in his own friendships, so he was particularly happy in them, and as he was never wanting to his friends, when he had power, he never felt the want of them, when he had it not, and, which he esteemed the greatest blessing of his life, he lived to return those kindnesses to some who had been useful to him in that dangerous season (*h*) [*A*]. Upon the demise of Queen Mary, and the accession of Elizabeth, he appeared at Court with his former lustre, and it must afford us a very high opinion of his character, as well as his capacity, that he was the first Ambassador named by that wise Princess, and that also to the first Prince in Europe, Ferdinand I. Emperor of Germany (*i*). In this negotiation, which was of equal importance and delicacy, he acquitted himself with great reputation, and not only did all that was expected

(*d*) Camden. Annal. p. 121,

(*e*) Bale, Script. Britan. p. 108.

(*f*) Lloyd's Worthies, p. 564.

(*g*) As appears from several Letters and Papers amongst the Cecilian MSS.

(*h*) Remarks upon the Reign of Queen Mary, P. 95.

(*i*) Camden. Annal. p. 21.

[*A*] *Who had been useful to him in that dangerous season.*] It is a very great pity, that more care has not been taken to preserve the personal and literary History of this truly great man, the rather because such diligence seemed to be in a peculiar manner due to his memory, on account of that constant respect he shewed for the characters of others, whether distinguished by their extraordinary merit towards the publick, or recommended by the more immediate connection of private friendship (1), so that a certain writer, in his short character of him, had reason to say, that 'a true friend was the best picture of this 'gentleman's mind, since his love knew no bounds, 'could not be diverted by any danger, or divorced 'even by death itself.' Of this he gave variety of instances, by the tribute he paid to the fame of those he either esteemed or loved, that were far enough from being happy in their fortunes; but because we have not much room to spare, and therefore cannot dwell upon a variety of instances, we will content ourselves with the mention only of one, as being of all others the most proper for our purpose. He wrote then a long and beautiful poem upon the tragical death of that most excellent person, the Lady Jane Gray, in which are contained a multitude of curious and instructive passages, so that it is very hard to say, whether it is more valuable for the matter or manner of it's composition. But surely it is a noble testimony of the virtue and honesty, and at the same time of the tenderness of it's author's disposition (2). He opens it with a most admirable description of the elegant form of this fair victim to the ambition of others, and having painted in the brightest colours the beauties of her person, he celebrates her great learning and wisdom, which, considering she was scarce eighteen when she died, nothing but the unimpeached sincerity of the author could induce us to credit; he observes, that besides her mother-tongue, she was not superficially, but perfectly well skilled in seven languages, *viz.* Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabick, Italian, and French. She wrote a very fine hand, and with incomparable facility upon all subjects, possessing the Philosophy of Plato perfectly, and having a happy tincture of the eloquence of Demosthenes. Her natural abilities were very great, and they were heightened by an application so assiduous, that, her sex and quality considered, we may safely say was unequalled. She played admirably on several instruments of musick, and, if we may add to such accomplishments one that may seem trivial, she was excellent at her needle. Yet with all these rare endowments, all these high and extraordinary qualities, she was of a mild, an humble, and a modest spirit, and never discovered any thing of the height and grandeur of her mind, but in the last act of her life, a fearless and noble, though at the same time a pious, and a Christian-like, contempt of death. Our author very justly observes, that, considering all that had the colour of crime in her conduct was cast upon her by others, it gave no great idea of the Queen's justice, that sparing some who were deeply guilty, she suffered the full weight of punishment to fall upon this Innocent. To this, in a high strain of poetick justice, he attributes the shortness and the uneasiness of Queen Mary's reign, her long and languishing sickness, her disturbed government, and her distraction of mind, occasioned chiefly by shedding this poor Lady's blood. He likewise takes in the chief authors of this dire counsel, and shows, that notwithstanding their seeming escape in this world, they were nevertheless severely and justly punished, few of them surviving long, and most of them undergoing more painful deaths than they had inflicted upon her; one sinking under the pressure of a dropsy, another brought to his end by the excruciating torments of the stone, a third by the slow progress of an incurable consumption, and others by diseases equally cruel in their kind, and fatal in their events. A great part of this admirable Latin poem has been re-published as an Appendix to the History of that reign under which this unfortunate Lady suffered, and it is really a great pity that it has not been translated, for the information as well as satisfaction of the English reader, very few things of the kind deserving it so well (3).

(1) This is meant of the large Collection of Elogies, Epigrams, and Epitaphs, in Latin Verse, written by our author in honour of the worthiest persons of his time.

(2) In lib. suo cui tit. est *De illustrium quorundam Encomiis & Epitaphiis nonnullis &c.* Lond. 1579, p. 296.

(3) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 93, and the Poem, at least the best part of it, in the Appendix, No. IX,

[*B*] *Which*

pected from him but much more, which his Miſtreſs very gratefully acknowledged (*k*) [*B*]. After his return from this embaſſy, he was very ſoon thought of for another, which was that of Spain, and though it is certain the Queen could not give a ſtronger proof than this of her confidence in his abilities, yet he was very far from thinking that it was any mark of her kindneſs, more eſpecially conſidering the terms upon which ſhe then ſtood with King Philip, and the uſage his predeceſſor Chamberlain had met with at that Court (*l*). But he knew the Queen would be obeyed, and therefore undertook the buſineſs with the beſt grace he could, and embarked for Spain in 1561. On his firſt arrival he met with ſuch a piece of rudeneſs, as made him weary of the country before he was well in it. This was the ſearching of all his trunks and cabinets, of which he complained loudly; for having been treated at the Court of the Emperor with the utmoſt reſpect, he could not bear ſuch an act of inſolence, which he thought equally injurious to himſelf as a gentleman, and to his character as a publick Miniſter (*m*). His complaints however were fruitleſs, for at that time there is great probability that his Catholick Majeſty was not over deſirous of having an Engliſh Miniſter, and more eſpecially one of Sir Thomas's diſpoſition, at his Court, and therefore gave him no ſatisfaction. Upon this Sir Thomas Chaloner wrote home, ſet out the affront that he had received in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible, and was very earneſt to be re-called; but the Queen his Miſtreſs contented herſelf with letting him know, that it was the duty of every perſon who bore a publick character, to bear with patience what happened to them, provided no perſonal indignity was offered to the Prince from whom they came (*n*.) Yet for all this, the ſearching Sir Thomas Chaloner's trunks, was, many years afterwards, put into that publick Charge which the Queen exhibited againſt his Catholick Majeſty, of injuries done to her before ſhe intermeddled with the affairs of the Low-Countries (*o*) But notwithſtanding this he kept up his ſpirit, and ſhewed the Spaniſh Miniſters, and even that haughty Monarch himſelf, that the Queen could not have entruſted her affairs in better hands than his. There were ſome perſons of very good families in England, who, for the ſake of their religion,

(*k*) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 75.

(*l*) Camden. Annal. p. 85.

(*m*) A ſhort Account of the Injuries done her Majeſty by the King of Spain, MS. amongſt the Collections of Lord Burleigh.

(*n*) Camden. Annal. p. 85.

(*o*) As appears from ſeveral papers amongſt the MSS. of Lord Burleigh.

[*B*] *Which his Miſtreſs very gratefully acknowledged.*] It was very natural, as well as neceſſary, at the beginning of a new reign, and eſpecially in the circumſtances the Queen was in at the entrance of her's, to think of preſerving a good correſpondence with all the Princes of Europe, but more eſpecially with the Emperor, for various reaſons; ſhe therefore charged Sir Thomas Chaloner with a letter to him, the ſubſtance (4) of which was to the following effect: 'That her ſiſter was dead, and that through the 'goodneſs of God, and in virtue of her own hereditary right, and the people's conſent, ſhe was now inveſted in the ſucceſſion, and that ſhe deſired nothing 'more than the preſervation and improvement of that 'antient friendſhip, which had been ſo long kept up 'between the Crown of England and the Houſe of 'Auſtria.' The great ſervice that he did in this embaſſy, was to divide the views of the Emperor and King Philip, by hinting the poſſibility of a marriage between the Archduke of Auſtria and Queen Elizabeth, which at that juncture was a very great and important ſervice, ſince there was nothing the Queen wanted ſo much as to gain time, and to prevent the Popiſh powers from aſſociating againſt her before ſhe was well fixed upon the throne, or the kingdom thoroughly ſettled. How dexterouſly he managed this, and how well he ſecured the confidence of the Emperor and his Miniſters, will beſt appear from the following paſſage in an author who took what he wrote from the papers of the great Lord Burleigh (5). 'George van Helſenſtein, Baron of Gundelfingen, was in England 'with the Queen, ſoon after her firſt coming to the 'Crown, in quality of Agent or Ambaſſador from the 'Emperor. Then there happened communication between him and Sir Thomas Chaloner about the 'Queen's marriage, which Chaloner and all good men 'then had their thoughts much bent upon. They 'talked together of the Emperor's ſon, the Arch-duke 'of Auſtria. And now Van Helfenſtein being departed 'and at Bruſſels, wrote, Mar. 21, 1558, to Chaloner, 'and ſent him the picture of that Duke, which he 'might ſhew as he ſhould think moſt convenient. 'This repreſentation of him ſhewed him to be a moſt 'comely perſon, but his mind and inward abilities exceeded his perſon,' as the noble German told Chaloner in his letter. 'That if the moſt virtuous and 'gallant endowment of his ſoul were known as well 'to him as they were to himſelf and others, he would 'ſoon acknowledge, they did by many degrees ſurpaſs 'the beauty of his body. But that picture receiving 'ſome damage by the waggon in which it was 'brought, he promiſed to ſend Chaloner another of 'the Duke's whole body, and of his brother alſo; 'wiſhing that he might have a ſight of them both 'alive, without the help of paint and colour. He 'told him all the report at Bruſſels was, that the King 'of Spain was to marry the Queen, although, as he 'ſubjoined, men of great authority, when he was in 'England, ſeemed to miſdoubt it. But he prayed 'Chaloner, out of their great friendſhip, to give ſome 'account of that whole matter. For that indeed was 'the very reaſon, why the Emperor, who intended to 'offer to the Queen either of his ſons, did forbear at 'preſent to do it, becauſe he would not any ways 'diſoblige one ſo nearly related. But if the King's 'ſuit ſucceeded not, he then requeſted his friend, the 'ſaid Sir Thomas Chaloner, to give him with all 'ſecrecy an account of it, and then would the Emperor put in ſtrongly for one of his ſons; and ſo he 'did afterwards.' But this was not all. He ſo well underſtood the Queen's mind, the advantages that might be gained by managing and keeping up this treaty, of which there was not the leaſt ſhadow of ſucceſs or reality, for the Queen diſliked the perſon of this German Prince as much as ſhe ſlighted his pretenſions, that when he had made as much of it as was poſſible in one ſhape, he very artfully ſhifted thr ſcene, and made no leſs of it in another. We will give this part of the ſtory in the words of the learned Camden, who had his information from the ſame ſource as Mr Strype; that is, from the memoirs and papers of the Lord Treaſurer: 'The King of Spain having caſt off 'all pretenſions to Elizabeth, and being upon his marriage with the French King's daugbter, was not however a little perplexed about England, which he had 'no mind to ſee united to the Crown of France. And 'the better to retain the honour of ſo conſiderable a 'kingdom in his own family, he perſwaded the Emperor Ferdinand, his uncle, to offer one of his ſons 'in marriage to Queen Elizabeth; which he did, by 'letters full of reſpect, and preſſed the affair very 'cloſely by Gaſpar Preinor, Free-Baron in Stibing; 'and the King of Spain himſelf offers her Majeſty his 'beſt and heartieſt offices to bring it about, whilſt ſhe, 'in return, has both her ſhips and ports at his ſervice, 'to facilitate his intended voyage into Spain; and 'pays him other ſervices and compliments, by the 'hands of Sir Thomas Chaloner.' This introduced our ſtateſman to an acquaintance with the Spaniſh Miniſtry, and his having ſucceeded ſo happily in negotiating with both branches of the houſe of Auſtria upon ſo tender a point, looked like a demonſtration, that nothing could be too hard for him, and brought upon him his Spaniſh journey.

(4) Camden. Annal. p. 21.

(5) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 95, 96.

[C] *To*

religion, and no doubt out of regard to the intereſt to which they had devoted themſelves, deſired to have leave from Queen Elizabeth to reſide in the Low-Countries or elſewhere, and King Philip and his Miniſters made it a point to ſupport their ſuit. Upon this, when a Conference was held with Sir Thomas Chaloner, he anſwered very roundly, that the thing in itſelf was of very little importance, ſince it was no great matter where the perſons who made this requeſt ſpent the remainder of their days, but that conſidering the rank and condition of the Princes intereſted in this buſineſs, it was neither fit for the one to aſk, nor for the other to grant (*p*). It appeared that he ſpoke the ſenſe of his Court, for Queen Elizabeth would never be brought to hearken to the propoſal. In other reſpects however he was very grateful and agreeable to the principal perſons of the Spaniſh Court, who could not help admiring his talents as a Miniſter, his bravery as a Soldier, with which in former times they were well acquainted, his general learning and admirable ſkill in Latin poetry, of which he gave them many proofs in ſeveral elegant performances, written during his ſtay in their country (*q*). It was here, at a time when, as himſelf ſays in the Preface, he ſpent *the* winter *in a* ſtove, *and the* ſummer *in a* barn, that he compoſed his great work of *The Right Ordering of the* ENGLISH REPUBLICK, and thus endeavoured to ſooth his cares, and diſpel his melancholy, by his converſations with the Muſes. But though theſe might in ſome meaſure alleviate his chagrin, yet they were far enough from expelling it, ſo that by degrees it broke his conſtitution, and he fell into a very grievous fit of ſickneſs, which brought him ſo low that his Phyſicians deſpaired of his life (*r*). In this condition he addreſſed his Sovereign in an elegy after the manner of Ovid, ſetting forth his earneſt deſire to quit Spain and return to his native country, before care and ſickneſs forced him upon a longer journey (*s*). The Queen granted his petition, and having named Dr Man his ſucceſſor in his negotiation, at length gave him leave to return home from an embaſſy, in which he had ſo long ſacrificed his private quiet to the publick conveniency (*t*) [*C*]. He accordingly returned to London in the latter end of the year 1564, and publiſhed the firſt five books of his large work beforementioned, which he dedicated to his good friend Sir William Cecil, but the remaining five books were not publiſhed as I apprehend in his life-time, which I gather from what Camden has left us concerning this worthy perſon, who particularly mentions this great work, and ſpeaks of it as containing five books and no more (*u*). He reſided in a fair large houſe of his own building in Clerkenwell-Cloſe, over-againſt the decayed nunnery, and a very induſtrious perſon has preſerved from oblivion an elegant fancy of his, which was penciled on the frontiſpiece of his dwelling (*w*) [*D*]. Whether it was the diſeaſe he contracted in Spain that hung about

(*p*) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 131. Lloyd's Worthies.

(*q*) Miſcellanea Chaloneri, p. 334, 342, 348.

(*r*) Strype's Annals, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Miſcellanea Chaloner. p. 291.

(*t*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 566.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. p. 121.

(*w*) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 430.

[*C*] *To the publick conveniency.*] It is very certain, that a man could hardly paſs his days leſs at eaſe than Sir Thomas Chaloner did, while he continued in Spain. He had been in that country many years before, and diſliked it, ſo that he went thither with the utmoſt regret (6). The inſult offered to him on his firſt arrival, gave him great diſpleaſure, which was far from being removed by the Queen's giving him to underſtand, that there he was to ſtay. He very well knew, that the Biſhop of Aquila, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at London, was daily drawing upon himſelf deſerved ill uſage for his intrigues with the Papiſts and Malecontents, and he found by experience, that much of the ill treatment this eccleſiaſtick ſuffered was revenged upon him (7). When the Queen ſent forces over to aſſiſt the Proteſtants in France, Sir Thomas Chaloner was ordered to give that matter the beſt face it could receive at the Court of Spain, which he did; but King Philip anſwered him plainly, that if the Queen, his miſtreſs, meant no more, than to keep Havre de Grace 'till Calais was reſtored, he was content; but that, if under colour of oppoſing the Guiſes, and providing for her own ſafety, ſhe meant to begin a religious war, and to become the head of a Proteſtant League, he ſhould find himſelf obliged to defend the old religion, and to take part with the monarch of France (8). But all this time, the great and important buſineſs of the trade between England and the Low-Countries remained ſuſpended; nor could any method that hitherto had been contrived, engage the governors of the Low-Countries to re-call the prohibition of Engliſh commodities, tho' ſeveral attempts had been made for that purpoſe, by particular applications to thoſe who had authority there; but Sir Thomas Chaloner perceiving that his Catholick Majeſty's favourite, the famous Roderick Gomez, was at the head of a faction directly oppoſite to that of the Duke of Alva, he very artfully procured ſome of the correſpondents of the latter in Spain, to repreſent to him, that the enmity expreſſed by Gomez towards the Engliſh, did not at all ariſe, as he gave out, from their being hereticks, and having views different from thoſe of his maſter, but from an apprehenſion, that if the intercourſe between England and the Low-Countries were revived, it would produce a briſk circulation of money throughout all the cities in thoſe provinces, and thereby facilitate his motions, which he deſired to retard. The Duke of Alva having conſidered this, ſoon ſaw, or thought he ſaw, ſufficient evidence to prove it, and thereupon changed the whole of his conduct, diſcourſing often of the old friendſhip ſubſiſting between the houſe of Burgundy and the Kings of England, affecting a particular regard for the nation, and at length opening a free trade proviſionally, 'till contrary orders ſhould be received from Spain (9). Theſe, and other things of a like nature and importance, employed the thoughts, and exerciſed the induſtry, of our able and indefatigable Miniſter, while he remained in Spain, and therefore it is an idle and ridiculous ſuggeſtion of a certain writer, that he made it his buſineſs to amuſe King Philip with the hopes of marrying Queen Elizabeth (10), which, as we have ſhewn, was a thing given up on both ſides, and impracticable, before he was ſent to Spain. But when men write from fancy, and without reſpect to authorities, they eaſily fall into ſuch miſtakes as theſe.

(6) This appears by his pathetick Poem addreſſed to Queen Elizabeth, to obtain leave for his return.

(7) Strype's Annals Vol. 1. p. 395.

(8) Camden. Annal. p. 97.

(9) This appears from the Burleighian MSS. compared with the Hiſtorians of thoſe times. Camden. Annal. p. 107.

(10) Lloyd's Worthies, p. 565.

[*D*] *On the frontiſpiece of his dwelling.*] The priory of Clerkenwell belonged to Nuns, who from their habit were called Black Nuns, and was founded by one Jordan Briſet: it was a very fair and handſome houſe, and had revenues to the amount of near three hundred pounds a year at the time of the diſſolution (11). I cannot find that Sir Thomas Chaloner had any grant, either of the lands belonging to this nunnery, or to the adjacent hoſpital, of the order of St John of Jeruſalem; and therefore, I preſume, he had a leaſe from the Cavendiſh family, who were in poſſeſſion of the ſcite of the diſſolved nunnery, upon which he erected this new houſe, directly oppoſite to the ruins of the old building, to which the inſcription he placed thereon manifeſtly referred. His lines were theſe:

(11) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 430.

Caſta fides ſupereſt, velatæ tecta ſorores
Iſta relegatæ, deſeruere licet:
Nam venerandus Hymen, hic vota jugalia ſervat;
Veſtalemque focem mente fovere ſtudet.

In

about him, or that after living so long in a warm country, his body was less able to endure the inclemency of our moister air, so it was, that on the seventh day of October, 1565, he yielded to nature (*x*), to the regret of the best and greatest men of his time. His body was soon after buried in the cathedral church of St Paul with great funeral solemnity, Sir William Cecil, then Principal Secretary of State, assisting (*y*) thereat as chief mourner, who also honoured his memory with a very fine copy of Latin verses, in which he observes, that the most lively imagination, the most solid judgment, the quickest parts, and the most unblemished probity, which are commonly the lot of different men, and when so dispersed frequently create great characters, were, which very rarely happens, all united in Sir Thomas Chaloner, justly therefore reputed one of the greatest men of his time (*z*). But this was not all, he encouraged Mr William Malim, formerly Fellow of King's-college in Cambridge, and then Master of St Paul's school (*a*), to collect and publish a correct edition of our author's poetical Works, which he accordingly did, and addressed it in an epistle from St Paul's school, dated 1 August 1579, to that noble person now become Lord Burleigh, Lord High-Treasurer of England, *&c.* But of this and his other works, the reader will receive some farther account in the notes [*E*]. Sir Thomas Chaloner married Ethelreda, daughter of Edward Frodsham of Elton in the County Palatine of Chester, Esq; (*b*) by whom he had issue his only son Thomas, of whom briefly in the next article. This Lady, not long after Sir Thomas's decease, married Sir * * * Brockett, notwithstanding which the Lord Burleigh continued his kindness to her, out of respect to that friendship which he had for her first husband (*c*). We cannot conclude this short Life of so worthy a man better, than by adding his epitaph, written by one of the best Latin Poets of that age, Dr Walter Haddon, Master of Requests to Queen Elizabeth (*d*).

(*x*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 149.

(*y*) Camden. Annal. p. 121.

(*z*) See this copy of verses, prefixed to Sir Thomas Chaloner's book.

(*a*) From a MS. note in Sir Thomas Chaloner's book, written by Bishop Carleton.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 398.

(*c*) As appears from Mr Tho. Chaloner's Epistle Dedicatory, prefixed to his father's book.

(*d*) Miscellanea Chaloner. p. 379.

Natura Thomas Chalonerus, & arte valebat,
Utilis & patriæ vir fuit illæ suæ.
Publica cum magna suscepit munera laude,
Laude pari libros scripserat ille domi.
Sic patriæ vixit magno, dum vixit, honore,
Sic patriæ magno concidit ille malo.

In

In English thus:

Their house no more, the veil-clad virgins grace,
Yet faith unspotted, still maintains her place:
For sacred Hymen's rites, like honours claim;
And his bright torch illumes the vestal flame.

To him also is ascribed the following line, under a sun-dial, at the entrance into the nunnery.

Non aliter pereo species quam futilis umbræ.

The fleeting shade describes it's day and mine,
For life and light by the same steps decline.

[*E*] *Some farther account in the notes.*] He begun very early to employ his pen for the service of the publick; and indeed there is scarce an author who has written in our language, to whom we may justly ascribe a larger degree of this noble disposition, than to Sir Thomas Chaloner, who from first to last employed his abilities, either in serving his country, or in celebrating the praises of those who had served it, that this might prove an encouragement to others. All that can now be discovered of his writings are these, *viz.*

I. *A little Dictionary for children.* This is mentioned by the industrious *Bale* (12), and seems to have been the first thing our author published. In his preface to it he shows the utility of such a work, and from thence infers, that no learned man need be ashamed of undertaking it, because employing learning for the promoting of learning, is discharging the duty of a man of letters; and whatever is a man's duty must be honourable.

(12) De Scriptor. p. 108.

II. *The Office of servants.* Translated from the Latin of Gilbert Cognatus, London, 1543, 8°. This book he dedicated to his honourable patron Sir Henry Knevet (13), whom he attended in his Embassy to the Emperor Charles V. and whose death he afterwards celebrated, which is preserved amongst the rest of his poems of the same nature (14).

(13) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 149.

(14) Miscellanea, P. 377.

III. Moriæ Encomium, *i. e. The Praise of Folly.* Translated from Erasmus, and printed at London, 1549, in 4° (15). It is not impossible that he may be the author also of some other translations, or little treatises relating to morals, but of these we find no account, nor at this distance of time has tradition transmitted to us the titles of any of his pieces.

(15) He was a disciple and friend to it's famous author.

IV. In laudem Henrici octavi, Regis Angliæ, præstantissimi carmen panegyricum. i. e. - *In praise of* Henry VIII. *the most worthy King of England, a Panegyrick.* This poem was addressed to Queen Elizabeth, in the beginning of her reign (16), but was not published 'till many years after the author's decease, by the care of the same worthy person who was the editor of the rest of his poetical works.

(16) It stands between the large Poem, *de Repub. Anglor. instauranda*, and his *Miscellanea*.

V. De Rep. Anglorum instauranda, libri decem. i. e. *Of the reforming or restoring the English Republick, in ten books*, Lond. 1579, 4°. This edition is most correctly and elegantly printed by the famous Thomas Vautroller. There is prefixed to it the Lord Treasurer Burleigh's poem on the work, and it's author, with other commendatory verses. We are told by the editor, that he was encouraged to the undertaking by the Lord Burleigh, who was very desirous that this noble work, of his deceased friend, might appear in a manner suitable to it's worth, and to the high respect he bore his memory. We have already told the reader, when and how it was composed, but it may not be amiss to add, Sir Thomas Chaloner's account in his own words, by which it appears, that it was begun on Christmas-Day 1562, and finished the 21st of July 1564, which he remembered, in the first leaf of the manuscript, in the following terms.

'Deo auspice, Thomas Chalonerus, Londinensis,
'Equestris, ordinis vir, sereniſſimæ Angliæ &c. Reginæ
'Elizabethæ, ad potentissimum Hispaniarum Regem
'Philippum legatus, animi recreandi, cum otio abun-
'daret, causa, libros hosce decem de Repub. Anglo-
'rum instauranda incepit 25 die Decembris, Anno Do-
'mini 1562, perfecit verò 21 die Julii 1564, quum
'horis tantùm succesſivis, idque ferè ante lucanis, ad
'componenda carmina se conferret. Atque hunc arche-
'typum manu propria conscripsit.'

VI. *De illustrium quorundam encomiis miscellanea cum epigrammatis ac epitaphiis nonnullis.* This collection of panegyricks, epigrams, and epitaphs, is printed with the book beforementioned, and contains many testimonies of his loyalty and friendship, as well as of his great genius and extensive learning. We have already mentioned several of the pieces that are inserted in this collection,

In English thus:

Nature and art in CHALONER combin'd,
And for his country form'd the Patriot's mind.
With praise deserv'd his publick posts he fill'd;
And equal fame his learned labours yield.
While yet he liv'd, he liv'd his country's pride,
And first his country injur'd when he dy'd.

collection, and shall only take notice here, amongst others, that he has celebrated the memory of his friend, Sir John Cheke, of his old patrons Sir Thomas Parrye, and Lord Paget; of Dr Thomas Phayer, a learned Physician, and some foreigners. Thus we have endeavoured to recover, as far as it was in our power, the memory of so great a man from oblivion, who, in the judgment of his contemporaries, joined to the quickest wit, and the most solid learning, the politest manners, and the most inflexible probity. As to religion, he was a zealous Protestant, which, as he never dissembled in the days of Queen Mary, so in the dawn of Queen Elizabeth's government, he very earnestly professed the publick owning of the Reformation, as a thing safest, as well as most honourable for the State (17); and the same principles he constantly and warmly recommended in all his writings. E

(17) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 535.

CHALONER (Sir THOMAS) the younger, the son of the former by his wife Ethelreda, daughter of Mr Frodsham of Elton in Cheshire (*a*). He was born some time in the year 1559 (*b*), and being very young at the time of his father's decease, and his mother soon after marrying a second husband, he owed his education chiefly to the care and protection of the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, by whom he was first put under the care of Dr Malim Master of St Paul's school, and afterwards removed to Magdalen-college in Oxford, where he closely pursued his studies at such times as his father's poetical works were published, and as a proof of his veneration for his father's friend, and gratitude for the many kindnesses himself had received, he prefixed a dedication to this work to his patron the Lord Burleigh (*c*). He left the college before he took any degree, but not before he had acquired a great reputation for parts and learning. He had, like his father, a great talent for poetry, which he wrote with much facility both in English and in Latin, and it is said that he had a particular inclination for Pastoral (*d*), but it does not appear that he published any thing of this, or indeed of any kind before he left England, which, from a comparison of circumstances, seems to have been about the year 1580. He visited several parts of Europe, but made the longest stay in Italy, where he addicted himself to the conversation of the gravest and wisest men in that country, and being naturally of a very serious temper, agreed with them so well, that they very readily imparted to him their most important discoveries in Natural Philosophy, for which he had always a great affection, studied it with much diligence, and, by the quickness of his apprehension, wonderful penetration, and great solidity of judgment, gained a very deep insight into the operations of nature (*e*), which he continually augmented by a variety of experiments. At his return home, which was some time before 1584, he appeared very much at Court, and was esteemed and caressed by the greatest men there, as well on account of his great learning as his polite behaviour. About this time he married his first wife, who was the daughter of his father's old friend Sir William Fleetwood, Recorder of London, by whom he had several children (*f*). In the year 1591 he had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him, as well in regard to his own personal merit as the great services of his father (*g*), and some years after, the first alum mines that were ever known to be in this kingdom, were discovered, by his great sagacity, not far from Gisborough in Yorkshire, where he had a very fair estate. It was with infinite difficulty and trouble, attended with a very large expence, that these mines were so wrought as to become valuable, and then, by some extraordinary stretch of Law, he was deprived of them; of all these circumstances, so far as we have been able to inform ourselves, the reader will have an account in the notes (*b*) [*A*]. In the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, Sir Thomas

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 398.

(*b*) This date I have met with in some MS. notes upon Wood, but cannot tell whether it may be safely relied on, though it seems to agree very well with the events of his life.

(*c*) This Dedication is dated 1 Aug. 1579.

(*d*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 398.

(*e*) Camden. Brit. in Brigant.

(*f*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 398.

(*g*) List of Knights made in the Reign of Q. Elizabeth.

(*h*) Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 162.

[*A*] *Will have an account in the notes.*] We propose to give the reader here a succinct account of this gentleman's great abilities, as a Naturalist, his happy discovery of the art of making alum from the stone, and the consequences of that discovery, of which hitherto there is no connected relation any where to be met with. It is very certain, that in his travels he addicted himself very much to philosophical enquiries, and that with the noblest view of rendering them beneficial to mankind; of which he gave a specimen in a small work of his, the only one, I believe, he ever published, bearing the following title:

The virtue of Nitre, *wherein is declared the sundry cures by the same effected.* Lond. 1584. 4°. In which he discourses largely of the nature, production, and uses of nitre; and discovers a very singular acquaintance with minerals, and their component parts, from whence he deduces all their natural properties, and shows, how they may be applied medicinally by the assistance of the Chymists.

This discovers the temper and disposition of our author's mind, always attentive, always meditating, and always contriving, to carry that knowledge he acquired by attention and meditation into practice. Amongst the other places he had visited in Italy, he spent some time at Puzzoli, or, as some write it, Puteoli (1), where he saw after what manner they made alum, and to how great an account it turned. On the Solfatara near that place they collect a kind of saltish flour or dust that covers the surface in the summer-time; this, when thus collected, they throw into large vessels full of water, which are set in the earth, and being placed over certain subterraneous spiracles, the water being evaporated by the heat, the alum is left behind. How well he observed the nature of the soil, and it's effects upon the vegetables produced in the neigbourhood, will

(1) Misson's Voyages and Travels, Vol. I. p. 433.

Thomas Chaloner made a journey into Scotland, whether out of curiosity, with a view to preferment, or by the direction of Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, who was his great friend, is not now to be discovered; but this is very certain, that he soon grew into such credit with King James, that the most considerable persons in England addressed themselves to him for his favour and recommendation. Amongst the rest, Sir Francis Bacon, afterwards Chancellor, wrote him a very warm letter, which is still extant, which he sent him by his friend Mr Mathews, who was also charged with another to the King, a copy of which was sent to Sir Thomas Chaloner, and Mr Mathews was directed to deliver him the original, if he would undertake to present it (*i*). He accompanied the King in his journey to England, and by his extensive learning, pleasant conversation, and admirable address, fixed himself so effectually in that Monarch's good graces, that as one of the highest marks he could give him of his kindness and confidence, he thought fit to intrust him with the care of Prince Henry's education, August 17, 1603 (*k*) [*B*]. He enjoyed this honour under several denominations during the life-time of that excellent Prince;

(*i*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 557. Collection of Letters by Sir Tobie Matthews, p. 16.

(*k*) Pat. I. Jac. I. p. 23. m. 10.

will best appear from the learned Camden's account of the discovery (2), made by him in England, which we shall give in that great man's own words, in as much as they afford at the same time the clearest relation, and carry with them the most incontestable authority.

(2) Camden's Britannia, p. 766.

'Four miles from the mouth of the Tees stands 'Gisborough, upon a rising ground, at present a small 'town. While it was in it's prime, it was very much 'graced by a beautiful and rich monastery, built about 'the year 1119 by Robert de Brus, lord of the town. 'It has been the common burial-place for all the nobi- 'lity of these parts, and has produced Walter de He- 'mingford, no unlearned Historian. The place is 'really fine, and may, for pleasantness, a curious va- 'riety, and the natural advantages of it, compare 'with Puteoli in Italy; and then for a healthful and 'agreeable situation, it certainly far surpasses it. The 'coldness of the air, which the sea occasions, is quali- 'fied and broken by the hills between; the soil is 'fruitful, and produces grass and fine flowers a great 'part of the year; it richly abounds with veins of 'metal and alum earth of several colours, (but especi- 'ally with those of ochre and murray) from which 'they now begin to extract the best sort of alum and 'copperas in great plenty. This was first discovered 'a few years since by the admirable sagacity of that 'learned Naturalist Sir Thomas Chaloner, Knight (to 'whose tuition his present Majesty has committed the 'delight and glory of Britain, his son Prince Henry) 'by observing, that the leaves of trees were of a more 'weakly sort of green here than in other places; that 'the oaks shot forth their roots very broad, but not 'deep, and that these had much strength, but little sap 'in them; that the soil was a white clay speckled 'with several colours, namely, white, yellowish, and 'blue, that it never froze, and, that in a pretty clear 'night it shin'd and sparkled like glass upon the road 'side. Next Ounesbery Topping, a steep mountain, 'and all over green, riseth so high, that it appears at 'a great distance, and it is the land-mark that directs 'sailors, and a prognostick to the neighbours here- 'abouts; for when it's top begins to be darkened 'with clouds, rain generally follows. Near the top of 'it a fountain issues from a great stone, very good for 'sore eyes; and from hence the valleys round it, the 'grassy hills, green meadows, rich pastures, fruitful 'corn fields, fishy rivers, and the creeky mouth of the 'Tees, low and open shores, yet free from inundation, 'and the sea with the ships in it, render the prospect 'very delicate.'

The time when this discovery was made is not fixed in this account, but from a comparison of circumstances it appears to have been about 1600, or perhaps a little earlier (3). But the invention, and the perfection of this art, were at some distance, and very considerable sums of money were spent before the project was brought to bear, which, probably, was owing to the difference of climates, and that different manner of working, which this rendered necessary; but at length by the bringing over privately Lambert Russel, a Walloon, and two other workmen, employed in this business at Rochelle in France, the matter was compleated, but very little to the profit of the proprietors, since upon this it was adjudged to be a mine royal, and so came into the hands of the Crown (4). It was then granted to Sir Paul Pindar, under the following rent, *viz.* twelve thousand five hundred pounds a year to the King, one thousand six hundred and forty pounds a year to the Earl of Mulgrave, and six hundred pounds a year to Sir William Pennyman. But notwithstanding these high rents, and that not less than eight hundred persons were employed in the manufacture at a time, the farm of the alum mines produced a vast profit to Sir Paul Pindar, who kept up the commodity at the rate of twenty-six pounds a ton (5). The Long-Parliament voted this a monopoly, and restored the alum works to their original proprietors. About the time of the Restoration we find there were five works carried on, *viz.* one at Sands-End, another at Ash-Holme, both belonging to the Earl of Mulgrave; a third at Slapy-Wash, then belonging to the D'Arcies, formerly to the Pennymans; the fourth at Dunsly, which was Mr Fairfax's; the last at Whitby, belonging to Sir Hugh Cholmley. By thus opening different works, and that emulation that it naturally occasioned, the commodity sunk in value, for the proprietors undersold one another, 'till the price of alum was brought down to thirteen pounds a ton (6). In the end, the last of these works, by the conveniency of it's situation, triumphed over the rest, so that the original mines at Gisborough fell into disuse, but the present consumption of alum is at least as great, if not greater, than ever (7). It is considered as a drug, and from it's astringent quality is much used in physick, and enters into the composition of various medicines; but the great vent of it arises from it's prodigious utility in fixing colours, and in preparing stuffs for dying, which makes it a valuable commodity to Clothiers, Glovers, Dyers, and many other artificers (8). The Roman alum is looked upon as rather better than ours, but ours much exceeds other alums, and more especially that of Sweden, which of late years great pains has been taken to improve, and some persons (9), as I have been informed, were not many years ago sent over hither on purpose to look into the management of our alum works, and if possible to steal the secret.

(3) It was certainly in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, but it was not inserted in the Britannia, 'till the last edition.

(4) Hist. of the Reign of Charles I. p 339.

(5) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkshire, p. 186.

(6) Case of the Alum Works in Yorkshire.

(7) Ray's Collection of English Words not generally used, p. 144, 145.

(8) Dictionaire de Commerce.

(9) They were recommended by the Archbishop of Upsal to a Clergyman from whose mouth I had it.

[*B*] *Of Prince Henry's education, August 17th, 1603.*] In most of our historians Sir Thomas Chaloner is generally called Prince Henry's tutor, but that is a very improper appellation, for one who was absolutely intrusted with the care of that young Prince's education, and of his household, so that he was rather his governor, though it does not appear that he ever had this title. But that he was by no means his tutor, is evident from Mr Newton's holding that office for several years, who was afterwards Dean of Durham, though a layman, and created a Baronet (10), and then John Wilkinson, Master of Arts (11), and others, though Sir Thomas Chaloner remained in his charge all the while; and it was out of respect to him, that when Prince Henry was matriculated at Oxford, he chose to enter as a member of Magdalen-college. To put this matter out of dispute, we shall give the reader a clause out of the patent, by which Sir Thomas held his office (12), which will fully explain it's nature.

(10) Baronetage of England, Vol. V. p. 271.

(11) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 127.

(12) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XVI. p. 545.

'For the good proof we have long had of your sin- 'gular affection to our person, and for the trust we 'repose in you, as well in regard of your zeal to reli- 'gion, as also for your discretion, we have made 'choice of you to have the principal charge and custo- 'dy, as well of the person of our said son, as also the 'oversight of all his household and family attending 'him, who being to us so dear a jewel as he is, the 'charge is likewise of great weight and care to you. 'Wherefore we have thought good to accompany so 'great a burthen with sufficient authority to you, for 'the execution and discharge thereof, and do there- 'fore direct these our letters patents to you, under our

'Great

Prince, whom he attended in 1605 to Oxford, and upon that occaſion was honoured with the degree of Maſter of Arts, as many other perſons of diſtinction were (*l*). I cannot find that he had any grants of lands, or gifts in money, from the Crown, in conſideration of his ſervices, though Sir Adam Newton, who was Preceptor to Prince Henry, appears, from a liſt that I have ſeen, to have received at ſeveral times the ſum of four thouſand pounds by way of free gift (*m*). Sir Thomas Chaloner had likewiſe very great intereſt with Queen Anne, and appears to have been employed by her in her private affairs, and in the ſettlement of that ſmall eſtate which ſhe enjoyed (*n*). What relation he had to the Court, after the death of his gracious Maſter Prince Henry, does no where appear, but it is not at all likely that he was laid aſide (*o*). He married ſome years before his death his ſecond wife Judith, daughter to Mr William Blount of London, and by this lady alſo he had children, to whom, if my author does not miſlead me (*p*), he left a conſiderable eſtate, which he had at Steeple-Claydon in the county of Buckingham. All we know of him farther is, that he died on the 17th of November, 1615, and was buried in the pariſh-church of Chiſwick, in the county of Middleſex. His eldeſt ſon William Chaloner, Eſq; was, by letters patents dated July 20, in the 18th of King James I, *A. D.* 1620, created a Baronet, by the title of William Chaloner of Giſborough in the county of York, Eſq; (*q*) which title I find was extinct in 1681 (*r*). Yet the poſterity of ſome of the younger brothers of this Baronet are ſtill remaining in that county, and are poſſeſſed of the family eſtate at Giſborough (*s*), as the reader will be informed in the notes [*C*]. It was judged neceſſary to give as full and diſtinct an account of this worthy perſon as poſſible, becauſe few or none, either of our Hiſtorians or Biographers, Anthony Wood (*t*) excepted, have taken any notice of him, though he was ſo conſiderable a benefactor to this nation, by diſcovering the alum mines, which have produced vaſt ſums of money, and ſtill continue to be wrought with very great profit, though, as I am informed, this family have long ſince loſt the benefit of them (*u*). We ſhall have a better notion of this matter, I mean the advantage which this nation has gained by making and vending alum, if we reflect, that in the firſt place it is a commodity of great uſe in various manufactures, ſo that we muſt have had it from abroad whatever it coſt, and therefore all that is conſumed at home, is ſo much clear gains to this nation as the value of it amounts to. On the other hand, the quality of our alum putting it in our power to ſet a very high price upon it, this was alſo very beneficial to the nation, inaſmuch as every ounce of it exported, added ſo much as it was worth to the general ballance of our trade, whence it appears, that we both ſaved and got by this diſcovery. But then, thirdly, the reader will be told in the notes, how great a number of perſons have been at one time employed in theſe works (*w*), which will enable us to form ſome ſort of eſtimate, of the many families that in ſo long a tract of time have been maintained, and ſome of them enriched, by the ſame means. Taking therefore all things together, it muſt appear highly juſt to celebrate the memory of every man who is thus uſeful to his country, and it would have been no diſgrace to our Hiſtorians, if, in this reſpect, they had followed the example of honeſt John Stowe, and his Continuator Edward Howes, who have very carefully collected, and very faithfully ſet down, many inſtances of the like nature (*x*), and have alſo given a very particular account of this diſcovery, tho' it does not altogether agree with what is met with in other authors, for it ſeems to make King James an encourager of this work, and mentions his prohibiting the importation of alum from abroad, that it might turn to better account in the hands of Sir Thomas Chaloner and his aſſociates (*y*).

(*l*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. p. 173.

(*m*) Abſtract of King James's Revenue, p. 18, 19, 26.

(*n*) Letters and Memorials of State, collected out of the papers belonging to the Sidney Family, Vol. II. p. 307.

(*o*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 57.

(*p*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 398.

(*q*) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. V. p. 271.

(*r*) Dugdale's Catalogue of Baronets, as they ſtood July 4, 1681, p. 89.

(*s*) From the information of a Reverend Clergyman in that county.

(*t*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 398.

(*u*) From private information.

(*w*) Fuller's Worthies, in Yorkſhire.

(*x*) Stowe's Annals, p. 1038.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 895, 896.

'Great Seal of England, whereby we do give you 'power and authority for the better execution of this 'charge committed to you, to command, rule, and 'direct, as well all perſons, which ſhall be of ordinary 'attendance about our ſon the Prince, in his houſe, in 'all things that may concern the ſafety of his perſon, 'or the obſervation of good rule in his houſe, as alſo 'all Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Headboroughs, 'Conſtables, &c.'

[*C*] *Will be informed in the notes.*] We have already ſpoken in the text of Sir Thomas Chaloner's eldeſt ſon, Sir William Chaloner of Giſborough, in the county of York, and therefore here we are to ſpeak of his younger children only. His ſecond ſon Edward was educated in the ſame college where his father had been formerly bred at Oxford, and entering into holy orders, became Doctor in Divinity, Principal of St Alban's Hall, Chaplain to King Charles the Firſt, and one of the moſt eminent preachers of his time, though he died at the age of thirty-four, being carried off by the plague that then raged at Oxford, July 26th, 1625 (13).

(13) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 181.

Thomas Chaloner was younger brother to Edward, but whether the next to him we cannot determine; he was alſo ſent to Oxford, and ſpent ſome time there at Exeter College, after which he went abroad, and having travelled through France and Italy, returned home a very well-accompliſhed gentleman, being much diſtinguiſhed for the vivacity of his wit, and his extenſive knowledge in all kinds of polite literature; but having contracted a prejudice to the royal family, on the ſcore of the alum mines, of which his father had been deprived, he ſtruck in with the malecontents, and being elected member for Aldborough in the county of York, became an active member of the Long-Parliament (14). He ſat as one of the King's judges, and was elected one of the members of the Council of State. Upon a proſpect of the King's return he printed a paper, entitled, *A Speech, containing a Plea for Monarchy* (15), in which he hinted at ſome limitations and reſtrictions. He ſoon after thought fit to retire to Holland, in which he acted prudently, for he was excepted (16) out of the Act of Oblivion, and very ſoon after died at Middleburg in Zealand.

(14) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 264.

(15) Printed in 4*to*, at London, 1659.

(16) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 43.

James Chaloner, younger brother to Thomas, was a Commoner of Brazen-Noſe-College in Oxford, and afterwards ſtudied in the Inns of Court. He was a man of great learning, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an Antiquary, as alſo by writing the hiſtory of the Iſle of Man, a manuſcript copy of which was in the valuable Muſæum of Mr Thoreſby of Leeds, but it has been alſo printed (17). He was likewiſe a member of the Long-Parliament, deep in the tranſactions of thoſe times, and one of the King's judges, for which, at the Reſtoration, he was excepted from the benefit of his eſtate, but his life ſpared; and this diſtinction ſeems to have been owing to his not having ſigned the warrant for the King's murder, which his brother Thomas did (18). He married Urſula, daughter of Sir William Fairfax of Steeton in the county of York, and dying in the year 1661, was ſucceeded in his eſtate by his only ſon Edmund (19).

(17) Thoreſby's Antiq. of Leeds, p. 525.

(18) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 1042.

(19) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II col. 252.

CHAMBER or CHAMBRE (JOHN) a learned Physician in the XVIth century, noted chiefly for being one of the founders of the College of Physicians London (*a*), was educated in Merton-college in Oxford, of which he was Fellow (*b*). He took his degree of Master of Arts about the year 1502; after which travelling into Italy, he studied Physick at Padua, and there took the degree of Doctor in that Faculty. After his return, he became Physician to King Henry VIII; and, with Thomas Linacre, Fernandes de Victoria, Nicolas Halsewell, John Fraunces, and Robert Yaxley, Doctors of Physick, founded the College of Physicians [*A*]. Being in Holy Orders, he became, in 1510, Canon of Windsor, and in 1524 Archdeacon of Bedford, and was likewise Prebendary of Comb and Harnham in the cathedral church of Sarum (*c*). In 1525 he was elected Warden of Merton-college (*d*); and, about the same time, was made Dean of the Royal Chapel and College adjoining to Westminster-Hall, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St Stephen (*e*). He built to it a very curious cloyster (*f*), and gave the Canons of that Chapel some lands, which he saw, upon the dissolution of the monasteries, taken into the King's hands. Afterwards he was made Treasurer of Wells cathedral, beneficed in Somersetshire and Yorkshire, and probably had other dignities and preferments (*g*). October 29, 1531, he was incorporated Doctor of Physick at Oxford (*h*). In May 1543 he resigned his Treasurership of Wells; and his Wardenship of Merton-college in 1545. He died in 1549 (*i*). He never published any thing.

(*a*) Wood, Fast. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 50. Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, edit. 1720, Vol. I. p. 132, of Book i.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

(*c*) Wood, ibid.

(*d*) Idem, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 86. He says elsewhere that it was in 1526, Fasti, ubi supra.

(*e*) Now, the House of Commons.

(*f*) The Charge of which amounted to eleven thousand marks. Stowe's Survey of London, &c. with Strype's Additions, edit. 1720, Book vi. p. 54, Vol. II.

(*g*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(*h*) Wood, Fasti, ubi supra.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

[*A*] *Founded the College of Physicians.*] Henry the VIIIth's charter, for the foundation of this College, bears date at Westminster September 23, 1518, and is said to have been obtained at the request of Dr John Chamber, Thomas Linacre, Fermandez de Victoria, his Physicians; and of Nicolas Halfewell, John Fraunces, and Robert Yaxley of the same Faculty: but especially through the intercession and interest of Cardinal Wolsey. The first College of this Society was in Knights Riders-street, being the gift of Dr Linacre. Afterwards they removed to Amen-corner, where they bought an house and ground: But the house being burnt down in 1666, the Fellows purchased with their own money a large piece of ground in Warwick-lane, whereon they erected the present College. The number of Fellows at first was but thirty. King Charles II, at their request, augmented the number to forty. And King James II, in their new charter, was pleased to increase the number to eighty, and not to exceed. To the College belongs at present, a President, four Censors, and twelve Electors (1).

(1) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, Lond. 1720, Vol. I. B. i. p. 130, 131.

C

CHAMBERLAYNE (EDWARD) author of *The Present State of England*, was descended from an eminent and ancient family [*A*], and born at Odington in Gloucestershire on the 13th of December 1616 (*a*). He had his first education at Gloucester (*b*): and in Michaelmas-term 1634 became a Commoner of St Edmund-Hall in Oxford (*c*). On the 20th of April 1638, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*d*); and that of Master in 1641, and was appointed Rhetorick Reader of the university for part of that and the year following (*e*). During the Civil Wars, he travelled into France, Spain, Italy, Hungary, Bohemia, Germany, the Low-Countries, Denmark, and Sweden (*f*). In 1658 he married Susannah, only daughter of Richard Clifford, Esq; descended from the ancient and noble family of the Cliffords, Lords of Frampton in the county of Gloucester (*g*). After the Restoration of King Charles II he became Fellow of the Royal Society; and in 1669 Secretary to Charles Earl of Carlisle, when he was sent to Stockholm, to carry the Order of the Garter to the King of Sweden. In January 1670 he had the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law conferred on him at Cambridge; and on the 22d of June 1672, was incorporated in the same at Oxford (*h*). About the year 1679 he was appointed Tutor to Henry Duke of Grafton, one of the natural sons of King Charles II. Afterwards, he became instructor in the English tongue to Prince George of Denmark (*i*). In the latter part of his life he lived at Chelsey near London; where he died in the year 1703. He was buried in a vault in the church-yard of that parish, where a monument was soon after erected to his memory [*B*]. He was a learned and

(*a*) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 355. and Athenæ Oxon. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 1130.

(*b*) From his epitaph, which see below.

(*c*) Athen. ibid.

(*d*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 275.

(*e*) Athenæ, as above.

(*f*) From his epitaph.

(*g*) From her epitaph.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. as above; and Fasti, Vol. II. col. 189.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

[*A*] *Descended from an eminent and ancient family.*] His father, Thomas Chamberlayne, Esq; was son of Sir Thomas Chamberlayne, Knt. some time Ambassador in Flanders, where he married a Lady of the house of Nassau. The family derive their descent from the Counts, or at least Barons of Tanquerville in Normandy. And John Count of Tankerville being made Chamberlain to the King of England above four hundred years ago, his descendants thence took the surname of *Chamberlayne*. They branched out into the several houses of Sherborne-castle in Oxfordshire lately extinct, and of Prestbury, Maugerbury, and Odington in Gloucestershire; from the latter of which, Edward, whom we are speaking of, was descended (1).

(1) Wood, Ath. as above; and, The Present State of England, by J. Chamberlayne, Esq; P. i. B. iii. ch iii. under the title *Surnames*.

[*B*] *A monument was soon after erected to his memory.*] On which the inscription is as follows:

Posteritati Sacrum.

More majorum, extra urbis pomoeria, juxta viam publicam, in Tumulo editiore, heic prope inhumari voluit Edwardus Chamberlayne, Anglus, Christocola, L. D. Ex antiqua Comitis Tanquervillæ prosapiâ Normanicâ oriundus, Odingtoniæ natus, 1616. *Gloceſtriæ Grammaticâ, Oxonii Jurisprudentiâ, Londini Humanitate imbutus fuit. Per Galliam, Hispaniam, Italiam, Hungariam, Bohemiam, utramque Germaniam, Daniam, & Sueciam migravit. Susannam Clifford equestri familia prognatam in matrimonium duxit* 1658. *Novem liberos genuit, sex libros composuit: Tandem* 1703 *in terram oblivionis demigravit. Benefaciendi Universis, etiam & Posteris, adeo studiosus fuit, ut secum condi jusserat* (*) *libros aliquot suos cera obvolutos, seræ forsan posteritati aliquando profuturos. Abi Viator fac simile. Deus te servet incolumem. Hoc Monumentum, non impune temerandum, in honoris juxta ac moeroris testamentum* (†), *poni curavit Gualterus Harris M. D. Amicus amico.* What is historical in this epitaph is included in the text, and for that reason we have not thought necessary to translate it. Only we shall take notice of one remarkable particular mentioned therein; namely 'That he [Dr Chamberlayne] was so very desirous of doing good to all, 'and even to posterity, that he ordered some books of 'his own composition covered over with wax, to be 'buried with him, which may possibly be of use to 'future ages (2).'

(*) So 'tis in our copy instead of *jusserit*.

(†) Forsan, *testimonium*.

(2) *Monumenta Anglicana*, by J. Le Neve, from 1700 to 1715. 8vo, p. 65.

and ingenious man, and wrote several useful books [*C*]. His wife, mentioned above, died soon after him, on the 7th of December, 1703, and was buried in the same vault with him (*k*). By her he had nine children.

(*k*) From her epitaph.

[*C*] *And wrote several useful books.*] Namely these; I 'The present War parallel'd: or, a Brief Relation 'of the five years Civil Wars of Henry III, King of 'England, with the Event and Issue of that unna- 'tural War, and by what Course the Kingdom was 'then settled again; extracted out of the most au- 'thentick Historians and Records,' in five sheets *4to*, Lond. 1647. It was reprinted in the year 1660, under this title, 'The late war parallel'd: or, a 'Brief Relation, *&c.* *8vo*. II. England's Wants: 'or several Propositals probably beneficial for England, 'offered to the consideration of both Houses of Par- 'liament.' Lond. 1667, *4to*. III. 'The converted 'Presbyterian, or the Church of England justified in 'some practices, *&c.*' Lond. 1668. IV. '*Angliæ 'Notitia:* or, The present State of England; with 'divers Reflections upon the ancient State thereof.' Lond. 1668, *8vo*. The second Part was published at London, 1671, *&c.* *8vo*. And both together were several times reprinted during the author's life, with additions and amendments. It was translated into Latin by Thomas Wood (3); and into French by some other hand. The author's son, John Chamberlayne, Esq; continued it, and made very large additions and improvements thereto; so that it is the best book of the kind extant. The 36th edition was lately published. One Guy Miege published another in imitation of it; but it is a very indifferent and faulty performance. V. 'An Academy or College, wherein 'young Ladies and gentlewomen may, at a very mo- 'derate expence, be educated in the true Protestant 'Religion, and in all virtuous qualities that may adorn 'that sex, *&c.*' Lond. 1671, *4to*, two sheets. VI. 'A Dialogue between an Englishman and a 'Dutchman concerning the last Dutch War.' Lond. 1672, *4to*. He also writ some other things, to which he did not set his name. And translated out of Italian, Spanish, and Portugueze, into English, 1. 'The 'Rise and Fall of Count Olivares, the Favourite of 'Spain. 2. The unparallel'd Imposture of Mich. de 'Molina, executed at Madrid, *an.* 1641 3. The 'Right and Title of the present King of Portugal, 'Don John the Fourth.' These three translations were printed at London, 1653, *4to* (4). C

(3) See Wood, Athen. Vol. II. col. 995.

(4) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 1129.

CHAMBERLAYNE (JOHN) son of the former, was a learned and worthy person. He was admitted into Trinity-college in Oxford in 1685: but it doth not appear he took any degree (*a*). He translated I. from French and Spanish, 'The manner 'of making Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate.' Lond. 1685, *8vo*. II. From Italian into English, 'A Treasure of Health,' Lond. 1686, *8vo*, written by Castor Durant de Gualdo, Physician and citizen of Rome (*b*). III. 'The Arguments of the Books and 'Chapters of the Old and New Testament, with practical Observations. Written ori- 'ginally in French, by the Reverend Mr Ostervald, Professor of Divinity, and one of 'the Ministers of the Church at Neufchatel in Swisserland: And by him presented to 'the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.' 3 Vols. *8vo*, Lond. 1716, *&c.* Mr Chamberlayne was a Member of that Society. IV. The Lives of the French Philosophers [or Members of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris] translated from the French of M. de Fontenelle. Republished since, in 1721, under the title of, Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris, epitomized, with the Lives of the late Members of that Society, *8vo*. V. The Religious [or Christian] Philosopher: or, the right use 'of Contemplating the Works of the Creator, *&c.*' translated from the original Dutch of Dr Nieuwentyt, in 3 Vols. *8vo*, adorned with cuts, Lond. 1718, *&c.* reprinted several times since in *8vo*, and once in *4to*. VI. 'The History of the Reformation in and about 'the Low-Countries, translated from the Low Dutch of Gerrard Brandt, in four Vols. fol. 'Lond. 1721, *&c.*' VII. The Lord's Prayer in 100 Languages, *8vo*. VIII. 'Disser- 'tations Historical, Critical, Theological, and Moral, on the most memorable Events of 'the Old and New Testaments: wherein the Spirit of the Sacred Writings is shewn, 'their authority confirmed, and the Sentiments of the Primitive Fathers, as well as the 'modern Criticks, with regard to the difficult passages therein, considered and compared. 'Vol. I. comprising the Events related in the Books of Moses. To which are added 'Chronological Tables, fixing the Date of each Event, and connecting the several Dis- 'sertations together.' Fol. 1723. He likewise was Fellow of the Royal Society, and communicated three pieces, which are inserted in *The Philosophical Transactions*. One, concerning the Effects of Thunder and Lightning at Sampford-Courtney in Devonshire, October 7, 1711 (*c*). The second, is an account of the sunk-islands in the Humber, recovered from the sea (*d*). And the third, contains remarks on the Plague at Copenhagen in 1711 (*e*). It was said of him, that he understood sixteen languages; but it is certain, that he was master of the Greek, Latin, French, High and Low Dutch, Portugueze, and Italian. Though he was well qualified for employment, he had none, but that of Gentleman-Usher to George Prince of Denmark. After a useful and well-spent life, he died in the year 1724. He was a very pious and good man, and earnest in promoting the advancement of religion, and the interest of true Christianity: for which purpose, he kept a large correspondence abroad. C

(*a*) See Wood Fasti, Vol. II. and Catalogue of Graduates.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. as above.

(*c*) No. 336, p. 528, and in Mr Henry Jones's Abridgment, Vol. IV. P. ii. p. 131.

(*d*) No. 361, p. 1114, and Abridgment, as above, p. 251.

(*e*) No. 337, p. 279, and Abridgment, as above, Vol. V. P. i. p. 380.

CHAPPEL (WILLIAM) Biſhop of Cork, Cloyne, and Roſs, in the kingdom of Ireland, a moſt learned, pious, and eloquent Prelate in the laſt century. He was deſcended, as himſelf tells us, from parents that were but in narrow circumſtances, born at Lexington in Nottinghamſhire, December 10, 1582, and was very near dying of the ſmall-pox when in the ſecond year of his age (*a*). He was afterwards ſent to Mansfield in the ſame county to a grammar-ſchool, where he was very early taken notice of for his ſingular gravity, the meekneſs of his temper, and his cloſe application to his ſtudies (*b*). This induced his family, though their circumſtances were but indifferent, to ſend him as they did to the univerſity of Cambridge, where he was entered of Chriſt's-college at the age of ſeventeen (*c*). His modeſty, diligence, and capacity, gained him a great intereſt in his college, ſo that after having taken two degrees, he was, in the year 1607, at a time when he did not well know what courſe to ſteer, elected Fellow, as we learn from himſelf, in a ſtile equally humble and elegant (*d*), which was perhaps peculiar to our author [*A*]. When he had acquired this preferment, he ſeems to have been fully ſatisfied, and applied himſelf with great diligence to the education of youth, for which he was particularly fitted, by the uniting in his diſpoſition two very different qualities, ſweetneſs of temper and ſeverity of manners; ſo that it is allowed there was no tutor in the univerſity in thoſe days, that either bred more, or more famous pupils than he did (*e*). He was alſo very remarkable for his great abilities as a diſputant, which gained him much reputation, and in reſpect to which there happened a ſingular accident, with which the reader cannot but be well pleaſed to have an account (*f*) [*B*]. In this ſituation of life he would in all probability have paſſed his time in eaſe and quiet (*g*), if he had not been attacked by the malicious calumnies of ſome, who envied him the great reputation in which he ſtood with the moſt conſiderable perſons in the univerſity, and this had ſuch an effect upon his ſpirit, that it broke and afflicted him exceedingly (*h*). When things were in this ſituation, he received an unexpected offer from Dr Laud, then Biſhop of London, of the deanery of Caſhel in Ireland, which was become void by the promotion of Dean Jones to the biſhoprick of Killaloe (*i*). It ſeems, this promotion was not altogether agreeable to Mr Chappel, he had no inclination to go to Ireland, and was not at all ambitious of dignity in the Church; however, after conſulting his relations, he determined to accept the offer, went over to Ireland accordingly, and was inſtalled Dean of Caſhel by virtue of the King's Mandate, Auguſt 20, 1633 (*k*). He had not been long in Ireland, before his kind patron, who ſent him thither, found out a new and more ſuitable employment for him, for Dr Robert Uſher, who was Provoſt of Trinity-college at Dublin, being promoted to the See of Kildare, Dr Laud, now become Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Chancellor of the univerſity of Dublin, was deſirous of putting it under the care of Dean Chappel, which, however, he would willingly have declined (*l*). In order to this he returned to England in May, 1634, and laboured as much as man could do, to be excuſed from undertaking this new charge, the burthen of which he apprehended too heavy for his ſhoulders, but it was in vain; a reſolution had been taken to give a new form to the univerſity, and he was looked upon as the propereſt perſon to ſettle the eſtabliſhment that was propoſed (*m*). Upon this he went down to Cambridge and reſigned his fellowſhip, which to him, as himſelf expreſſes it, was the ſweeteſt of earthly preferments, after he had held it for twenty-ſeven years (*n*). He alſo viſited his native country, and took his laſt leave of his

(*a*) Vita Gulielmi Chappel Epiſcopi Corcagienſis & Roſſenſis a ſeipſo conſcripta.

(*b*) Taken from ſome manuſcript notes on the life of Biſhop Chappel.

(*c*) Fuller's Worthies, in Nottinghamſhire, p. 317. Vita Gulielmi Chappel, &c.

(*d*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, Vita Gulielmi Chappel, &c.

(*e*) Fuller's Worthies, in Nottinghamſhire, p. 317.

(*f*) Dr Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

(*g*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607.

(*h*) Vita Guliel. Chappel.

(*i*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 566.

(*k*) Vita Guliel. Chappel.

(*l*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 566.

(*m*) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 329.

(*n*) Vita Guliel. Chappel.

[*A*] *Which was perhaps peculiar to our author.*] This life of Biſhop Chappel, written by himſelf in Latin, and, as it plainly appears, as an exerciſe of penitence, thankſgiving, and devotion, has been now twice printed; firſt, from a manuſcript in the hands of Sir Philip Sydenham, Bart. by the induſtrious Mr Hearne (1), and a ſecond time by the reverend Mr Peck, from a manuſcript which is ſtill preſerved in Trinity-Hall, Cambridge (2). In this life he has ſet down the principal ſteps of his fortunes and misfortunes, with ſhort and ſignificant reflections and meditations; as for inſtance, in reference to his going to the Univerſity, his ſtudying there, and his being elected fellow of his college, he writes thus (3):

(1) Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii Collectanea, Vol. V. p. 261.

(2) Deſiderata Curioſa, lib. xi. p 1.

(3) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

Septendecim annos natus eo Cantabrigiam,
Pembrokiam parens, avunculus domum
Chriſti elegit, Chriſtoque duce figo hîc pedem.
Chriſtus tuetur, & ſcholarem me facit.
Binos gradus ſuſpicio. Verum quid agerem
Incertus hæſi: monet abire tenuitas
Parentum; at idem Chriſtus hîc ſpem mihi facit
Sodalitii, & anno ſequenti perfecit.

Mihi fauſta Julii dies penultima
Aperuit anguſtum hunc locum pauperculo;
Non clave munerum aut potentum litteris,
Sed (gratia Chriſti) ſtatutorum via.
Ætatis annus hic erat vigeſimus
Et quintus, annuſque Domini Jeſu mei
Poſt mille ſextieſque centum ſeptimus.
Ex illo, iis quæ ad utramque vitam ſunt opus
Circumfluo, qua officia, qua beneficia.

[*B*] *To have an account.*] In the ſpring of the year 1624 King James viſited the Univerſity of Cambridge, lodged in Trinity-College, and was entertained with a Philoſophical Act, and other academical performances (4). At theſe exerciſes Dr Roberts of Trinity-College was reſpondent at St Mary's, and Mr Chappel puſhed him ſo hard, that feeling himſelf unable to ſuſtain the controverſy, he fainted. Upon this King James, who valued himſelf much upon his capacity in ſuch matters, undertook to maintain the theſes, but with no better fortune than the doctor, for Chappel was ſo much too hard for him at theſe logical weapons, that his Majeſty openly profeſſed he was glad that a man of great talents was ſo good a ſubject. Many years after this, Sir William St Leger riding to Cork with the Popiſh titular Dean of that city, it fell out that Mr Chappel, then Dean of Caſhel, and Provoſt of Dublin, accidentally overtook them, upon which Sir William, who was then Preſident of Munſter, propoſed, that the two Deans ſhould diſpute, which, though Mr Chappel was not forward to accept, yet he did not any ways decline. But the Popiſh Dean, with equal dexterity and addreſs, extricated himſelf from this dilemma, by ſaying, *Excuſe me, Sir, I don't care to diſpute with a man who is wont to kill his reſpondent* (5).

(4) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 164.

(5) Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

[*C*] *Will*

his antient and pious mother. In the month of Auguſt he returned to Ireland, and was elected Provoſt of Dublin, and had the care of it committed to him, though he was not ſworn into that office until June 5, 1637 (*o*), the reaſon of which the reader will be told in the notes [*C*]. He applied himſelf to his new charge with that zeal and diligence, for which he was always diſtinguiſhed in every office that he filled; he was perfectly learned in Caſuiſtical Divinity, had a clear underſtanding, ſound judgment, and was univerſally applauded for his diſcretion. His temper for government was ſuitable to his knowledge, in which he was highly eminent, as appeared in the mildneſs and regularity of his adminiſtration, and in the moſt perfect obedience of the ſcholars to the rules and ſtatutes of the houſe (*p*). That he might mix ſomething of the pleaſant with the profitable, and that young minds might not be oppreſſed with the unrelaxed ſeverity of their ſtudies, he inſtituted amongſt the juniors a Roman Commonwealth, which continued during the Chriſtmas vacation, and in which they had their Dictators, Conſuls, and Cenſors, and other officers of the Roman State, in great ſplendour (*q*). While he was thus worthily and uſefully employed, his patrons, the Lord Wentworth and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, upon the promotion of Dr Richard Boyle to the archbiſhoprick of Tuam, advanced Dean Chappel to the biſhopricks of Cork, Cloyne, and Roſs, and he was accordingly conſecrated November 11, 1638, in St Patrick's at Dublin, though he had done all he could to decline this preferment (*r*). The King commanded that he ſhould ſtill continue in his provoſtſhip, which for ſome time he did, and at laſt reſigned it July 20, 1640, before which time he was very earneſt in endeavouring to obtain a ſmall biſhoprick in England, that he might return to his native country, and die in peace (*s*). His endeavours however were fruitleſs, and he was left in Ireland to feel all the fury of that ſtorm which he had long foreſeen. He was attacked in the Houſe of Commons with great bitterneſs and reſentment, by thoſe who were not ſo much enemies to him as to the great men by whom he was preferred (*t*). This obliged him to come to Dublin from Cork, and he was compelled to put in ſureties for his appearance. In the month of June, 1641, articles of impeachment were exhibited againſt him to the Houſe of Peers, conſiſting of fourteen, though the ſubſtance of them was reduced to two, the firſt perjury, on a ſuppoſed breach of his oath as Provoſt; the ſecond malice towards the Iriſh, founded on the diſcontinuing, during the time he was Provoſt, of an Iriſh lecture (*u*). Theſe articles were preſſed by a very ſevere ſpeech made by one Mr Robert Biſſe, a famous Lawyer of thoſe times, to which the Biſhop made a reply, which however did not give ſatisfaction. The Lord Primate Uſher, and Dr Anthony Martin, Biſhop of Meath, were the fierceſt of his adverſaries, and the proſecution againſt him was driven on with unexampled violence. The true cauſe of all this fury, was the vigour and activity he had ſhewn in enforcing uniformity and ſtrict Church diſcipline in the college, in oppoſition to the ſchiſm and fanataciſm of thoſe times (*w*). He was in his whole conduct one of the eveneſt and moſt conſtant men that ever lived, and yet; ſuch was the temper of the age in which he flouriſhed, that he lay under a continual load of calumny. At Cambridge he was thought a Puritan from the ſtrictneſs of his morals; in Ireland they repreſented him as a Papiſt, from the fervency of his devotion, and his great exactneſs with reſpect to the ceremonies of the Church (*x*). While he laboured under ſo many and ſo great troubles, he was expoſed to ſtill greater, by the breaking out of the moſt execrable rebellion in the latter end of that year. He was under a kind of confinement at Dublin, on account of the impeachment which was ſtill depending, but at length, after much application, and with no ſmall difficulty, he was allowed to embark for England, that from thence he might return to Cork, which from Dublin,

(*o*) Dr Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

(*p*) Sir James Ware's Works, p. 567.

(*q*) Idem, ibid.

(*r*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607. Strafford's Letters, Vol. II. p. 249.

(*s*) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(*t*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607.

(*u*) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(*w*) Sir James Ware's Works, p. 567.

(*x*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607.

[*C*] *Will be told in the notes.*] There were at this time conſiderable heats among the clergy in Ireland, many of them being inclined to thoſe that were then ſtiled Puritan opinions, which the Lord-Deputy Wentworth, and his great friend Laud, wiſhed to ſee rooted out, as appears very plainly from their letters (6). Amongſt other methods taken for this purpoſe, one that was judged very neceſſary was, the introduction of a new charter into Trinity-College; and the hiſtory of this matter we will give in the words of a very intelligent and very impartial author (7). 'By the firſt 'charter, granted to the Univerſity in March 1591, 'the election of a Provoſt was placed in the Fellows, 'and ſo continued, until the vacancy made by the 'promotion of Dr Uſher, as aforeſaid. Archbiſhop 'Laud, who was then Chancellor of the Univerſity, 'thought proper to introduce a new ſet of ſtatutes, 'which veſted the nomination of the Provoſt in the 'Crown. This project took ſome time in ripening; 'for the concurrence of the Fellows to this change was 'neceſſary, and they were induced to conſent to a ſurrender of their old charter, upon making them te'nants for life in their offices under the new ſtatutes, 'whereas before they held their fellowſhips but for ſe'ven years, from the time they commenced maſter of 'arts; and ſo to gain eſtates for life in a ſmall ſhare of 'the government to themſelves, and their ſucceſſors, 'they parted with a more abſolute authority, which 'was temporary, and ſubmitted to a more unlimited 'power in their ſuperior. For theſe new ſtatutes 'were not ſo indulgent to the Fellows, and placed a 'more ſovereign authority in the Provoſts, than they 'were entruſted with by the old charter, from whence 'hath flowed the negative voice of the Provoſts in the 'election of Fellows, and other very ample powers. 'While this project was moulding, and bringing to 'perfection, it was thought neceſſary to keep the 'place unfilled, that the ſcheme might be at once carried into execution by the King's nomination, and in 'the mean time Dean Chappel was placed over the 'college, although without the title of Provoſt.' A certain author, who does not ſeem to be at all partial in favour of our Dean, after giving a ſuccinct relation of his becoming Provoſt of Trinity-College, and his behaviour in that office, concludes his account thus (8). 'Yet certainly the exerciſes of the Univerſity were 'never ſtricter looked to, or diſcipline (if it were not 'too ceremonious) better obſerved than in his time; 'only the lecture for teaching Iriſh (whether through 'indulgence merely, or enjoyned by ſtatute, I am uncertain) was, after his admiſſion, wholly waved.'

(6) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 329.

(7) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 566, 567.

(8) Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

[*D*] *We*

Dublin, as things then ſtood, he could not ſafely do (*y*). He embarked accordingly on the 26th of December 1641, and the next day landed at Milford-haven, after a double eſcape, as himſelf phraſes it, from the Iriſh wolves, and from the Iriſh ſeas (*z*). He went from Milford-haven to Pembroke, and from Pembroke to Tenby, a little miſerable place, where, being detained for ſome time by the inclemency of the weather, an ill-natured fellow gave an information againſt him to the Mayor, who committed him to goal upon the 25th of January, for coming over from Ireland without licence (*a*). In this ſad condition he continued ſeven weeks, 'till Sir Hugh Owen, who was a Member of Parliament, coming to his ſeat in that neighbourhood, cauſed him to be ſet at liberty, upon his giving bond in a thouſand pounds for his appearance, and on the ſixteenth of March he was diſcharged and ſet out for Briſtol (*b*); where, upon his arrival, he had another unwelcome piece of news, which was that the ſhip, on board of which were a great part of his effects, embarked by a friend of his at Cork for England, was loſt near Minehead, and therein, amongſt other things, periſhed his choice collection of books (*c*). What ſmall matters could be ſaved were ſent to Cheſter, from whence, though they had fallen into bad hands, he ſafely received them, by the kind interpoſition and great diligence uſed by his friends. After ſuch a ſeries of misfortunes as ſerved only to endear to him his religion and his country, he withdrew to his native ſoil, and ſpun out there the remainder of his life in a contemplative and pious, but withal not idle, retirement (*d*). He reſigned his ſoul to his Creator at Derby, where he had ſome time reſided, upon Whitſunday 1649 (*e*). In the laſt ſeven years of his life he had ſtruggled with many and great difficulties, and for ſome time, probably at the beginning of that period, he derived his ſubſiſtence from the charitable contributions of others. At the time of his deceaſe however, he was either in poſſeſſion of ſome fortune, or had a reaſonable expectation that it might be recovered, ſince he directed by his Will, that his eſtate, ſuch as it was, ſhould be divided between his family and the poor, for as he lived ſo he died, a good man and a good Chriſtian (*f*). As for his works, and more eſpecially as to the notion that has prevailed with ſome people, of his being the concealed author of that excellent treatiſe *The Whole Duty of Man*, we ſhall give the reader all the lights we are able in the notes (*g*) [*D*]. Some years after his deceaſe, a monument

(*y*) Vit. Gulielmi Chappel. Fuller's Worthies in Nottinghamſhire, p. 317.

(*z*) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(*a*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 567.

(*b*) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(*c*) Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 567.

(*d*) See the concluding verſes of his life cited in note [*D*].

(*e*) Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

(*f*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 568. Lloyd's Memoirs of the Loyal Sufferers, p. 607. Fuller's Worthies in Nottinghamſhire, p. 317.

(*g*) See Mr Beaupre Bell's Letter cited in note [*D*].

[*D*] *We are able in the notes.*] There is no reaſon to wonder, that a perſon of Biſhop Chappel's pious and primitive diſpoſition, ſhould, however well qualified in reſpect to parts and learning, decline the publication of his works in his life-time, more eſpecially when we conſider the misfortunes he had run through, and the ill uſage he had met with from different parts. Accordingly we find, that in his whole life he publiſhed but one book, and that in Latin, about a year before his death; and perhaps he was induced to this, from his having formerly communicated it to his intimate friends, or poſſibly to his pupils, ſo that it would have been impoſſible for him to have concealed his being the author of it, had he been ever ſo deſirous of doing it. The title of this work was,

I. *Methodus Concionandi*; London, 1648. 8°. that is, *The method of preaching*. Which for it's uſefulneſs was alſo tranſlated into Engliſh. Our author, it ſeems, was not at all of Alſtedius's opinion, who judged, that the concealing the method uſed in preaching beſt ſecured the hearer's attention. Biſhop Chappel founded his theory on his practice, and being convinced by experience, that the way he uſed had the greateſt effect upon a general audience, he, for that reaſon, recommended it to others. It was his manner to raiſe doctrinal propoſitions from the words of his text, which he powerfully confirmed and enforced. And when a point of controverſy ſtarted, he did not endeavour to ſhew his eloquence on both ſides of the queſtion, but his abilities in eſtabliſhing the truth, beyond all oppoſition or doubt. —A certain author ſpeaks of this prelate and his book in the following terms (9). 'Biſhop 'Chappel was a man of a very ſtrict method, being an 'incomparable logician, and of a very ſtrict life, being 'an excellent man; famous for his many and eminent 'pupils, more for the eminent preachers made ſo by 'his admirable method, for the theory and praxis upon 2 Tim. iii. 16. for the practice of preaching. So 'good a diſputant, as to be able to maintain any 'thing, but ſo honeſt a man that he was willing to 'maintain only, as he would call them, ſober truths. 'Harraſſed between the rebellions in Ireland and England, where it was imputed to Biſhop Laud as a 'crime, that he preferred Biſhop Chappel; and to 'him, that he was preferred by him, being thought a 'Puritan before his preferment, and a Papiſt afterwards, though he was the ſame godly and orthodox 'man always.'

(9) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607.

II. *The uſe of Holy Scripture*. Lond. 1653. 8°. printed after his deceaſe.

III. *The true method of Preaching*. Lond. 1656. This is no other than the Engliſh tranſlation of his firſt mentioned work.

There are ſome variations in the two copies that have been publiſhed, of the manuſcript he left behind him of his own life in Latin. The reverend Mr Peck adds, by way of note, upon his edition, the following extract of a Letter from Mr Beaupre Bell (10). 'Tis 'certain *The whole Duty of Man* was written by one 'who ſuffered by the troubles in Ireland, and ſome 'lines in this piece, give great grounds to conjecture 'that Biſhop Chappel was the author, 3 March 1734.' It would have been more ſatisfactory, if this gentleman had been pleaſed to point out the paſſages in the book he mentions, and thoſe in the life of Biſhop Chappel, which induced him to be of that opinion; but, as he has not, it may be the more excuſable to add a very few remarks upon this ſubject.

(10) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. l. xi. p. 7.

At the cloſe of Mr Peck's edition of Biſhop Chappel's Latin life there are two lines, which are wanting in the edition publiſhed by Mr Hearne, and which are a direct proof, that this pious Prelate paſſed the laſt ſeven years of his life in reviſing his writings, the lines are theſe (11).

(11) Ibid. p. 8.

Reviſo, quæ antè ſcripſeram. Et ſeptennium
Attexo, quod tunc fluxerat, prioribus.

The *Whole Duty of Man* was publiſhed in 1657, or rather, I think, in 1658, but it appears plainly from Dr Hammond's letter to Mr Garthwaite the bookſeller prefixed to it, that it had been ready for the preſs ſome time before, and from various paſſages in the book, as well as from the prayer at the end of it, it is very plain that it was written before the death of King Charles the Firſt. So that in this reſpect it might very well be written by Biſhop Chappel. There is another circumſtance, much more favourable than this, to the opinion of his being the author of it, and that is the method of the book, which is perfectly agreeable to our Prelate's manner of writing. I may alſo add the fervency of the ejaculations, more eſpecially in the prayers for *the Church*, and for *the peace of the Church*, which are very ſuitable to the ſtrong and lively ſtrokes in his little work upon his own life. That if he had been the author of that, and other works, he might have deſired to conceal it, very clearly appears from the inſcription on his monument, drawn up by Archbiſhop Sterne (12).

(12) See that inſcription in note [*E*].

ment was erected to his memory in the parish church of Bilstorp in Nottinghamshire, where he was buried by the pious care of Dr Richard Sterne, Archbishop of York; and because there is something very singular, and very well deserving the reader's notice in the inscription upon that monument, we judged it necessary to insert it at the bottom of the page (*b*) [*E.*] It is hoped that the pains taken here to do justice to so learned, so pious, and so worthy a Prelate, whose virtues and whose sufferings were alike extraordinary, will give peculiar satisfaction to the publick; for to write the lives of men highly eminent, and whose great and good actions have been justly celebrated, is a task rather pleasant than hard; but to collect the scattered remembrances of such as wished to live concealed, and were content to be great and good in secret, is a labour equally difficult and laudable; as it can have no other intention than that of doing them justice, and contributing to the information of the world, in matters that might otherwise be for ever overspread with oblivion, into which it has been observed that the weightiest things most easily sink, while the lightest, for that very reason, swim upon the surface, and escape the deluge.

(*b*) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. I. l. xi. p. 8.

On the other hand, as a work of his was actually published with his name after his death, and his method of preaching translated and sent abroad in English the very year before the Whole Duty of Man was published, it is not easy to see the reason, why, if he had written the Whole Duty of Man, it should have been suppressed in the title page, because it would have added credit to the work, and done him no hurt. Some people have attributed *the Whole Duty of Man* to Mr Abraham Woodhead (13), and others to Mr Obadiah Walker (14), both of whom became Papists; but most apparent it is, that book was written by a true and sincere member of the Church of England, and one who held that to be the Catholick Church. It has been very positively said, that Lady Packington (15) was the author, and that the manuscript of it in her own hand-writing, is in the possession of the family, which one may presume, is the authority relied on to justify the placing this as an indubitable fact in a monumental inscription to her memory. It is indeed very remarkable, that Dr Hammond, in his letter to Mr Garthwaite, has not a single pronoun that determines the word author either to the masculine or feminine gender; but then, it seems, that either he did not, or would not, seem to know, who was the author, though, if it was the Lady Packington, he could hardly be ignorant of it, in as much as he lived long, and at last died at her house.

(13) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 617.

(14) Ibid. col. 936

(15) English Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 398, 402.

[*E*] *At the bottom of the page.*] It is no small honour to the memory of this good man, that so excellent a Prelate as Bishop Sterne, showed so great affection for his remains; and it gives us also an opportunity of seeing his character drawn at large by the pen, or at least by the direction, of so great a person, and so true a judge of mankind. After mentioning those particulars of his life, which have been more fully insisted upon in this article, he proceeds thus, 'The excellent 'graces which (if any other did) he received in a 'plentiful measure from God, he administered, with a 'singular fidelity and success, to his glory, and to the 'publick emolument of the Church. He was a strenuous assertor of justice, wisdom, and divine grace. 'By his love to God, and charity to men, as well 'friends as enemies, according to the law and example 'of Christ, he became to us both an example and law; 'he gave up his temporal goods, partly for Christ, 'partly to Christ, as to be hid from the world was al-'ways his greatest desire, so he never was able to com-'pass it, nor can he now. In his sixty-seventh year 'he calmly surrendered his soul to his Saviour on 'Whitsunday 1649, and is here deposited, near his 'venerable mother, expecting our Lord Christ, whom 'he enjoys. He had a younger brother (while he 'lived) named John Chappel, who was also a very 'eminent divine, and born for the pulpit. But he 'went to Heaven before him, and his remains are bu-'ried in the church of Mansfield Woodhouse.' *Charismata, quæ (si quis alius) plurima atque eximia à Domino acceperat, singulari tum fide tum felicitate, ad ejus gloriam publicumque ecclesiæ commodum administravit. Sapientiæ, justitiæ, gratiæ, divinæ, strenuus assertor. Charitate in Deum ac hominem, amicos atque inimicos, ad Christi legem, & exemplum factus nobis exemplum & lex. Bona temporalia, partim pro Christo, partim Christo reliquit, &c.*

E

CHARLETON (WALTER) a very learned Physician and copious writer, from the middle of the last, to the beginning of the present century, was descended from a very antient and worthy family of that name in the West of England, and the son of the Reverend Walter Charleton, M. A. some time Vicar of Ilminster, and afterwards Rector of Shepton Mallet in the county of Somerset (*a*). He was born at Shepton Mallet in the parsonage house of his father, February 2, 1619 (*b*), and received the first rudiments of learning, not in a country grammar-school, but by the care and industry of his parent, who was a man of extensive capacity, though but indifferently furnished with the goods of fortune. He made it his business however to qualify his son Walter for the university, and when he found him fit for it, which was about the age of sixteen, he sent him to Oxford, were he was entered of Magdalen-hall (*c*) in Lent term 1635. It was no small happiness for him, that he became the pupil of the famous Dr John Wilkins, afterward Bishop of Chester, under whom he made a progress in Logick and Philosophy very far superior to any thing that could be expected from one of his years (*d*). His parts were very brisk and lively, but he was rather more conspicuous on the score of his application, and of his extensive capacity, which enabled him to form very just notions of the connection that subsists between the Sciences, and encouraged him to aim at making himself an universal scholar (*e*). As his circumstances would not allow him to pursue Science at large, but on the contrary obliged him to think of some particular profession, which might be useful to him in his subsistence, as well as contribute to his reputation in passing through life; he addicted himself very early to Physick (*f*), and in a short time made as great a progress therein as he had done in his former studies. The breaking out of the Civil War, as it brought the Royal Presence to Oxford, was, in that respect, favourable to Mr Charleton, who had in himself so much real merit, and knew so well how to display it, that by the favour of the King he had the degree of Doctor of Physick conferred upon him in February 1642 (*g*), and was soon after made one of the Physicians in ordinary to his

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1112.

(*b*) MS. notes relating to the Life of Dr Charleton.

(*c*) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 377.

(*d*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1112.

(*e*) MS. notes relating to the Life of Dr Charleton.

(*f*) Taken from his own writings, and particularly his Dedication of *The Darkness of Atheism dispelled by the Light of Nature*, to Sir Francis Prujean.

(*g*) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 377.

his Majeſty, at which time he was looked upon as a very extraordinary genius, and, as ſuch, became very early the object of that envy and reſentment, of which he could never get the better as long as he lived (*b*) [*A*]. Upon the declenſion of the royal cauſe, he came up to London, was admitted of the College of Phyſicians, came into conſiderable practice, and lived in much eſteem with the ableſt and moſt learned men of the profeſſion, ſuch as the celebrated Sir Francis Prujean, the learned and penetrating Sir George Ent, the glory of that college, and the honour of this nation, Dr William Harvey, and others, by whom he was much aſſiſted, and towards whom he behaved with the utmoſt gratitude and reſpect (*i*). In the ſpace of ten years before the Reſtoration, he wrote and publiſhed ſeveral very ingenious and learned treatiſes, as well on phyſical as other ſubjects, by which he gained great reputation, and very deſervedly, conſidering the times in which they were written, and that many of thoſe diſcoveries were then in their infancy, which have been ſince proſecuted with the moſt happy effect. By theſe books his name became known abroad, as well as at home, and though they are now leſs regarded than perhaps they deſerve, yet they were then received with almoſt univerſal approbation (*k*) [*B*]. He became, as

(*b*) MS. notes of the Life of Dr Charleton.

(*i*) This is collected from his Dedications to thoſe excellent perſons.

(*k*) Morhoff's Polyhiſt. II. 1, 5, 5.

[*A*] *As long as he lived.*] If we conſider the ſtate of learning at this time, in the Univerſity of Oxford, and what a number of men of more than ordinary capacities there were in every faculty, one muſt be ſufficiently convinced that the gentleman, who is the ſubject of the preſent article, muſt have diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very ſurprizing manner to obtain the honour of a Doctor's degree in Phyſick at the age of twenty-two (1), as is very juſtly obſerved in his commendation by Anthony Wood, who affirms, that he received this honour, as well by the favour of the King, as from the grace of the Univerſity of Oxford; adding, that he was beyond all doubt a very learned man, and one, who made a ſhining figure in his profeſſion. *Vir proculdubio doctus, & in ſua facultate clarus* (2). He thought fit afterwards to alter this character a little, and to repreſent poor Dr Charleton as a man exceedingly learned in his own opinion (3). But, as is obſerved in the text, this ſpirit of envy began to ſhew itſelf early againſt Dr Charleton, ſo that after the deceaſe of his royal Maſter, he would have found his admiſſion into the College of Phyſicians, a thing of very great difficulty, if he had not been ſupported by ſome of the principal members of that learned body, more eſpecially Dr Prujean, who was then Preſident; and who, with as great a reputation as moſt, raiſed a greater eſtate than any phyſician of his own time. To this worthy man he not only ſtood indebted for this favour, but for many others, which we learn from himſelf, ſuch as defending his character, when attacked by ſuch as diſliked his civil and religious principles, for the Doctor profeſſed himſelf a Royaliſt and a Churchman, when there was neither King nor Church, which, no doubt, increaſed the number, and at the ſame time added to the boldneſs of ſuch as envied, and would willingly have run down his abilities. The ſame kind perſon reviſed, corrected, and improved, his writings, and this Dr Charleton openly as well as gratefully acknowledges, which, by the way, is no great ſign of his entertaining ſo high an opinion of his own learning. Beſides all this, he likewiſe owed his life to Dr Prujean, who recovered him from an epidemic Dyſentery, by which he was brought to death's door in the year 1650, which he acknowledged in this epigram (4).

(1) MS. Memoirs relating to the Life of Dr Charleton.

(2) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 377.

(3) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1112.

(4) In the Epiſtle Dedicatory prefixed to The Darkneſs of Atheiſm diſpelled by the Light of Nature.

Auxiliis Prujan, anima hæc moribunda revixit;
Ut vigil infuſâ Pallade, flamma ſolet.

Snatch'd from the Grave *by* Prujan's *help I* live,
As waſting lamps *by* oil *ſupply'd* revive.

We may from hence collect the reaſons why this gentleman ſtood expoſed to ſo many aſſaults, and yet while his health, vigour, and friends laſted, got the better of them all. He came into the world early, and with vaſt expectations, this naturally excited envy. He was for many years of a declining party, which opened the mouths of the malicious. He was very fond of Chemiſtry, and a friend to the new diſcoveries in Phyſick, which of courſe expoſed him to the reſentment of thoſe who laboured to decry and explode both. It muſt however be allowed, that he had his failings, and indeed, who has them not? He was a bold and lively writer, and ſupported his ſentiments with a flow of ſpirit, and of language, that had a great air of confidence: and in his Engliſh writings eſpecially, his ſtile was a little crabbed, too much loaded with hard words, and now and then interſperſed with new terms of his own deviſing. From all this we find him very kindly defended by Dr Clement Barkſdale, in a copy of verſes prefixed to one of Dr Charleton's books, from which, tho' none of the beſt, I will venture to quote a few lines (5).

(5) Theſe are alſo prefixed to the book laſt cited.

'Tis fit that cenſure wait on all that's done;
'Wits are made great by emulation.
Some places are obſcure. *The book's not good,*
By every vulgar head is underſtood.
What you don't underſtand, read o'er again;
Compare, confer, and meditate. 'Tis plain.
Th' Engliſh is Latin. *Know, that the Engliſh tongue*
Hath from each language conſummation.
And he that will our learneſt writers ſcan,
Muſt be both Latiniſt and Grecian.
The ſtile's too high. *Fear not the critick's rod:*
'High phraſe is born of your high thoughts of God,
Forward, dear brother: 'Gifts *for uſe are lent:*
'To do moſt good brings in the moſt content.
Your phyſick has done miracles: But ſure,
Th' atheiſt convert *is thy* nobleſt cure.

[*B*] *With almoſt univerſal approbation.*] In this note we ſhall give an account of the works publiſhed by our author before the Reſtoration, ſome of which it is very poſſible were written at the requeſt of Booksellers, more eſpecially the tranſlations; and the reſt by the perſwaſion of his friends for particular purpoſes, of ſeveral of which we ſhall be able to give ſome account.

I. *A* Ternary *of* Paradoxes, (1.) *Of the* magnetic cure *of* wounds. (2.) Nativity *of* Tartar *in* wine. *And,* (3.) *The image of* God *in* man. Lond. 1650. 4°. Written in Latin by John Baptiſt Van Helmont.

II. The *Errors* of *Phyſicians* concerning *Defluxions,* called *Deliramenta Catarrhi.* Lond. 1650. 4°. Written by Van Helmont, and printed with a Ternary of Paradoxes.

III. *Spiritus* Gorgonicus *vi ſua ſaxipara exutus, ſive de cauſis ſignis & ſanatione lithiaſeos diatriba.* Ludg. Bat. 1650. in 8°. that is, 'The Gorgonic ſpirit de-'prived of it's ſtone-producing power, or a diſcourſe 'of the cauſes, ſymptoms, and cure of the ſtone.' This book is generally known by the ſhorter title of *Diatriba de Lithiaſi*; or, 'A diſcourſe upon the Stone.' There are in this book of our author's, and indeed in almoſt every piece he wrote, many ſingular, curious, and judicious obſervations, and as ſuch they have been tranſcribed, though ſometimes without the leaſt mention of this gentleman's name, by other writers of conſiderable figure, both at home and abroad, which was a fault never committed by Dr Charleton, who was very careful in beſtowing on every man his due praiſes, and by conſtantly owning to whom he was obliged, drew upon himſelf the unkind and unjuſt cenſure, of compiling his books from thoſe of other men; but it would have ſaved abundance of controverſy amongſt the members of the republick of letters, if great authors had never ſuffered themſelves to be miſled by this falſe ſhame, of being thought compilers, which Dr Charleton very juſtly deſpiſed.

IV. *The*

as a certain writer tells us, Physician in Ordinary to King Charles II, while in exile (*l*), and, as it was very reasonable, retained that honour after the King's return; and upon the founding of the Royal Society, became one of the first members (*m*) of that most learned and illustrious body. Amongst others his kind patrons and intimate friends, was that worthy Royalist, and generous Nobleman, William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, whose Life Dr Charleton translated into Latin in a very clear and elegant style (*n*). He was also well acquainted with, and a sincere friend to, the famous Philosopher of Malmsbury, Thomas Hobbes (*o*), which, together with his avowed respect for the Epicurean Philosophy, drew some suspicions upon him in regard to his religion, notwithstanding the pains he had taken to distinguish between the religious and philosophical opinions of that famous Greek, in his own writings against infidelity. Yet how much soever he might suffer by these calumnies in the opinions of some, this made no impression upon his spirit, but he continued with the same vigour and diligence to prosecute his studies, and to oblige the Republick of Letters with new productions, which were generally well received, and some of them have been often re-printed (*p*) [*C*]. He had the misfortune to draw upon himself a new load of envy, by venturing to differ in opinion from the celebrated Inigo Jones, who, for the satisfaction of his Royal Master, had written a discourse upon Stonehenge, in which he attributed that celebrated pile to the Romans, and asserted it to be no other, than a temple dedicated by them to the God *CŒLUS* or *CŒLUM* (*q*), which opinion of his Dr Charleton could not confide in, but thought rather that this antiquity belonged to later and

(*l*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1112.

(*m*) See the List of Members at the end of Bishop Sprat's Hist. of the Royal Society.

(*n*) Published at London, in fol. 1668.

(*o*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 186.

(*p*) See this fully justified in note [*C*].

(*q*) The most noble Antiquity of Britain vulgarly called Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain, restored, Lond. 1655, fol.

IV. *The Darkness of* Atheism *dispelled by the* Light *of* Nature. *A Physico-Theological Treatise, written by* Walter Charleton, *Doctor in Physick, and Physician to the late King*. Lond. 1652. 4°. To this work there is prefixed a Dedication in Latin to Dr Francis Prujean, dated the 1st of August, 1651, though in the printed copies it is, by mistake, 1641. There is as much learning, and reading, in this book, as, perhaps, in any of it's size in our language; and those parts of it that seem to fall most within the compass of a Physician's knowledge, are treated with the utmost skill and exactness, more especially that famous question, whether the term of man's life be mutable or fixed. Upon this occasion he tells us a very remarkable story of a godly physician in the Parliament's army, who being a rigid Fatalist, gave out his prescriptions by lot, and so left his patients to take their chance, though he took his fees (6), which is a proof, that absurd opinions in Divinity may have dreadful effects on mens practice.

(6) Darkness of Atheism dispelled by the Light of Nature, p. 251.

V. *The Ephesian and Cimmerian Matrons, two remarkable Examples of the Power of Love and Wit*. Lond. 1653. and again in 1658. 8°.

VI. Physiologia Epicuro-Gassendo-Charltoniana. *Or a Fabrick of natural Science erected upon the most antient hypothesis of Atoms*. Lond. 1654. fol.

VII. *Epicurus his Morals*. Lond. 1655. 4°. This work of his is divided into thirty-one chapters, and in these he fully treats all the principles of the Epicurean Philosophy, digested under their proper heads, tending to prove, that, considering the state of the heathen world, the morals of Epicurus were as good as any, as in a former work he had shewn, that his philosophick opinions were the best of any, or at least capable of being explained in such a manner, as that they might become so in the hands of a modern philosopher (7). To this book there is prefixed a succinct apology for Epicurus, which I make no scruple of asserting to be the most sensible, as well as the most learned and curious, that is any where extant, and very far exceeding some that have been writ in other languages, and while this is forgot, are in the present possession of the world's applause.

(7) It may not be amiss to observe, that this work was translated into several modern languages.

VIII. *The Immortality of the the human Soul demonstrated by reasons natural*. Lond. 1657. 4°.

IX. 'Oeconomia Animalis novis in Medicina hypothesibus superstructa & mechanicè explicata. Autore 'Gualtero Charleton, M. D. & Caroli Magnæ Britanniæ Regis olim Medico.' Lond. 1659. 12mo. Id. Amstelodami, 1659, in 12mo. Id. Lugd. Bat. 1678. in 12mo. Id. Hagæ Comit. 1681. in 12mo. that is, *The* Animal Oeconomy *according to the new Discoveries in Physick, as also mechanically explained*. It appears clearly by an epistle addressed to Dr Ent, and prefixed to this book, that it was written at least six if not seven years before it was published, for that epistle is dated June the 12th, 1653, and the author speaks as if he had wrote the book near a year before. The design of that epistle is to acquaint the reader, that this learned person, who was justly esteemed one of the ablest Physicians of his age, had perused and approved it. It is dedicated to Thomas Viscount Falconbridge, the author's great patron, and seems to have been written at his request. The Dedication is dated March the 25th, 1659, that is, according to the English computation, and supposing that to be the first day of the year. The title of this book sufficiently shews the design of it, and whoever considers the distribution of the chapters, will very easily conceive, that it was from it, a modern writer of the first rank amongst our neighbours, took his plan of a work of the same kind, and published very nearly under the same title. To the last edition of our author's work in Holland is joined Dr William Cole's Dissertation upon Animal Secretion.

X. *The natural History of Nutrition, Life, and voluntary Motion; containing all the new Discoveries of Anatomists*, &c. Lond. 1658. 4to.

XI. Exercitationes Physico-Anatomicæ de Oeconomia Animali, Lond. 1659. 8°. That is, *Physico-Anatomical Dissertations upon the Animal Oeconomy*. Printed afterwards several times beyond the seas.

[*C*] *Have been often reprinted.*] About the time of the Restoration, in order to dispose the people, not only to a quiet submission, and acquiescence under the Royal authority, but also to excite a spirit of loyalty, and sincere affection for that monarch (8), he undertook, from the knowledge he had of him in his youth, and the near access he had at this time to his person, to send abroad a picture of him, drawn by his pen, which he accordingly did under the following title.

(8) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 674.

XII. *A Character of his most sacred Majesty* Charles the Second, *King of* Great Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith*, &c. *Written by* Dr Charleton, *Physician in Ordinary to his Majesty*. Lond. 1660. in one sheet in quarto, printed again in 1662.

XIII. 'Exercitationes Pathologicæ, in quibus morbo'rum pene omnium natura, generatio, & causæ, ex no'vis Anatomicorum inventis sedulo inquiruntur.' Lond. 1660, printed there again in 1661. 4to that is, *Pathological Dissertations, in which the nature, generation, and causes of almost all diseases are most diligently set forth*. This book has been also very deservedly commended, and admired, as an excellent introduction to the study of Physick. The reader will easily discern the relation that our author's works have to each other; and how, after having first explained the philosophy of atoms, in a sober and solid manner, so as to render it fit to give his reader a clear notion of the mechanical superstructures he meant to raise upon it, he proceeded next to the animal œconomy, and having considered the human body as a curious, and wonderful machine, suited to various purposes, by a vast variety of contrivances, which, by the help of the new discoveries, he explained in the best manner possible at that time, goes on from thence to the view of this curious machine, when disturbed, and out of order, shows how, and whence, those disorders arise, the signs with which they are attended, by which they may be known, and when known, by what methods they may be removed. After rendering these services to physick, he stopped a little, and turned his thoughts, as the reader will see in the next note, to other subjects, which he handled with equal learning and ingenuity.

[*D*] *Lessen*

and more barbarous times. Upon this it is said that he transmitted Jones's book, which was not published 'till after it's author's death, to Olaus Wormius, or caused it to be transmitted to that learned Danish Antiquary, who thereupon wrote him several letters tending to fortify him in his own sentiment, by proving that this work ought rather to be attributed to his countrymen the Danes (*r*). With the assistance of these materials Dr Charleton undertook to set this matter in a clear light, and in a treatise wrote expressly upon that subject, offered many strong arguments to shew, that this could not be a Roman temple, and several plausible reasons why it ought rather to be considered as a Danish monument (*s*). This book of his, though in itself very learned, and enriched with a great variety of curious observations, was but indifferently received by the many, and though approved was but coldly defended by the few, which however does not at all lessen it's merit with posterity [*D*]. To this book there was an angry answer written by Mr Jones's (*t*) son-in-law, who

(*r*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1113.

(*s*) See this farther explained in the note [*D*].

(*t*) A Vindication of Stone-Henge restored, London, 1665, fol.

[*D*] *Lessen it's merit with posterity.*] As the whole of this work of our author is very curious and learned, and as it will afford us an opportunity of giving a succinct account of the several opinions that have been maintained, and the principal treatises that have been wrote, in relation to Stone-Henge, the most famous antiquity in our country, it will be first of all requisite to give the title of our author's work at large, which run thus:

XIV. Chorea Gigantum: *Or, The most famous Antiquity of* Great Britain, STONE-HENGE, *standing on* Salisbury Plain, *restored to the* Danes. *By* Walter Charleton, M D. *and Physician in ordinary to his Majesty.* Lond 1663. 4to.

This book was dedicated to his Royal Master, and in the Dedication there is contained a very memorable piece of History. 'I have had the honour to hear, 'from that oracle of truth and wisdom, your Majesty's 'own mouth, you were pleased to visit that monu- 'ment, and for many hours together entertain your- 'self, with the delightful view thereof, when, after 'the defeat of your loyal army at Worcester, Almigh- 'ty God, in infinite mercy to your three kingdoms, 'miraculously delivered you out of the bloody jaws of 'those monsters of sin and cruelty.' In respect to the different opinions that have been advanced as to this famous monument, we are first to consider the *matter* of which it is composed, and next the *manner*, in which it was erected. As to the former it is agreed, that there are three rows of great stones, some of which are twenty-eight feet high, and seven broad, that stand almost in the form of a crown; and over some of them other stones are laid, with tenons and mortises. But then it is enquired, whether these stones be natural or factitious? Dr Childrey holds the first (9), as also, that they actually grew in this place; and he thinks the argument brought to prove the contrary, from the want of stones, either little or big, in that neighbourhood, makes rather for his opinion, because nature could not provide itself of lapidifick matter otherwise, than by robbing the adjacent parts to compose these huge stones. He thinks it also no small confirmation of this notion, that upon the Downs about Marlborough, not above twenty miles from Stone-Henge, there are found abundance of such great stones, commonly called by the country people the Grey Weathers; and at Aubery, in an orchard, there are half a dozen, or half a score stones little inferior in size to those of Stone-Henge, some standing upright, and some lying flat upon the ground, and the country thereabouts affording scarce a stone beside. On the other hand, Mr Camden (10), and many other sensible people, have thought them artificial, composed of stone-dust, or sand, held together by some petrifying juice. They were led to this opinion by observing, that in this country there are no such stones, indeed hardly any stones; and next, that the size of these stones render it very improbable that they were brought thither by land-carriage; to which they add, that Pliny (11), and other authors, very positively mention such factitious stones as an invention common in their days, which, to them, puts the thing out of doubt. But, however, later experience has fully decided this question in favour of the former notion, for that these very stones are natural, and no composition, is a point now out of dispute. The sentiments of learned men in relation to the work itself, are still very much divided; but to bring them within the compass of a note, we may range them under seven heads. (I.) A certain author would perswade us, that Stone-Henge ought to be ascribed to the Phœnicians (12). But, however, that has not much prevailed; and 'till we have better arguments than any he has produced, very few will think it part of true history, that the Phœnicians performed any great exploits in this island. (II). The celebrated Inigo Jones (13) would have this a Roman work, and, as we have said in the text, a temple to the god *Cœlum*; but therein his imagination and learning got the better of his judgment, and even of his senses, for he describes Stone-Henge not as it is, but as it should be, to make it consistent with what he has delivered; he makes a regular hexagon of what is rather an octagon, or, to speak with still greater propriety, a polygon, altogether irregular. But for all this, his book is highly valuable, and the number of fine things there are in it, very fully atone for any mistakes that it may contain. (III.) Our author, in his treatise upon this subject, will have it to be a Danish monument (14), and he grounds his opinion chiefly on the mistake, which he supposes to have been made in relation to it's ancient name, for he asserts, that instead of the *Giants Dance*, which is the name it bears in our ancient writers, it ought to have been stiled, the *Assembly of the Chiefs*, or *Nobles*; and in support of this, he says, a great deal that is very well worth reading, nor the less so, for the informations he received from the learned Olaus Wormius. Yet after all, he was as much deceived in his opinions, as the writer whom he opposed, for, beyond a question, the Danes could not be the founders of this monument, since we find it mentioned by Nennius (15), a writer who flourished two hundred years before the Danes came into England. (IV.) It has been asserted in general terms, that this was a temple of the Druids, erected long before the Romans came into Britain; and in defence of this Mr John Aubrey, a very knowing Antiquary, and one particularly well acquainted with all the ancient monuments in Wiltshire, has written an express treatise (16), which has had it's weight with the most studious persons in this kind of learning, who have inclined to think him, if not exactly right, yet much nearer the truth than any of the rest. (V.) Another author, whose name at present is, and in all probability will continue, a secret, has advanced a notion more singular and extraordinary than any of these (17). He says, that this was a temple erected to the honour of Anaraith, the goddess of victory; and that in this place the illustrious Steynings, a famous giant, having defeated Diviaticus and his Belgæ, sacrificed the captives and spoils to the idol beforementioned, upon her altar here. It is not, however, very probable, notwithstanding the pains this gentleman has taken, that this story of his will ever grow into any great credit. (VI.) The most ingenious Edward Bolton, Esq; who was a very learned Antiquary, as well as an excellent Historian, gives us a hint that it was a monument raised to the memory of Queen Boadicea (18), his great heroine, by her subjects the Britons. But though the conjecture is certainly not amiss, yet, perhaps, the proof might be found very difficult. (VII.) The last and most common notion is, that it was the burial place of Arthur Pendragon, Constantine, Ambrosius, and other British Princes; or, that it was a monument erected by Ambrosius in memory of a multitude of Britons here basely slain by the Saxons (19); and in support of this it is alledged, that in very ancient manuscripts, and those of the best authority, this famous monument is called Stan-Hengist, for which different reasons are assigned. We will conclude this long, tho' we hope not tedious, note, with a short quotation from a copy of commendatory verses prefixed to this work of our author by John Dryden, Esq; (20), not barely on

(13) In his posthumous Treatise upon that subject, mentioned in the text.

(14) Chorea Gigantum, &c.

(15) Hist. Britonum, cap. xiii.

(16) Monumenta Britannica, MS.

(17) Dissertations upon Stonehenge, MS. formerly belonging to the Rev. Mr Paschal Rector of Chedsey near Bridgwater, and of which there are various copies in the hands of curious persons.

(18) In his Nero Cæsar, at the conclusion.

(19) Agreeable to what is delivered by Geoffry of Monmouth in his British History, &c.

(20) Original Poems and Translations by John Dryden, Esq; Vol. II. p. 207.

(9) Britannia Baconica, p. 48, 49.

(10) Camden's Britan. col. 95, 96, 97.

(11) Hist. Naturalis, lib. xxxvii.

(12) Sammes's Britannia Antiqua Illustrata, p. 35.

who was the editor alſo of that work which had occaſioned this diſpute. In ſhort, there was a great clamour raiſed againſt it, and many liberties were taken with Dr Charleton's character upon account of this performance, and this, notwithſtanding Sir William Dugdale, and ſome other of the moſt eminent Antiquaries in the kingdom, owned themſelves to be of our author's opinion (*u*). However, all the noiſe and envy of his enemies could not hinder him from riſing to the higheſt honour of his profeſſion, or from being celebrated, even in his life-time, as on of it's greateſt ornaments, to which his Anatomical Prelections in the College Theatre, in the ſpring of the year 1683 (*w*), did not a little contribute, as well as his full and ſatisfactory Defence of the immortal Hervey's claim to the diſcovery of the circulation of the blood, againſt the pretence that was ſet up in favour of Father Paul (*x*), which our author clearly confuted. This certainly ought to be remembered in honour to his memory, not only as it is a very ſtrong proof of his great capacity and extenſive learning, and as it was in ſome meaſure a vindication of the honour of this nation, but alſo as a generous teſtimony of his eſteem and gratitude to his deceaſed friend, qualities not over common in modern times, and for which therefore it would be barbarous to deny him that applauſe he ſo juſtly merits. It was from theſe motives, that in 1689 (*y*), he was choſen Preſident of the College of Phyſicians, in which office he continued to the year 1691. A little after this his circumſtances becoming narrow, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſeeking a retreat in the Iſland of Jerſey, where he reſided at the time that Anthony Wood took ſome very extraordinary liberties with his character, repreſenting it in a light very different from that, in which, during the Doctor's proſperity, he had thought fit to place it (*z*). It is not eaſy to ſay what the cauſes were of our learned Phyſician's misfortunes, except it may be the death of his friends and patrons, and thoſe changes to which all things in this world are ſubject, together with the faſhion of following ſuch Phyſicians as are in vogue, though not more learned or more ſucceſsful than their predeceſſors. That it was not any decay of parts, or loſs of underſtanding, is very apparent from hence, that the very laſt of his books was, in point of various learning equal to any that he had formerly publiſhed, more exact in it's method, more correct in it's ſtyle, and in every circumſtance more highly finiſhed than any of his former (*a*). Of this, as well as of his other performances, ſome account will be given in a note [*E*]. We have not

(*u*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1113.

(*w*) Goodall's Hiſtorical Accounts of the College's proceedings againſt Empiricks in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to Dr Whiſtler.

(*x*) See the article HERVEY (WILLIAM).

(*y*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1113.

(*z*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 377.

(*a*) See this point explained in note [*E*].

on account of the beauty of the verſes, and the harmony of his numbers, or their containing the praiſe of our author and his writings; but for the ſake of the hiſtory contained in them, and his fine deſcription of the paſt, and at that time preſent ſtate of learning in England.

Among th' aſſerters of free reaſon's claim,
Our nation's not the leaſt in worth or fame.
The world to *Bacon* does not only owe
It's *preſent* knowledge, but it's future too.
Gilbert ſhall live, 'till loadſtones ceaſe to draw,
Or *Britiſh* fleets the boundleſs ocean awe.
And noble *Boyle*, not leſs in nature ſeen,
Than his great *brother* read in *ſtates* and *men*.
The *circling* ſtreams once thought but pools of blood
(Whether life's fuel, or the body's food)
From dark oblivion *Harvey*'s name ſhall ſave;
While *Ent* keeps all the honour that he gave.
Nor are *you*, learned friend, the leaſt renown'd;
Whoſe *fame*, not circumſcrib'd with *Engliſh* ground,
Flies like the nimble journies of the light;
And is, like that, unſpent too in it's flight.
Whatever *truths* have been, by *art*, or *chance*,
Redeem'd from *error*, or from *ignorance*,
Thin in their *authors* (like rich veins of ore)
Your works unite and ſtill diſcover more.
Such is the healing virtue of your pen,
To perfect cures on *books*, as well as *men*.
Nor is this work the leaſt: You well may *give*
To *men* new vigour, who make *ſtones* to live.
Through you, the *Danes*, (their ſhort dominion loſt)
A longer conqueſt than the *Saxons* boaſt.
STONE HENGE, once thought a *Temple*, you have found
A *Throne* where Kings, our earthly gods, were crown'd;
Where by their wond'ring ſubjects they were ſeen,
Joy'd with their ſtature, and their princely mien.
Our *Sovereign* here above the reſt might ſtand,
And here be choſe again to rule the land.

Theſe ruins ſhelter'd once *his* ſacred head,
When *He* from *Wor'ſter*'s fatal battle fled;
Watch'd by the genius of this Royal place,
And mighty viſions of the *Daniſh* race.
His *refuge*, then, was for a Temple ſhown:
But, He reſtor'd, 'tis now become a *Throne*.

[*E*] *Some account will be given in a note.*] We are here, according to the promiſe made in the text, to ſpeak of the remainder of our learned author's works, and this we ſhall do as clearly and as concifely as it is poſſible.

XV. Diſquiſitiones duæ Anatomico-Phyſicæ: altera Anatome pueri de cœlo tacta, altera de proprietatibus cerebri humani, Londini 1664, 8°. That is, *Two Anatomico-Phyſical Diſſertations; the firſt, concerning a boy killed by lightning; the ſecond, of the properties of the human brain.* In the former of theſe, he diſcourſes largely of the nature and effects of thunder and lightning; explodes the vulgar error, concerning perſons being killed with thunder-bolts; and inſerts occaſionally many other curious obſervations and reflections, as well in regard to Natural Philoſophy, as Anatomy and Phyſick. In the latter alſo, he gives a great many ſingular, and in thoſe days new diſcoveries, and treats the ſubject with much learning and perſpicuity (21).

(21) Morhoff. Polyhiſt. II. 2. 7, 5.

XVI. Gulielmi Ducis Novicaſtrenſis Vita. Londini 1668, in fol. That is, *The Life of William Duke of Newcaſtle.* This, as has been obſerved in the text, is no other than a tranſlation of the life of that eminent Statesman, and great Captain, written originally by his conſort, Margaret Ducheſs of Newcaſtle; and the reader may find a copious account of it in another article of this work (22).

(22) See article CAVENDISH (WILLIAM), Duke of Newcaſtle.

XVII. Onomaſticon Zoicon plerorumque Animalium differentias & nomina propria pluribus linguis exponens. Cui accedunt mantiſſa Anatomices, & quædam de variis Foſſilium generibus. Londini 1668, & 1671, in 4°. Id. Oxonii 1677, in fol. That is, *The names of ſeveral Animals in many languages; to which is annexed an Anatomical Appendix, and ſome obſervations as to the different kinds of Foſſils.* It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that ſome copies of the laſt edition are with, and ſome without cuts; the former are ſcarce, and bear a greater value than any of the reſt of Dr Charleton's works.

XVIII. *Two philoſophical Diſcourſes:* the firſt, *Concerning the different wits of men*; the ſecond, *concerning*

not been able to discover how long he continued in that kind of voluntary exile, or whether he returned afterwards to London; but it is beyond all doubt, that those writers are much mistaken, who have asserted that he died soon after he retired thither, for, as much as we are in the dark as to other circumstances, we are very clear as to the time of his death, which happened in the latter end of the year 1707, and in the eighty-eighth year of his age (*b*). He was, as the many books he has written very fully shew, a man of very solid and extensive learning, and as he distinguished himself very early by his great abilities, so for the space of five and thirty years, he continued a very useful and assiduous Member of the Republick of Letters. He was a very sincere lover of the constitution in Church and State, and had so warm an affection for his country, that though he was strongly sollicited to accept a Professor's chair in the university of Padua, yet he absolutely refused it (*c*). He was a person of great candour and generosity, ready upon all occasions to acknowledge and to commend the merit of others, and as in his youth he was honoured with the protection of the most considerable men for learning and quality in this kingdom, more especially those of his own profession, so he continued happy in their esteem and friendship to the last. In his junior years he dedicated much of his time to the study of Philosophy and polite literature, and was as well read in the Greek and Roman authors as any man of his time. He learned very early from his excellent tutor Bishop Wilkins, the art of digesting his knowledge in such a manner as to command it readily and fully when occasion required. It is doubtful whether in Natural or in Moral Philosophy he was the greater man; that he wrote very accurately upon both is however certain; and he who would see the dark and disjointed notions of the Antients concerning the *Anima Mundi* set in a clear light, and thoroughly reconciled, must have recourse to his works, since it would be hard to meet with it any where else (*d*). In every branch of his own profession he has left testimonies of his diligence and his capacity, and whoever considers the plainness and perspicuity of his language, the pains he has taken to collect and produce the opinions of the old Physicians in order to compare them with the Moderns, the just remarks with which these collections and comparisons are attended, the succinctness with which all this is dispatched, and the great accuracy of that method in which his books are written, will readily agree with me, that he was equal to most of the writers in this faculty who were his contemporaries, and that if he has been surpassed by any of the Moderns, his example has

(*b*) Hist. of Europe for 1707, p. 517.

(*c*) See Dr Goodall's Dedication to Dr Whistler, before cited.

(*d*) See his Apology for Epicurus prefixed to the *Morals* of that Philosopher.

ing the mystery of Vintners; *or, A Discourse of the various sickneſſes of* Wines, *and their respective* Remedies *at this day commonly used*, &c. Lond. 1668, 1675, 1692. 8°. This some have thought a little below the character of our author, and much inferior to his other writings. In all probability it was composed from observations set down in his common-place books, without any intention of publishing them originally; and it is very likely that he was perswaded to send them abroad, either by some of his friends, or by some bookseller, to whom they might be useful. In this he had the same misfortune with other great writers, who have been too ready to commit to the press those pieces that were only fit for their closets, from a notion, that their bare names may support any thing; whereas the greatest writer runs the hazard of his reputation, every time he ventures to submit a new work to the publick view.

XIX. De Scorbuto liber singularis; cui accessit Epiphonema in Medicastros. Londini 1671, in 8°. Id. Lugd. Bat. 1672, in 12^mo^. That is, *Of the Scurvy a single book; to which is added, an Excursion against Quacks.* The very learned father *Niceron* (23) observes very justly, that there is great variety of curious matter contained in this book. The very same thing may be justly said of most of our author's writings, since we find in them not only the fruits of general reading, and extensive learning, but also the effects of his experimental knowledge, and of his enquiries, and conversations, with other learned persons of the Faculty; so that one has, generally speaking, in a very narrow view, all that could be expected on the subject he handles, and even more, because the circle of his knowledge is commonly wider than that of his reader's, which contributes not a little to the value of his books.

(23) Memoires des Hommes Illustres, Tom. XVIII. p. 115.

XX. *Natural History of the Passions.* Lond. 1674. 8°. This is also a very curious and instructive treatise, suitable to the philosophick spirit that reigned at that time, when it was fashionable for men of parts and learning to employ their time in endeavouring thoroughly to understand human nature; towards which we may, without flattery affirm, that none afforded greater helps than our author, who has written almost upon every subject that can be held justly necessary to this purpose, and with great industry laboured to give us the history both of the body and of the mind.

XXI. *Enquiries into human Nature, in six Anatomy Prelections, in the new Theatre of the Royal College of Physicians in London.* London, 1680. 4°.

XXII. Oratio anniversaria habita in Theatro inclyti Collegii Medicorum. Lond. 5 Aug. 1680. in commemorationem beneficiorum a Doctore Harvey, aliisque, &c. præstitorum Lond 1680. 4°. That is, *An Anniversary* Oration *delivered in the Theatre of the College of Physicians at London*, Aug. 5. 1680. *in commemoration of the benefits received from Dr* Harvey, *and other worthy persons.* There could be nothing more agreeable to our author's disposition than such a performance as this, as well in regard to the love he had for his profession, as the high esteem, and true affection, which he bore to the memory of Dr Harvey, which, upon many occasions, while living, he expressed for his person; and of which we shall have occasion to say something more hereafter.

XXIII. *The Harmony of natural and positive divine Laws.* Lond. 1680. 8°. In this treatise our author endeavours to shew, that the supreme good, or ultimate happiness of man, is not a thing either uncertain or chimerical, but that it is settled by the will of God, in the disposition of all things, and of man himself, as a free and rational being; so that what he has been pleased to discover to mankind in an extraordinary way, as a legislator, and what he has left it in their own power to discover by the light of reason, concerning him as their Creator, is so far from being contradictory, or repugnant, that in fact these laws help each other; and afford a joint proof of their respective authorities. This scheme of the book shews, that it was very well suited to those times; but, perhaps, it would be no easy thing to prove, that it is at all less suitable to ours. Several of our author's treatises are now grown out of date, being superseded by other and fresher discoveries; but this is not liable to that fate, as the subject is like to continue the same for ever.

XXIV. *Three Anatomy Lectures, concerning,* 1. *The* motion *of the* Blood *through the veins and arteries.* 2. *The* organic structure *of the* Heart. 3. *The efficient* cause *of the* Heart's *pulsation. Read on the* 19th, 20th, *and* 21st *days of* March, 1682. *in the Anatomic Theatre of his Majesty's Royal College of Physicians in London.* Lond. 1683. 4°. I know none of our author's works that have been more, indeed, I think, hardly any so much, applauded, as these lectures, which shews the gradual improvements

has been in a great measure the occasion of it, many of the best received books in the present age, being, as to method and form, at least, very like his. He was also a very curious and judicious Antiquary, had taken much pains in perusing our ancient Historians, and in observing their excellencies, as well as their defects, the latter of which seem to have occupied chiefly the thoughts of modern Criticks. But, above all, he was very studious of connecting the Sciences with each other, and thereby rendering them severally more perfect, in which, if he did not absolutely succeed himself, he had at least the satisfaction of opening the way to others, of showing the true road to perfection, and pointing out the means of applying and making those discoveries useful, which have been made in succeeding times. There is also good reason to believe, that tho' we have few or none of his writings extant that were composed during the last twenty years of his life, yet he was not idle during that space, but committed many things to paper, as materials at least for other works that he designed. This, I say, may be well concluded from the natural industry of this learned person, as well as from some volumes of Collections that are, or at least lately were, in being, and have passed from hand to hand under his name (*e*). The accounts that have been hitherto given of him and of his works in our language, have been very slender and sparing, no ways suitable to his deserts, or to the reputation that he very justly acquired amongst foreigners (*f*), which led us to take so much care in this article, that it may appear to have a true concern for the honour of all our countrymen, who have done credit to this nation, by promoting solid and useful knowledge of every kind.

(*e*) These Collections were formerly in the hands of the Millingtón family.

(*f*) Morhoff. Polyhistor. Vol. II. I, 2, 5, 5. II, 2, 7, 5. II, 2, 24, 6. II. 2, 47, 3. Stollii, Introduct. ad Hist. Litter. p. 675. Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. I. p. 626. Buddei, Compen. Histor. Philosophicæ, p. 367.

improvements that were made in this sort of useful knowledge, of which Dr Charleton was both a faithful register, and a great promoter. It was in these lectures that he clearly and effectually refuted the pretence, that Dr Harvey had borrowed his doctrine, of the Circulation of the Blood, from Father Paul of Venice (24) It is, indeed, true, that Father Paul had written upon the use of the valves in the veins, which he is thought to have first discovered; and in like manner Servetus (25), Columbus (26), and Andreas Cæsalpinus (27), has delivered various things concerning the motion of the Blood, which was not unknown even to Hippocrates himself; but as a system from which the whole animal œconomy might be explained, was first known to Dr Harvey, and by him discovered, described, and demonstrated. The learned Boërhaave therefore, in his Institutes delivers this point clearly, and in a manner which fully shews, that he was convinced, that the rights of our countryman were beyond all controversy supported, and established (28). 'At length, says he, the immortal Harvey, by the discoveries which he demonstrated, overturned the whole theory of the Antients, and founded Physick upon a new and more certain basis, upon which it at present rests.' It will not be amiss, before we quit this subject, to observe, that it was no small advantage to Dr Harvey's noble discovery, that, on the one hand, he lived long enough to establish the certainty of it; and to triumph over all the numerous efforts that were made from a disingenuous spirit of envy, and contradiction; and that on the other, his intimate friendship with several learned men of his own country, and profession, secured after his decease, the glory due to his memory, from being tarnished by the many malicious attempts to show, that it was no discovery at all; or, that if it was, it did not belong to him, but to others. If these pretences had not been refuted in time, and before they had taken root in the minds of men, it might have been found much more difficult to eradicate them; and, perhaps, also many of the testimonies that were urged by his friends, might, in process of time, have been lost; or, at least, the circumstances that render them most convincing buried in oblivion. But the learning and spirit of the Doctor's friends, more especially Dr Peter Barwick, and our author, rendered every thing of this kind impracticable, for as soon as any hint was given abroad, or even suspicion dropped in any literary dissertation, or in prefaces before ancient authors, or epistolary essays of the moderns, to the prejudice of Dr Harvey's system, his title to it, or the claim of any other, they were ready to take up the dispute, and were such able masters of it, both in regard to the Doctor's manner of finding and publishing his discovery, and of the nature of it, and it's distinctness from what others had written, about the motion of the blood, that nothing could gain ground during their life-times, contrary to the truth; and as they were both very long lived men, they survived that spirit of rancour which so long followed this invention. By which concurrence of happy circumstances we may justly attribute that general sense the learned world now has, of the mirit of this great discovery, and of the great benefits thereby derived to Physick by it's illustrious author, which may justly be esteemed a singular credit to the Faculty, and a very high honour to this nation.

(24) Dr Goodall's Dedication to Dr Whistler, before cited.

(25) Christianismi Restitutio, lib. vi.

(26) Reald Columb. Anatom. lib. vii. p. 325.

(27) Question. Peripatet. p. 123.

(28) Boërhaave's Academical Lectures on the Theory of Physick, including a translation of his Institutes, Vol. I. p. 41.

XXV. *The Life of* Marcellus, *translated from the Greek.* This is to be found in that noble treasury of English learning, the translation of Plutarch's Lives, by various hands (29). In this he has given the world a testimony of his perfect acquaintance with the Greek learning, as well as language, for it is illustrated throughout with concise explanatory notes. The stile of this piece is excellent, and as different from that which our author used in his junior years, as can be imagined. His periods are short, his diction easy, natural, and perspicuous, insomuch that one perceives nothing in it of that stiffness and want of vigour which is generally complained of in translations. In short, he gives the sense of Plutarch with the same freedom as if it was his own, enters into the spirit of his author, and from the perfect knowledge he has of the subject, becomes, as it were, an original writer.

(29) Plutarch's Lives, Vol. II. p. 365.

XXVI. Inquisitio Physica, de Causis *Catameniorum*, & Uteri *Rheumatismo*; in qua probatur, sanguinem in animali *fermentescere* nunquam. Lond. 1685. 8°. That is, *A physical Dissertation on the Causes of certain feminine Disorders, and of the Rheumatism in the Womb; in which it is proved, that there is no such thing as* Fermentation *in the Blood.* This little book, divided into eight chapters, besides the conclusion, is written in a very clear and correct Latin style; in a method perfectly exact, in which the sentiments of the most eminent professors of the Art, Ancients as well as Moderns, are clearly stated, and freely examined; in short, as this is the last work that he published, so it seems to be the most finished; and it ends with so much affection to his Faculty, that it looks like taking his farewel of them, and the publick. The approbation prefixed informs us, that in the judgment of those who subscribe it, this physical enquiry of their most friendly member and collegue might be very useful, when printed, and the underwritten names are, Sir Thomas Witherley, Knight, and President; Dr Samuel Collins, Register; Dr Thomas Burwell, Dr Peter Barwick, Sir Thomas Millington, and Dr Humphry Brooke, Censors of the Royal College of Physicians.

XXVII. *Of human* Felicity *and* Infelicity; *a Discourse by way of similitude or parable.* This was never printed; but there are several copies of it handed about in manuscript, under the name of our author; but whether it be really his, or not, I am not able to say. Thus, as succinctly as might be, and as near as it was possible, in the order of time when they came abroad, the reader has a true catalogue of this learned Physician's writings: and as to his character, it has been attempted in the text, if not with success, at least with candour, and with an honest desire of doing justice to his memory, and to truth. E

CHAUCER (Geoffrey) the Father of our Engliſh Poets, and the firſt great improver and reformer of our language. He flouriſhed in the XIVth century, and as he juſtly obtained the higheſt admiration amongſt his contemporaries, ſo his memory has ever ſince been highly honoured (*a*). One would imagine from this, that every hiſtorical circumſtance relating to him, or at leaſt thoſe of the greateſt moment, ſhould be well preſerved, and be perfectly clear, which however is ſo far from being the caſe, that nothing can hitherto be certainly determined concerning his deſcent, or ſo much as who was his father. One ſays that he was of a noble ſtock (*b*), another that he was the ſon of a Knight, (*c*), a third that his father was a Vintner (*d*), a fourth that he was a Merchant (*e*), and the fifth and laſt opinion, which is the beſt, is, that nothing can be ſaid (*f*) with any tolerable aſſurance of his family at all, but that there is ſomewhat more probability of his being the ſon of a gentleman, rather than of a tradeſman [*A*]. The place of his birth is as much diſputed, but however may be determined with greater appearance of truth, for though ſome ſay he was a Berkſhire man (*g*), and others would entitle Oxfordſhire (*h*) to his birth, yet if we may rely upon what he tells us himſelf, it is much more likely that he drew his firſt breath in the City of London (*i*), and that he had a great intereſt amongſt it's inhabitants, is a thing as certain as that it drew upon him many misfortunes, notwithſtanding which, his having that intereſt ſeems to be a corroborating proof of his being a citizen's ſon [*B*]. The time of his birth is pretty well fixed, for moſt of the

(*a*) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 41, 42.

(*b*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419.

(*c*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 572.

(*d*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*e*) Mr Hearne's Letter to Mr Bagford, relating to Chaucer's Life.

(*f*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Mr Urry's edit. of his Works.

(*g*) Bale, de Script. Britan. p. 525.

(*h*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. p. 572.

(*i*) In the Teſtament of Love, p. 486. Camden. Eliz. edit. Hearne, p. 783.

[*A*] *Rather than of a tradeſman.*] It is a point well agreed amongſt our ancient authors, that the French ſirname of this family, which was variouſly written; as for inſtance, Chaucier, Chaucierris, Chauſſier, Chauſir, &c. ſignified a Shoemaker (1), but notwithſtanding this, it is very well known, that the founder of this family in England was a Norman Chief that came over with William the Conqueror, as appears by the roll of Battle-Abbey (2); and in ſucceeding times there were ſeveral perſons of note of this name mentioned in our records. In the reign of King John there was one le Chauſir (3), as appears by the records in the Tower; and in the reign of Henry III. one Elias Chauceſir, who in the reign following, *viz.* Edward I. had a grant of ten ſhillings from the Treaſury (4). There was alſo one John Chaucer, of whom King Edward I. heard a complaint for a thouſand pounds (5); but all this gives us no kind of certainty in reſpect to our author's family at all. Leland contents himſelf with hinting, that he was of genteel extraction, *nobili loco natus* (6), are his words; and it is ſaid, that he is faithfully copied by Bale; but this is to be underſtood of the later editions of his book, for in the firſt he calls him Sir Geoffrey Chaucer, Knight, and ſays nothing of his family at all (7), afterwards he met with Leland's book, and abridged his account of him. John Pits is very clear, that he was of an exceeding good family, and not only a Knight himſelf, but his father a knight before him (8): but his authority goes for little, more eſpecially with thoſe that know him beſt. Mr Speght is of opinion, that one Richard Chaucer was his father, who was a Vintner at the corner of Kirton-Lane, and dying in 1348, left his houſe, tavern, and ſtock, to the church of St Mary Aldermary (9), where he was buried. This paſſed currently with Fuller; and, perhaps the better, becauſe it furniſhed him with a very ſilly jeſt. 'His 'father, ſays he, was a Vintner in London; and I 'have heard his arms quarrelled at being *argent* and '*gules* ſtrangely contrived, and hard to be blazoned. 'Some more wits have made it the daſhing of white 'and red wine (the parents of our ordinary claret) as 'nicking his father's profeſſion.' Againſt this opinion, however, there lie two exceptions, that ſolider heads than his have not been able to get over; the firſt is, that there was ſomething very unnatural in this Vintner's leaving all his eſtate to the Church, while his ſon was at the Univerſity; and the ſecond, that Chaucer ſhould never complain of this, or, for any thing that we can diſcover, feel the effects of it, ſince it is evident enough, that in his youth he lived at a rate that could not have been ſupported without a fortune. The induſtrious Mr Hearne thinks it probable, his father was a Merchant of London (10); but the laſt writer of his life thinking that father not good enough for him, hath found him out a better, one Sir John Chaucer, for which he has no other evidence, than that ſuch a man lived at a time (11) when our Poet might poſſibly have been his ſon. I muſt confeſs, I think, he was of a good family, and that for various reaſons, which, becauſe I do not know they have been taken notice of before, I will mention as briefly as I can. Firſt then, his education ſpeaks him a gentleman bred at both the Univerſities, travelled through ſeveral countries, and at laſt a ſtudent in the Temple, where, it is reported, that he was fined two ſhillings for beating a Fryar in Fleetſtreet. Next, his poſt at court ſhews him to have been a gentleman, for birth was much ſtood upon in thoſe days, and young men of the beſt quality were the King's Pages. Thirdly, this is confirmed by his marriage, which ſo proud a man as John of Gaunt would not have admitted, if he had been of a mean deſcent, much leſs have recommended him to his wife, and thereby made him the uncle-in-law of his own children. Fourthly, his writings ſhew him a gentleman, for they are all written with ſuch freedom and ſpirit as muſt have expoſed him to great envy, if he had not been a gentleman, and which he would probably have appeaſed by ſome reaſonable apology. Laſtly, the company he kept, and the reſpect that was conſtantly paid him, ſeem the cleareſt teſtimonies of this, which, with the reſt, I ſubmit to the deciſion of the intelligent reader.

(1) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Mr Urry's edit. of his Works.

(2) Aſhmole's Theatrum Chemicum, p. 471.

(3) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(4) Record. in Scacc.

(5) Record. in Tur. Lond.

(6) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419.

(7) Illuſt. Major. Britan. Script. fol. 198.

(8) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. p. 572.

(9) Speght's Life of Chaucer, in Stowe's Survey of London.

(10) Robert of Glouceſter's Chr. Vol. II. p. 596.

(11) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. V, p. 51.

[*B*] *Of his being a citizen's ſon.*] It ſeems to have been a doubt with Leland, whether Oxfordſhire or Berkſhire produced this great man; but he thought he had reaſon to think, that he was born in one of thoſe counties (12). If Berkſhire was to be preferred, then Dunnington (13) would bid the faireſt for it, which was certainly Chaucer's ſeat; but then it ſeems to be no leſs certain, that he purchaſed it from Sir Richard Adderbury. Pits affirms roundly, that he was born at Woodſtock (14), and Camden ſpeaking of that place, ſays, that having nothing in it elſe remarkable, it boaſts of having produced our Engliſh Homer, Geoffrey Chaucer (15), but he was too knowing a man to credit this. He knew the reaſon of it to be, that Chaucer had a houſe there, and Ewelm and Hocknorton in the ſame county, were alſo belonging to his family, and might therefore, with as much juſtice as Woodſtock, put in a claim to his birth. But Chaucer himſelf ſeems to have determined the point, as clearly as man could do, for, ſpeaking of the troubles that had happened in this place, he ſays (16), *The city of* London, *that is to me ſo dear and ſweet, in which I was forth-grown, and more kindly love, have I to that place, than any other on earth, as every kindly creature hath full appetite to that place of his kindly engendruer, &c.* And therefore Camden very juſtly takes occaſion, ſpeaking of another Poet, to affirm, that London (17) was our author's birth-place. 'Edmund Spencer, *ſays he*, a 'Londoner, was ſo ſmiled on by the Muſes at his 'birth, that he excelled all the Engliſh Poets that 'went before him, if, we except only his fellow-citizen, 'Chaucer.' It may ſeem a little difficult to reconcile what is ſaid in this note, to what has been advanced in the former, and yet it may be done tolerably well, for though we now conſider a citizen of London as a trader of courſe, yet in the times when Chaucer lived, men of great quality and diſtinction reſided in the city, where the Court was alſo kept, and therefore he might very well be in this ſenſe the ſon of an inhabitant of London, and ſtill his father might not be either Merchant or Vintner, but in ſome poſt about the Court, and this

(12) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419.

(13) Camden. Britan. p. 138.

(14) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 572.

(15) Camden. Britan. p. 279.

(16) The Teſtament of Love, p. 486. a.

(17) Camden. Anal. Eliz. id. hic Hearne, p. 783.

the writers who mention it agree, that it was in the second year of Edward III, *A. D.* 1328 (*k*). Here again we fall into the dark, for as to his earlier years we know not where or how they were spent, but as soon as he was fit for academical studies, he was sent to Cambridge, where he gave early testimonies of his abilites by several elegies and sonnets, as well as by a poem called the Court of Love, which he composed when he was about eighteen (*l*), and which carries in it very pregnant proofs of skill and learning, as well as quickness of wit and great strength of genius [*C*]. It is not by any means certain in what college or hall of that university he studied, but it is conjectured, and not without some shew of reason, that it might be in Solere's Hall, which he has so particularly and humorously described in his story of the Miller of Trompington (*m*). He removed from thence, for reasons which we find no where assigned, to the university of Oxford, and compleated his studies there, some say at Canterbury-college (*n*) which however is improbable, since it was not founded 'till Chaucer was thirty-five years of age; others in Merton-college, which is more likely, for though his name does not appear among the celebrated members of it at that time, yet we find most of his contemporaries, as Strode, Occleve, &c (*o*). were of that college. After a considerable stay here, and a strict application to the publick Lectures of the university, he became, as Leland tells us, a ready Logician, a smooth Rhetorician, a pleasant Poet, a grave Philosopher, an ingenious Mathematician, and a holy Divine (*p*). That he was a great master in Astronomy is plain from his Discourses of the Astrolabe; that he was versed in the Hermetick Philosophy, appears by his Tale of the Chanon's Yeoman; his knowledge in Divinity is evident from his Parson's Tale; and his Philosophy from the Testament of Love. After he left this university, he travelled abroad through France and the Low-Countries, in order to see the world, and to improve the knowledge which he had acquired from books; but when he went abroad, or what time he returned, are circumstances not easy to be determined.

(*k*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*l*) Court of Love, line 43.

(*m*) See the Glossary at the end of his works, under the word *Solere*.

(*n*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*o*) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 87.

(*p*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419.

this in so dark a matter, and which has employed so many learned pens, without letting in much light upon it, seems the most probable account of the matter. For in that discourse in which he speaks of London as his birth-place, he very clearly confesses, that he had been but too deeply engaged in the popular disturbances that happened there, through his attachment to his patron the Duke of Lancaster, which shows the interest he had among the people; and yet he affirms, that in what he did he had no evil intention, much less meant to throw all things into confusion; and offers it as a reason why he should be believed in declaring this, that he was a native of London, and loved it better than any place upon earth, as every creature naturally does the place from which it springs. After clearing up these points as far as possible, we shall be more brief in our remarks upon other points of this History, though a large and full Life of Chaucer seems to be a work still wanting to the learned world, after all the pains that has been hitherto taken about it.

[*C*] *And great strength of genius.*] The most certain accounts we have of Chaucer are those taken from his own writings, in which there are a great variety of circumstances that occur not in any of the ancient relations of his life, in so much that it is very doubtful whether we should ever have heard any thing of his being a student at Cambridge, if he had not left us that particular himself. In like manner it might have been presumed, but it could hardly have been proved, that his *Court of Love* was not his first performance; or, at least, his first performance that made any great figure. But from the perusal of this poem, we learn from himself, that he had written many things before in honour of the deity of love. Indeed, the poem itself speaks it probable, for though we have a very high idea of the natural genius of Chaucer, yet it would be impossible to perswade any judge of Poetry, that this was his first essay, for not only the structure of the poem manifests an extraordinary skill in that kind of writing, but the harmony of his numbers, even at this distance of time, sufficiently shew that they could not fall from the pen of an unpractised Poet. It is generally believed, upon the credit I apprehend of the Rubrick placed at the head of this performance, that it was written in imitation of the *Romant of the Rose* (18), but I must confess I am not very well satisfied of that, and should rather be of opinion, that our author composed it after the manner of those Italian Poems that were then so generally esteemed, and for which the famous Francis Petrarch had been crowned some years before with great solemnity at Rome (19). The honours which that celebrated Poet acquired, and which he had never acquired but in an age of the greatest gallantry, excited all who had any turn that way, to emulate his performances. We may very plainly perceive in this work of Chaucer's, that he meant to make his entrance by it into the region of Parnassus, and boldly resolved, on the strength of his own judgment as well as of his genius, to declare himself a Poet, and put himself that way into the road to fame. If this had not been his intention, he would have scarce written the *Court of Love*, the ground of which Poem is to shew, that it was a tribunal to which every man owed obedience, which sooner or later he was obliged to pay. As for himself, he professes that he was summoned to do suit and service at the age of eighteen, which affords him an opportunity of describing the Court, the manner of it's proceedings, and the Statutes of Love by which those proceedings are regulated, and in doing this he gives the following account of himself in three stanzas (20):

(18) This is also said in the Rubrick of the Poem.

(19) Niceron. Memoires des Hommes Illustres, Vol. XXVIII. p. 372.

(20) Chaucer's Works, p. 567.

In art of Love I write and songis make,
That maie be song in honour of the King
And Queen of Love; and then I undirtake
He that is fadde shall then full merry syng,
And daungerous not ben in every thyng:
Beseche I you but seen my will and rede,
And let your answere put me out of drede.

What is your name? reherse it here I praie;
Of whens and where, of what condicion
That ye ben of? let me se come of and saie
Fain would I know your disposicion;
Ye have put on your old entencion.
But whate ye mene, to serve me I ne wote,
Savse that ye saie, ye love me woundir hote.

My name, alas! my herte why makes thou straunge,
Philogenet I call'd am ferre and nere,
Of Cambridge, Clerke, that nevir thinke to chaunge
Fro you, that with your heavenly stremis clere
Ravisshe myne herte, and ghost, and all in fere,
Since at the first I write my bill for grace,
Methinke I se some mercie in your face.

This poem is very long, consisting of upwards of fourteen hundred verses, and concludes with the *Festival of Love*, which with great elegance our Poet fixes upon the first of May, and makes it celebrated by the birds: yet this part of the Poem is the most exceptionable of any, and shows what a strange taste prevailed in that age, for in this festival not only the Hymns of the Church, but the Psalms themselves, are very scandalously prophaned, and applied to the God of Love and his Mother, which shows the bad consequences that naturally flow from superstitious devotion.

[*D*] *Could*

determined (*q*). Yet ſure there is a probability that he ſpent not many years out of his own country, ſince the beſt writers ſeem to be well ſatisfied, that after his return he entered himſelf of the Middle-Temple, and became a ſtudent there of the Municipal Laws of this land (*r*). Of this learning having received ſome tincture, he betook himſelf to the Court, which was indeed the place in the world fitteſt for a man of his accompliſhments to thrive in. His firſt employment there was in quality of the King's Page (*s*), in thoſe times a very honourable office, as it gave near and frequent acceſs to the Royal Preſence; but one would imagine this was not a poſt to which any but a young man could be advanced upon his coming to Court, and therefore it ſeems moſt conſiſtent with truth to believe, that Geoffrey Chaucer could not at his admittance exceed thirty [*D*]. At this time the Engliſh Court was the moſt gay and ſplendid in Europe. Edward III, a Prince equally diſtinguiſhed by civil and martial virtues, ſat then upon the throne, bleſſed with an illuſtrious Conſort, by whom he had a numerous poſterity (*t*). His many victories had rendered him famous abroad, and his moderation and clemency, his reverence for the laws, and his kindneſs for his people, made him beloved at home, ſo that our Chronicles boaſt of few reigns ſo glorious, and of none brighter, than his. Among other great qualities with which this famous Monarch was endowed, his love of learning and learned men was not the leaſt conſpicuous, and therefore we need not wonder that our author, who was continually giving ſome ſpecimen or other of the vivacity of his parts, wrought himſelf into high favour, inſomuch, that it appears that he was a conſtant attendant on the Court, and when it was at Woodſtock reſided at a ſquare ſtone houſe near the Park-gate, which ſtill retains his name (*u*), and well indeed it may, ſince, being conſecrated in his Poems, the whole country round about is become, in reſpect to Engliſhmen, a kind of claſſick ground [*E*]. But beſides his employment about the perſon of his Prince, our Poet took pains to advance his fortune, by attaching himſelf to the ſervice of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, by whom, and by his Ducheſs Blanch, a lady equally remarkable for her wit and virtue, he was exceedingly beloved, nor was it long before he became part of their family alſo (*w*). It happened thus: this Ducheſs entertained in her ſervice one Catharine Rouet, daughter of Sir Payne or Pagan Rouet, a native of Hainault, and Guien King at Arms for that country, who was afterwards married to Sir Hugh Swynford, a Knight of Lincoln. He lived not long after their marriage, and upon his deceaſe this lady returned into

(*q*) Bale, de Script. Britan. p. 525. Pits, de Illuſtr. Ang. Script. p. 572.

(*r*) Le'and, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419. Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*s*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Mr Urry's edit. of his Work.

(*t*) Robert de Aveſbury. Hiſt. de Mirabilibus Geſtis Edwardi III. Contin. Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. II. p. 72. Robert of Glouceſter's Chron. p. 592.

(*u*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*w*) Dugd. Baron. Vol. I. p. 789, 790.

[*D*] *Could not at that time exceed thirty.*] We have intimated in the text, that our author ſeems to have owed his admittance into the King's ſervice in quality of Page, which in the Latin of thoſe times was called *Valettus* or *Valectus*, an honour that young Noblemen of the firſt rank were glad to accept, to the favour of the King's ſon John of Gaunt, afterwards Duke of Lancaſter, of which no notice is taken by any of thoſe who have hitherto collected the Memoirs of his Life. Yet we do not aſſert this without authority, for it appears by a poem of his called *Chaucer's Dream* (21), firſt printed in the year 1597, that he was very deep in this young Prince's amorous ſecrets, for that poem is an Allegorical Hiſtory of the Loves of John of Gaunt and Blanch of Lancaſter, daughter of Henry Duke of Lancaſter, which, from this very poem it appears, were managed with the utmoſt ſecrecy, 'till, by a long train of intrigues and ſollicitations, all the obſtacles in the way of this match were got over, and with the help of the King's conſent and the Pope's diſpenſation, they were married in May 1359 (22), which, as it was the firſt introduction to John of Gaunt's vaſt power and greatneſs, ſo it ſeems to have been the beginning of our author's fortunes at Court; at leaſt it is certain, that the knowledge he had of this affair, was what made him equally the favourite of the Duke of Lancaſter and of the Ducheſs Blanch, who, as the higheſt teſtimony of her friendſhip, gave him the ſiſter of her favourite Lady in marriage, which is alſo intimated at the cloſe of this poem. But this is quite a different thing from another under the ſame title, that in the old manuſcripts is, and ought to be, intituled, the *Book of the Ducheſs* (23), written, not upon her marriage but upon her death, and this being wrote in the manner of a viſion, and the other not being diſcovered, came to be called *Chaucer's Dream*, becauſe that title appeared in ſome old liſts of his Works. As the credit of the Duke of Lancaſter increaſed with his father. Chaucer's alſo roſe in a like proportion, for he continued ſteady to his patron to the laſt hour of that Duke's life, and indeed, conſidering his alliance as well as his obligations, we need not at all wonder that he did. But after ſaying all this it will be very proper to add, that, notwithſtanding his fidelity to his patron, he did not go all lengths with him, but kept exactly within the bounds of loyalty to his Prince, as well as thoſe of duty to his benefactor.

(21) Chaucer's Works, p. 572.

(22) Thomæ Walſingham, Ypod Neuſtr. p. 125. n. 50.

(23) Chaucer's Works, p. 404.

[*E*] *A kind of claſſick ground.*] In order to juſtify this, we need only obſerve, that many of the rural deſcriptions that occur in his works, are taken from Woodſtock Park; of which he tells us, that it was a park walled with green ſtone (24), that being the firſt park walled in England, and not many years before his time. In moſt of his pieces where he deſigns an imaginary ſcene, he certainly copies it from a real landſcape: ſo in his *Cuckow and Nightingale*, the morning walk he takes was ſuch, as at this day may be traced from his houſe through part of the park, and down by the brook into the vale, under Blenheim-Caſtle (25), as certainly as we may aſſert, that Maples inſtead of Phylireas were the ornaments round the bower; which place he likewiſe deſcribes in his *Dream* as a white caſtle (26), ſtanding upon a hill; the ſcene in that poem being laid in Woodſtock-Park. When diſengaged from publick affairs, his time was entirely ſpent in ſtudy and walking: ſo agreeable to him was this exerciſe, that he ſays, he preferred it to all other ſports and diverſions. He lived within himſelf, neither deſirous to hear, nor buſy to conern himſelf with the affairs of his neighbours. His courſe of living was temperate and regular, he went to reſt with the ſun, and roſe before it; and by that means enjoyed the pleaſures of the better part of the day, his morning walk and freſh contemplations. This gave him the advantage of deſcribing the morning in ſo lively a manner, as he does every where in his works: the ſpringing ſun glows warm in his lines, and the fragrant air blows cool in his deſcriptions; we ſmell the ſweets of the bloomy haws, and hear the muſick of the feather'd choir, whenever we take a foreſt walk with him. The hour of the day is not eaſier to be diſcovered, from the reflexion of the ſun in Titian's paintings, than in Chaucer's morning landſcapes. 'Tis true, thoſe deſcriptions are ſometimes too long, and as it is before obſerved, when he takes thoſe early rambles, he almoſt tires his reader with following him; and ſeldom knows how to get out of a foreſt, when once entered into it: but how advantageous this beautiful extravagance is, moſt of his ſucceſſors well know, who have very plentifully lopt off his exuberant beauties, and placed them as the chief ornaments of their own writings.

(24) Complaint of the Black Knight, ver. 42.

(25) Cuckow and Nightingale, ver. 56.

(26) Chaucer's Dream, v. 1018.

into the Duke's family, and was appointed Governeſs of his children (*x*). She had a ſiſter whoſe name was Philippa, a great favourite likewiſe with the Duke and Ducheſs, and by them therefore, as a mark of their great eſteem, recommended to Chaucer for a wife (*y*). He married her about the year 1360, when he was in the flower of his age, and, as appears from a picture of him taken about that time, one of the handſomeſt perſons about the Court (*z*). Of a complection fair and beautiful, his lips very red and full, his ſize of a juſt proportion, his air very graceful and majeſtick. We live at too great a diſtance of time to be able to penetrate with certainty into the true motives of our author's match; but ſure there is a great probability, that he was not unacquainted with the tenderneſs which his patron the Duke of Lancaſter had for the Lady Swynford, by whom he had ſeveral children, who were afterwards legitimated by Act of Parliament (*a*). Yet this alliance was not the only tie he had upon that Prince, one of the moſt ambitious and artful men of his time, and always embarked in ſome State-intrigue or other, and therefore above all things fond of having men of parts and literature about him, of whom he might make uſe as occaſion offered, and in which capacity as there was none more able, ſo it appears there were none did him greater ſervice, than Chaucer (*b*). Being thus ſupported, we need not wonder that his fortunes made a very quick progreſs at Court, and accordingly we find very many marks of his Maſter King Edward's kindneſs towards him. As for inſtance, in the forty-firſt year of his reign, he granted him an annuity of twenty marks *per annum* out of the Exchequer (*c*). How mean ſoever ſuch a penſion may ſeem now, it was then very conſiderable, and in Chaucer's caſe was ſtill the more valuable, as being an earneſt of future favours. For not long after we find him Gentleman of the King's Privy-Chamber, and by that title the King granted to him, by Letters Patents dated in the forty-fifth year of his reign, the further ſum of twenty marks *per annum* during his life (*d*). In this ſtation he did not long continue, being next year made Shield-Bearer (*e*) to the King, a title at that time, though now extinct, of great honour, ſuch perſons being always next the King's perſon, and generally upon ſignal victories, rewarded with militaty honours. Neither were theſe all the inſtances he received of the King's attention to, and confidence in, him; for in the very ſame year, and by the ſame title, we find him commiſſioned, in conjunction with other perſons, to treat with the Republick of Genoa (*f*); and accordingly thither he went, and actually managed a negociation, concerning the ſubject of which, thoſe who have written our author's Life make not the leaſt mention, but ſeem to treat it as a matter, at this diſtance of time, altogether inexplicable. But it may from the Hiſtory of that Prince's reign be very probably inferred, that Chaucer was ſent to Genoa to hire ſhips for the King's navy; for in thoſe times, though we frequently made great naval armaments, yet we had but very few ſhips of our own, and this defect was ſupplied, by hiring them from the free States either in Germany or Italy (*g*). In this negotiation our author ſucceeded ſo well, that upon his return home he received new marks of his Royal Maſter's favour, for, by letters patents dated at Windſor the 23d of April in the 48th year of his reign, his Majeſty granted him a pitcher of wine daily in the Port of London, to be delivered by the Butler of England (*h*); and very ſoon after he was made Comptroller of the Cuſtoms in the Port of London, for wool, wool-fells, and hides, with a proviſo that he ſhould perſonally execute that office, and keep the accounts of it with his own hand (*i*). As this was a very lucrative, ſo it was a very reputable employment likewiſe, and as Chaucer was enriched by the profits of his poſt, ſo his reputation was very much increaſed by that diligence and integrity with which he diſcharged it. He values himſelf, as he had reaſon to do, very much upon his conduct in this office, which he affirms was never liable to any kind of imputation (*k*). And indeed it is highly probable that what he has delivered upon this ſubject is ſtrictly true, for in the latter end of King Edward's reign there were great frauds and embezzlements committed in the cuſtoms, which by proſecutions were brought to publick view, but we do not find that in theſe Chaucer's name was ſo much as mentioned (*l*). About a year after he was in poſſeſſion of this office, the King made him a grant of the lands and body of Sir Edmund Staplegate, ſon of Sir Edmund Staplegate of Kent, in ward, for which he received one hundred and four pounds (*m*), and other pecuniary advantages he had, which enabled him to raiſe altogether an income of one thouſand pounds *per annum*, which was in thoſe days a prodigious ſum, and might well enable him to live, as he ſays he did, with dignity in office, and with good will amongſt his neighbours (*n*). But as all theſe benefits aroſe chiefly from the favour in which he ſtood with the potent and ambitious Duke of Lancaſter, ſo he became daily more and more involved in the political intrigues of that active and ambitious Prince. It is ſuggeſted by many of our Hiſtorians, that this Duke had caſt a longing eye upon the Crown, and it is attributed to this, that about the time our author was ſent to Genoa, the King declared in full Parliament, the young Prince Richard, the only ſurviving ſon of Edward the Black Prince, heir apparent to the Crown (*o*). But there ſeems to be a plainer and more natural reaſon for the King's taking this ſtep, in which none more readily concurred than the Duke of Lancaſter, and that was his own and his ſon's going abroad to carry on the war in France, upon which occaſion it was requiſite that the ſucceſſion ſhould be ſettled, and therefore the young Prince Richard was not only declared heir apparent, but the government of the kingdom was, nominally at leaſt, entruſted with him, during the abſence of his grandfather, his father, and uncles (*p*). But what ſeems to be a ſtronger proof

(*x*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*y*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

(*z*) This original picture was in the poſſeſſion of George Greenwood, of Chaſtleton in Glouceſterſhire, Eſq;

(*a*) Thom. Walſ. p. 388. n. 30.

(*b*) Henry Knighton. *apud* Decem Scriptor p. 26, 47.

(*c*) 41 Ed. III. Pat. 41, p. 1. m. 13.

(*d*) 45 Ed. III. p. 3. m. 7.

(*e*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*f*) See an extract of this Commiſſion in Chaucer's Life, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(*g*) Froiſard. cap. 298, 299.

(*h*) Pat. 48 Ed. III. p. 1. m. 20.

(*i*) Pat. 48 Ed. III. p. 1. m. 7.

(*k*) Teſtament of Love, p. 488. b.

(*l*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(*m*) Records collected by Mr Rymer in the Houſe of Lords.

(*n*) Teſtament of Love, p. 486. a.

(*o*) Froiſard. cap. 305.

(*p*) Pat. 46 Ed. III. p. 2. m 25.

proof of the Duke of Lancaſter's innocence in this reſpect, was, his marrying, upon the deceaſe of his Ducheſs Blanch, the Lady Conſtantia, daughter of Peter the Cruel, King of Caſtile and Leon, in whoſe right, upon the deceaſe of her father, he aſſumed thoſe royal titles (*q*). This muſt be allowed to be a mark of his ambition, and of his inclination to be a King, but at the ſame time it is a proof that he had another crown in view than that of England, and therefore to this we may well aſcribe that device of his, of an eagle endeavouring with his bill to undo a footlock, which many of our writers, with more malignity than judgment, have conſtrued, into a kind of treaſon (*r*). It is however true, that after the deceaſe of his eldeſt brother Edward, the Black Prince, he was aſſociated by his father in the government, and had the principal direction of publick affairs, which, conſidering his age, his experience, and his very near relation to the Crown (*s*), may be looked upon as a thing, rather natural than extraordinary. In this happy ſeaſon of his life, when he enjoyed all the bleſſings this world could afford, Chaucer compoſed moſt of thoſe gay and lively pieces, which were ſo much adapted to the humour of theſe times, and to that romantick ſpirit of love and fighting, which in thoſe days was ſo much in vogue, and by which he acquired ſo great and ſo extenſive a reputation for his wit, and for his capacity in writing (*t*) [*F*]. But it was not long before he found himſelf obliged to turn his thoughts to graver ſubjects, for his Patron, the Duke of Lancaſter, having eſpouſed the cauſe of Wickliffe, whom the Clergy conſidered as a heretick, Chaucer inclined the ſame way, and turned the edge of his ſatire againſt lazy Monks, ignorant Prieſts, and the inſolence of ſuch as belonged to Eccleſiaſtical Courts, with extraordinary ſucceſs (*u*): Yet it does not at all appear, that he was an enemy to religion, or even to that of the Church of Rome; but rather the contrary, for he ſpeaks very ſubmiſſively of her doctrines, and beſtows high characters upon ſuch of the Clergy, as acted ſuitably to their calling; ſo that it was the ill men, who brought religion into contempt, and proſtituted their own function in the vileſt manner, that felt the ſeverity of Chaucer's Muſe, and not Prieſts in general, or the Chriſtian Faith; for the former, he highly revered; and the latter, he firmly believed (*w*), as his writings plainly ſhew [*G*]. But how much ſoever Wickliffe's doctrines might

(*q*) Barnes's Hiſt. of Ed. III. p. 897.

(*r*) Chaucer's Life prefixed to Urry's edit. of his Works.

(*s*) Fox's Martyrology, p. 392.

(*t*) John Lidgate, in his Prologue to his Tranſlation of *Boccace* of the *Fall of Princes*.

(*u*) In his *Plowman's Tale*, and his *Jack Upland*, and other pieces.

(*w*) See his Teſtament of Love, his moral Poems, and other pieces in his Works.

[*F*] *And for his capacity in writing.*] We have already mentioned ſome of the performances of our author while a very young man, and alſo ſome of thoſe pieces that he wrote to compliment the Duke of Lancaſter and his Ducheſs. We will here take an opportunity of giving an account of ſome other pieces of his, that were wrote within the time of his greateſt proſperity. *The Complaint of* Mary Magdalen, *taken from* Origen (27); was tranſlated either before, or ſoon after his coming to Court; perhaps to oblige ſome pious lady of thoſe times, as he wrote that which is called *Chaucer*'s A. B. C. for the uſe of the Ducheſs Blanch. *The Complaint of the* Black Knight, was penned in honour of John of Gaunt's courtſhip of that lady, and is as elegant and harmonious a poem, as any of our author's compoſure; ſo that it is reaſonable to believe, he took extraordinary pains about it; and perhaps it would be no unreaſonable conjecture, if we ſhould ſuppoſe, that it was written upon his firſt admiſſion to the intimacy of that great Prince who is repreſented under the character of the Black Knight (28). The *Houſe of Fame* is alſo a moſt admirable performance, as well in the conſtruction of the fable, as in the eaſe and happineſs of it's execution; of which there cannot be a higher teſtimony, than Mr Pope's borrowing from thence the model of his *Temple of Fame*; which will probably be eſteemed, as long as there is either Taſte or Poetry in this nation. The *Aſſembly of Fowls* was written while he was at Court, and before the death of King Edward's Queen, Philippa (29); and ſo was his Tale of the *Cuckow and the Nightingale*, in which, as was obſerved in the preceding note, the ſcene is viſibly laid Woodſtock-Park. He likewiſe wrote abundance of Elegies, Poems, or Ballads, in honour of Margaret Counteſs of Pembroke, and other Ladies of the Court; and as it is natural to ſuppoſe, that he was not the only perſon who wrote things of this kind; ſo by an accident common enough to great men, all of thoſe pieces which have ſurvived the injuries of time, are come down to us under the name of Chaucer, though it might be very eaſily proved that they are none of his. *The Poem of* Troilus *and* Creseide (30), was written in the former part of his life, and tranſlated, as he ſays, from Lollius, an Hiſtoriographer of Urbano in Italy. He did not however content himſelf with making a cloſe tranſlation of his author, but, on the contrary, added many things of his own, and borrowed alſo from others, more eſpecially his friend Petrarch, whatever he judged might render it acceptable to his reader. That diſcourſe of Predeſtination, which he has inſerted in the fourth book is entirely his own; and from it, and from what he has delivered upon the ſame ſubject in the Nun's Prieſt's Tale, the very learned Sir Henry Savile thought, that he was no ſtranger to Archbiſhop Bradwardine's learned book *de Causâ Dei*, publiſhed at that time (31). Sir Francis Kinaſton, who tranſlated this poem into Latin rhimes, in his manuſcript notes upon it, ſays, that it was not improbably conjectured, that Chaucer in writing the Lives and Loves of Troilus and Creſeide, glanced at ſome private perſons in the Court of King Edward III, and (32) did not follow Homer, Dares, Dictys, or any Hiſtorian of thoſe times. However (ſays he) Chaucer has taken the liberty of his own inventions; he hath made an admirable and inimitable Epick Poem, deſcribing in Troilus a compleat Knight in arms and courtſhip, and a faithful and conſtant lover; and in Creſeide, a moſt beautiful and coy Lady, which being once overcome, yields to the frailty of her ſex (33). We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſpeak more largely of this worthy perſon's performance, and of the pains he took to illuſtrate Chaucer, in which he equalled at leaſt, if not exceeded, all, who have ſpent their time in doing juſtice to this great Poet.

(27) Chaucer's Works, p. 520.

(28) It appears plainly from the two laſt ſtanza's to have been addreſſed to Lady Blanch.

(29) Chaucer's Works, p. 413.

(30) This Poem is digeſted into five books, and is the longeſt in our author's Works.

(31) In præfat. ejuſd. libr. edit. 1617.

(32) See this further explained in note [*U*].

(33) The ſixth book, or Teſtament of Creſeide, is not Chaucer's, but one Mr Henderſon's.

[*G*] *As his writings plainly ſhew.*] The true deſign of our author, was not to expoſe or abuſe the Clergy, from a diſlike to their order, but quite the contrary, to amend and to reform them; and it was with this view, that he wrote many pieces, and tranſlated others, that they might plainly perceive how much religion ſuffered by the monſtrous irregularities in their behaviour. As for inſtance, the Romaunt *of the* Rose, is a tranſlation from the French. This poem was begun by William de Lorris, and continued by John Meung, commonly called Cloppinel, both famous French Poets in their time. It ſeems to have been tranſlated by Chaucer while he was at Court, and about the time of the riſe of Wickliffe's opinions, it conſiſting of violent invectives againſt the religious orders (34). It is left imperfect at the end, and there are ſome lacuna's in other places of it. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the original author of this work, William de Lorris, died in the year 1260, at the age of twenty-ſix, and advanced no great way therein; but forty years afterwards it was finiſhed and publiſhed by John de Meung, when he was in his twenty-fourth year. He was a man of ſenſe and learning, well verſed in Divinity, Philoſophy, Chemiſtry, Aſtronomy, and other ſciences, but was a vio-

(34) Chaucer's Works, p. 215.

might prevail, or Chaucer's writings pleaſe among the better ſort of people, and in the country; they were far enough from making a general impreſſion on the minds of people in London, where the meaner ſort of citizens, where ſo warmly attached to the Church, that upon the Duke of Lancaſter's attending Wickliffe, when he was ſummoned before the Biſhop of London, and treating that Prelate a little roughly, they made a kind of inſurrection, and marching down into the Strand in a body, entered into and rifled the Savoy, which was the Duke of Lancaſter's palace, built by himſelf, and at that time eſteemed one of the fineſt houſes in Europe, deſtroyed his goods, abuſed his ſervants, and turned his arms upſide down, as if he had been a traytor; but by the care of the King, and the interpoſition of ſome of the principal Nobility, this quarrel was compromiſed, and the Duke and the Citizens reconciled, at leaſt, in appearance (*x*). In the laſt year of King Edward, the French having infringed the truce which that Monarch had concluded with them, Commiſſioners were ſent over to expoſtulate that matter before the Pope's Legates; and of theſe, Chaucer was one. This negotiation of theirs was not very ſucceſsful, only it produced ſome mention of a marriage between Richard, Prince of Wales (*y*), and the Lady Mary, daughter to the French King; and thereby made way for a new treaty, in which Sir Guiſcard Dangle, Knight of the Garter, Sir Richard Sturrey, a great Wickliviſt, and in high favour with the King, together with Geoffrey Chaucer, Eſq; were Commiſſioners (*z*); and this ſeems to have been the laſt publick employment that our author bore, tho' from a gold chain about his neck, in that original picture of his, ſtill remaining as is beforementioned, it has been not without ſome ſhew of reaſon conjectured, that he was honoured with ſome other dignity, than from any records we have been able to trace; for it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that he wore this ornament on account of his office in the Cuſtoms (*a*). June 21, 1377, the young Prince of Wales ſucceeded his grandfather, by the title of Richard II; and his uncle, the Duke of Lancaſter conſidering the incapacity of the King, who was then but eleven years of age, was intruſted with the chief ſhare of the adminiſtration; and therefore to ingratiate himſelf with the populace, he reſolved to ſolemnize the new Monarch's Coronation with greater pomp and magnificence, than had been ever ſeen in this kingdom; previous to which, a Court of Claims was eſtabliſhed, to ſettle the demands of thoſe who ſhould pretend to have a right to aſſiſt upon this occaſion, and among theſe we find Geoffrey Chaucer (*b*) [*H*]. It appears plainly, that

(*x*) Barnes's Hiſt. of Edward III.

(*y*) Hollinſhed, Barnes, &c.

(*z*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*a*) Miſcellaneous Obſervations on old Engliſh authors, p. 95.

(*b*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

lent enemy to bad prieſts and bad women; he is ſuppoſed to have died about the year 1365 (35). This work is ſtill much eſteemed in France, where it has run through many editions; but the beſt which was publiſhed in Holland, is of a very freſh date (*). Beſides this, Chaucer is affirmed by Leland (36), and other ancient writers, to have been the author of *the Plowman's Tale*, which bears very hard upon the vices of the Clergy, both ſecular and regulars; and the ſatire under the title of *Jack Upland* (37), is alſo attributed to him upon very good authority; notwithſtanding which, there want not many, who, under colour of veneration for Chaucer's memory, are deſirous of imputing theſe pieces to others; and yet this would be of little uſe, for in many other works that are undoubtedly his, we find ſentiments of the ſame nature. On the other hand, the venerable John Fox thinks the labour of our author in this reſpect, worthy the higheſt commendation; and even attributes the preſervation of his works, to a particular providence. Let us hear him (38). 'I marvel to conſider this, 'ſays he, how that the Biſhops condemning and abo'liſhing all manner of Engliſh books and treatiſes, 'which might bring the people to any light of know'ledge, did yet authorize the works of Chaucer, to 'remain ſtill and to be occupied; who no doubt ſaw 'in religion, as much almoſt as ever we do now, and 'uttereth in his works no leſs; and ſeemeth to be a 'right Wicklevian, or elſe there was never any; and 'that all his works almoſt, if they be thoroughly ad'viſed will teſtify; (albeit it be done in mirth and 'covertly) and eſpecially the latter end of his third 'book of the Teſtament of Love: for there purely 'he toucheth the higheſt matter, that is, the Com'munion; wherein, except a man be altogether 'blind, he may eſpy him at the full. Although in 'the ſame book (as in all other he uſeth to do) under 'ſhadows covertly, as under a vizor, he ſuborneth 'truth in ſuch ſort, as both privily ſhe may profit the 'godly-minded, and yet not be eſpied of the crafty 'adverſary. And therefore the Biſhops belike, taking 'his words but for jeſts and toys, in condemning other 'books, yet permitted his books to be read. So it 'pleaſed God then to blind the eyes of them for the 'more commodity of his people, to the intent that 'through the reading of his treatiſes, ſome fruit might 'redound thereof to his Church, as no doubt it did to 'many. As alſo I am partly informed of certain 'which knew the parties, which to them reported, 'that by reading Chaucer's works they were brought 'to the true knowledge of religion: and not unlike to 'be true; for to omit the other parts of his volume, 'whereof ſome are more fabulous than other, what 'tale can be more plainly told, than the Tale of the 'Ploughman? &c.'

(35) Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetique, Vol. I. p. 193.

(*) Amſterdam, 1734, 3 Vols, 12mo.

(36) De Script. Britan. p. 423.

(37) Chaucer's Works, p. 590.

(38) Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. p. 42.

[*H*] *And amongſt theſe we find Geoffrey Chaucer.*] The claim made upon this occaſion, was in right of his ward, who was poſſeſſed of the manor of Bilſington in Kent (39); which was held of the Crown, by the ſervice of preſenting to the King three maple cups on the day of his coronation. This manor had been purchaſed by Sir Edmond Staplegate the father; of Richard Fitz-Allen, Earl of Arundel, whoſe family had been in long poſſeſſion of it; and it was ſet forth in Chaucer's petition, that the manor was held by Grand Serjeantry, by the owner's diſcharging the office of Chief Butler at the King's coronation (40). But Richard Earl of Arundel controverted this claim, and by his petition and plea ſet forth, that the office of Chief Butler belonged to his family, and was never annexed to this manor, his anceſtors having enjoyed it both before they held that manor, and ſince they parted with it, and therefore he demanded it as his proper right (41). The iſſue of this buſineſs was, that the Earl ſo far carried his point before John Duke of Lancaſter, then acting as Lord High-Steward, as to be allowed to officiate for that time with a *ſalvo jure*, that it ſhould not infringe the right of Edmond Staplegate, or any who ſhould pretend title for the future (42). This ward of our author died about thirteen years after, but the manor continued in the family 'till the beginning of the reign of Hen. VI. when it paſſed into that of the Cheyneys, who in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, ſold it to Sir Francis Barham of London, and his grandſon Mr Robert Barham was in poſſeſſion of it at the coronation of King Charles II; when Mr Eraſmus Smith, on the behalf of the ſaid Mr Barham, aſſiſted at the coronation, and preſented the three maple cups (43). This manor has ſince paſſed into other families.

(39) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(40) Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 42.

(41) Dugdal's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 318.

(42) Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 42.

(43) Hiſtorica Account of the Coronation of Charles II.

[*I*] *At*

that the Duke of Lancaſter, who was now in the zenith of power, let ſlip no opportunity of ſerving ſo firm a friend, and ſo uſeful a dependant, as our author was; for in the very beginning of this reign it appears, that by letters Patents, dated March 23, 1377, the King confirmed his grandfather's grant of twenty marks a year (*c*); and by other letters Patents, dated the 18th of April following, he likewiſe confirmed the other grant of a pitcher of wine daily (*d*); but whether Chaucer remained in his office of Comptroller of the Cuſtoms, is not ſo clear; tho' the contrary ſeems to be moſt probable, for in a ſhort time after his affairs were in ſuch confuſion, that we find in the ſecond year of King Richard, he was obliged to have recourſe to the King's protection (*e*), in order to ſcreen him from his creditors; but how he came to fall into theſe difficulties, and whether they were temporary only, or of a long continuance, is a point, that at this diſtance, it is not poſſible to aſcertain; but from a compariſon of circumſtances, it ſeems to be moſt likely, that it was from ſome ſudden accident he fell under this misfortune, and that he had recourſe to the King's protection, merely to gain time to ſettle his concerns. One may be the more confirmed in this, by comparing his circumſtances at this juncture, with thoſe of his family ſoon after (*f*). We have no direct hiſtorical lights indeed, but methinks, tho' it be a new, it is ſtill a probable conjecture, that about this time, he conveyed all his eſtates to his eldeſt ſon Thomas Chaucer; and the facts that ſeem to ſtrengthen this conjecture, ſhall be ſubmitted to the reader's judgment at the bottom of the page (*g*) [*I*]. In the fourth year of King Richard the IId's reign, he procured a confirmation of the grants, that had been formerly made to himſelf, and to Philippa his wife (*h*), which is a proof, that he had a great perſonal intereſt in this Court; ſince at the time of his obtaining this grant, the power and influence of the Duke of Lancaſter was very much ſunk, as from a train of ſiniſter accidents waiting upon his conduct, he was become equally ſuſpected by the King, and diſliked by the people. The great encouragement and ſupport he had afforded to Mr Wickliffe, was attended with conſequences, that he did not in the leaſt expect, and yet found it not in his power to hinder; for without doubt, the Duke's great view in ſupporting this party, was to weaken the power of the Clergy, and to hinder them from taking ſo large a ſhare, as they did in the management of all temporal affairs; but ſome great men of his party miſtaking his view, puſhed things to extremities, and by countenancing itinerant preachers, without either learning or ſound principles, made way for a ſudden turn, which had very near ſubverted the Conſtitution, and thrown all things into confuſion (*i*). For the common people thus encouraged to ſhake off the yoke of the Clergy, began to think that of the government alſo too heavy; and taking occaſion from ſome taxes lately impoſed, roſe up in arms under the conduct of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and ſuch kind of leaders, with a wild intention of freeing themſelves from whatever theſe wiſe leaders taught them to look upon as oppreſſions (*k*). Their reſentment was chiefly directed againſt the Clergy, as appears by their beheading the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Prior of St John's by Smithfield, who was Lord Treaſurer; and by their burning that ſtately Priory, and plundering the Abbies of St Alban's, Bury, and ſeveral others (*l*). As ſoon as this rebellion was ſomewhat abated, the Parliament began to enquire into the cauſe of it, nor were there wanting enemies of Wickliffe, who charged him and his followers with being the encouragers of it. But that is unlikely to be

(*c*) Pat. 1 R. II. P. 13.

(*d*) Pat. 1 R. II. P. 19.

(*e*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*f*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

(*g*) Clauſ. 19 Ric. II. m. 15.

(*h*) Records remaining in the Houſe of Lords, collected by Mr Rymer.

(*i*) Lewis's Life of Wickliffe.

(*k*) Thom. Walſ. P. 210. n. 10.

(*l*) H. Knyghton. ap. Decem Script. 2640, n. 10.

[*I*] *At the bottom of the page.*] All who have hitherto attempted to give any account of Chaucer's life, have been very much at a loſs about this circumſtance, of his having recourſe to the King's protection; which ſhows, that in the very beginning of this reign, his affairs were in great diſorder; and yet it is very plain, that himſelf and his patron flouriſhed in the full poſſeſſion of power and plenty, as long as King Edward the IIId lived (44). A certain writer hints, that Chaucer exhauſted his fortune in his foreign embaſſies (45); but a later writer obſerves with greater probability, that he made his fortune by them; yet as he very juſtly remarks, this by no means ſolves the doubt how he ſhould come to be ſo very poor in ſo ſhort a time, after his poſſeſſing ſo great wealth (46); for which amongſt others, we have his own authority (47). Now this riddle I think, may be very probably explained thus. Our author, Chaucer, about this time, found out a very conſiderable match for his eldeſt ſon Thomas Chaucer, and this was Maud, the ſecond daughter of Sir John Burgherſhe, a man of very conſiderable rank, but by no means brother to Sir Bartholomew Burgherſhe, Knight of the Garter, and of Dr Henry Burgherſhe, Biſhop of Lincoln, Chancellor and Treaſurer of England, as a certain writer very confidently aſſerts (48), but rather, if I gueſs right, the nephew of thoſe great men, and the ſon of Sir John Burgherſhe, who was truly their brother; and this I am led to believe, becauſe it appears upon record, that the cuſtody of this John Burgherſhe, the father of Maud, was granted in his nonage to the daughter of Sir Bartholomew Burgherſhe beforementioned (49). A great fortune ſhe was without doubt, but not the only daughter or ſole heireſs of her family, as has been repreſented, or at leaſt not ſo at the time ſhe married Thomas Chaucer, though ſhe might be, and indeed was ſo afterwards. Neither are we to believe what we are told, of her being a ward to the crown (50), for her father was then living, and lived many years after, that is, to the nineteenth of Richard II. when he left behind him two daughters; Margaret the eldeſt, firſt married to Sir John Grenville, Knight, and then to John Arundel, Eſq; and this Maud (51). Now my ſuppoſition is, that Geoffrey Chaucer, for obtaining this great match, ſettled all his land eſtate upon his ſon; and that his doing this might bring upon him thoſe demands, which put him under the neceſſity of obtaining the King's protection. As to the ſeveral facts upon which this conjecture is built, I think they are ſupported by as good authorities as can be deſired; nor can any great difficulty ariſe from the age of this young gentleman, as may appear thus. Chaucer married his wife Philippa Rouet about the year 1360, and if he had this ſon the next year, he might be of full age in the latter end of the fourth year of Richard II. when this marriage took place; and before which, in all probability, the father might make this ſettlement (52). We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſay more of this gentleman, who became a much greater man than his father, to whom he was a ſupport in his declining years.

(44) Hollinſhed, Stowe, Barnes, &c.

(45) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(46) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(47) Prologue to the Teſtament of Love.

(48) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(49) Pat. 29 E. III. p. 1. m. 5.

(50) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(51) Clauſ. 19 R. II. m. 15.

(52) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

[*K*] *His*

be true; for had the rebels been Wickliffe's friends, they would never have burnt the Savoy, the palace of his Patron, the Duke of Lancaſter. However, ſome of his followers gave too much cauſe for ſuch a ſurmiſe, as Dr Hereford, who aſſerted, that Archbiſhop Sudbury deſerved that death he found; and the King the year following impowered the Biſhops to arreſt Wickliffe, and forbad his ſubjects to encourage any of that perſuaſion. Yet Wickliffe appeared, and ſeemed partly to ſatisfy the Biſhops with his opinion (*m*). It is commonly ſaid by moſt of our Hiſtorians, that from this time forward the Duke of Lancaſter diſowned the Wicklevites, and charging the late diſturbances upon them, ſtiled their opinions, the Doctrine of Devils. The writers alſo of our author's life give into this opinion, and ſeem to think, that he likewiſe began to temporize, and did not ſpeak his ſentiments ſo freely as formerly; but the truth is otherwiſe, for the Duke of Lancaſter did not condemn Wickliffe's doctrine, but the doctrines of Dr Hereford, and other followers of Wickliffe, who had now deſerted him, and propagated many dangerous tenets, which he diſclaimed (*n*). As for Chaucer, he was ſo far from abandoning his former notions, that he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in 1382, in the ſupport of John Comberton, generally ſtiled John of Northampton, Mayor of London, in his endeavours, to reform the city, according to the advice given by Wickliffe, which was ſo much reſented by the Clergy (*o*), that rather than they would let this Reformation proceed, they had recourſe to the moſt violent methods; and in order to prevent Comberton's being rechoſen Mayor of London, excited ſuch diſturbances as bordered upon a rebellion. The King making uſe of force upon this occaſion, ſent Sir Robert Knolles to London, who committed great ſeverities, put ſome to death, made the late Mayor Comberton priſoner, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to apprehend Chaucer (*p*) [*K*]. But our author, having an early foreſight of his danger, made his eſcape into Hainault; and from thence went to France, where finding himſelf not ſo ſafe as he expected, he withdrew into Zealand, and there concealed himſelf for ſome time, with ſeveral other Londoners, who had fled upon the ſame account, and whom he generouſly ſubſiſted out of his own private fortune (*q*). But while he was in this diſtreſs, moſt of thoſe with whom he had been engaged at home, had found ways and means to make their peace; and far from conſidering the calamities to which Chaucer had expoſed himſelf for their ſakes, took no care to ſupply him; and, which was much worſe, endeavoured to hinder the remittances that might have been made him out of his own fortune; and this, in hopes that he might periſh in his baniſhment, and by his death put them out of all fear. Such baſe and barbarous ingratitude, tho' it extremely afflicted him, yet it did not put our author upon taking any meaſures to be revenged; on the contrary, he came over privately into England, to avoid ſtarving in a ſtrange country; but had not been long here before, either through the vigilance of the government's enquiries, or the treachery of ſome whom he truſted, he was diſcovered, ſeized, and ſent to priſon, where he was treated at firſt, with great rigour and ſeverity, but in the end, promiſed the King's pardon, and his liberty, if he would diſcloſe all he knew, and put it in the power of the government to reſtore the peace of the city; which, at length he did. It does not appear, what the conſequences were of his confeſſion, with reſpect to others; but with regard to himſelf, they brought upon him an inexpreſſible load of calumnies and ſlanders. All theſe circumſtances, we learn from himſelf, in that moſt excellent treatiſe of his, intituled, the *Teſtament of Love*; which he wrote on purpoſe to vent his ſorrow, and to conſole himſelf under the heavy burthen

(*m*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 117.

(*o*) Annal. Ricard. II. MS.

(*p*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(*q*) Theſe circumſtances are all collected from our author's *Teſtament of Love*.

[*K*] *His utmoſt endeavours to apprehend Chaucer.*] It is very certain, that in this whole matter our author ſuffered for his attachment to his party; but this is ſo darkly repreſented by ſuch as have written his life, that it is a very difficult thing to diſcover their meaning (53); and yet after all, the fact is no more than this. There were at that time two powerful factions in the city; and as very ſeldom any thing of this kind happens, but religion is drawn into the quarrel, ſo the one was ſuppoſed to be well affected to the Church, and the other inclined to a reformation. Dr Courtney, formerly Biſhop of London, and now Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was protector of the one, and John Duke of Lancaſter was eſteemed to be the head of the other; and the leading man in his intereſt was this John Comberton, or John of Northampton, Citizen and Draper; on whoſe account all this diſturbance happened, for which ſome lives were loſt; and this unfortunate perſon being carried to Reading, was there tried and convicted, and had judgment given againſt him to be impriſoned for life, and to have his goods ſeized, which we find was accordingly done: and ſo ſtrong the current ran at that time, that he with ſome other citizens of his party, were excepted out of a pardon which the King granted; and all this was then underſtood, to be done in ſpite and contempt of the Duke of Lancaſter, to whom Comberton ſteadily adhered, and called him *his Lord* at his trial (54). But for all this, things came about again not long after, and Mr Comberton had the honour to have his ſentence reverſed, at the prayer of the Commons of England in Parliament aſſembled (55). We may from all this infer, that how warm and indiſcreet ſoever our author Chaucer might be, in ſupporting that party to which he had attached himſelf, yet beyond all queſtion there was nothing of diſloyalty in this, but quite the contrary; for thoſe who had then the management of the King's affairs, and run him into all theſe warm and violent meaſures, were the very ſame perſons, who by their evil counſels brought him at laſt into that diſtreſſed condition, which coſt him firſt his crown, and then his life. It is therefore no diſcredit to Chaucer, that he was a friend to Wickliffe, or that he eſpouſed this party in the city, however ſome of our hiſtorians may have repreſented, or rather miſrepreſented it; for it is a thing well enough known to all who are converſant in the Engliſh hiſtory, that many baſe and black calumnies are thrown upon the Duke of Lancaſter and his party, merely on account of their oppoſing the pride and power of the Prelates (56) of thoſe times; who under colour of maintaining the King's prerogative, really ſacrificed him to their own intereſts, which at the ſame time alſo they very ill underſtood; ſince a reaſonable compliance had both ſaved him, and done themſelves much more good (57).

(53) See both the Lives of Chaucer ſo often quoted.

(54) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 253.

(55) Cotton's Abridgment of the Record's, p. 339.

(56) H. Knyghton ap. Decem. Script. col. 2643.

(57) Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, p. 555.

[*L*] *Under*

this great man, that in whatever light he is conſidered, he ſeems always to merit our eſteem as well as to claim our admiration. In his publick character, if we conſider the time in which he lived, we muſt acknowledge that he ſhewed as great ſteadineſs, and adhered as firmly to his principles as could be expected; and as to his gratitude towards, and affection for, his patron, the great Duke of Lancaſter, it ſtands in no need of apology. His conduct in the laſt part of his life was full of prudence, and that calm contempt for an ungrateful world, which, though it is eaſy for a man of parts to conceive, yet to perſiſt in it, is a very difficult taſk. In private life he was a fine gentleman, a learned writer, and an agreeable companion. In his youth he was gay, and loved pleaſure, for which he might not only plead the uſual excuſes of his age and conſtitution, but the cuſtom alſo of the times, ſince he lived in the moſt gallant reign from the Conqueſt. But in his maturer ſtate of life his manners altered, and his behaviour was modeſt and grave to a degree of exceſs, for which he was rallied by his patroneſs the Counteſs of Pembroke, who told him his abſence created more mirth than his converſation, for he was very baſhful and reſerved in company, notwithſtanding that life and ſpirit which appears in his writings. If we look upon him as an author, he may be truly ſtiled the Father of Engliſh Poetry, and perhaps the Prince of it, for except the unavoidable defects of language, his works have ſtill all the beauties that can be wiſhed for or expected, in every kind of compoſition (*x*). He was not unacquainted with the antient rules of Poetry, nor was he incapable of writing up to them, as very clearly appears by the *Knight's Tale*, which, as Mr Dryden very juſtly ſays, is a finiſhed Epick Poem, but he did not always judge this exactneſs neceſſary, and perhaps he thought his genius ſet him above thoſe reſtraints that ought to limit, becauſe they improve, the works of meaner Poets. He was deeply verſed in Moral and Natural Philoſophy, and as perhaps no man underſtood human nature better, ſo it may be truly ſaid that no writer in any language has either painted it with greater force, exactneſs, or judgment. His reading was deep and extenſive, and his learning both ſpecious and ſolid; for he knew how to expoſe thoſe parts of it to view that are moſt apt to attract publick applauſe, and yet leave a ſenſe concealed, that might at once employ and ſatisfy the moſt inquiſitive underſtandings (*y*). It would draw this article into too great a length, ſhould we perſiſt in exhibiting every part of his accompliſhed character, and therefore we will in the notes give the beſt account we may of his merit in general as a Poet, in all the different kinds of writing by which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that capacity [*R*]; and next we will give the reader the cleareſt account we may of his largeſt work, peculiar in it's kind, and as it was almoſt without example, ſo hitherto above the reach of imitation, I mean his CANTER-

(*x*) Camd. Britan. in Dobunis.

(*y*) Beaumont's Letter to Speght.

Edward III. which contradicts all the records, and is in every reſpect a moſt glaring abſurdity; whereas, the other date agrees with them exactly, and therefore, there can be no doubt of it's truth.

[*R*] *By which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that capacity.*] We may ſafely affirm, that of Chaucer, which can be hardly ſaid of any other general Poet, ancient or modern, that he excelled in all the different kinds of verſe, in which he wrote. In his Sonnets, or Love Songs, when he was but a very boy, there is not only fire and judgment, but great elegance of thought and neatneſs of compoſure. It is very true, that he did not always ſtand upon his own ground, but choſe rather to tranſlate from the Italian or French; yet he choſe his authors judiciouſly, and uſed them freely; ſo that this, inſtead of ſinking, ſerves really to heighten his character. That in the elegiack Poetry, he was a compleat maſter, appears plainly by his *Complaint of the Black Knight*, the Poem called, *La belle Dame ſans Mercy*, and ſeveral of his ſongs. He was an excellent maſter of Love Poetry, having ſtudied that paſſion in all it's turns and appearances; and Mr *Dryden* prefers him upon that account to *Ovid*. His *Troilus* and *Creſeide* is one of the moſt beautiful Poems of that kind, in which love is curiouſly and naturally deſcribed in it's early appearance, it's hopes and fears, it's application, fruition, and deſpair in diſappointment. How great a maſter he was in ſatire, we ſhall have occaſion to ſhow in the next note; but his great proficiency in this, did not at all hinder his diſcharging himſelf moſt happily, in a far more difficult way of writing, that of panegyrick. The praiſes of Chaucer are eaſy, natural, and delicate, ſuch as muſt give equal pleaſure to the perſon commended and to the peruſer, and have always the true air of a courtier, without the meanneſs of a flatterer. His moral Poems are grave and weighty, full of good ſenſe and of fine ſentiments. In a word, he deſerves all that is ſaid of him by Mr Dryden, who was ſcarce a better Poet than a Critick; let us hear him then a little upon this ſubject. 'As he is the Father of Engliſh Poetry, ſo I hold him in the ſame degree of veneration as the Grecians held Homer, or the Romans Virgil: he is a perpetual fonntain of good ſenſe, learned in all ſciences, and therefore ſpeaks properly on all ſubjects: as he knew what to ſay, ſo he knows alſo when to leave off, a continence which is practiſed by few writers, and ſcarcely by any of the Ancients, excepting Virgil and Horace.——Chaucer followed nature every where, but was never ſo bold to go beyond her: and there is a great difference of being *Poëta & nimis Poëta*, if we may believe Catullus, as much as betwixt a modeſt behaviour and affectation. The verſe of Chaucer, I confeſs, is not harmonious to us, but it is like the eloquence of one whom Tacitus commends, it was *auribus iſtius temporis accommodata*: they who lived with him, and ſome time after him, thought it muſical, and it continues ſo even in our judgment, if compared with the numbers of Lidgate and Gower, his contemporaries: there is the rude ſweetneſs of a Scotch tune in it, which is natural and pleaſing, tho' not perfect. It is true, I cannot go ſo far as he who publiſhed the laſt edition of him, for he would make us believe, the fault is in our ears, and that there are really ten ſyllables in a verſe, where we find but nine; but this opinion is not worth confuting; it is ſo groſs and obvious an error, that common ſenſe (which is a rule in every thing but matters of faith and revelation) muſt convince the reader, that equality of numbers in every verſe, which we call heroick, was either not known or not always practiſed in Chaucer's age: it were an eaſy matter to produce ſome thouſands of his verſes, which are lame for want of half a foot, and ſome times a whole one, and which no pronunciation can make otherwiſe. We can only ſay, that he lived in the infancy of our Poetry, and that nothing is brought to perfection at the firſt. We muſt be children before we grow men. There was an Ennius, and in proceſs of time, a Lucilius; and a Lucretius before Virgil and Horace; even after Chaucer, there was a Spenſer, a Harrington, a Fairfax, before Waller and Denham were in being: and our numbers were in their nonage, 'till theſe laſt appeared.'

(z) Mr Dryden, in the Preface to his Fables.

CANTERBURY TALES (z) [S]. We have already, in the courſe of his memoirs, ſpoken of moſt of his Patrons, who were the greateſt, as well as ableſt, men, of thoſe times. The circle of his friends was alſo very large, and his communicative diſpoſition made him as much beloved by his contemporaries, as he was admired both by them and by poſterity. He appears to have been uſeful to them in every manner that was in his power, and it was this diſpoſition in all probability that kept them ſo firm to his intereſt while he was living, and taught them to have ſo high a reſpect for his memory after his deceaſe. It is no difficult thing to compile a liſt of them from his writings, in which he has mentioned them with all the marks of kindneſs and eſteem poſſible, a circumſtance favourable to himſelf and to them, for in this Poets have the advantage even of Princes, the latter how great ſoever can confer only temporary benefits, but the former can beſtow immortality, and therefore Princes themſelves have courted, not perhaps without political reaſons, the good will of theſe favourites of the Muſes. But we are apt to ſuſpect their praiſes, when applied to their Patrons of high rank, more than their commendations of private friends. The former is commonly dictated by the head, whereas the latter flows from the heart, and this conſideration alone makes it reaſonable, that we ſhould inſiſt more particularly on thoſe whom our author has thus conſigned to fame. But in order to ſpare the reader's time, we ſhall mention only a very few of Chaucer's intimate friends and contemporaries, at the bottom of the page [T]. That general applauſe with which his writings were received in his life-

[S] *I mean his Canterbury Tales.*] The ſcheme of this work is in every reſpect very extraordinary, and of ſo vaſt an extent, that at firſt ſight, one would be apt to pronounce it abſolutely impracticable, from a perſuaſion that it muſt ſurpaſs the powers of any ſingle mind to paint the different lineaments, and call out to view the various faculties of every mind. The truth, as well as meaning of this ſentiment, will beſt appear from a ſhort repreſentation of the author's deſign, which is this: Chaucer pretends, that intending to pay his devotions to the ſhrine of Thomas à Becket: he ſet up his horſe at the Tarbard Inn in Southwark. That he found in the Inn a number of Pilgrims, who ſeverally propoſed the ſame journey; and that they all agreed to ſup together, and to ſet out the next morning on the ſame party. The ſupper being finiſhed, the landlord, a fellow of ſenſe and drollery, conformable to his character and calling, makes them no diſagreeable propoſal: That to divert them on their journey, each of them ſhould be obliged to tell two ſtories, one going, the other coming back, and that whoever in the judgment of the company ſhould ſucceed beſt in this art of tale-telling, by way of recompence, at their return to his inn, ſhould be intituled to a good ſupper at the common coſt; which propoſal aſſented to, he promiſes to be their Governor and Guide. At the entrance of the Poem, the characters of all the Pilgrims are diſtinctly drawn, and a plan of the Comedy, in which they ſtand for the *Dramatis Perſonæ*. Beſides this, every Tale has it's Prologue, and a kind of Epilogue too, which ſerves by way of tranſition to the next; and to the honour of our author be it ſpoken, ſo far as his plan is executed, every part of it is performed with equal juſtice and ſpirit; and above all, the character of the Hoſt, who acts as a kind of Chorus in the ancient Drama, is moſt admirably kept up, and the ſame wit, ſpirit, and humour, is preſerved through the whole journey, that ſtrikes and aſtoniſhes the reader ſo much at the very beginning, where the original character of this incomparable perſon is drawn at full length. A ſtronger argument in ſupport of this character of the Canterbury Tales, cannot well be brought, than ariſes from the authority of three great Poets, who have judged them worthy of imitation and revival, I mean Spenſer, Dryden, and Pope, to whom we may add, Mr Betterton, who tranſlated many of the characters of Chaucer, and muſt have been allowed to have been as fit a judge of them, as any of the foregoing. But the reader will receive the fulleſt ſatisfaction on this head, from the critical remarks of Mr Dryden, who, as he perfectly underſtood, ſo he has very freely given us his ſentiments on this maſter-piece of our author's. 'He muſt, *ſays he*, have been a man of a moſt wonderful comprehenſive nature, becauſe, as it has been truly obſerved of him, he has taken into the compaſs of his Canterbury Tales, the various manners and humours, as we now call them, of the whole Engliſh nation in his age. Not a ſingle character had eſcaped him. All his Pilgrims are ſeverally diſtinguiſhed from each other, and not only in their inclinations, but in their very phyſiognomies and perſons. Baptiſta Porta could not have deſcribed their natures better, than by the marks which the Poet gives them. The matter and manner of their tales and of their telling, are ſo ſuited to their different educations, humours, and callings, that each of them would be improper in any other mouth. Even the grave and ſerious characters are diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral ſorts of gravity; their diſcourſes are ſuch as belong to their age, their calling, and their breeding; ſuch as are becoming of them, and of them only. Some of his perſons are vicious, and ſome virtuous; ſome are unlearned (or as Chaucer calls them) lewd, and ſome are learned. Even the ribaldry of the low characters is different: the Reeve, the Miller, and the Cook, are ſeveral men, and diſtinguiſhed from each other, as much as the mincing Lady Prioreſs and the broad ſpeaking gap-tooth'd wife of Bath. But enough of this: there is ſuch a variety of game ſpringing up before me, that I am diſtracted in my choice, and know not which to follow. It is ſufficient to ſay, according to the proverb, that here is God's plenty. We have our forefathers and great grand-dames all before us, as they were in Chaucer's days; their general characters are ſtill remaining in mankind, and even in England, though they are called by other names, than thoſe of Monks and Friars, of Chanons, and Lady Abbeſſes, and Nuns: for mankind is ever the ſame, and nothing loſt out of nature, tho' every thing is altered.'——— 'Boccace lived in the ſame age with Chaucer, had the ſame genius, and followed the ſame ſtudies: both writ novels, and each of them cultivated his mother tongue.'——— In the ſerious part of Poetry, the advantage is wholly on Chaucer's ſide, for tho' the Engliſhman has borrowed many tales from the Italian, yet it appears, that thoſe of Boccace were not generally of his own making, but taken from authors of former ages, and by him only modelled; ſo that what was of invention in either of them, may be judged equal. But Chaucer has refined on Boccace, and has mended the ſtories, which he has borrowed in his way of telling, tho' proſe allows more liberty of thought, and the expreſſion is more eaſy, when unconfined by numbers. Our countryman carries weight, and yet wins the race at diſadvantage.'

[T] *At the bottom of the page.*] Amongſt the earlieſt of Chaucer's friends, and alſo directors of his ſtudies, were Nicholas of Lynne and John Some (74), both Carmelite Monks, and extremely well verſed in Mathematical ſciences, the former more eſpecially, who left behind him ſeveral learned books, and is commended by Leland as having excelled in Aſtronomy all that went before him (75). We have before mentioned Ralph Strode, who was both a celebrated Poet and Philoſopher of Merton college in Oxford, where it ſeems our author was intimately acquainted with him, and had a great veneration for his abilities (76). It is a ſtrange error which the author of the Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Mr Urry's edition, has fallen into, with regard to Strode, who, he ſays, was a great follower of Wickliffe (77), which is ſo far from being true, that he was one of the warmeſt writers againſt him, for which he is heavily cenſured by Bale (78), and as highly commended by Pits (79). It is very probable that

(74) We find theſe mentioned by Chaucer himſelf, and it is certain that they flouriſhed when he was young.

(75) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 347.

(76) Chaucer's Works, p. 333.

(77) This is ſtill ſtranger, becauſe what he ſays of him ſeems to be taken from Bale.

(78) Script. Brit. p. 478.

(79) De Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. p. 509.

life-time, and the high honours that were paid him by ſuch as took a pride in ſtiling themſelves his diſciples, after his death, ſtamped ſuch a mark of authority upon his Works (*a*), as ſaved at leaſt the greateſt part of them from that oblivion, which has covered the performances even of the moſt celebrated authors of his time. In ſpite of that ſpirit of envy which his free and ſevere ſatires excited in the Clergy, in ſpite of his own retractation (whether genuine or fictitious (*b*) is uncertain), in ſpite of that authority which the Church afterwards acquired, not of cenſuring only, but of condemning and prohibiting what books they pleaſed, his writings have eſcaped, and not barely eſcaped, but have been held in the greateſt honour, and tranſmitted to poſterity with ſuch care and circumſpection, and by the united labours of ſo many eminent perſons (*c*), as will do laſting honour to his memory, and plainly prove, that true genius, extenſive learning, and a free ſpirit, are capable of commanding reverence through all ages, and preſerving that tranſcendent eſteem, which is and ought to be the peculiar reward of ſuperior merit [*U*]. We are not however to ſuppoſe, that with all theſe great qualifications, Chaucer could entirely eſcape the fury of falſe Criticks, neither would it have been very much perhaps to his honour if he had, inaſmuch as all great Poets, ancient and modern, have been ſo generally infeſted by theſe cavillers, that they ſeem to be the neceſſary attendants of an exalted reputation, and, like the ſlaves in a Roman triumph, make unwillingly an addition to that glory they meant to ſhade. Thoſe who have attacked Chaucer have not preſumed to queſtion his wit, for of this perhaps no writer of our nation ever had more, neither have they diſputed his poetical abilities, which certainly ſet his on a level with the greateſt names in antiquity; nor have they dared to throw any aſperſion on his learning, the extent of which is not greater than the maſterly degree of propriety with which it is every where applied: but the point to which they object, is, his changing, debaſing, or corrupting our language (*d*), by introducing foreign words, as if the worth of all languages did not ariſe from their being thus enlarged and compounded, or as if Chaucer could have hurt the jargon of his time, which was not either Saxon,

(*a*) Such as Occleve, Lydgate, &c.

(*b*) See Mr Hearne's Letter to Mr John Bagford.

(*c*) As Caxton, Thynne, Stowe, &c.

(*d*) Verſtegan, Skinner, &c.

that Wickliffe and Chaucer were very good friends, as they both owed the eminence of their reſpective ſtations to the ſame Patron, John Duke of Lancaſter (80). Sir John Gower, an eminent Lawyer, Poet, and Philoſopher, was alſo Chaucer's intimate companion, as appears from both their writings; the former was blind before the latter died, and ſurvived him only two years (81). But Thomas Occleve, or Hockliffe, a very ingenious man, and a celebrated writer, was a great favourite of our author's, and imitated him in his manner of writing. We are indebted to him for preſerving Chaucer's picture, which he cauſed to be drawn in his book, *de Regimine Principis*, and which he dedicated to King Henry V, and it is very evident from the verſes which refer to that picture, that Chaucer had been a long time dead before he compoſed that work (82). Another ſcholar of his was the famous John Lydgate, a Monk of Bury, who celebrates our author's memory and writings in many of his pieces (83), and who outlived him forty years. Schogan alſo, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſarcaſtical wit, was a profeſſed admirer and imitator of Chaucer; but, as Leland obſerves, if Chaucer, who ſometimes ſtiles Gower his Maſter, excelled him in the ſpirit and elegance of his verſes, Schogan, who acknowledged Chaucer for his Maſter (84), was ſo far from doing the like that he fell much below him. Yet ſuch in all ages has been the proneneſs of mankind to encourage even the coarſeſt ſort of ſatire, that Schogan wanted not his admirers, how little ſoever he reſembled Chaucer. It is believed that he was perſonally acquainted with the celebrated Petrarch (85), but that he was perfectly maſter of his writings, and thoſe of Boccace, is inconteſtible.

(80) See the Life of Wickliffe, by the Rev. Mr Lewis.

(81) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 415.

(82) Bale, Script. Britan. p. 537.

(83) As in his Prologue to the Story of Thebes, Prologue to the Fall of Princes, his Praiſe of the Virgin Mary, &c.

(84) Comm. de Scriptor. Britan. p. 421.

(85) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

[*U*] *And ought to be the peculiar reward of ſuperior merit.*] It muſt be allowed by all who are proper judges, that the excellence attributed to Chaucer's writings by ſuch Poets as came neareſt his own times, did not ariſe in any degree either from cuſtom or complaiſance, but, on the contrary, was equally well founded in reaſon and on matter of fact; ſo that if we examine the ſentiments we ſhall find them more noble, ſhall diſcover a greater compaſs in his learning, and, above all, an harmonious ſweetneſs in his verſe, far beyond any thing that is to be met with in any poetical compoſitions for a whole century after his time. This is very candidly acknowledged by a ſtranger, who had as good a right as any to diſpute it, I mean that excellent old Poet of Scotland (86) Gawin Douglas, Biſhop of Dunkeld. Indeed Chaucer's reputation was as well eſtabliſhed in Scotland as in England, and I will take upon me to ſay, that he was as much the Father of Poetry in that country as in this. It would render this note tedious to attempt giving a detail of the ſeveral printed editions of our author's Works, it will be ſufficient to refer the reader to a place where this may be found (87). Caxton, the Father of Engliſh Printers, firſt printed many of Chaucer's Works, and printed them ſeveral times. In the reign of Henry VIII, William Botteville, *alias* Thynne, Eſq; was the editor of a new edition of Chaucer, which, in a very elegant diſcourſe, he addreſſed to King Henry VIII (88). In the ſame reign the induſtrious and learned Leland, was a ſtudious reader, and a moſt zealous admirer, of the Works of Chaucer, in whoſe honour he wrote not one only, but three copies of commendatory verſes (89) The ſame tribute of praiſe was beſtowed upon our author, by that excellent writer, and great judge of elegance in all kind of writing, Roger Aſcham (90), to whom we may add Sir Philip Sidney (91), who very judiciouſly obſerves, that it was equally ſtrange to him, that Chaucer ſhould ſee ſo clearly in ſo miſty a time, and that in brighter ages men ſhould go ſo ſtumblingly after him. About this time Mr Speght, by the aſſiſtance of the induſtrious John Stowe, publiſhed a new edition of our author's Works (92), which were dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury; and another ſtill more complete edition was promiſed by Mr Francis Thynne, which never appeared. We have mentioned the commendations given him by the laborious John Fox (93), and the moſt learned Camden (94). We muſt add to theſe the numerous teſtimonies of the immortal Spenſer (95), and the judicious Apology of the ſuppoſed levities in Chaucer's Works, by Mr Francis Beaumont (96). The celebrated Sir Henry Savile (97), mentions him with the higheſt reſpect; and the great Mr Selden (98) has given us a noble ſpecimen of that profound learning of which he was maſter, in juſtifying an epithet of our author's. Sir Francis Kynaſton of Otely of Shropſhire, publiſhed the firſt and ſecond books of a Latin verſion of Troilus and Creſeide, and compleated his tranſlation of, and notes upon, the other three; and from ſome ſpecimens that are extant in the Gloſſary at the end of Mr Urry's edition, the world may well perceive, how valuable a performance we are deprived of, by the loſs or concealment of his manuſcript (99). It would be needleſs to ſwell this note with other particulars, but if ſome able hand would reſume the deſign of the late ingenious Mr Ogle, and give us his Canterbury Tales in modern Engliſh, with a proper body of notes, there is no doubt that it would meet with a favourable reception.

(86) In the Preface to his tranſlation of Virgil, p. 9.

(87) See the concluſion of the Life of Chaucer, and the Preface to Mr Urry's edition.

(88) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. p. 22.

(89) Collectanea, Vol. V. p. 141, 152.

(90) Schole-maſter, fol. 60. b. Toxophilus, fol. 13 b. State of Germany, fol. 1.

(91) Defence of Poeſie, p. 492, 513.

(92) Stowe's Annals, p. 326.

(93) Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. p. 42.

(94) Eritan. in Dobunis, et in Trinobantibus.

(95) Fairy Queen, l. iv. Cant. ii. St. 31. Ibid. l. vii. Cant. vii. St. 9. Shepherd's Calandar, in Feb. June, and December.

(96) In his Letter to Mr Speght, dated the laſt of July 1597.

(97) In Prefat. ad Bradu De Causâ Dei.

(98) Preface to Drayton's Polyolbion.

(99) Gloſſary to Chaucer, p. 47. voc. *morter*.

[*W*] *And*

Saxon, Norman, or French, but a mixture of all, by introducing words derived from the ſweeteſt and ſmootheſt language then uſed throughout Europe, I mean the Provencal (*e*). It is however juſt to obſerve, that this reflection never made any great impreſſion, and that with the beſt and moſt elegant writers in our tongue, Chaucer paſſes not only for a great improver, but for the very Father and Founder of it; and it is not a little to his honour, that amongſt thoſe who are of this opinion we may reckon one of the ſoundeſt of our Criticks (*f*), and one of the correcteſt writers in our language (*g*). So wide the difference is between the narrow notions of falſe Wits, and the fair and candid judgments that are given by the true [*W*]. We cannot cloſe this article better, than by giving a ſuccinct detail of our author's family, or, to ſpeak with greater propriety, of his eldeſt ſon, for as to his ſecond ſon Lewis, we have no account in what ſtation he lived, or where he died. But as to Thomas Chaucer, the office of Chief Butler to the King, granted to him in the laſt year of Richard II, was afterwards given him for life by Letters Patents from King Henry IV (*h*), and confirmed by Henry VI. In the ſecond year of Henry IV, we find him Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Sheriff of Oxfordſhire and of Berkſhire, and Conſtable of Wallingford-caſtle, and of Knareſborough-caſtle, during life. In the fourth year of the ſame reign the King directed an order to him, as Chief Butler, to deliver one hundred tons of wine to the Duke of Burgundy. In the ſixth year of the ſame Prince he was ſent Ambaſſador into France, and the year following he went beyond the ſeas, joined in commiſſion with the King's brother, and Geoffry Chaucer's nephew, Henry Beaufort Biſhop of Wincheſter. In the ninth year of the ſame reign, on Tueſday the twenty-fifth of October, the Commons preſented him their Speaker; as they did likewiſe in the eleventh year, on Wedneſday the twenty-eighth of January. In the twelfth year of that reign, Queen Jane granted to him, for his good ſervice, the manors of Woodſtock, Hannebrough, Wotton, and Stantesfield, during life; and in the thirteenth year, on the fifth of November, he was again preſented Speaker, as he was in the ſecond of Henry V, on Wedneſday the ſecond day of Parliament. And in the ſame year he was ſent by the King, in joint commiſſion with Hugh Mortimer, to treat of a marriage with Katharine, daughter to the Duke of Burgundy. He was likewiſe Ambaſſador in the fifth and ſixth years of the ſame reign, with Walter Hungerford, Steward of the Houſhold, in the ſame affair; and again in the ſixth year of the ſame reign, he was Ambaſſador for peace with France; and he paſſed through ſeveral other publick ſtations, as appears by Records (*i*). He reſided chiefly at Ewelm in Oxfordſhire, which came to him by marriage, and there he died on the twenty-eighth of April 1434, and was buried in that pariſh-church under a black marble tomb (*k*). By his wife Maud, or Matilda, who ſurvived him two years, he had one daughter named Alice, who was thrice married, firſt to Sir John Philips, Knt. and afterwards to Thomas Montacute Earl of Saliſbury, who dying, left her very rich. Her third huſband was the famous William de la Pole, Earl, and afterwards Duke of Suffolk, who was firſt ſecretly married to the Counteſs of Hainault, by whom he had one daughter, but procuring a divorce from her, he married this Alice by whom he had one ſon, John Duke of Suffolk (*l*). Duke William lived chiefly at Dunnington and Ewelm, at the firſt of which Stowe ſays he built an Hoſpital; but he ſeems to miſtake it for that founded by Adderbury, as beforementioned, for Dugdale takes no notice of any other, but at Ewelm he founded one called God's Houſe. He was an inſtance of the danger of a Prince's favour, and the envy that attends it; for, influencing the notions and the will of his Maſter Henry VI too much, and abuſing the power he had over that eaſy Prince, he enraged the Commons to that degree, that nothing leſs than his baniſhment could appeaſe them, which being agreed to, the Yorkiſts, fearful of his return, ſeized him on his paſſage in Dover-Road, and cut off his head upon the ſide of a cock-boat, and his body was buried at the Charter-Houſe at Hull (*m*). The Ducheſs ſurvived him ſeveral years, and, after an honourable life, died at Ewelm in the year 1475. Their ſon John had iſſue, according to Leland (*n*), John Earl of Lincoln, Edmund, afterwards Duke of Suffolk; Richard, William, and a fifth ſon, who was a ſcholar in Gonvil-Hall in Cambridge. Edmund de la Pole, the laſt of that name Duke of Suffolk, for being in treaſon againſt Henry VII, for which he had been once pardoned, forfeited his life to the Crown, and was beheaded in the ſeventh year of that King's reign, whereby the eſtates which Chaucer's family was poſſeſſed of came to the Crown, and particularly the Hoſpital of Ewelm, which was by King James I. beſtowed on the Phyſick Profeſſor at Oxford, who is always Maſter thereof in virtue of his office (*o*).

(*e*) Remarks on the Engliſh language by W. C.

(*f*) Rymer's Short View of Tragedy, p. 78.

(*g*) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 41, 42.

(*h*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Chaucer's Works by Urry.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 388.

(*k*) Life of Chaucer.

(*l*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 187.

(*m*) See his laſt Teſtament, Stafford, and Kemp, p. 189, b.

(*n*) As cited by Dugdale in his Baronage, Vol. II. p. 188.

(*o*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

[*W*] *And the fair and candid judgments that are given by the true.*] The firſt writer that ventured to fall upon our author was himſelf more than half a foreigner, and very far from being correct with reſpect to ſentiment or ſtile. His very charge in the preſent caſe will prove what I have advanced (100). 'The 'Poet, Geoffry Chaucer (ſays he) writing his Poeſies in 'Engliſh, is of ſome called the firſt Illuminator of the 'Engliſh tongue. Of their opinion I am not, tho' I 'reverence Chaucer as an excellent Poet for his time. 'He was indeed a great mingler of Engliſh with 'French, unto which language (by like, for that he 'was deſcended of French, or rather Walloon race) he 'carried a great affection.' But Dr Skinner (101), in a very elegant Latin ſtyle, has attacked our author with much more ſpirit and force; I ſhall give his words in Engliſh: 'The Poet Chaucer ſet the worſt example, 'who by bringing whole ſhoals of French words into 'our language, which was but too much adulterated be- 'fore, through the effects of the Norman conqueſt, de- 'prived it almoſt wholly of it's native grace and ſplen- 'dor, laying on paint over it's pure complexion, and, 'for a beautiful face, ſubſtituted a downright maſk.'

(100) Reſtitution of decay'd Intelligence, chap. vii.

(101) Etymologicon Linguæ Anglicanæ, in Præfat. p. 5.

burden of his afflictions [*L*]. This load, which was already almoſt too heavy for him, received however ſome very conſiderable additions from the concurrence of other untoward accidents; ſuch as the Duke of Lancaſter's loſing much of his credit at Court; and Chaucer, not a little of his intereſt with the Duke, who finding his reputation very much injured by the liberties taken with his character, on account of his amours with the Lady Swynford, he came, tho' very unwillingly, to a full reſolution of parting with her; which he accordingly did: and this, for a time, affected the concerns of our author extremely, who finding himſelf ſtrongly puſhed on one ſide, by ſuch as meant him ill; and little, if at all, ſupported on the other, by ſuch as had been formerly his friends, was ſo much depreſſed thereby in his mind, and diſtreſſed in his fortune, as to reſolve upon diſpoſing of his penſions beforementioned, which he had obtained in the former, and had been confirmed to him in the preſent reign; and this he actually did, to one John Scalby, as appears by a licence obtained for this purpoſe, on record (*r*). In this unexpected and terrible reverſe of fortune, he very wiſely reſolved to quit that buſy ſcene of life, in which he had met with ſo many troubles, and to ſeek in retirement, that happineſs, which from experience he knew was not to be met with in Courts. The place he choſe for his retreat was Woodſtock, which had been the ſweet ſcene of ſo much ſatisfaction to him in the days of his proſperity, and there he employed part of his time in reviſing and correcting his writings, totally ſecluded from the world, and taking only thoſe calm and ſolid pleaſures, which are the reſult of a wiſe man's reflections on the viciſſitudes of human life (*s*). By this means he became well prepared for a new alteration in his condition, and as unexpected a change in his affairs as he had hitherto met with, for the abſence of the great Duke of Lancaſter, which had coſt him ſo dear, gave him the better title to hope his favour and his protection upon his return, which happened towards the end of the year 1389 (*t*). He had made an expedition into Spain, in order to recover the kingdoms of Caſtile and Leon, of which, in right of his wife, he had aſſumed the title, and though his ſucceſs in war was at firſt various, and at laſt diſaſtrous, yet ſo wiſe and prudent a Prince he was, that after diſmiſſing his army, and ſeeming to relinquiſh that great deſign, for the accompliſhment of which he had ſpent ſo much, he had notwithſtanding ſo great addreſs, as to be able to extract, even from his diſappointment, almoſt as much as he could have expected from victory, for though he could not make himſelf a King, yet he made two of his daughters Queens, one of Caſtile, and the other of Portugal, bringing home with him alſo a vaſt treaſure in ready money, having, at the time he landed in England, as one of our Hiſtorians tells us, as many cheſts of gold as loaded forty-ſeven mules (*u*). Upon his return in ſo good circumſtances, his party began to revive, and the Duke recovered his credit at Court, inſomuch that the King, in full Parliament, created him Duke of Aquitaine, and ſent him over to take poſſeſſion of that noble principality (*w*). His old affection for the Lady Catharine Swynford, ſiſter to Chaucer's wife, revived with his fortune, and under colour of rewarding the care ſhe had taken in the education of his daughters, he made her very large grants in the nature of penſions (*x*) [*M*]. We have no particular account

(*r*) This Licence bears date May 1, 1389.

(*s*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*t*) H. Knyghton, ap. Decem Script. col. 2677. n. 10.

(*u*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 118.

(*w*) Rot. Parl. 13 R. II. n. 21.

(*x*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

[*L*] *Under the heavy burthen of his afflictions.*] There cannot be a better account given of this, which is the moſt important of our author's works in proſe, than by tranſcribing the Rubrick that ſtands before it, and which runs thus (58):

(58) Chaucer's Works, p. 479.

'This book is an imitation of *Boecius de Conſolatione Philoſophiæ*. I. In the firſt part whereof Love, 'by way of legacy, bequeaths to all them that follow 'her inſtructions, the knowledge of truth from error, 'whereby they may rightly judge of the cauſes that 'croſs fortune. and ſuch adverſities as befal them, 'whether in their ſuits of Love, or otherwiſe, and ſo 'in the end obtain their wiſhed deſires. II. In the 'ſecond part ſhe teacheth the knowledge of one very 'God our Creator, as alſo the ſtate of Grace, and 'the ſtate of Glory, all which good things are figured 'by a Margarite Pearl. Chaucer compiled this book 'as a comfort to himſelf, after great griefs conceived 'for ſome raſh attempts of the Commons, with whom 'he had joined, and thereby was in fear to loſe the 'favour of his beſt friends, and alſo therein to ſet an 'end to all his writing, being commanded by Venus '(as appears by Gower at the end of the eighth book, 'intituled *Confeſſio Amantis*) ſo to do, as one that was 'Venus Clerk; even as Gower had made his *Confeſſio Amantis*, his laſt work and ſhrift of his former 'offences.' As one of the great excellencies of all our author's compoſitions in verſe or proſe, is, an eaſy, natural, and unaffected manner of writing, allowing for the uſage of the times in which he lived, which in all ages has been held a kind of law even to the beſt and ableſt authors; ſo in this work theſe qualities are very remarkable, for one plainly ſees a great Philoſopher broken by misfortunes, deſerted by companions, and expoſed to the cenſures of an evil world, delivering himſelf in a priſon with freedom and ſpirit, though in a melancholy mood, and in the language of ſorrow; painting in the boldeſt colours his own miſtakes, as well as thoſe of others, and pointing out the ſole remedies that are left, when a man is abandoned by fortune and by friends. Such is the nature of this performance, in which we have a clear and perfect repreſentation of his condition, and may enter as fully into all the cauſes of his private griefs, which were alſo thoſe of the publick diſorders of his time, as if we actually ſat by him in the priſon, and heard him utter thoſe complaints, which, with equal force or fancy, and elegance of expreſſion, he has committed to the peruſal of poſterity, and thereby tranſmitted the faireſt evidence of a ſpirit, which, though calamity might tame, yet it could not injure, much leſs deſtroy.

[*M*] *He made her very large grants in the nature of penſions.*] The colour given by the Duke of Lancaſter to theſe grants made in favour of the Lady Swynford, was the care ſhe had taken of his two daughters Philippa and Elizabeth, as appears by the words of the grant of the wardſhip of Bertam de Sanbys's heir, and of an annuity of two hundred marks *per annum*, payable out of his honour of Tickhill, which words are theſe (59): 'For the good and agreeable ſervice which our thrice 'dear and moſt beloved Lady Catharine Swynford, 'the miſtreſs of our moſt beloved daughters, hath 'rendered to our ſaid children; we have given and 'granted, *&c.*' but no doubt the true reaſon was for his ſpecial affection towards her on account of the children he had had by her, to whom he gave the name of Beaufort, in Latin *de bello forte*, from a caſtle ſo called in Anjou, which came into his family by the Lady Blanch of Artois, Queen of Navarre (60). Theſe children were four, *viz.* John Beaufort, afterwards Earl of Somerſet; Henry Beaufort, afterwards Cardinal Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Chancellor of England;

(59) Ex libro nigro in Cam. Duc. Lanc. fol. 96.

(60) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

account of the benefits that accrued to Chaucer from this turn in the Duke's affairs, but notwithſtanding this we have no reaſon to doubt, that he felt the effects of his patron's proſperity, who had ſuffered ſo deeply by the declenſion of his influence. But it ſeems his diſtaſte to Courts was grown ſo ſtrong, that nothing could tempt him to quit his rural retirement, or to launch again into that ſea of buſineſs where he had been ſo lately ſhipwrecked (*y*). His mind however being more at reſt, he undertook and finiſhed a new work, which has eſtabliſhed his reputation, with reſpect to learning, upon as firm a baſis, as his former labours had fixed his fame for wit and genius. This new work plainly appears to be wrote in the year 1391, and was intended for the uſe of his younger ſon Lewis, then no more than ten years of age, and yet ſo forward in his learning, as to be deſirous of having his father's inſtructions in acquiring the principles of Aſtronomy. This gave birth to his *Treatiſe on the* ASTROLABE (*z*), which not only ſhows the ſkill of it's author, but likewiſe inconteſtably proves, uſeful ſcience was not at near ſo low an ebb in thoſe times as it is generally repreſented (*a*). Neither will the caſe be at all altered, if what ſome writers have ſuggeſted ſhould really prove true, and this diſcourſe of Chaucer's appear to be no more than a tranſlation, or, which ſeems to be ſtill a more probable opinion, a Collection from other authors, who had written before him upon the ſame ſubject (*b*) [*N*]. About four years after this, while her huſband was in France, Conſtance, Ducheſs of Lancaſter, died (*c*), and was buried with great ſolemnity at Leiceſter, and the Duke coming over into England at the cloſe of the year, and not meeting with quite ſo kind a reception at Court as he expected, went ſuddenly to Lincoln, where his old miſtreſs Lady Catharine Swynford reſided, and to the great ſurprize of the world, now, when ſhe had not either youth or beauty to recommend her, married her (*d*). This gave great diſcontent to the Ducheſs of Glouceſter, the Counteſs of Derby, the Counteſs of Arundel, and other Ladies deſcended of the Royal Family, becauſe ſhe became by this marriage the ſecond perſon in the realm, and from being no fit companion for any, was now ſuddenly to take place of them all; but ſhe behaved with ſo much diſcretion and humility, that theſe diſputes were quickly compoſed (*e*), and in a ſhort time ſhe gained ſuch an aſcendency over the King, that he carried her, as well as the Duke her huſband, with him the year after their marriage into France, at which time he eſpouſed Iſabel, the French King's daughter, then very young, and who was put under the care of the Ducheſs of Lancaſter (*f*). After the ceremony of this marriage, and the return of the Royal Family to England, we find a very ſingular inſtance of the advantage that Chaucer received from this alliance, for now, by Letters Patents, the King granted him an annuity of twenty marks *per annum* (*g*), in lieu of that given him by his grandfather, and which, in the time of his diſtreſs, he had been compelled to diſpoſe of for his ſubſiſtence. Soon after this he granted him his protection by other Letters Patents, dated the fourth of

(*y*) See his Preface to his Treatiſe on the Aſtrolabe.

(*z*) Chaucer's Works, p. 439.

(*a*) See this farther explained in the note [*M*].

(*b*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(*c*) Tho. Walſ. p. 385. n. 40. Hen. Knyghton, ap. Decem Script. col. 2731. n. 30.

(*d*) Tho. Walſ. p. 388. m. 10.

(*e*) Stowe's Annals, p. 312.

(*f*) Knyghton, Walſing. ubi ſup.

(*g*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

England; Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorſet, afterwards Duke of Exeter; and Joan, firſt married to Sir Robert Ferrers of Overſly, and afterwards to Ralph Earl of Weſtmoreland (61). We have mentioned this more particularly, becauſe of the near relation between the deſcendants of our author and thoſe of this Lady by the Duke of Lancaſter, of which we find it remembered by a very curious and circumſpect writer (62) in the time of King Charles I, that there had been eight Kings, four Queens, and five Princes of England; ſix Kings, and three Queens of Scotland; two Cardinals, upwards of twenty Dukes, almoſt as many Ducheſſes of England, ſeveral Dukes of Scotland, beſides many potent Princes, and eminent Nobility in foreign parts.

(61) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 119.

(62) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 661.

[*N*] *Upon the ſame ſubject.*] The title of this piece, as it ſtands in our author's works, is, *The Concluſion of the Aſtrolabie* (63), in the introduction to which, addreſſed to his ſon, he remarks, that it was with great pleaſure he obſerved his growing capacity and earneſt paſſion for learning, which very willingly induced him to yield to his requeſt, of teaching him the uſe of this inſtrument. He then proceeds to inform him, that his intention was not to diſcourſe of all, but on the moſt uſeful, and thoſe too the moſt eaſy, operations that might be performed by this curious inſtrument, as being the fitteſt for the apprehenſion of a child of ten years old. He adds, that for the very ſame reaſon he wrote them in Engliſh and not in Latin, as conceiving it too much to put ſo young a perſon upon learning things unknown in a tongue of which he had little or no knowledge, and which alſo he held unneceſſary, ſince the ſcience was the ſame in whatever language taught, and the practice too had been the ſame in other nations; for the Greeks wrote their books of Aſtronomy in Greek, the Arabians in Arabick, the Jews in Hebrew, and thoſe to whom the Latin language was familiar in Latin; for aſſuredly, ſays he, thoſe who wrote in Latin had the knowledge of which they wrote, out of other tongues. He would not therefore have him believe, that he knew the leſs for not gaining his knowledge from that learned language; becauſe, continues he, different tongues lead to the ſame ſcience, as by many different roads men go to the ſame city, as for inſtance to Rome. He adds likewiſe, that he has written it in a very plain ſtile, out of regard to the tenderneſs of his underſtanding, and that he judged it better to uſe more words to make the propoſitions clear, than by ſtudying a correct ſtyle, to render his work more difficult to a child, though more perfect in the eyes of ſcholars; and alſo puts him in mind, that he pretends not to deliver any thing of his own, but only to compile and to tranſlate from the Aſtronomers in ſeveral languages, what, with more accuracy, but leſs perſpicuity, they had delivered concerning this matter; and with this ſword, ſays he, (meaning this explication of his deſign) ſhall I ſlay envy. The work itſelf is unqueſtionably a maſter-piece in it's kind, and agrees in every reſpect to what it appears the author propoſed to make it, for there can be nothing better diſpoſed, more clearly written, or delivered in a way more ſuitable to pleaſe and ſatisfy the appetite of a young ſcholar. In a very fine MS. of this treatiſe, belonging formerly to Dr Henry Moore, Biſhop of Ely, there is a note which ſignifies, that Lewis Chaucer was at this time under the tuition of his father's friend Nicholas Strode, Leland (64), Bale (65), and Wood (66), call him Ralph Strode of Merton-college, in Oxford, one of the deepeſt Philoſophers, and moſt eſteemed Poets of his time, which, conſidering the youth of Lewis Chaucer, ſeems not a little ſtrange. The note referred to at the end of the book before-mentioned runs thus: 'Explicit Tractatus de Concluſionibus Aſtrolabii, compilat. per *Galfredum Chauciers*, ad filium ſuum *Ludewicum* ſcholarem tunc temporis Oxoniæ, ac ſub tutela illius nobiliſſimi Philoſophi Magiſtri N. Strode.'

(63) Chaucer's Works, p. 439.

(64) Comment. de Scriptor. Britan. p. 376.

(65) Script. Brit. p. 477, 478.

(66) Hiſt. & Antiquit. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 87.

[*O*] *Of*

of May in the twenty-first year of his reign, for two years, signifying, that for that space he had occasion to employ him in his service (*h*). Neither was this the last or greatest instance afforded him of royal favour, since we find that by Letters Patents dated the thirteenth of October in the following year, he had a pipe of wine annually granted him out of the customs of the Port of London (*i*), which was to be delivered him by the chief Butler, and to this office his son Thomas Chaucer was now raised (*k*). But if these benefits cheared and comforted his decayed spirits in the decline of life, he had however the mortification to lose, about the same time, his noble patron, his constant friend, and kind brother, the Duke of Lancaster, by whom he was first brought to Court, and through whose favour he never wanted either countenance or support, when it was in his power to bestow (*l*). This loss very probably afflicted him deeply, as we may gather from his retiring about this time to Dunnington-castle, where he spent most of his days during the last two years of his life, indulging his grave thoughts in the solitude of that sweet retreat (*m*) [*O*]. In this situation he was, when that great revolution happened, which placed Henry of Lancaster, the son of his brother-in-law, upon the throne, in which as Chaucer had no hand (though certainly it could not displease him) so we do not find that he was at all eager in paying his compliments to the new King, much less that he triumphed in the misfortunes of his late kind master and gracious benefactor, as others, and particularly Gower, who had been more obliged to that unfortunate Prince, and who at that time was both old and blind, most shamefully did (*n*). He did not however slight the advantages offered him by this revolution, but having accidentally lost the two last grants of an annuity, and of the pipe of wine by King Richard, he obtained a confirmation of them in the first year of Henry IV, by an exemplification of his former Letters Patents (*o*). Neither was this the only favour he received from the new King, who, out of regard to the ancient friendship and near alliance between the Prince his father and our author, granted him, during the first year of his reign, an annuity of forty marks *per annum* for the term of his life (*p*). It is true indeed, that a very great writer, a sincere admirer of our author, and most deservedly a Poet-Laureat himself, informs us, that Chaucer enjoyed this honour under three Kings, Edward III, Richard II, and Henry IV (*q*), but this is a mistake, for in truth there was no such office in those days, or, if we may trust to the authority of the learned Selden, before the reign of Edward IV (*r*). If we take this in a more extensive sense, for an eminent Poet who celebrated these Princes, it may be justly applied to Chaucer in regard to the two first, but we find nothing in his Works relating to the last, nor indeed is his name so much as mentioned in any of our author's writings. The small time he lived after the accession of this King, was chiefly employed in regulating his private affairs, which had suffered by the publick disorders, for all the publick Acts of the deposed King Richard, in the twenty-first year of his reign being declared void, Chaucer was forced to quit his retirement, to come up to town to sollicit his causes, and beginning now to bend under the weight of years (*s*), this unlucky accession of business, which obliged him to alter his usual way of living, might very possibly hasten his end, the near approach of which he bore with Roman constancy, or rather with Christian patience; for there is still extant a kind of Ode that he is said to have composed in last agonies, which very plainly proves that his senses were perfectly sound, and the faculties of his mind not in the least impaired (*t*) [*P*]. He died October 25, 1400, in the full possession of

(*h*) Pat. 21 R.II. P. 3. m. 26.

(*i*) Pat. 22 R.II. P. 1. m. 5.

(*k*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*l*) T. Walsingh. P. 393. n. 30.

(*m*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(*n*) See his Prologue to his *Confessio Amantis*.

(*o*) Pat. 1 H. IV. P. 1. m. 18.

(*p*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to his Works by Urry.

(*q*) Mr Dryden, in his Preface to his Fables.

(*r*) Selden's Titles of Honour, P. ii. ch. 1. §. 43.

(*s*) Leland, de Script. Brit.

(*t*) See this Poem in the note [*P*].

[*O*] *Of that sweet retreat.*] It is not very clear at what time our author quitted his beloved house at Woodstock, in order to go to Dunnington-castle, where he spent the last two years of his life; but as this was his final retreat, and became very remarkable for being so, an account of it cannot be unacceptable to the reader.

(67) Camd. Britan. It was in Mr Camden's time (67) (when in it's glory) 'a small but neat castle, situate upon the brow of a 'rising hill, having an agreeable prospect, very light 'with windows on all sides, said to be built by Sir Richard Adderbury, Knt. who likewise founded an hospital beneath it, called God's House; it was afterwards 'the seat of Chaucer, then of the De la Poles, and in 'our father's memory the dwelling of Charles Brandon 'Duke of Suffolk.' At the beginning of the rebellion in the reign of King Charles I, it was a garrison for the King under the valiant Sir John Boys, which commanded the western road and town of Newberry, and was therefore of great advantage to the Royal Party as a safe retreat, and the cannon playing from it much annoyed the Parliament forces. This place his Majesty honoured by lying one night in it, but after a rough assault, and as bold a resistance, during which several of the towers were battered down, it was surrendered upon honourable conditions. This was the ancient state, and the occasion of the late ruin of that pleasant structure. At present there is nothing to be seen of it but what raises horror and concern, a battered gateway with two towers, and some small part of the shattered walls, being all that remains thereof. The ground about it, and the ruins of it, are choaked with brambles and over-run with ivy; but lest the place of it's situation should in a few years more be forgot (68), I shall as plainly as I can describe it. It lies half a mile to the right of Spinham-land, (the antient Spina of Antoninus) and a mile beyond Newbury on the same side; as you go from London you pass over the river Kennet to the village of Dunnington, from which there is a pretty steep but pleasant ascent through a lane to a hill under the castle, where stands a seat formerly belonging to the Countess of Sandwich. From hence arises the Castle-hill, very steep, and not unlike that whereon the Observatory stands at Greenwich, and from this hill there is a very fine prospect of several counties. On the back of the castle are level grounds, woodlands, and enclosures. The castle itself stands in a pleasant park, in which there was a famous oak called Chaucer's Oak, under which, as tradition taught, he wrote several Poems. Mr Evelyn (69) gives a particular account of this tree, and says there were three of them planted by Chaucer, the King's Oak, the Queen's Oak, and Chaucer's Oak.

(68) These are the words of the author of the Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

(69) In his Sylva.

[*P*] *And the faculties of his mind not in the least impaired.*] This *Sonnet* or *Ode* consists of no more than three stanza's, and as well for the beauty of the piece, as for the extraordinary occasion on which it was written, I think it very well deserves a place here (70).

(70) In a MS. in the Cotton Library OTHO, A. XVIII. this title is inserted; *A Balade made by* Geffrey Chaucyer, *upon his Dethe Bedde lying in his grete Angwyshe.*

Gode

of that high reputation (*u*) which his writings had deſervedly acquired, and was buried in Weſtminſter-abbey, in the great ſouth croſs-iſle. Some writers have affirmed that he was firſt buried in the cloiſter, and lay there 'till ſome years after, but this is a miſtake, for Caxton, in his edition of Chaucer (which was long before the time of his removal) as they place it, ſays that he was buried in the Abbey-church of Weſtminſter before the Chapel of St Bennet. And it is very probable he lay beneath a large ſtone of grey marble in the pavement, where the monument of Mr Dryden now ſtands, which is in the front of that chapel, upon the erecting of which this ſtone was taken up, and ſawed in pieces to make good the pavement; at leaſt this ſeems beſt to anſwer the deſcription of the place given by Caxton (*w*). As to the alterations that have happened ſince, and the inſcription now viſible on his tomb, an account will be given in the notes [*Q*]. We may juſtly affirm of this

(*u*) Leland, de Script. Brit.

(*w*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

Gode counſaile of Chaucer.

I.

Flie fro the preſe and dwell with ſothfaſtneſſe,
Suffice unto thy gode though it be ſmall,
For horde hath hate, and climbyng tikilneſſe,
Prece hatb envy, and wele it brent ore all,
Savour no more then The behovin ſhall,
Rede well thy ſelf, that othir folke canſt rede,
And trouthe The ſhall delivir it is no drede.

II.

Paine The not eche crokid to redreſſe,
In truſt of her that tournith as a balle,
Grete reſt ſtandith in litil buſineſſe,
Beware alſo to ſpurre again a nalle,
Strive not as doth a crocke with a walle,
Demith thy ſelf that demiſt othir's dede,
And trouthe The ſhall deliver it is no drede.

III.

That The is ſent receve in buxomeneſſe;
The wraſtlyng of this worlde aſkith a falle,
Here is no home, here is but wildirneſſe,
Forthe pilgrim, forthe o beſt out of thy ſtalle,
Loke upon high, and thanke thy God of all;
Weivith thy luſte and let thy ghoſt The lede,
And trouthe The ſhall delivir, it is no drede.

Attempted in modern Engliſh.

Tbe Poet's laſt advice.

I.

Fly from the crowd, and be to virtue true,
Content with what tbou haſt, tho' it be ſmall,
To hoard brings hate; nor lofty thoughts purſue,
He who climbs high, endangers many a fall.
Envy's a ſhade that ever waits on fame,
And oft tbe ſun that raiſes it will hide;
Trace not in life a vaſt expanſive ſcheme,
But be thy wiſhes to thy ſtate ally'd.
Be mild to others, to thyſelf ſevere;
So truth ſhall ſhield thee or from hurt or fear.

II.

Think not of bending all things to thy will,
Nor vainly hope that fortune ſhall befriend;
Inconſtant ſhe, but be thou conſtant ſtill,
Whate'er betide unto an honeſt end.
Yet needleſs dangers never madly brave,
Kick not thy naked foot againſt a nail;
Or from experience the ſolution crave,
If wall and pitcher ſtrive which ſhall prevail?
Be in thy cauſe as in thy neighbour's clear,
So truth ſhall ſhield thee or from hurt or fear.

III.

Whatever happens, happy in thy mind
Be thou, nor at thy lot in life repine,
He 'ſcapes all ill, whoſe boſom is reſign'd,
Nor way nor weather will be always fine.
Beſide, thy home's not here, a journey this,
A pilgrim thou, then bie thee on thy way;
Look up to GOD, intent on heavenly bliſs,
Take what the road affords, and praiſes pay;
Shun brutal luſts, and ſeek thy ſoul's high ſphere;
So truth ſhall ſhield thee or from hurt or fear.

[*Q*] *In the notes.*] We are told by Speght and other authors, that the following lines ſtood anciently upon Chaucer's tombſtone,

Galfridus Chaucer, vates & fama Poeſis
Maternæ, hâc ſacrâ ſum tumulatus humo.

This anciently muſt refer only to the time of Caxton, who procured a long epitaph to be written in honour of our author by Stephanus Surigonius, Poet-Laureat of Milan, which was hung upon a pillar over-againſt Chaucer's grave ſtone, towards the end of which epitaph theſe two lines occur (71). But about the year 1555, as a very exact author reports; or in 1556, as Wood will have it, Mr Nicholas Brigham, a Gentleman of Oxford, who exerciſed his Muſe much in Poetry, and took great delight in Chaucer's works, and honoured his memory, at his own charge, erected a handſome monument for him not far from the ſaid chapel; for in the ſame place, he could not then conveniently erect it, by reaſon of the cancelli which the late Duke of Buckingham obtained leave to remove to make room for Mr Dryden's tomb. Upon that monument, Mr Brigham cauſed Chaucer's picture to be painted from that which was in Occleve's book, together with the following inſcription, which ſtill remains.

(71) Stowe's Survey, by Strype, B. vi. p. 31.

M. S.
Qui fuit Anglorum vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo:
Annum ſi quæras Domini, ſi tempora vitæ,
Ecce notæ ſubſunt quæ tibi cuncta notunt.
25 Octobris 1400.
Ærumnarum requies mors.
N. Brigham hos fecit Muſarum nomine ſumptus.
1556.

In Engliſh thus:

Of Engliſh bards who ſang the ſweeteſt ſtrains,
Old Geoffrey Chaucer now this tomb contains:
For his death's date if reader thou ſhould'ſt call,
Look but beneath, and it will tell thee all.
25th of October 1400.
Of cruel cares, the certain cure, is death.

N. Brigham placed theſe, in the name of the Muſes, at his own expence. 1556.

About the ledge of the tomb, we are told, the following verſes were written, that are now worn out; but it is more probable, that they were inſcribed upon a ledge of braſs, that is taken away, for there is not the leaſt ſign of any letters upon the ſtone itſelf.

Si rogites quis eram, forſan te fama docebit;
Quod ſi fama negat, mundi quia gloria tranſit,
Hæc monumenta lege.
If who I was you aſk, fame ſhall declare;
If fame denies, ſince frail all glories are,
Theſe ſtones ſhall ſpeak inſcrib'd with pious care.

It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that this date of his death is preſerved by ſeveral writers; who alſo inform us, that he was then ſeventy-two. Some indeed have queſtioned it, becauſe of a piece, intituled, *Cupid's Letter*, printed with Chaucer's works (72), and dated in 1402; but that was written by Thomas Occleve his Scholar, and was intended to do honour to his works and memory. The Rev. Mr Collier fixes his death in 1440 (73), which was the nineteenth of Henry VI; and if ſo, Chaucer was but ten years old at the death of King Edward

(72) Chaucer's Works, p. 534.

(73) Hiſtorical Dictionary, Vol. I.

CHAUNCY (Sir HENRY) Knight, author of *The Hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire*, was deſcended from a family which came into England with William the Conqueror [*A*]. He was educated in grammar-learning at Biſhop's-Stortford-ſchool under Mr Thomas Leigh (*a*): and in the year 1647 admitted in Gonvil and Caius college in Cambridge (*b*). He removed in 1649 to the Middle-Temple; and in 1656 was called to the Barr. In 1661, he was conſtituted a Juſtice of Peace for the county of Hertford: made one of the Benchers of the Middle-Temple in 1675, and Steward of the Burgh-court in Hertford; and likewiſe in 1680 appointed, by charter, Recorder of that place. In 1681 he was elected Reader of the Middle-Temple, and on the 4th of June the ſame year, received the honour of knighthood at Windſor-caſtle from King Charles II. He was choſen Treaſurer of the Middle-Temple in 1685. On the 11th of June, 1688, he was called to the degree of a Serjeant at Law, and the ſame year advanced to be a Welſh Judge, or one of his Majeſty's Juſtices for the counties of Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Radnor, in the principality of Wales. He married three wives, 1. Jane, youngeſt daughter of Francis Flyer of Brent-Pelham in Hertfordſhire, Eſq; by whom he had ſeven children: ſhe died December 31, 1672. 2. Elizabeth, the relict of John Goulſmith of Stredſet in Norfolk, Eſq; one of the co-heirs of Gregory Wood of Riſby in Suffolk, Gent. By her he had no iſſue. She died Auguſt 4, 1677. 3. His third wife was Elizabeth, the ſecond daughter of Nathaniel Thruſton of Hoxny in Suffolk, Eſq; by whom he had two children (*c*). He died in the year 1700, and was buried at Ardley, or Yardley. He publiſhed, 'The Hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire [*B*]: with the Original of Counties, Hundreds, Wapentakes, Boroughs, Corporations, Towns, Pariſhes, Villages, Hamlets, *&c.*'

(*a*) See The Hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire, *&c.* by Sir Henry Chauncy, fol. Lond. 1700, p. 169.

(*b*) Ib. p. 59.

(*c*) Ib. p. 59, 61.

[*A*] *Was deſcended from a family which came into England with William the Conqueror.*] The name of *Chancy*, or *Chauncy*, actually occurs in the roll of Battel-Abby (1). Sir Henry informs us (2), That that perſon was of Chauncy near Amiens in Picardy: and that ſeveral of this name remain ſtill in Normandy, and live there in good credit and reputation. *William*, the eldeſt ſon of him who came into England with the Conqueror, purchaſed the manor of *Scirpenbeck* in *Yorkſhire*, which continued in his family, (together with the manor of Willughton in Lincolnſhire, and other eſtates,) 'till 1399, when *William de Chauncy* mortgaged Scirpenbeck to Ralph Earl of Weſtmorland, who upon the forfeiture entered, and ſeized it into his hands; but, upon agreement, Richard Lord Scroop, Baron of Bolton, who married Margaret, the daughter of this Earl, granted the manor of *Piſhobury* in *Sabridgeworth* in Hertfordſhire, to William de Chauncy juſt now mentioned, whoſe poſterity lived there, 'till about the 25th of Queen Elizabeth. He laid out the money, which ſhould have diſcharged the mortgage of Scirpenbeck, upon the purchaſe of a fair eſtate at *Stepney* near London. His ſon, *John Chauncy*, married Margaret, one of the daughters and co-heirs of William Giffard of *Gedleſton*, or Gilſon, in Hertfordſhire. — His deſcendant, *Henry Chauncy*, removed from Piſhobury, in the 25th of Queen Elizabeth aforeſaid, to *Gedleſton*, where he built a handſome houſe called New Place. This Henry's ſecond ſon, named *George*, married Jane, the daughter and heir of John Cornwall of Ardley, Eſq; by whom he had a fine eſtate at *Ardley* in Hertfordſhire, the manor of Fairſtead in Eſſex, divers lands in Stebbing in the ſame county; together with ſome money, which enabled him to purchaſe of his elder brother's ſon (who was very extravagant,) his ſeat called New Place, with the manors of Giffards, and Netherall in Gedleſton. He died in 1625, leaving his eldeſt ſon and heir *Henry*; who deceaſed in 1631. This Henry's eldeſt ſon, named alſo *Henry*, died in 1681. He was the father of Sir Henry Chauncy, who is the ſubject of this article. Sir Henry's mother was Anna, daughter and heir of Peter Parke of Tottenham in Middleſex, Gent (3).

(1) See Stowe's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 105; and Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. III. p. 3.

(2) Hiſtorical Antiq. of Hertfordſhire, *&c.* p. 55.

(3) Ibid. p. 55—59; and from the Pedigree, p. 60, 61.

[*B*] *The Hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire*, &c.] The author was very fit for ſuch an undertaking, being, in the firſt place, a native of that county, and a conſiderable proprietor therein, and therefore wanting neither means of information, nor money for carrying on ſuch an expenſive work. And then, as he obſerves himſelf (4), 'The near affinity Hiſtorical Antiquities 'have to that ſcience, which he had ſtudied, and all 'along practiſed, [*viz.* the Law] obliged him to be 'converſant in authors that treat thereof. — Nor had 'his frequent view of records, immediately relating to 'ſeveral parts of Hertfordſhire, in many caſes where 'he had been conſulted, a little contributed to qualify 'him for an undertaking of this kind: though for 'compleating it, he was forced to have recourſe to all 'thoſe that concerned that county, the better to en-'able him to ſerve ſuch gentlemen as had loſt their 'grants or charters, and would know the privileges 'belonging to their ſeveral manors.' —— But he complains a little lower, —— That many gentlemen who miſtook their intereſt, delayed; and others, denied him, the opportunity of aſſerting their rights. And indeed this is a common obſtacle in works of this nature; moſt people not caring, or being afraid, of ſhewing the titles and writings belonging to their eſtates. Sir Henry left ſome additions to his book, which came afterwards into the hands of N. Salmon, LL.B. and were the chief foundation upon which he built his *Hiſtory of Hertfordſhire*. The author of the *Engliſh Topographer* (5) wiſhes, 'that more care had been taken 'in the engraving part of this work, and that that 'part of the performance had been better.' But he ſeems to find fault without ſufficient reaſon: for the plates in the copy now before us are really good, the greateſt fault being in the paper. C

(4) In the Preface, p. 1.

(5) Edit. Lond. 1720, 8*vo.* p. 66, 67.

CHEKE (JOHN) a learned and ingenious writer in the XVIth century, was deſcended of an ancient and worthy family [*A*], that flouriſhed long in wealth and reputation at Motſton in the Iſle of Wight (*a*). He was born at Cambridge June the 16th, 1514, being the ſon of Peter Cheke, Gent. and Agnes, daughter of Mr Dufford (*b*) of Cambridgeſhire. After having been educated in grammar-learning under Mr John Morgan (*c*), he was admitted into St John's college in Cambridge at about the age of ſeventeen years; where he ſo cloſely applied himſelf to his ſtudies, that he became very eminent for his knowledge in the learned languages, particularly the Greek tongue, which was then

(*a*) The Life of Sir John Cheke, Knt by J. Strype, 8*vo*, Lond. 1705, p. 2, 3.

(*b*) Or De Ufford, an ancient and good family. Mr Wood calls him Duffield. Athenæ Oxon. Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 100.

(*c*) D. Lloyd tells us, that 'a German had the care of his youn-'ger ſtudies, and a Frenchman of 'his carriage.' State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 191.

[*A*] *Was deſcended of an ancient and worthy family.*] A certain Hiſtorian, who ſeldom gives a favourable account of thoſe who were inclined to the Reformation (1), ſays, That Mr Cheke was *a man of mean birth*. But therein he is very much miſtaken. For, the antiquity of the Cheke family is traced as far back as the reign of King Richard II, whon one Cheke married a daughter of the noble family of Montacute. Their paternal eſtate in the Iſle of Wight, was three hundred pounds a year, which was never increaſed nor diminiſhed, 'till ſold outright about the year 1630 (2).

(1) Dr Hayward, in his Life and Reign of King Edward VI, near the beginning.

(2) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Book viii. p. 37. Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 2—4.

then almoſt univerſally neglected (*d*). Being recommended as ſuch, by Dr Butts, to King Henry VIII, he was ſoon after made that King's ſcholar, and ſupplied by him with money for his education, and for his charges in travelling into foreign countries. While he continued in college, he introduced there a more ſubſtantial and uſeful kind of learning, than what had been received for ſome years; and encouraged eſpecially the ſtudy of the Greek and Latin languages, and of Divinity (*e*). After having taken his degrees in Arts, being noted for an excellent Grecian, he was choſen Greek Lecturer of the univerſity: There was no ſalary belonging to that place. But King Henry having founded, about the year 1540, a Profeſſorſhip of the Greek tongue in the univerſity of Cambridge, with a ſtipend of forty pounds a year, Mr Cheeke, though but twenty-ſix years of age, was choſen the firſt Profeſſor (*f*). This place he held long after he left the univerſity, namely, 'till October 1551 (*g*). In this ſtation, he was highly inſtrumental in bringing the Greek language into repute, which was then very much ſlighted; and endeavoured to reform and reſtore the true and original pronunciation of it: but herein he met with great oppoſition from Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, Chancellor of the univerſity (*h*) [*B*]. However, in the courſe of his Lectures, he went through all Homer,

(*d*) Wood, ibid. and Strype, as above, p. 6, 7.

(*e*) Strype, as above, p. 7—13. Aſchami Epiſt. lib. ii. p. 263. edit. Colon. Allobrogum, 12*mo*.

(*f*) Strype, p. 16, 17. He was choſen, though abſent, and when he had no leſs than three competitors. Life of Cheke by Dr Langbaine.

(*g*) Strype, as above, p. 17.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 17, 18, &c.

[*B*] *He endeavoured to reform and reſtore the true and original pronunciation of the Greek language, but — met with great oppoſition from — Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter.*] The Greek language was then but newly revived, and brought into the Univerſities, not without great oppoſition from the Patrons of Ignorance and Popery, who could not endure any thing that had the face of novelty, though never ſo true and right in itſelf. The pronunciation of it was very vicious; and the received way of ſounding the vowels and diphthongs, and ſome conſonants, very odd and untoward. For inſtance, *ει* was pronounced as *ε* (*e*), *οι* and *ει* as *ι* (*i*), and *η ι* and *υ* were ſounded alike, as *ἰωῖα*, or (*jj*. Some of the conſonants alſo were pronounced differently, according as they ſtood in the word; that is, the conſonant *π* when it came after *ρ*, they pronounced as a ſoft B. And *τ* after *μ* was pronounced as our D. The letter *κ* was pronounced as we do CH, and *β* as we do the V conſonant. Now, ſince different letters muſt make different ſounds, Cheke concluded theſe to be very falſe ways of reading Greek; and not, certainly, what was practiſed by the ancient Grecians (3). He ſaw, that not only the beauty of the language was loſt in this way, but likewiſe it's very ſpirit and life were gone, by the loſs of ſo many vowels and diphthongs, and the language become jejune and languid: In this way of ſpeaking it, nothing of numeroſity appeared in the ancient Orators and Rhetoricians, nor thoſe flowing periods, for which they had been renowned in old Greece; neither could he himſelf ſhew his eloquence, in his orations or lectures, for want of the beauty and variety of ſounds (4). He ſet himſelf therefore to find out what was the right method: and, partly, by conſidering the power of the letters themſelves; partly, by conſulting Ariſtophanes, and other ancient authors, he concluded, that each vowel ſhould have it's proper ſound, and, that diphthongs, conſiſting of two vowels ſhould have the ſound of two. This took exceedingly among the more ingenious men of the Univerſity, and great improvements were daily made in the knowledge of the Greek tongue, ſo that Plato and Ariſtotle began to be much read. But there was another party in the Univerſity, who, by being older, fancied themſelves wiſer than the others. Theſe made a great diſturbance about this *new* way of ſpeaking Greek, as they called it, and oppoſed it with all their might, both by writing and ſpeaking. But not finding their arguments ſo effectual as they wiſhed, they carried their complaints to Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, Chancellor of the Univerſity; who, in the true ſpirit of Popery, made an edict, dated the 14th of May, 1542, wherein he forbad all perſons to uſe the new faſhion of pronouncing Greek, upon the following penalties: If he were a Regent to be expelled out of the Senate; if he ſtood for a degree, not to be admitted to it; if a ſcholar, to loſe his ſcholarſhip; and the younger ſort, to be privately chaſtiſed. This edict is framed in ſuch a dictatorial air, that I cannot forbear laying the greateſt part of it before the curious reader. — *Sic edico: Quiſquis noſtram poteſtatem agnoſcis, ſonos, literis ſive Græcis ſive Latinis, ab uſu publico præſentis ſeculi alienos, privato judicio affingere ne audeto.* — *Diphthongos Græcas, nedum Latinas, niſi id Diæreſis exigat, ſonis ne diducito, neve divellito. Quæſitam uſu alteri vocalium prærogativam ne adimito. Sed ut marem fœminæ dominari finito. Quæ vero earum in communione ſoni uſu convenerunt, iis tu negotium ne faceſſito.* Α, ε, ει & ει *ab* ι *ſono ne diſtinguito. Tantum in orthographia diſcrimen ſervato.* Η, ι, υ, *uno eodemque ſono exprimito. Cujuſq; tamen propriam in orthographia ſedem diligenter notato. In* κ & γ, *quoties cum diphthongis aut vocalibus ſonos* ι *aut* ε *referentibus conſonantur, quoniam a doctis etiamnum in uſu variantur, aliis denſiorem, aliis tenuiorem ſonum affingentibus, utriuſque pronuntiationis modum diſcito: Ne aut horum aut illorum aures offendas; neve de ſonis litem inutiliter excites. Cæterum, qui in his ſonis a pluribus receptus eſt, illum frequentato.* Β *literam ad exemplum noſtri* Β *ne inſpiſſato, ſed ad imitationem* V. *conſonantis mollius proferto. Literas* π & τ, *item* γ & κ, *pro loco & ſitu alios atque alios ſonos adimere memento. Itaque* τ & π, *tum denique* β, *quum proxime locantur, hæc poſt* μ, *illa poſt* ν, *his locis videlicet litera* τ *referat noſtrum* D, π *vero* Β *noſtrum exprimat. Litera porro* γ *cum proxima ſedem occupet ante* κ, χ, *aut aliud* γ, *huic tu non ſuum, ſed ſonum* ν *literæ accommodato. Ne multa. In ſonis omnino ne philoſophator, ſed utitor præſentibus. In hiis ſiquid emendandum ſit, id omne authoritati permittito.* — *Si quis autem, quod abominor, ſecus fecerit, &c.* Then follow the penalties expreſſed above — And the whole concludes thus — *In ſumma, hoc edictum omnes ſacroſanctum ita habento, ut nec contumacibus remiſſum, nec reſipiſcentibus ſeverum eſſe videatur* (5). Upon the coming out of this edict, Cheke wrote an elegant letter to the Biſhop, wherein he ſaid, 'That the true ſounds of the 'letters were changed in the laſt barbarous ages, and 'that it was therefore better to mend that barbarity, 'than to follow it.' And for this he appealed to Eraſmus, (who had writ a book *of the true pronunciation of the Latin and Greek*,) and other learned men. The Biſhop replied, 'That the ſound of letters was more 'like to be changed by the learned than the unlearn-'ed: the learned being wont to have ſo much regard 'to the euphony, and the gracefulneſs of the ſound 'of words.' Cheke ſhewed, how by pronouncing the diphthong *οι* as an *ι*, (as was then commonly done,) there would be no diſtinction between Λοιμὸς and Λιμὸς. But the Chancellor was for no changes. *Utere*, ſaith he to Cheke, *moribus antiquis, verbis vero præſentibus, & multo magis ſonis*, i. e. uſe ancient cuſtoms, but preſent words, and much more ſounds. And when Cheke alledged, 'He acted merely out of 'love for the truth:' The Chancellor broke out into this expreſſion — *Quid non mortalia pectora cogit veri quærendi fames?* i. e. What does not too great an eagerneſs for ſeeking out truth drive men into? As if that had been ſo great a crime. However truth at length prevailed: And this true way of reading Greek came to be received not only in the Univerſities, but alſo throughout the kingdom (6). This controverſy was managed between Biſhop Gardiner and Mr Cheke in *ſeven* elegant epiſtles: of which the originals being left in the hands of Coelius Secundus Curio, a learned man of Baſil, by Cheke himſelf, as he paſſed through that place in his journey to Italy, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign; they were publiſhed from thoſe originals in 1555, 8vo. without Mr Cheke's knowledge or conſent, by Curio, with the following title, *Joannis Cheki Angli de pronunciatione Græcæ potiſſimum Linguæ, Diſputationes cum Stephano Wintonienſi Epiſcopo, ſeptem contrariis Epiſtolis comprehenſæ, magna quadam & elegantia & eruditione refertæ* (7).

(3) Strype, as above, p. 18, 19, 203, &c. and Eccleſiaſtical Memorials, Vol. I. p. 372.

(4) Reflections upon Learning, by T. Baker, B. D. 5th edit. 1714, 8*vo*, p. 32.

(5) Printed among *J. Cheki de Pronunciatione Diſputationes, &c.*

(6) Ibid. & Strype's Eccleſ. Memorials, Vol. I. p. 372.

(7) Strype's Life of Cheke, &c. p. 24, 127, 202—209.

[*C*] *Made*

Homer, all Euripides, part of Herodotus, and through Sophocles twice, to the advantage of his hearers, and his own credit (*i*). He was also at the same time University-Orator (*k*). About the year 1543, he was incorporated Master of Arts, at Oxford, where he had studied some time (*l*). On the 10th of July 1544, he was sent for to Court, in order to be School-master, or Tutor for the Latin tongue, jointly with Sir Anthony Cooke, to Prince Edward: and, about the same time, for an encouragement and a reward, the King granted him one of the Canonries in his new founded college at Oxford, now Christ-Church; but that college being dissolved in the beginning of the year 1545, a pension (*m*) was allowed him in the room of his Canonry (*n*). By this preferment it appears, he was then in holy orders. While he was entrusted with the Prince's education, he so adapted all the instructions he gave him, as that they should tend to render him a wise man, and a good Governor. And he made use of all the interest he had, in promoting men of learning and probity. He seems also to have had sometimes the Lady Elizabeth under his care (*o*). In 1547, he married Mary, daughter of Richard Hill, Sergeant of the Wine-cellar to King Henry VIII (*p*). When his Royal pupil, King Edward VI. came to the Crown, he rewarded him for his care and pains with an annuity of one hundred marks (*q*); and also made him a grant of several lands and manors [*C*]. He likewise caused him, by a Mandamus, to be elected Provost of King's College in Cambridge; which place was vacant by the deprivation of George Day, Bishop of Chichester (*r*). In May 1549, he retired to Cambridge, upon some disgust he had taken at the Court; and was notwithstanding one of the King's Commissioners, for visiting that university this summer. The October following, he was one of the thirty-two Commissioners, appointed to examine the old Ecclesiastical Law-books, and to compile from thence a body of Ecclesiastical Laws (*s*), for the government of the Church: and again, three years after, he was put in a new commission, issued out for the same purpose (*t*). He returned to Court in the winter of 1549, but met there with great uneasiness, on account of some offence given by his wife to Anne, Duchess of Somerset, whose dependent she was. Mr Cheke himself was not exempt from trouble, being of the number of those, who were charged with having suggested ill counsels to the Duke of Somerset, and afterwards betrayed him (*u*). But having got over this shock at Court, he stood the firmer, afterwards, and his interest and authority daily increased, so that he became the great Patron of religious and learned men, both English and foreigners. In 1550 (*w*), he was made chief Gentleman of the King's Privy-Chamber; whose tutor he still continued to be, and who made a wonderful progress through his good instructions. Mr Cheke, to ground him well in morality, read to him Cicero's Philosophical works, and Aristotle's Ethicks. And also, what was of great importance, instructed him in the General History, the State and Interest, the Laws and Customs of England (*x*). He likewise directed him to keep a Diary of all the remarkable occurrences that happened [*D*]. In October 1551, his Majesty conferred on him the honour of Knighthood, and to enable him the better to support that degree, made him a considerable grant [*E*]. The same year, he held two private conferences, with some other learned persons [*F*], upon the subject of the Sacrament, or Transubstantiation (*y*). He procured Bucer's manuscripts; and in 1552, the famous John Leland's valuable collections [*G*], for the King's library.

(*i*) Wood, ubi supra, col. 100.

(*k*) Strype, as above, p. 27.

(*l*) Wood, Fasti, Vol I. col. 68. He says elsewhere that it was in 1542, or thereabouts. Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 100.

(*m*) Of 26 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

(*n*) Wood, ibid. and Strype, as above, p. 31.

(*o*) Strype, p 40.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 43.

(*q*) Ib. p. 44, 46.

(*r*) Ibid.

(*s*) See the article COX (RICHARD) in the note concerning *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum.*

(*t*) Strype, as above, p. 49, 55, 56.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 56, 58.

(*w*) Wood says it was in 1547, but we choose to follow Mr Strype, Wood being visibly mistaken.

(*x*) Strype, as above, p. 59, 72, 73.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 85, 90, &c.

[*C*] *Made him a grant of several lands and manors.*] In 1548 he granted to him, and Walter Moyle, the very advantagious purchase, of the College of St John Baptist at Stoke, near Clare in Suffolk, and likewise all the messuages, tenements, &c. with the appurtenances belonging to the college of *Corpus Christi*, in the parish of St Laurence Poultney, London, lately dissolved; together with divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Suffolk, Devon, Kent, and in London; for the sum of 958 *l.* 3 *s.* 5 *d. ob.* a good penniworth, undoubtedly, as Mr Strype observes (8). The next year, in consideration of his industry in teaching the King, he obtain'd, the house and site of the late Priory of Spalding in the county of Lincoln, the manor of Hunden in the same county, and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Lincoln, and Suffolk, to the yearly value of 118 *l.* 11 *d. q.* and no rent reserved (9).

(8) Page 46.

(9) Ibid.

[*D*] *He likewise directed him to keep a Diary, &c.*] And to write down briefly, under each day of the month, debates in Council, dispatch of ambassadors, honours conferred, and other remarks as he thought proper. This undoubtedly produced that King's journal, which is preserved in the Cottonian Library, and thence printed in Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. Appendix.

[*E*] *Made him a considerable grant.*] It was a gift in fee simple, (upon consideration of his surrender of the hundred marks abovementioned,) of the whole manor of Stoke near Clare, exclusive of the college before granted him, and the appurtenances in Suffolk and Essex, with divers other lands, tenements, &c. all to the yearly value of 145 *l.* 19 *s.* 3 *d.* And a pasture, with other premisses, in Spalding; and the Rectory, and other premisses, in Sandon (10).

(10) Ibid. p. 86.

[*F*] *The same year he held two private conferences — upon Transubstantiation.*] The first conference was held November the 25th, in Secretary Cecil's house, and the second December 3d, the same year, at Sir Richard Morison's. The auditors were, the Lord Russel, Sir Tho. Wroth of the Bed-Chamber, Sir Anthony Cook one of the King's tutors, Throgmorton Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Mr Knolles, and Mr Harrington, with whom were joined the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Rutland, in the second Conference. The Popish disputants for the real presence were, Feckenham afterwards Dean of St Paul's, and Yong; and at the second disputation Watson. The disputants on the other side, were, Sir John Cheke, Sir William Cecil, Horn Dean of Durham, Whitehead, and Grindal. Some account of these disputations is still extant in Latin, in the library of MSS, belonging to Bennet-College in Cambridge; and from thence published in English by Mr Strype (11).

(11) Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 90—112.

[*G*] *In 1552 he procur'd J. Leland's Collections, for the King's library.*] But, either by reason of Sir John's misfortunes, or through some other accident, they were not reposited there. Four volumes of these *Collections* were given by his son Henry Cheke, to Humphrey Purefoy, Esq; one of Queen Elizabeth's Council in the North, whose son Thomas Purefoy, of Barwel in Leicestershire, gave them to the famous Antiquarian William Burton of Lindley, in the same county,

library (z). Being at Cambridge, at the Commencement in 1552, he disputed there againſt Jeſus Chriſt's local deſcent into hell [*H*]. On the 25th of Auguſt, the ſame year, he was made Chamberlain of the Exchequer for life: and in 1553, conſtituted Clerk of the Council; and ſoon after, one of the Secretaries of State, and a Privy-Counſellor (*a*). In May the ſame year, the King granted to him and his heirs male, the honour of Clare in Suffolk, with divers other lands, to the yearly value of one hundred pounds. His zeal for the Proteſtant Religion induced him to approve of the ſettlement of the Crown upon the Lady Jane Grey: and he acted as Secretary to her, and her Council, after King Edward's deceaſe (*b*) [*I*]. But upon Queen Mary's acceſſion to the throne, he was dealt with as a traytor; being committed to the Tower on the 28th of July, and an indictment drawn up againſt him, the 12th or 13th of Auguſt (*c*). The year following, after he was almoſt ſtripped of his whole ſubſtance, he obtained the Queen's pardon, and was ſet at liberty, September 3, 1554 (*d*). But not being able to reconcile himſelf to Popery, which was then reſtored again; and foreſeeing the evil times that were drawing on; he obtained a licence from the Queen to travel for ſome time into foreign parts. He went firſt to Baſil, where he ſtayed ſome time; and thence paſſed into Italy. At Padua, he met with ſome of his countrymen, whom he directed in their ſtudies, and read and explained to them ſome Greek orations of Demoſthenes. Upon his return from Italy, not caring to venture into his own country, he went and ſettled at Straſburgh in Germany, where the Engliſh ſervice was kept up, and many of his pious and learned friends reſided. But ſo offended at this were the Popiſh zealots in England, that his whole eſtate was confiſcated to the Queen's uſe, under pretence, That he did not come home at the expiration of his travels (*e*). Being hereby reduced to low circumſtances, he was forced to read a Greek lecture at Straſburgh, for his ſubſiſtance (*f*). In the beginning of the year 1556, his wife being come to Bruſſels, he reſolved, chiefly upon an invitation he had received from the Lord Paget and Sir John Maſon [*K*], to go thither to fetch her. But, firſt, he conſulted Aſtrology, in which he was very ſkilful and credulous [*L*], to know, whether he might ſafely undertake that journey? And being deceived by that deluſive art, he fell into a fatal ſnare between Bruſſels and Antwerp. For, upon certain intelligence and orders from King Philip II, being way-laid there by the Provoſt-Marſhal, he was ſuddenly ſeized on the 15th of May [*M*]; unhorſed, blind-folded, bound, and thrown into a waggon, conveyed to the neareſt harbour, put on board a ſhip under hatches, and brought to the Tower of London, where he was committed cloſe priſoner.

(z) Ibid. p. 12, 13; and Wood, Athenæ, edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 85.

(a) Strype, p. 119.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid. p. 123.

(d) Wood as above, col. 101.

(e) Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke, &c. p. 124, 125, 126, 135.

(f) Ibid. p. 134.

county, in 1612; and he made uſe of them in his deſcription of Leiceſterſhire. Many years after, he made a preſent of them to the Bodleian library at Oxford, where they now are. Some other of theſe collections, after Cheke's death, came into the hands of William Lord Paget, and Sir William Cecil (12). The original of the Itinerary, in five volumes, 4°. is in the Bodleian library; and two volumes of Collections, relating to Britain, are in the Cottonian. Julius C. 6. (13).

(12) Ibid. p. 123.

(13) *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, auctore J. Lelando, Oxon. 1709, in Vita auctoris, & ad calcem ſecundi Voluminis.

[*H*] *He diſputed againſt Jeſus Chriſt's local deſcent into hell.*] This was a point very much canvaſſed in England, not long after the beginning of the Reformation (14); and which was grounded upon the authority of J. Calvin, who aſſerted, That Jeſus Chriſt went into hell, and there ſuffered the pains of the damned (15).——At this Commencement at Cambridge, Chriſtopher Carlile keeping a Divinity-Act, choſe this for his Theſis, That Chriſt went into no other hell but the very loweſt, *i. e.* that of the damned. Sir John Cheke agreed beforehand to diſpute upon that queſtion with him, on purpoſe to attack the Popiſh doctrine of the *Limbus Patrum*; that is, an apartment in hell, where, they ſay, the ancient patriarchs and good men before Chriſt were detained, and in which Chriſt deſcended on purpoſe to deliver them from thence (16).

(14) See the article BILSON (THOMAS).

(15) Calvini Inſtitut. l. ii. c. 16. §. 10.

(16) Wood's Ath. Vol. I. col. 144; and Strype, as above, p. 116.

[*I*] *He acted as Secretary to her* [the Lady Jane Grey] *and her Council, after King Edward's deceaſe.*] He was ſworn and admitted into that office June the 2d, and the two other Secretaries were yet continued, and all three Secretaries appeared in Council together, as is manifeſt from the council-book. But at this juncture Cecil was intended to be laid aſide, becauſe he ſcrupled coming into the ambitious deſigns of the Duke of Northumberland, who would have the Crown ſettled upon the Lady Jane Grey, which had married his ſon Guilford Dudley. But Cheke's zeal for religion made him come into thoſe meaſures; and that was the cauſe of his advancement (17). One author tells us, 'he 'had that place three years (18).' But he is much miſtaken; for he enjoyed it but little above *four weeks*; to which may be added the nine days of the Lady Jane's reign, for he acted to the laſt, *viz.* 'till July the 19th.

(17) Strype, p. 119.

(18) D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, 8vo, p. 194.

[*K*] *Upon an invitation he had received from the Lord Paget and Sir John Maſon.*] Theſe two perſons had been his friends and acquaintance in the late King Edward's reign, but having changed their religion, were in great favour with the Queen, and conſequently had altered their inclination towards him. Paget came into thoſe parts, under pretence of uſing the baths of Aix la Chapelle, but really with intent to have the Ducheſs of Suffolk, and her huſband, who had fled abroad for their religion, betrayed into his hands. As for Maſon, he was the Queen's Ambaſſador at the Court of Bruſſels. Failing in their attempt upon the Ducheſs of Suffolk, they uſed this ſtratagem to get Sir John Cheke, and Sir Peter Carew (who had been engaged in Wyat's inſurrection, and was fled abroad) apprehended. They deſired Sir John, to take the opportunity of fetching his wife, to come and ſee them at Bruſſels; and for his better ſecurity, Maſon aſſured him of a ſafe-conduct thither in King Philip's, and his own, name. He accordingly went thither, with Sir Peter Carew, and enjoyed his pretended friends Paget and Maſon; but, as he was coming back from them, he was ſeized between Bruſſels and Antwerp, as is above related. So that it appears, he and his friend Carew were betrayed (19).

(19) Strype, p. 135, 136, 139; and Dr Ponet's Treatiſe of Politick Power, cited by Strype, p. 139, 140.

[*L*] *He conſulted Aſtrology, &c.*] That art was then much ſtudied, both by the Nobility and Gentry; in ſo much, that Dr Laurence Humfrey, who lived in thoſe days, and was afterwards Divinity Profeſſor at Oxford, in his book *De Nobilitate* (20), obſerves, how this ſcience above the reſt was ſo ſnatched at, ſo beloved, and even devoured by moſt perſons of faſhion (21), that they needed no inticements to it, but a bridle rather; not to be ſet on, but rather taken off from it. And that many had ſo truſted to this, that they almoſt diſtruſted God.

(20) Lib. iii. p. 347.

(21) *Sic rapi, ſic adamari, & devorari a pleriſque Nobilibus.*

[*M*] *He was ſuddenly ſeized on the 15th of May.*] Or, as it is expreſſed in his ſecond recantation,—— 'When *he* thought leaſt,—he was *taken* as it were 'with a hurlewind from the place he was in, and 'brought over the ſea, and never knew whither *he* 'went, afore *he* found himſelf in the Tower of Lon- 'don, which of all places *he* abhorred moſt (22).

(22) See Strype, p. 157.

[*N*] *And*

priſoner (*g*). He ſoon found, that it was on account of his religion he was thus ſtrangely uſed. For, two of the Queen's Chaplains were ſent to the Tower, to endeavour, out of charity and good-will, as they pretended, to reconcile him to the Church of Rome, tho' without ſucceſs. But the deſire of gaining ſo great a man, induced the Queen to ſend to him Dr Feckenham, Dean of St Paul's, a man of a moderate and obliging temper, and with whom he had been acquainted in the late reign. This man's arguments were inforced by this dreadful alternative, *either comply, or burn*, which Sir John's frailty was not able to withſtand. Seeming therefore inclined to turn, he was, at his own deſire, carried before Cardinal Pole, who gravely adviſed him, to depart from the variety of Doctors to the Unity of the Church. Whereupon, he was forced to ſubmit his perſon to be ordered as ſhould be thought beſt for his ſoul's health, to them that had authority in the Church upon ſuch offenders. Then he drew up a paper, conſiſting of quotations out of the Fathers that ſeemed to countenance Tranſubſtantiation; repreſenting them as his own opinion, and hoping that would ſuffice to procure him his liberty, without any other publick declarations of his change. This paper he ſent to Cardinal Pole, with a letter dated July 15, wherein he deſired him, to have ſo much compaſſion of his frailty, as to ſpare him from making an open recantation; but that was refuſed him. He writ a letter to the Queen the ſame day, in which he declared his readineſs to obey her laws, and other orders of religion. After which, to declare his repentance for rejecting the Pope, he made his ſolemn ſubmiſſion before the Cardinal, ſuing to be abſolved, and received into the boſom of the Roman Catholick Church; and this was granted him as a mighty favour. But notwithſtanding all that, he was forced to make a publick recantation before the Queen, on the 4th of October, and another long one before the whole Court [*N*]; and ſubmitted, moreover to whatever penances ſhould be enjoyned him by the Pope's Legate, *i. e.* the Cardinal (*b*). After all this drudgery, his lands were reſtored to him, but it was upon condition of an exchange with the Queen for others [*O*]. The Papiſts, to triumph in his converſion, and to mortify the Proteſtants, obliged him to keep company generally with Catholicks, and to be preſent at the examinations and convictions of thoſe they called Hereticks (*). But his remorſe and extreme vexation for what he had done, ſat ſo heavy upon his mind, that pining away with ſhame and regret, he died September the 13, 1557, aged forty-three, at his friend Mr Peter Oſborne's houſe, in Woodſtreet, London, and was buried in St Alban's Church there, in the north chapel of the choir, the 16th of September (*i*). A ſtone was ſet afterwards over his grave, with an inſcription [*P*]. He left three ſons [*Q*]; and was author of ſeveral books [*R*]. As to his character; he was a perſon of extraordinary wit, and was accounted one of the beſt and learnedeſt men of his age, and a ſingular ornament to his country. He was one of the revivers of polite literature in England, and a great lover and encourager of the Greek language in particular. The authors he chiefly admired and recommended, were, Demoſthenes, Xenophon, Plato, Ariſtotle, Iſocrates, and Cicero. Theſe, together with the Bible, and a few more, were ſufficient, in his judgment, to render

(*g*) Ib. p. 135, 136; and Wood, Athenæ, col. 101.

(*h*) Strype, as above, p. 142—166.

(*) J. Fox ſays, That he was drawn unawares to ſit in the place where the poor Martyrs were brought before Boner and other Biſhops to be condemned. Acts and Monuments, edit. 1583, p. 1955.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 167—170.

[*N*] *And another long one before the whole Court.*] This ſecond recantation, in particular, is manifeſtly in the ſtyle of Cardinal Pole, that is, long and tedious. Cheke is made to accuſe himſelf therein, in the moſt ignominious manner —— As may appear from theſe few lines —— 'I did moſt grievouſly offend, both to 'the ruin of myſelf, and of others that were converſant 'with me in the Court, where I had more occaſion to 'do hurt for the place of ſchoolmaſter I had with 'young King Edward, and with all the youth of the 'Nobility than any other had. And albeit mine office was not to teach him the matters of religion, 'which was committed to others; yet I confeſs touching my peſtilent error, I peradventure did no leſs to 'confirm and ſet forward the ſame in his mind, and 'all the reſt of the youth than any other.—— Mine 'error [*i. e.* his being a Proteſtant] was a blaſphemy 'of the holy name of God, under colour to glorify the 'fame, and a perſecution of the name of Chriſt, more 'grievous than ever were they, that, deceived by 'others, crucified Chriſt, or afterward did perſecute 'thoſe that were his diſciples— (23).'

(23) See Strype, p. 152; and alſo p. 163.

[*O*] *But it was upon condition of an exchange with the Queen for others.*] Upon his ſurrendering the lands mentioned above in Note [*E*] the Queen granted him, April 12, 1556, the reverſion of the mannor of Brampton-Abbot in Devonſhire, and the annual rents of 37 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d. ob.* and the reverſion of cuſtomary lands of Freſhford, and Woodwick, in Somerſetſhire; the capital meſſuage of Batokyſborough; the manor of Ayſcote; and the manor of Northlode, in the ſame county; the manor of More in Devonſhire; and ſome other things (24).

(24) Ib. p. 167, 168.

[*P*] *A ſtone was ſet afterwards over his grave, with an inſcription.*] Which inſcription was compoſed by his learned friend Dr Walter Haddon, and is as follows.

Doctrinæ lumen Checus, vitæque magiſter,
Aurea naturæ fabrica, morte jacet.
Non erat è multis unus, ſed præſtitit unus
Omnibus, & patriæ flos erat ille ſuæ.
Gemma Britanna fuit, tam magnum nulla tulerunt
Tempora theſaurum, tempora nulla ferent (25).

(25) Ibid. p. 171. Mr Strype took it from a copy tranſcribed from the ſtone, by C. Lancaſter, a herald, in 1611. By Dr Langbaine and A. Wood, the firſt verſe is thus read, *Doctrinæ Checus, Linguæque utriuſque, magiſter.*

[*Q*] *He left three ſons.*] John, and Edward, the two youngeſt, died without iſſue. *Henry*, the eldeſt, was Secretary to the Council in the North, and knighted by Queen Elizabeth: he died about the year 1586. *Thomas*, his eldeſt ſon and heir, was knighted by King James I. He purchaſed the ſeat of Pyrgo near Romford in Eſſex, where he and his poſterity were ſettled ſeveral years. He was buried March 25, 1659, in St Alban's Woodſtreet, near his grandfather Sir Thomas's ſecond ſon, *Thomas*, commonly known by the name of Colonel Cheke, inherited the eſtate, and was Lieutenant of the Tower in the reigns of King Charles II. and James II. This Thomas had two ſons, Henry, who died young; and *Edward*, who ſucceeded him in his eſtates. This Edward dying in 1707 left two ſons; but they died both under age; and ſo the eſtate devolved to Edward's younger ſiſter *Anne*, wife of Sir Thomas Tipping of Oxfordſhire, Baronet. She left only two daughters, whereof *Catharine*, the youngeſt, is married to Thomas Archer of Underſlade in Warwickſhire, Eſq; the preſent poſſeſſor of the Eſſex-Eſtate of the Cheke's (26).

(26) See Strype, as above, p. 179—192; and Hiſt. and Antiquities of Eſſex, by N. Salmon, fol. p. 245.

[*R*] *And was author of ſeveral books.*] Thoſe that are printed, are as follow. I. A Latin tranſlation of two of St Chryſoſtom's Homilies, never before publiſhed, *Contra obſervatores novilunii*; and *De dormientibus in Chriſto*. Lond. 1543. 4°. II. A Latin tranſlation of ſix Homilies of the ſame Father, *De Fato*, and

render a man ſubſtantially learned, and withal to make him wiſe and good, which is the true end of learning (*k*). He was very happy in imitating the ancient and beſt writers, and had great judgment in tranſlating them. In the orthography, and pronunciation, of the Latin and Greek languages, he was very critical and exact [*S*]; and alſo took great pains to correct, regulate, and improve, his mother-tongue, the Engliſh [*T*]. We are alſo aſſured, That he was an excellent Stateſman, and a true and ſincere Chriſtian, and a hearty profeſſor of the Reformed Religion (*l*): and likewiſe extremely beneficent, charitable, and communicative (*m*). His unhappy fall is indeed a great blemiſh to his memory. But before he is abſolutely condemned, let any one place himſelf in his circumſtances, and then conſider, how few can have reſolution enough, to withſtand this dreadful dilemma, *either turn, or burn?* An author of more zeal, than charity or knowledge (*n*), treats him as a 'a Libertine by profeſſion,' but, undoubtedly, he has borrowed that odious and unjuſt character of him from his enemies the Papiſts. With regard to his perſon; he had a full

(*k*) Ibid. p. 193, 194, 196—200.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 224, 225. D. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 195.

(*m*) Strype, ibid. p. 227, 228.

(*n*) The author of the Hiſtory of Socinianiſm. See *Memoires Literaires de la Grande Bretagne*, Tom. XV. p 277.

Providentia Dei. Lond. 1547. III. 'The hurt of ſe-'dition, how grievous it is to a commonwealth.' The running title is, 'The true ſubject to the rebel.' It was written, and publiſhed, by Mr Cheke in 1549, on occaſion of the inſurrections in Devonſhire and Norfolk; and contains very ſerious and earneſt expoſtulations with the rebels. 'Tis inſerted in Holinſhed's Chronicle, under the year 1549, and was reprinted in 1576, as a ſeaſonable diſcourſe upon apprehenſion of tumults from malecontents at home, or renegadoes abroad. Dr Gerard Langbaine of Queen's College Oxon, cauſed it to be reprinted again about 1641, for the uſe and conſideration of the rebels againſt King Charles I. in the time of the civil wars, and prefixed to it a ſhort life of the author (27). IV. A Latin tranſlation of the Engliſh *Communion-book*; done for the uſe of M. Bucer, that he might underſtand it, and paſs his judgment upon the ſame. 'Tis printed among Bucer's *Opuſcula Anglicana*. V. *De obitu doctiſſimi & ſanctiſſimi Theologi domini Martini Buceri, &c. Epiſtolæ duæ.* Lond. 1551. 4°. printed in Bucer's *Scripta Anglicana*. He alſo wrote an *Epicedium* on the death of that learned man (28). VI. *Carmen heroicum*, or *Epitaphium, in Antonium Deneium clariſſimum virum.* Lond. 4° (29). This Sir Anthony Denny was originally of St John's College in Cambridge, and a learned man; afterwards he became one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, and Groom of the Stole to King *Henry* VIII, and one of the executors of his will. VII. *De Pronuntiatione Græcæ potiſſimum linguæ diſputationes*, &c. See above, note [*B*]. Baſil. 1555, 8°. VIII. *De ſuperſtitione ad regem Henricum.* This diſcourſe on ſuperſtition was drawn up for King Henry's uſe, in order to excite that Prince to a thorough Reformation of religion. It is written in very elegant Latin, and was prefixed by the author, as a dedication, to a Latin tranſlation of his, of Plutarch's book of Superſtition. A copy of this diſcourſe, in manuſcript, is ſtill preſerved in the library of Univerſity College, Oxon, curiouſly writ, and bound up in cloth of ſilver: which makes it probable, that it was the very book that was preſented to the King. An Engliſh tranſlation of it, done by the learned W. Elſtob, formerly Fellow of that college, was publiſhed by Mr Strype, at the end of his Life of Sir John Cheke. IX. Several *Letters* of his, are publiſhed in the Life juſt now mentioned (30), and perhaps in other places. X. A Latin tranſlation of Archbiſhop Cranmer's book on the Lord's Supper; was alſo done by Sir John Cheke; and printed in 1553. XI. He likewiſe tranſlated *Leo de apparatu bellico.* Baſil. 1554. 8°.

(27) Strype, p. 27, 38, 39, 51—55. Balei, Scriptorum Brytanniæ Centuria Octava, No. 97, p. 699, edit. 1557, fol.

(28) Printed in Strype, as above, p. 218.

(29) Printed there, p. 219, 220.

(30) Page 11, 21, 33, 49, 57, 69, 70, 75, 79, 81, 130, 144.

Thoſe pieces of his that are loſt, or elſe were never printed, are theſe. I. *De Fide juſtificante.* Of juſtifying faith; undoubtedly againſt the Papiſts. II. *De Euchariſtiæ ſacramento.* On the Euchariſt: Probably his conferences with Dr Feckenham, as mentioned above note [*F*]. III. *In quoſdam Pſalmos.* IV. *In Pſalmum, Domine probaſti*, &c. Theſe Mr Strype ſuppoſes to be ſome pious meditations of his on thoſe pſalms (31). V. *De cineribus & palmis. Ad Wintonienſem.* Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, was earneſt with the Protector, for retaining the old uſages in the Church; particularly, ſprinkling of aſhes on Aſh-Wedneſday, and carrying palms on Palm-Sunday. Perhaps, this tract of Cheke was an anſwer to Gardiner's letter on that ſubject to the Duke of Somerſet (32). VI. *De Eccleſiâ; An poteſt errare?* Of the Church; whether it can err? Still extant among J. Fox's manuſcripts. It is a diſpute againſt the Romaniſts, under theſe three queſtions, whether there be a Church? what the Church is? and, whether it can err? VII. *An liceat nubere poſt divortium?* Whether a woman may marry after being divorced? A caſe much handled in thoſe times. VIII. *De nativitate Principis* On the Prince's nativity. The author of *Heroologia Anglicana* will have this to be a panegyric on the Prince's birth: and ſo accordingly Mr Wood entitles it, *Panegyric. in nativitatem Edwardi Principis* (33). But Mr Strype more truly ſuppoſes, that it was ſome private calculation of Prince Edward's nativity, an art in which Cheke had great ſkill, and depended on too much. IX. *Introductio Grammaticæ*, an introduction to Grammar. X. *De ludimagiſtrorum officio.* Of the duty of ſchoolmaſters. Theſe two were probably writ by him for the uſe of his royal pupil, the Prince. XI. *Elegia de Ægrotatione & obitu R. Edwar.* 6. An elegy on the ſickneſs and death of King Edward 6. There is an Engliſh elegy, much of the ſame nature as this, printed in the Heroologia; but Mr Strype does not ſeem to believe it to be his (34). XII. *Epitaphia.* Epitaphs. Beſides his epitaph on Sir Anthony Denny, mentioned above; and a Greek epitaph for his ſiſter Mary, wife of Sir William Cecil (35): Mr Strype ſuppoſes, he alſo was author of the inſcription on the monument of his patron Dr Butts, in Fulham-Church; and on his father-in-law, Richard Hill, in St Michael's Queen-Hith, London. XIII. He alſo tranſlated from Greek into Latin. 1. Five books of Joſephus's Antiquities. 2. The Aſcetic of Maximus the monk. 3. Plutarch of ſuperſtition. 4. Three of Demoſthenes his Philippics. 5. And his three Olynthiacs. 6. His oration againſt Leptines. 7. The orations of Demoſthenes and Æſchines, on the two oppoſite ſides. 8. Ariſtotle *de Anima.* 9. He tranſlated Sophocles and Euripides literally. 10. And made corrections on Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon, and other authors. Finally, he collected the arguments and reaſons of both ſides, upon the buſineſs of the Euchariſt; at the time that point was learnedly and largely debated in parliament, when the Communion-book was appointed. Mr Strype ſuppoſes, he wrote many other things, which are unknown to us at this diſtance. But, adds he, this is ſufficient to inform us what a ſcholar he was (36).

(31) Page 216.

(32) See Fox's Acts and Mon. edit. 1583, p. 1342, &c.

(33) Col. 101.

(34) See p. 218.

(35) Strype, ibid.

(36) This Catalogue is taken from *Balei Scriptorum Brytanniæ Centuria Octava*, No. 97, p. 699, 700. Wood's Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 101. and Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 216, &c.

[*S*] *In the orthography, and pronunciation, of the Greek and Latin languages, he was very critical and exact.*] What he did with regard to the Greek, hath been fully ſhown above in note [*B*]. And for the Latin; that it might be ſpoken truly, and the ſyllables in reading pronounced long or ſhort, according to their nature, he deviſed a way to write the vowels according to their quantity. Namely the long vowel O, after this manner ω, like a Greek *omega*, as in *Uxωrem, Liberωs.* And the long I, with two tittles over it, as in *Divïnitus*; and as for the long E, eſpecially the Diphthong, which before was commonly writ as the ordinary E, he put a tail to it, as in *Le,tor* (37).

(37) Strype, p. 211.

[*T*] *And alſo took great pains to correct, regulate, and improve——the Engliſh.*] Namely in theſe following particulars. 1. He would have no E put to the end of words, as being needleſs and unexpreſſive of any ſounds; for inſtance, in theſe words, *excus, giv, deceiv, prais, commun:* Unleſs where it is ſounded, and then to be writ with a double E, as in *neceſſitee.* 2. Where the letter A was ſounded long, he would have it writ with a double A, in diſtinction from A ſhort; as in *maad, ſtraat, daar.* 3. Where the letter I was ſounded long, to be writ with a double I, as in

full, comely, countenance, somewhat red, with a yellow large beard (o); and, as far as can be judged by his picture, he was tall and well made. (o) Strype, as above, p. 173.

in *desir, liif.* 4. He entirely threw the letter Y out of the alphabet, as useless, and supplied it with I, as *mi, sai, awai.* 5. U long he wrote with a stroke over it, as in *præsūm.* 6. The rest of the long vowels he would have to be written with double letters, as *weer, theer,* (and sometimes *thear,*) *noo, noon, adoo, thoos, loov,* to avoid an E at the end. 7. Letters without sound he threw out, as in these words, *frutes, wold, faut, dout, again* for *against, hole, meen* for *mean.* And, 8. Changed the spelling in some words, to make them the better expressive of the sounds; as in *gud, britil, praisabil, &c.* He also had better skill in our language to judge of the phrases, and properties of words, and to divide sentences, than any else then had: And was thought to have greatly improved the language by a practice he had, when he read his Greek lectures, to take the book, and only looking upon the book, to read it in English. He further brought in a short and expressive way of writing, without long and intricate periods. And moreover in what he writ himself, he would allow no words, but such as were true English, or of Saxon original; suffering no adoption of any foreign word into the English language, which he thought was copious enough of itself, without borrowing words from other countries. This made him dislike the then English translation of the Bible, because there were in it so many foreign words, and to undertake a new one. He went through the Gospel of St Matthew, and began that of St Mark; wherein all along he laboured to use only true English Saxon words, though they were sometimes odd and uncouth; as for instance, *desirful, ungrevous, tollers* for publicans, *&c.* The original under his own hand still remains in the MS. Library at Benet College, Cambridge. A specimen whereof follows. Matth. I. ver 18.— 'After his mother Mari was en-'sured to Joseph, before thei weer cupled together, 'she was preived to be with child; and it was indeed 'by the Holi Ghoost. 19. But Joseph her husband, 'being a just man, and loth to use extremitie toward 'her, entended privili to divorse himself from her. '20. And being in this mind, lo the angel of the 'Lord appeared by dream, *&c.* Chap. II. ver. 16. 'Then Herod seeing that he was plaid withal by the 'wise-heards,' *&c.*— Lastly, Sir John Cheke brought in a fair and graceful way of writing; for he wrote himself an excellent and accurate hand, as did also the best scholars in those times, namely Smith, Cecil, and especially Ascham. So that fair writing, and good learning seem to have begun in England together (38). C (38) Strype, as above, p. 211—215.

CHICHLEY or CHICHELY (HENRY) Archbishop of Canterbury in the reigns of Henry V, and VI, was born, of an obscure family, at Higham-Ferrars in Northamptonshire (*a*). He was educated in Grammar learning at Winchester-School (*b*), and afterwards became Fellow of New-College in Oxford, where he took the degree of Doctor in the Civil and Canon Law. He was next Chaplain to Robert Medford, Bishop of Salisbury, who, about the year 1402, preferred him to the Archdeaconry of Salisbury [*A*], which he exchanged, two years after, for the Chancellorship of that diocese [*B*]. His eminent qualifications being now generally taken notice of, he was employed by King Henry IV in several important negotiations. He was sent Ambassador to Pope Gregory XII, to congratulate him on his advancement to the papacy (*c*). The Bishoprick of St David's becoming vacant during his absence, he was promoted to that See by the Pope, who consecrated him with his own hands at Sienna, the 4th of October 1407 [*C*]. He returned into England in April following, and on the 26th of August made profession of canonical obedience in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury. In the beginning of the year 1409, he was deputed by the Synod of London, with Robert Hallum, Bishop of Salisbury, and the Prior of Canterbury, to the General Council of Pisa, held for the putting an end to the schism of the Church (*d*). After the breaking up of that Council, Bishop Chichley returned into England, and was present in two Synods holden at London in 1410 and 1411 (*e*). In 1413, he was sent by King Henry V Ambassador, together with Richard, Earl of Warwick, first to the King of France, and then to the Duke of Burgundy, for concluding a truce between England and France, then at war (*f*). And being returned into England, he was sent again in the same year, with the Earl of Warwick, to demand the Duke of Burgundy's daughter in marriage for King Henry (*g*). The next year 1414, upon the death of Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, our Bishop of St David's was translated by virtue of the Pope's bull, to the Archiepiscopal See [*D*]. The

(*a*) Arthur Duck's Life of Henry Chichele, *&c.* made English Lond. 1699, 8*vo*, p. 1.

(*b*) Harpsfield, Hist. Angl. Eccl. Duaci 1622. fol. p. 620.

(*c*) Arth. Duck, ubi supra, p. 2, 3, 4.

(*d*) Id. ib. p. 5, 6.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 33.

(*f*) Monstrelet. c. 106, *ap.* Ar. Duck, ubi supra, p. 34, 35.

(*g*) Monstrelet. c. 109, *ap.* Ar. Duck, ib. p. 35.

[*A*] *He was preferred to the Archdeaconry of Salisbury.*] The learned Dr Duck tells us (1), that one Walter Fitzperes, a priest, commenced a suit against him for this dignity, claiming it by virtue of a Grant from King Henry IV, under the Great Seal. But, the cause being brought by appeal before Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archdeaconry was adjudged to Henry Chichley by the Auditor of the Archbishop's court, who was deputed with full power to determine this affair.

(1) In his Life of Henry Chichele, *&c.* made English, Lond. 1699, 8*vo*, p. 2.

[*B*] *He exchanged it for the Chancellorship of that diocese.*] He made this exchange with Walter Medford, the Bishop of Salisbury's brother, who enjoyed that dignity; which was allowed to be lawful by the constitutions of the Canon Law: and having both quitted their several dignities, Henry was made Chancellor, and Walter Archdeacon. There was annexed to the Chancellorship the Parsonage of Odyham in the diocese of Winchester, which was then vacant, and was given him by the Bishop, and he was immediately put in possession of it by the *Custos Rotulorum* of the See of Winchester, which was then vacant by the death of William Wickham (2). Here it may be proper to observe from the same author (3), that these two preferments (the Archdeaconry and Chancellorship) were both given him by the Bishop of Salisbury, who always highly esteemed him, and when he died, which was about three years after, left him by will a golden cup with a cover, and appointed him the chief of his executors.

(2) Id. ib. p. 3.

(3) Ibid.

[*C*] *He was consecrated the 4th of October* 1407.] Bishop Godwin (4) assigns the 12th of June 1409, which is almost two years later, for the time of his confecration. But, if he was deputed, in quality of Bishop of St David's, to the Synod of Pisa, in the beginning of the year 1409 (5), it is plain his consecration to that See must have preceded that date: and therefore I adhere to the authority of the Life-writer in this point.

(4) Comment. de Præsul. Angl. *inter* Epis. Menev. ann. 1409.

(5) See the text, ref. (*d*).

[*D*] *He was translated, by virtue of the Pope's bull, to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury.*] Upon the death of Archbishop Arundel, John Woodneburgh, Prior of Canterbury, and the monks of that church, desired the King's leave for electing a new Archbishop; which prerogative, the learned author of Chichley's *Life* affirms, the Kings of England had challenged to themselves since the time of Edward III, who took it away from the Pope, and constituted Bishops by his own authority;

The King delivered to him the temporalities the 30th of May, and, on the 29th of June following (*h*), the pall was delivered to him by the Biſhops of Wincheſter and Norwich, delegated by the Pope for that purpoſe, with great ſolemnity, in the preſence of the King and many of the Nobility, at the King's palace of Sutton (*i*): at which time he took an oath of obedience and fidelity to the Pope [*E*]. In a Parliament held the ſame year at Leiceſter, Archbiſhop Chichley perſuaded King Henry V to aſſert his title to the Crown of France [*F*]. On the 28th of November 1415, he held a Provincial Synod at London [*G*], and another on the 1ſt of April 1416 [*H*]; after the breaking up of

(*h*) Regiſtr. Chichele.

(*i*) Ibid.

thority; and that theſe royal elections were agreeable to the conſtitutions of the Canon Law (6). But this ſeems to be a miſtake: for the author of the *Antiquity of the Britiſh Church* expreſsly tells us, that, at the very time we are ſpeaking of, notwithſtanding the laws in being againſt Papal proviſions, the many royal proclamations and petitions of the Clergy, and even the threats of the nobility and people, againſt obtaining thoſe proviſions for biſhopricks and other benefices, they were ſtill ſuffered and obtained, with as much licence and impunity, as if there were no law forbidding them. *Lege atque ſanctione jam diu ante contra Papales proviſiones lata, multiſque regum decretis & cleri interceſſionibus, procerumque & populi minis interpoſitis, ne impetrarentur a Papa epiſcopatuum & beneficiorum proviſiones; ea tamen adhuc impunitate ac licentia permiſſæ atque obtentæ ſunt, ac ſi nullo jure vetari putarentur* (7). The King's leave being obtained under the Great Seal, the monks aſſembled in the Chapter-Houſe, and, after divine ſervice, and a ſermon, proceeded to the choice of an Archbiſhop; and, the election unanimouſly falling upon Chichley, it was declared by John Langdon, one of the monks, in the name of the reſt, to the people, who were aſſembled in the church in great numbers. The ſame day two of the monks, William Moleſh and John Moland, were appointed proxies for the reſt; who, on the 15th of March, waited upon the Biſhop at London, and acquainted him with the humble requeſt of the prior and monks, that he would take upon him the goverment of the church of Canterbury. He deſired a day's time to conſider of it; and the next day, when they came to him again in the Biſhop of Norwich's houſe, in the preſence of Edward Duke of York, and ſeveral of the nobility, he expreſsly told them, he could not gratify their requeſt without the Pope's conſent, to whoſe arbitration he referred their petition. Whereupon the prior and the monks, by their proxies, ſent to Rome, humbly requeſted of Pope John XXIII, that he would confirm their election of the Biſhop of St David's to the See of Canterbury. The King alſo ſignified to his Holineſs, that he had granted leave to the Chapter of Canterbury to elect an Archbiſhop. The Pope, who was then at Bologna, would not confirm the election of the monks, but, on the 27th of April, in virtue of his own authority, tranſlated Chichley by way of *Provi-ſor* (*), to the Archbiſhoprick (8). The author of the *Antiquity of the Britiſh Church* tells us, that the Pope, reſolving to keep faſt hold of the right of nominating to benefices, by way of Papal Proviſion, and not to depart from it by any diſuſe, or by permittiug any contrary acts, ſignified to the monks of Canterbury by letter, that he had reſerved to himſelf the collation to the See of Canterbury, before the death of Thomas Arundel, and that he annulled whatever they, or any other perſons, might have done in prejudice of his Proviſion. However he collated, by his Bull of Proviſion, the ſame Henry Chichley, whom they had elected, to the archiepiſcopal ſee. *Papa vero Joannes viceſimus tertius, ut proviſionis uſu captionem teneret mordicus, nec ab ea deſuetudine ulla aut contrariis tolerandis actibus recederet, monachis Cantuarienſibus reſcripſit; Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopatus collationem ſuæ proviſioni ante mortem Thomæ Arundel fuiſſe reſervatam; ſeque irritum ac inane decreviſſe, quicquid ab his, aut aliis quibuſcunque, in ſuæ proviſionis prejudicium fieret. Tum Archiepiſcopatum eidem Henrico Chicheley proviſionis ſuæ prætextu donavit* (9).

(6) Ar. Duck, ubi ſupra, p. 36, 37.

(7) Matth. Parker, De Antiq. Brit. Eccleſ. edit. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, fol. p. 414.

(*) Proviſionis titulo.

(8) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 37—40.

(9) M. Parker, ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *He took an oath of obedience and fidelity to the Pope.*] It was conceived in the following terms (10). *I*, Henry, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *will be faithful, and obedient to St* Peter, *to the holy Apoſtolical Church of* Rome, *and to my Lord* John *the twenty-third, and his ſucceſſors that ſhall be canonically elected. I will not conſent to, nor engage in any deſign againſt their life, limbs, or liberty. The ſecrets that they ſhall entruſt me with, either by themſelves, by their legates, or by letters, I will not reveal to any one to their prejudice. I will aſſiſt them in maintaining and defending the* Papacy, *and the rights of St* Peter, *againſt all perſons whatſoever, as far as is conſiſtent with the privileges of my own ſtation. I will honourably attend the* Legate *of the Apoſtolick See both at his coming and return, and will ſupply his neceſſities. When I am called to a* Council, *I will come, unleſs hindered by ſome lawful impediment. I will viſit the* Apoſtolical Palace *every three years, either in my own perſon, or by my deputy, unleſs excuſed by leave from the* Pope. *The poſſeſſions belonging to my* Archiepiſcopal See *I will not ſell, nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant any new infeoffments of them, nor any other way alienate them without the conſent of the* Pope. *So help me God, and his holy Goſpel.* This tie of canonical obedience to the Pope ſeeming to bear hard upon the duty of a ſubject, and to contain ſeveral clauſes not reconcileable to the oath of allegiance, the Archbiſhop, when he did homage to the King, was obliged to renounce all clauſes in the Pope's bull of tranſlation, or any other engagements to that See, which were prejudicial to the royal prerogative (11).

(10) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 42.

(11) Id. ib. p. 43.

[*F*] *He perſuaded King Henry V to aſſert his title to the Crown of France.*] King Henry having demanded of the Parliament a ſubſidy, the Commons thereupon revived a former project againſt the wealth of the Clergy, and addreſſed the King to ſeize their revenues, and apply them to the ſervice of the publick. The Archbiſhop, apprehenſive of the Church's danger, and fearing the King's youth might be ſurprized by the plauſibleneſs of the bill, adviſed the Clergy to make an offer of a large ſubſidy, and to put the King in mind of his title to the Crown of France; the ſtarting a new enterprize, and opening the proſpect to another Crown, being the moſt likely way to divert the ſtorm. Moſt of the writers of that age relate, that the Archbiſhop, upon this occaſion, called a Synod at London: but none of it's decrees are now to be found among the publick records. The Archbiſhop's expedient being approved, he prepared himſelf for the ſubject, and addreſſed himſelf in a ſpeech to the King, ſitting on his throne. He began with inſinuating the virtues of the King, ſaying, he was worthy to wear, not the Crown of England only, but that of the whole world. Then he repreſented to him, 'That it was inconſiſtent with 'his glory to let the French King peaceably enjoy 'Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and part of 'Guienne, all thoſe provinces having been taken 'away from the Kings of England by merc force, and 'upon frivolous pretences: that he had not only an 'inconteſtable right to theſe countries, but even might 'very juſtly pretend to the whole kingdom of France, 'in quality of heir and ſucceſſor of Edward III.' Here the Archbiſhop made a long deduction of the reaſons upon which the King's title was founded. He ſpeaks of the *Salique Law* as a mere chimera, ſupported upon no good foundation, and which, being contrary to natural right, could not be admitted, even ſuppoſing it to be as true, as it was imaginary (†).

(†) The Archbiſhop, or whoever made the Speech for him, forgot, that, without the *Salique Law*, Edward III himſelf could have no pretenſion to the crown of France.

[*G*] *He held a Provincial Synod at London, the 28th of November*, 1415.] The firſt day of their meeting was taken up in religious aſſemblies. The following days, the Biſhops and Abbots met in St Mary's chapel, and the Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, and Proctors of the ſeveral Dioceſes, withdrew into the Chapter-Houſe, where they conſulted ſeparately about the affairs of the Church; from whence *(ſays my author)* they are generally called, *The Upper and Lower Houſe of Convocation.*

[*H*] ——— *Another Synod on the 1ſt of April* 1416.] This Synod was held, to conſult with the Biſhops and Clergy about ſending Delegates to the Council of Conſtance (12).

(12) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 71; and M. Parker, ib. p. 415.

[*I*] *He*

of which, the Archbiſhop went over into France to the King (*k*). He came back ſoon after with the King from Calais, and, by the King's command, held a third Synod at London on the 9th of November 1416 [*I*]. The King being again departed for France, the Archbiſhop commanded all the Biſhops of his province to cauſe proceſſions to be made in all churches and chapels, for the ſafety of the King, and the ſucceſs of his arms (*l*). The ſame year, he exerciſed the power of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, in a remarkable manner, againſt the Lord and Lady Strange [*K*]. On the 26th of November 1417, he held a fourth Synod at London [*L*], upon a command from the King by letters out of France (*m*). Towards the end of this year, the Archbiſhop repaired to the King at Rouen in Normandy, and was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for treating a peace between England and France (*n*). He ſtaid ſome time with the King at Rouen, being entertained in a Convent of preaching Fryars there, and afterwards attended his Majeſty in his camp at Meudon and Pontoiſe; whence he returned into England about the end of Auguſt 1419 (*o*). On the 30th of October that year, he held a fifth Synod at London [*M*]; after which he again ordered proceſſions to be made to all churches for the King's ſucceſs in France (*p*). On the 10th of June 1420, the Archbiſhop took ſhipping at Winchelſea, and ſailed over to France, to congratulate the King upon his late marriage with Catharine of France, and was preſent in the King's camp at the ſiege of Melun; after the ſurrender of which, he accompanied the King to Paris; from whence he returned into England about the end of November (*q*). The next year 1421, he ſolemnly crowned Queen Catharine (*r*), and about that time called a ſixth Synod at London [*N*]; after the breaking up of which, he uſed ſome endeavours to unite the Churches of France and England [*O*]. In December that year, he chriſtened the young Prince Henry, afterwards King Henry VI, who, when he came to the Crown, uſed to call the Archbiſhop godfather, and always paid him a great deal of reſpect (*s*). On the 4th of Auguſt 1422, the Archbiſhop held a ſeventh Synod at London [*P*]. In the firſt Parliament after the death of Henry V. held at Weſtminſter the ninth of November 1422 (*t*), Archbiſhop Chichley was commanded by the Protector to declare the cauſe of their meeting [*Q*], and was likewiſe nominated

(*k*) Ar. Duck, ibid. p. 75.

(*l*) Id. ib. p. 75, 76.

(*m*) Ib. p. 86—88.

(*n*) Ib. p. 94, 95.

(*o*) Ib. p. 97, 98.

(*p*) Ib. p. 99.

(*q*) Ib. p. 101, 102.

(*r*) Ibid.

(*s*) Ib. p. 105.

(*t*) Rotul. Parl. ann. 1 H. VI.

[*I*] *He held a third Synod at London on the 9th of November* 1416.] In this Synod, at the requeſt of Henry Beaufort, Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Earl Marſhal, and Henry Ware, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, who for that purpoſe were ſent thither by the King, he prevailed with the Clergy to grant the King two tenths for his expedition into France. There was nothing elſe done in this Synod, but the appointing the days of John Beverley, and of Criſpin and Criſpianus, on which the battle of Agincourt was fought, to be holy days (13).

(13) Ibid. p. 75, 76; and M. Parker, ib. p. 416.

[*K*] *He exerciſed the power of eccleſiaſtical cenſures —againſt the Lord and Lady Strange.*] The affair was this. On Eaſter-Day, the Lord Strange, with the Lady Elizabeth his wife, and a great train of ſervants attending them, came to St Dunſtan's Church to Veſpers; and meeting Sir John Truſſel there, between whom and the Lord Strange there had been an antient quarrel, the Lord Strange's ſervants drew their ſwords in the church, wounded Sir John, his ſon, and ſome others of his family, and killed one Thomas Petwardy a citizen of London, who, to accommodate the matter between them, had thruſt himſelf into the ſcuffle. The affair being brought before the Archbiſhop, he interdicted the church, as having been polluted with blood, and publickly excommunicated the authors and accomplices of the crime at Paul's Croſs. And ſitting as Judge in St Paul's Church, after he had examined the fact, be obliged the Lord Strange and his Lady to aſk the Church's pardon on their knees before him, and impoſed this farther penance on them, that their ſervants in their ſhirts and drawers only, and he and his wife with tapers in their hands, ſhould walk through the great ſtreet of the city from St Paul's to St Dunſtan's: which was accordingly performed with great ſolemnity, and, when the Archbiſhop purified St Dunſtan's church, the Lady Strange filled the veſſels with water; and each of them were commanded to offer a pyx and an altar-cloth (14).

(14) Ibid. p. 77, 78; and M. Parker, ib. p. 427.

[*L*] *He held a fourth Synod at London the 26th of November* 1417.] In this Synod were preſent Thomas Biſhop of Durham, Lord Chancellor of England; Thomas Beaufort Duke of Exeter, Henry Piercy Earl of Northumberland, and Ralph Nevil Earl of Weſtmorland; being ſent by the Regent, John Duke of Bedford, to deſire of the Clergy a ſupply of money for the King, who was then carrying on the war ſucceſsfully in France; which being ſeconded by the Archbiſhop, they granted two tenths.

[*M*] *He held a fifth Synod at London the 30th of October* 1417.] It was ſummoned, that the Clergy might conſult about granting a ſupply of money to the King, who was carrying on the war in France with ſucceſs. The Synod granted half a tenth upon all livings; and it was alſo agreed, that thoſe that held chapels or chantries, or that received ſtipends for ſaying maſs, ſhould pay to the King ſix ſhillings and eight pence each: but withal a publick proteſtation was made by William Lyndewood, in the name of the Proctors for the Clergy, that this conceſſion ſhould be no prejudice to them hereafter, nor be made a precedent for ſucceeding ages (15).

(15) Ibid. p. 98.

[*N*] *He called a ſixth Synod at London.*] He obtained of them a tenth for the ſervice of the King; which was granted upon ſome conditions, put in by William Lyndewood, in the name of the Proctors for the Clergy. They were theſe: *That the King's purveyors ſhould not meddle with the goods of the Clergy; that they ſhould not be committed to priſon, but upon manifeſt conviction of theft or murther; that for all other crimes they ſhould only find ſureties for their appearance at their trial, but ſhould not be impriſoned; and that it ſhould be felony to geld a prieſt:* all which the King confirmed in parliament (16).

(16) Ibid. p. 103.

[*O*] *He endeavoured to unite the Churches of France and England.*] To this end, he recalled thoſe judges he had placed, to exerciſe eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, in moſt of the dioceſes conquered by the King; and by his letters commanded all the people of France, that for the future they ſhould obey their Biſhops, and the Ordinaries of the places in which they lived (17).

(17) Ar. Duck, ibid. p. 105.

[*P*] *He held a ſeventh Synod at London the 4th of Auguſt* 1422.] In this Synod, ſeveral Biſhops, and others of the Clergy, were appointed to repreſent the Engliſh nation at the Council of Pavia (18).

(18) Ibid. p. 107.

[*Q*] *He was commanded by the Protector to declare the cauſe of their meeting.*] This he did in a ſet ſpeech, wherein, having ſpoken largely in praiſe of the virtues of King Henry V, and made honourable mention of his actions in France, he came to ſpeak of the young King, and affirmed, 'That it was by the 'ſpecial favour of Almighty God, that a ſon of ſuch 'promiſing hopes ſhould ſucceed ſo great a father; 'that his very title of the *Sixth* was attended with a 'lucky omen; for, as the number *Six* was the moſt 'complete of all the reſt, becauſe in ſo many days 'God Almighty had made this vaſt fabrick of the 'world; ſo this King Henry, the ſixth of that name, 'would prove the greateſt of all his predeceſſors, and 'compleat what his father had ſo proſperouſly begun 'in France; and that, as he was deſcended both from 'the Kings of England and France, ſo he would at 'length enjoy both thoſe crowns, which were devol-'ved to him by lawful inheritance.' Then the Archbiſhop

nominated to be the first Privy-Counsellor during the minority of the King: but he chose to decline publick business, and retired within the bounds of his province, in which he performed the duties of his function with great diligence. The next year 1423, by virtue of his metropolitical authority, he visited the dioceses of Chichester and Salisbury, and the year following that of Lincoln. About this time he founded a noble college at Higham-Ferrers, the place of his birth, in honour of the Virgin Mary, St Thomas of Canterbury, and King Edward the Confessor, for eight Fellows, four Clerks, six Choristers, and over them all a Master, to pray for the souls of the deceased. He also built a large hospital, for the maintenance of the poor of that place. Both these foundations he endowed with ample revenues, which were afterwards augmented with great legacies by his brothers Robert and William Chichley, Aldermen of London (*u*). He held an eighth Synod at London, the 12th of October 1423 [*R*], and a ninth the 23d of April following [*S*]. The same year, he was very instrumental in healing the differences between the Protector Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester (*w*). He held a tenth Synod at London, the 15th of April 1426 [*T*]. About this time Pope Martin shewed his displeasure against our Archbishop [*U*], for having vigorously opposed the encroachments of the See of Rome (*x*). The Archbishop held an eleventh Synod at London, the 5th of July 1428 [*W*]; a twelfth, the 19th of February 1430

(*u*) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 113, 114; and M. Parker, Antiq. Brit. Eccles. edit. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, fol. p. 426, 427.

(*w*) See the article BEAUFORT (HENRY).

(*x*) Ib. p. 132.

bishop declared, in the King's name, to the Peers, and all the people, 'That they should enjoy all the privileges and immunities granted them by his Highness's predecessors; and that he was commanded to give them three reasons for calling this Parliament; which were, That governors might be assigned the King by a publick act; that they might consult about the peace of the realm, and the administration of justice; and that they might provide for the defence of the kingdom against the insults of foreign enemies.' Lastly, he exhorted them, from the example of Jethro, Moses's father-in-law, 'To make choice of the best and wisest of the nobility, to take upon them the government of the King and kingdom, and to use their utmost endeavours for the safety of the King, and the benefit of their country (19).

(19) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 111—113.

[*R*] *He held an eighth Synod at London, the 12th of October* 1423.] This Synod was called, to demand of the Clergy a supply of money for the war with France. The Bishop of Winchester, in a formal speech, laid before them the present condition of affairs in France, and exhorted and intreated them to bestow some part of their revenues for subduing the remains of the Dauphin's forces (20).

(20) Ibid. p. 115.

[*S*] ——*And a ninth the 23d of April following.*] This Synod was prevailed upon, by the florid speeches of the Lord Chancellor, and the flatteries, threats, and promises of the Court Lords, to grant the King half a tenth (21).

(21) Ibid. p. 118.

[*T*] *He held a tenth Synod at London, the 15th of April,* 1426.] This Assembly did nothing but grant the King half a tenth towards carrying on the war (*).

(*) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 123, 124.

[*U*] *Pope Martin* V. *shewed his displeasure against the Archbishop.*] The state of this affair is briefly this. His Holiness, it seems, thought this prelate to blame for having made no opposition to the statute of *Premunire* 1 Henry IV. But, Henry V being the greatest Prince in Christendom, the Pope did not think it advisable to remonstrate in his time. But now, the English affairs being somewhat upon the decline, he laid hold of the opportunity, and expostulated severely with the Archbishop for his remissness, in a letter dated December the 5th, 1426 (22). If it be asked, what was Chichley's peculiar guilt in this matter, since he could not oppose a statute, which was passed before his time; and why his predecessors Courtney and Arundel were not reprimanded upon this score: the answer is, that the Pope seems to have had a peculiar grudge against Chichley; first, because that prelate, in his first Synod, had moved for the annulling *Papal Exemptions* (23); and, in the next place, because he had written to King Henry V to stop the Cardinalate of the Bishop of Winchester (24). Besides, the Papacy had been hitherto greatly embroiled by schisms: but now Pope Martin, having got the better of his competitors, had time to look about him (25). The Archbishop, not willing the matter should come to extremities, sent an excuse of his conduct to Rome. But the Pope, it seems, was not satisfied with this answer; for his Holiness's next letter is still more severe, and suspends the Archbishop's legantine power. Upon which Chichley appealed from the Pope to the next General Council, and, if none met, to the tribunal of Christ (26). The Pope's next to the Archbishop is dated the sixth of May, and requires him to make his utmost effort for repealing the statute. He is likewise severely reprimanded for having said, *the Pope's zeal in this matter was only to raise a good sum of money upon the English* (27). The next letter is in a still higher strain. It is directed to the two Archbishops, and, to mortify Chichley, the Archbishop of York is named first. In this the Supremacy flies a very lofty pitch: for his Holiness pretends to make void the statutes of *Provisors* and *Premunire* made in the reigns of Edward III and Richard II, and commands the Archbishops never to act upon the authority of those statutes. It is dated the 8th of December (28). To mollify the Pope's displeasure, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Durham, and Lincoln, wrote in Chichley's behalf. The University of Oxford likewise interceded for him with Pope Martin, in a letter bearing date the 24th of July that year; in which, after giving him a very extraordinary character, calling him *the mirror of life, the light of manners, a person most dear to the people and clergy, and a golden candlestick set up in the Church of England,* they besought his Holiness, *that he would not suffer the credit of so eminent a prelate to be blasted by the secret calumnies of detractors* (29). To which purpose also, in the Parliament at Westminster (30), the House of Commons petitioned the King to send an ambassador to the court of Rome to intercede with the Pope in behalf of the Archbishop (31). These apologetical applications the Archbishop sent by an express to Rome, and wrote a very submissive letter to the Pope, protesting that he had done, and would still do, his utmost towards repealing those statutes. One passage in his letter is particularly remarkable. He tells the Pope, *he hears he had proceeded to a sentence against him, which had never been done from the days of St Augustin* (32) *to that time: that he knew this only by report, having not so much as opened the bulls, which contained the censure, because he had been commanded by the King to lodge those instruments, with the seals whole, in the Paper-Office, 'till the meeting of the Parliament* (33). The Archbishop had already moved the Commons to vote for the repeal of the *Premunire* act. But the Commons, after debating the matter, had come to no resolution, either for repealing or explaining that act (34). And here the matter rested for that time.

(22) See Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. in the Records, p. 95.

(23) Walsingham, Hist. Angl. p. 387.

(24) Ar. Duck, ibid. p. 124, &c.

(25) Spondan. Annal. ad ann. 1429.

(26) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 110.

(27) Id. ibid.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Epist. Acad. Oxon. 36 in Archiv. & Wood, Hist. &c. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 212.

(30) Rot. Parl. 6 H. VI.

(31) Ar. Duck, ubi supra, p. 133.

(32) The first Archbishop of Canterbury.

(33) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 111.

(34) Id. ib. p. 109.

[*W*] *He held an eleventh Synod at London, the 5th of July,* 1428.] In their first session, at the request of the Archbishop of York Lord Chancellor, and Walter Hungerford Lord Treasurer, they granted the King half a tenth. This Synod was prorogued, by reason of the excessive heat of the summer, to St Martin's day in November following; and then again to the 29th of October the next year: at which time, the Archbishop of York, with some other Lords, was sent to them again from the King; at whose request, a tenth and a half was granted, and solemn processions were ordered to be made for the success of the war. These liberal concessions were rewarded by an Act of Parliament, granting the Clergy, assembled in Convocation, the privilege, as was enjoyed by members of Parliament, of being exempted, they and their servants, from arrests (35).

(35) Ibid. p. 137.

[*X*] ——

1430 [X]; a thirteenth, the 15th of September 1432 [Y]; a fourteenth, the 7th of November 1433 [Z]; a fifteenth, the 7th of October 1434 [AA]; and a sixteenth, the 30th of April 1437 [BB]. About this time, Archbishop Chichley founded the Convent of St Bernard [CC], and the College of All-Souls [DD], at Oxford (y). The next year 1438, he held a seventeenth Synod at London [EE]; and an eighteenth, the 21st of November 1439 [FF]. This was the last Synod called by this Prelate (z); who, about the

(y) Ib. p. 156, 157.

(z) Ibid. p. 166.

[X] —— *a twelfth, the 19th of February*, 1430.] In this Synod Delegates were chosen, to be sent to the Council of Basil, and two pence in the pound was allowed them out of all the revenues of the Clergy. This Synod also, at the solicitation of the Archbishop of York Lord Chancellor, granted the King a whole tenth. It likewise prohibited the use of false weights and measures under pain of excommunication (36).

(36) Id. ibid. p. 141, 142.

[Y] —— *A thirteenth, the 15th of September*, 1432.] It was summoned in relation to the dissension between Pope Eugenius IV and the Council of Basil; and it was unanimously concluded to send Delegates to the Fathers at Basil, and others to his Holiness at Bologna; and, for the expences thereof, they voted a penny in the pound out of all the profits of the Clergy, besides the two pence granted by the former Synod. They likewise granted the King half a tenth (37).

(37) Ibid. p. 144.

[Z] —— *A fourteenth, the 7th of November*, 1433.] It was called on occasion of the differences still subsisting between the Pope and the Council; and it was resolved to nominate more Delegates, many of those, who were sent before, being dead at Basil: whereupon eight Doctors of Divinity and Law were chosen, to be sent to Basil, provided the Fathers would admit them without imposing upon them any new oath. In this Synod, three quarters of a tenth were granted to the King towards re-establishing the affairs of France, which declined daily (38).

(38) Id. ibid. p. 150, 151.

[AA] —— *A fifteenth, the 7th of October*, 1434.] About this time, the Clergy complained grievously of the proceedings of the King's Judges, and the Common Lawyers; 'That, against all law and equity, priests 'were brought before the secular courts; that the 'power of the ecclesiastical judges was restrained by 'their unjust prohibitions; and particularly that they 'wrested the statute of Richard II against Provisors, 'to the prejudice of the Ecclesiastical Courts' The Archbishop hereupon, in a pathetical speech to the Synod, expressed 'how solicitous he was that the 'Church should receive no prejudice under his govern-'ment, and that it might be delivered from the illegal 'oppression of the Lawyers, and be restored to it's an-'tient dignity;' and commanded them to consider, 'what measures were to be taken to ease the Clergy of 'the weight of those oppressions?' But, the plague breaking out in the city, the Synod was soon dissolved, having only appointed a holiday to be kept in honour of St Frideswide, Protectoress of the University of Oxford, and denounced excommunication (39), against all those that should detract from the privileges and jurisdiction of the Church (40).

(39) See the remark [GG].

(40) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 153; and M. Parker, ib. p. 419.

[BB] —— *And a sixteenth the 30th of April*, 1437.] This Synod did nothing more than grant the King a tenth for carrying on the war in France (41).

(41) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 155.

[CC] *He founded the convent of St Bernard.*] The Archbishop had a long time designed to erect some noble monument, for the service of religion and learning, and for his own glory, at Oxford, the place of his education. For, at that time, the estates of private persons, as well as the publick revenues, being greatly exhausted by the long continuance of the French war, the University was so thin and empty, that most of the colleges and halls were quite forsaken by the students. Wherefore, that he might by his bounty repair the decays of learning occasioned by the general poverty of the kingdom, he gave orders for building a large and stately edifice, of a square form, in a north part of the suburbs of Oxford, which he designed for a college. But, when the work was almost finished, whether it was, that he found fault with the structure, or did not like the situation of it, he changed his mind, and gave it to the monks of St Bernard, for the reception of novices out of all the convents of that order, to study the Arts and Divinity. Afterwards, at the dissolution of the monasteries, it was purchased by Sir Thomas White, merchant of London, who founded there the college of St John Baptist (42).

(42) Id. ibid. p. 155—157.

[DD] —— *And All-Souls college.*] Having chosen another place for building a college, very commodious for the students, in the middle of the town, near St Mary's church, and pulled down the houses, which stood there, he laid out a square court; and on the 10th of February 1437, the first stone of this auspicious building was laid, and the inspection of the work was committed to the care of one John Druel, a clergyman, who executed that trust with great integrity and diligence (43). The walls of this new structure were finished about the latter end of the year 1439, and the workmen had begun to lay the roof. The Archbishop had purchased lands and manors for the perpetual maintenance of his foundation: all which he acquainted the King with, and humbly besought him to permit, that the college might be founded in his name, because the lawyers were of opinion, that the splendor and authority of the King's name was of great importance towards founding a college in due and lawful manner. Whereupon the King, by his letters patent under the Great Seal, erected this building into a college, and granted it very large privileges. He also gave the founder leave to place in it a Warden and Fellows, and to make laws and statutes for the government of the society. Upon which the Archbishop went the next year to Oxford, where he solemnly consecrated the chapel of his college, and made Richard Andrew, Doctor of Laws, and Chancellor of Canterbury, Warden of it. He also appointed twenty Fellows, being all choice men pick'd out of the whole University; to whom he gave power to elect into their society twenty more: out of which number he ordered that twenty-four should study Divinity and the liberal sciences, and the other sixteen the Civil and Canon Law. He also commanded all the members of his foundation to pray for the souls of King Henry V, of Thomas Duke of Clarence, and of the nobility and common soldiers that had been killed in the French war. For which cause he ordered his college to be called *The College of All-Souls departed in the faith.* He added also two chaplains, several choristers, and servants. After this he prescribed them laws and statutes, and committed the care of beautifying and enlarging it to Robert Keyes, afterwards Warden (44).

(43) Ibid. p. 157, 158.

(44) Ib. p. 168—171.

[EE] *In* 1438, *he held a seventeenth Synod at London.*] The King having appointed some persons of eminent quality to go Ambassadors to the Council of Ferrara, the Bishops voted them an allowance suitable to their rank; which however was not complied with by the Proctors for the Clergy in the Lower House, who were more inclined in favour of the Council of Basil; only the Proctors for the Convents granted four pence in the pound out of their revenues. In this Synod the Archbishop complained heavily of a late injury offered him by Pope Eugenius, who, by his sole authority had given the Bishoprick of Ely *in commendam* to Lewis Archbishop of Rouen, and by his bull had confirmed him in the government of that See; and therefore he recommended it to the Synod to consider, how to put a stop to a proceeding, which had never been attempted by any Pope before. But Philip Morgan, who was then Bishop of Ely, outliving the Archbishop of Rouen, the Pope's design was frustrated (45).

(45) Ibid. p. 169.

[FF] —— *And an eighteenth, the 21st of November*, 1439.] The Archbishop, being hindered by some indisposition, was not at the opening of this Synod. However, a few days after, he came, and in a long speech, in which he could hardly refrain from tears, he reckoned up the miseries of the Church, proceeding from *the penalties daily inflicted by the ecclesiastical judges, which by the statute of* Premunire *were designed against* Provisors; *and from the citations of the clergy to the secular courts.* Whereupon it was unanimously agreed, that the Archbishop should present a remonstrance to the King upon the subject of these grievances. Which being done, the King answered, 'That he 'would lay their petition before the next Parliament, 'and that in the mean time he would take care that 'no one should be molested by his Judges upon the ac-

'count

the same time, drew up a form of excommunication [*GG*], ordering it to be published in all the cathedral and parochial churches of his province (*a*). He was the first, who ordered the Proctors of the Court of Arches to wear the same habit in Court that Bachelors of Arts do in the Universities (*b*). He was a very liberal benefactor to the University of Oxford [*HH*], and to the church of Canterbury [*II*], and contributed largely towards the building of Croydon church, and Rochester bridge (*c*). This illustrious Prelate died in a good old age, the 12th of April 1443, having sat twenty-nine years and upwards, and was buried in the cathedral church of Canterbury [*KK*].

(*a*) Lyndewood Provincial. edit. Oxon. in calce, p. 73.

(*b*) Antiq. Brit. ubi supra, p. 427.

(*c*) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 174.

' count of that statute, unless the cause were first ap-
' proved by himself or the Privy-Council.' This gracious answer of the King's so pleased the Synod, that they immediately granted him a whole tenth, with this express condition, that the revenues and benefices belonging to the college of *All-Souls* (of which the Archbishop was the founder) should not be included in the concession (46).

(46) Ib. p. 166—168.

[*GG*] *He drew up a form of excommunication.*] I shall transcribe part of it from Lyndewood (47), and give it the reader as a specimen of the English language at that time.

(47) Provincial. in calce, p. 73. edit. Oxon.

Fyrste, Yei be accurfy'd that presume to take away or pryse any chirche of the right yat longyth thereto, or else agayn right to stroy, breke, or strobyll ye liberties of the chirche.

And also yoo that parcheses any maner of letterys from any temporal courte, to let any proces of spiritual juggs in such causes as longyth to spiritual courte: And all yoo yat with puple and noyse com to spiritual courte, and put the juggs or partyes yat their pletts in feer, or else for alsmoche as the partyes few in spiritual courte such causes as longyth to spiritual courte, make or procure any of the said parties, advocats, procurators, or other mynysteres of spiritual courte, to be endytt, or resbytt, or any wise be vexyd, *&c.*

This excommunication, most probably, was drawn up in consequence of a decree of the Synod of 1434 (48).

(48) See the remark [*AA*].

[*HH*] *He was a benefactor to the University of Oxford.*] There had been begun some time before, by the munificence chiefly of the Duke of Gloucester, a lofty and magnificent structure; the upper part of which was designed for a library, and the lower for the Publick Divinity Schools. To this work the Archbishop gave a great sum of money himself, and was very earnest in soliciting all the Bishops and Peers, who came to the Parliament at Westminster, to contribute towards it: all which is gratefully acknowledged by the University in their letters to him (49). He gave also two hundred marks to the publick chest of the University; which he ordered to be kept by three Masters of Arts, two Regents, and one Non-Regent, who were to be chosen yearly, and were bound by an oath to the faithful discharge of that trust: out of which money the University might borrow for the publick use five pounds, every particular college five marks, a Master of Arts forty shillings, a Licentiate or Bachelor two marks, and an Under-Graduate one; with this condition, that every one should deposite a sufficient pawn, which, if the money were not repaid within a month, was to be forfeited. Besides which benefactions, it appeared by his private accounts, that he had allowed yearly stipends to several poor students. And, to perpetuate the memory of these favours, it was ordered by a publick decree of the University, that Archbishop Chichley's name should be registered among their benefactors, and read every year in the Publick Schools by the chaplain of the University; and that a solemn mass should be said for him on the anniversary of his death (50).

(49) Epist. Acad. Oxon. 26.

(50) Ar. Duck, ib. p. 171—174.

[*II*] —— *And to the church of Canterbury.*] He laid out a considerable sum of money in beautifying and adorning that cathedral, and in building a steeple, and a library, which he furnished with many valuable books in all kinds of learning: which are all reckoned up in a publick instrument made by the Prior and Monks of Canterbury, and described among the publick acts of that church; in which they promise on their parts, that his body should be laid in the tomb that he had caused to be built on the north-side of the chancel, and that no one beside should ever be buried in that place (51).

(51) Ib. p. 174.

[*KK*] *He was buried in the cathedral church of Canterbury.*] His body was deposited (according to what was said in the preceding remark) under the monument built by himself; on which is his effigy at full length in his *Pontificalia*, and under it another of a skeleton in it's shroud; and round the side pillars, which are gilt and painted, are small images, in niches, of the apostles, *&c.* The inscription on his monument is as follows (52). *Hic jacet* Henricus Chichele *Legum doctor, quondam Cancellarius* Sarum, *qui anno septimo* Henrici IV *Regis ad* Gregorium *Papam* XII *in ambasciata transmissus, in civitate* Senensi *per manus ejusdem Papæ in* Menevensem *Episcopum consecratus est. Hic etiam* Henricus *anno secundo* Henrici V *Regis in hac sancta ecclesia in Archiepiscopum postulatus, & à* Joanne *Papa* XXIII *ad eandem translatus est: Qui obiit Anno Domini* MCCCCXLIII, *Mensis Aprilis die* XII.

(52) Dart's Hist. and Antiquities of the Cath. Ch. of Cant. p. 158; and Ar. Duck, ibid. p. 174.

Cœtus sanctorum concorditer iste precetur,
Ut Deus ipsorum meritis sibi propitietur.

Round the verge, at the bottom of the monument, is written;

Quisquis eris qui transieris, rogo memor eris,
Tu quod eris mihi consimilis qui post morieris,
Omnibus horribilis, pulvis, vermis, caro vilis.

Mr Camden, in his *Remains*, attributes this inscription to him.

Pauper eram natus, post primas hic elevatus,
Jam sum prostratus, & vermibus esca paratus.
Ecce meum tumulum Mccccxliii.

T

CHICHESTER (Arthur) a brave officer in the XVIth century, and made Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Baron of Belfast [*A*] in the beginning of the XVIIth, was born at Ralegh, near Barnstaple in the county of Devon (*a*). Some part of his youth he spent in the university, but that being too sedentary a life for his active genius, he went into

(*a*) The Worthies of Devon, by J. Prince, fol. Exeter, 1701, p. 200.

[*A*] CHICHESTER (Arthur) *a brave officer in the sixteenth century*, &c.] The family of *Chichester* hath flourished for many generations at Ralegh abovementioned. *Arthur*, who is the subject of this article, was the second son of Sir *John Chichester*, of that place, Knight, by Gertrude his wife, daughter of Sir William Courtenay of Powderham, Knight. They had a very numerous issue; namely, five sons, four whereof were knights, and one, (*viz.* Arthur) was made a Baron: And eight daughters, all married into the chiefest families in those parts. 1. Elizabeth to Hugh Fortescue of Pillegh, Esq; 2. Dorothy to Sir Hugh Pollard of King's Nimpton, Knight. 3. Eleanor to Sir Arthur Basset of Umberlegh, Knight. 4. Mary to Richard Blewet of Holcomb-rogus, Esq; 5. Cecilia to Thomas Hatch of Aller, Esq; 6. Susanna to John Fortescue of Buckland Pillegh, Esq; 7. Bridget to Sir Edmund Prideaux of Farway, Baronet; all in Devonshire. And, 8. Urith to —— Trevillian of Nettlecomb in Somersetshire, Esq; (1).

(1) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 199, 200.

[*B*] *He*

into the wars [B]; and at every place where his Sovereign's ſervice required, there he was, by ſea and land, in England and in France; in the laſt of which, for ſome ſignal exploit done by him in the preſence of King Henry IV, he was knighted by that excellent Prince (b). But his aſſiſtance being moſtly wanted in Ireland, where things were in the utmoſt confuſion, he put himſelf into that ſervice: and in this employment manifeſted great valour and wiſdom, ſo fairly and evenly tempered, that his generous actions expreſſed an uncommmon capacity (c). In June 1600, he was at the taking of the ſtrong caſtle of Ballinſhor (d). And in the enſuing winter, was put in garriſon at Carrickfergus, with eight hundred and fifty foot and a hundred and twenty-five horſe, under his command (e). In Auguſt 1602, he, and Sir Henry Danvers, took the ſtrong fort of Eniſlaghlin, wherein moſt of the Earl of Tir-Oen's plate and choice goods were depoſited (f). The March following he expelled Brian Mac-Art from Killultagh, where he had ſecretly lodged himſelf with five hundred men (g); and brought the rebels in Ireland to ſo low a condition, that they were forced to eat human fleſh [C]. In a word, he was ſo effectually aſſiſtant, as one expreſſes it (h), firſt to plow and break up that barbarous nation by conqueſt; and then to ſow it with the ſeeds of civility, when he was made Lord-Deputy of Ireland (which was in 1604) that he did more than could be done in ſeveral years before. Good laws and proviſions had indeed been made by his predeceſſors, but they were like leſſons ſet for a lute out of tune, uſeleſs, 'till the inſtrument was fitted for them. Being therefore raiſed to that eminent ſtation, in which he was ſworn the third of February (i), he acted with ſuch prudence and reſolution, that he quite put an end to all inſurrections in that kingdom; and did three great things towards a reformation therein (k). The firſt was, his management of the moſt ſtubborn Parliament that ever was in Ireland, which nevertheleſs he prevailed with to attaint the Earls of Tir-Oen, and Tirconell, Sir Cahir O Dogharty, and others, and to make an Act of Recognition, and give the King a ſubſidy. The ſecond was, the plantation of the forfeited eſtates in Ulſter, which he very much influenced and promoted. And the third was, the eſtabliſhing a new circuit for Judges of Aſſize in the province of Connagh, and retrieving the circuit of Munſter, which had been diſcontinued for two hundred years (l). So that, whereas the circuits were before confined to the Engliſh Pale, they were extended by him throughout the kingdom (m). By this wiſe regulation, Ireland was, in a ſhort time, ſo cleared of thieves and capital offenders, that ſo many malefactors were not found in the two and thirty ſhires of that kingdom, as in ſix Engliſh ſhires in the weſtern circuit (n). He alſo reduced the mountains and glinns on the ſouth of Dublin, which uſed to be thorns in the ſides of the Engliſh, into the county of Wicklow (o). And ſo watchful was he over the actions of ſuſpected perſons, that Tir-Oen was heard to complain, 'He could not drink a full carouſe 'of ſack, but the State was, within a few hours, advertiſed thereof (p).' In the year 1612 (q), he was, for a reward of his great ſervices, advanced to the dignity of Baron of Belfaſt (r). Whilſt he continued Lord-Deputy, namely in 1614, the harp was firſt marſhalled with the arms of Great Britain (s): and about the ſame time the Iriſh began to imitate the Engliſh faſhions, and to cut their mantles into cloaks (t). In the beginning of the year 1616, after this worthy perſon had continued Lord-Deputy of Ireland above eleven years (u), King James I. appointed him Lord High-Treaſurer of that kingdom (w), and recalled him to England; not out of any diſpleaſure, but, as far as can be conjectured, through the artifices of the Iriſh Papiſts, over whom he kept a ſtrict hand (x). Being thus returned home, ſo conſiderable were his abilities that he was not ſuffered to lie unactive: for in May 1622 he was ſent by King James I. to the Palatinate, and from thence to the Emperor (y). While he was in Germany, Manheim was ſeaſonably victualled through his prudent direction and advice. And being in that place when it was beſieged by Count Tilly the Emperor's General, his Lordſhip ſent the Count word, 'That it was againſt the 'law of nations to beſiege an Embaſſador.' Tilly returned for anſwer, 'That he took no 'notice that he was an Embaſſador.' Upon which the Lord Chicheſter replied to the meſſenger, 'Had my Maſter ſent me with as many hundred men, as he hath ſent me on 'fruitleſs meſſages, your General ſhould have known, that I had been a Soldier, as well 'as an Embaſſador (z).' At his return from this embaſſy, in the October following, his Lordſhip was very well received by King James, and the 31ſt of December made one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council in England (a). He died about the ſame time as his Maſter King

(b) Ibid. and Fuller's Worthies, in Devon. p. 254.
(c) Prince, ubi ſupra.
(d) Hiſtory of Ireland, by R. Cox, Part i. fol. edit. 1689, p. 437.
(e) Ibid. p. 440.
(f) Ibid. p. 447.
(g) Ibid. p. 449.
(h) Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupra.
(i) R. Cox, Hiſt. of Ireland, P. ii. p. 9.
(k) R. Cox, Pref. to the 2d part of the Hiſtory of Ireland.
(l) Ibid. and Hiſt. P. ii. p. 9.
(m) Fuller, and Prince, ubi ſupra.
(n) Sir John Davis, in his Diſcourſe of Ireland, p. 270
(o) Fuller, and Prince, ubi ſupra.
(p) Ibid. p. 271; and Fuller's and Prince's Worthies, ubi ſupra. p. 255, & 201.
(q) R. Cox ſays it was Feb. 23, 1615, P. ii. p. 33.
(r) Iriſh Compendium, 3d edit. 12mo, 1735, p. 97; and Fuller and Prince, ubi ſupra.
(s) Iriſh Compendium, ibid.
(t) Fuller and Prince, ubi ſupra.
(u) Clark's Lives, in Archbiſhop Uſher, p. 206, Lond. 1662.
(w) Iriſh Compend. ubi ſupra.
(x) See R. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. ii. p. 25—33.
(y) Fuller, Prince, and Iriſh Compend. ubi ſupra. Camdeni Annal. Jac. I.
(z) Fuller, and Prince, ubi ſupra. Lloyd's State Worthies, 2d edit. 1679, p. 754.
(a) Iriſh Compend. ubi ſupra.

[B] *He went into the wars.*] In his youth he was guilty of great extravagance, and, to ſupport it, robbed one of Queen Elizabeth's Purveyors. To avoid being proſecuted for that crime, he fled into France, where he behaved with great bravery and conduct. The fame of which reaching the Queen's ears, his friends took thence an opportunity to ſue for his pardon, which the Queen readily ſent him, with an invitation home. Whereupon ſhe employed him in her wars in Ireland, where he made his fortune, as is related in this article. This is mentioned in no hiſtorian, but has been handed down in the family, as a certain fact. The famous Richard Boyle, created afterwards Earl of Corke, is ſaid to have been his Secretary, when he was Lord-Deputy.

[C] *That they were forced to eat human fleſh.*] Three children were ſeen eating the entrails of their dead mother, upon whoſe fleſh they had fed twenty days, and roaſted it with fire; and it was manifeſt that ſome older people had been in ſuch a ſtarving condition, that they murdered and eat children for a long time together, and were at laſt diſcovered and executed for that barbarity. In ſhort, as R. Cox, Eſq; obſerves (z), the famine of Jeruſalem did not exceed that amongſt the rebels of Ireland, and therefore it is no wonder, that on the 30th of March 1602, the Earl of Tir-Oen, not knowing of Queen Elizabeth's death, did at Meliſont, in moſt humble manner, and upon his knees, make his ſubmiſſion to the Deputy.

(z) Hiſt. of Ireland, P. i. p. 449.

King James, namely, about the beginning of the year 1625 (*b*): but, in *This* ſuperior to his Sovereign, that he died in as great honour as any Engliſhman of his age (*c*); and to the great grief of his country, becauſe it was in ſuch a time as moſt required his aſſiſtance, courage, and wiſdom, which ſeldom meet, but in him were united, and challenged an equal ſhare in his perfections (*d*). He was buried at Belfaſt, in Ireland (*e*) [*D*]. He was ſtout in his nature, above any diſorder upon emergencies, reſolved in his temper above any impreſſions from other Princes, and high in his propoſal beyond the expectation of his own. With regard to Ireland his ſentiments were, that time muſt open and facilitate things for reformation of religion, by the Proteſtant plantations, by the care of good Biſhops and Divines; the amplification of the college; the education of wards; and inſenſible ſeizure of Popiſh liberties; reducing the number of Privy-Counſellors, which were fifty or ſixty at leaſt, and that occaſioned great debates, and cauſed buſineſs to be divulged, *&c* (*f*). In a word, he was *a good ſoldier*, and *a true Engliſhman* (*g*), which is as great a character as can be given. He married Letice, daughter of Sir John Perrot Lord-Deputy of Ireland [*E*]; and having no iſſue by her, made his youngeſt brother, Sir Edward Chicheſter, Knt. his heir: who was created by King Charles I. Baron Belfaſt, and Viſcount Chicheſter, of Carrick-fergus in the county of Antrim. His ſon Arthur was created Earl of Donegall; which dignity hath been ever ſince enjoyed by his poſterity (*h*).

(*b*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 510. Mr Prince, by miſtake, ſays it was about the year 1620.

(*c*) Fuller, ubi ſup.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 510. Alex. Spicer, his Chaplain, wrote elegies on his death, printed in 1625. Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Lloyd's State Worthies, ubi ſupra, p. 754, 755.

(*g*) R. Cox, Preface to P. ii. of his Hiſt. of Ireland.

(*h*) Prince, ubi ſupra. Iriſh Compend. Dugdale's Baronage. Vol. II. p. 437.

[*D*] *He was buried at Belfaſt in Ireland.*] Mr Prince ſuppoſes, that his brother and heir, the Lord Edward Chicheſter, might afterwards bring over, and lay his remains in the ſepulchre belonging to his houſe at Eggesford in Devonſhire. And obſerves, that in a little oratory adjoining to the church of Eggeſford, on the north ſide of the chancel, he ſaw this memorial of him; namely, a head cut out in coarſe marble, where his face is repreſented to the life, with a look ſtern and terrible, like a ſoldier. They who are ſkill'd in ſculpture, ſay, it is an excellent piece of art (3). There are extant, *two Letters* of my Lord Chicheſter's writing, in the Cabala (4).

(3) Prince, ubi ſupra, p. 201.

(4) Edit. 1663, p. 211, 213.

[*E*] *He married Letice, &c.*] F. Nicholls, author of the Iriſh Compendium, is guilty of a very great error (5), in ſaying, that 'he married Mary eldeſt 'daughter to John Digby the firſt Earl of Briſtol.' Whereas, he that married that Lady, was, Arthur the firſt Earl of Donegall, ſon of Sir Edward Chicheſter, Knight, mentioned above in the text (6).

(5) Page 97, edit. 1735.

(6) See Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 437.

C

CHILLINGWORTH (WILLIAM) a learned Writer and Divine of the laſt Century, was ſon of Mr William Chillingworth, Citizen, and ſome time Mayor, of Oxford; and was born in St Martin's pariſh in that city, in October 1602. After he had been educated in Grammar learning at a private ſchool in that city, he was admitted a Scholar of Trinity-College, the 2d of June 1618 (*a*). June the 18th, 1620, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*); the 16th of March 1623, he was admitted Maſter of Arts (*c*); and the 10th of June 1628, he was elected Fellow of his College [*A*]. About this time, by the arts and inſinuations of the famous Jeſuit John Fiſher, Mr Chillingworth was converted to the Romiſh Religion [*B*], and perſuaded to retire to the Jeſuits College

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 40.

(*b*) Id. Faſt. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 215

(*c*) Ib. col. 226.

[*A*] —— *Fellow of his college.*] 'He was then 'obſerved, *ſays the Oxford Antiquary* (1), to be no 'drudge at his ſtudy, but being a man of great parts 'would do much in a little time when he ſettled to it. 'He would often walk in the college grove, and contemplate; but when he met with any ſcholar there, 'he would enter into diſcourſe, and diſpute with 'him, purpoſely to facilitate, and make the way of 'wrangling common with him; which was a faſhion 'uſed in thoſe days, eſpecially among the diſputing 'Theologiſts, or among thoſe that ſet themſelves apart 'purpoſely for Divinity.' Mr Chillingworth did not confine his ſtudies to Divinity: he applied himſelf likewiſe, with good ſucceſs, to the Mathematicks (2), and had the reputation of a Poet, as appears from theſe verſes of Sir John Suckling;

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 50.

(2) *Hiſtorical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of William Chillingworth*, &c. by M. Des Maizeaux, Lond. 1725, 8vo, p. 2.

There Selden, and he ſat hard by the chair;
Weniman not far off, which was very fair;
Sands with Townſend, for they kept no order;
Digby and Shillingſworth a little further (3).

(3) Seſſion of the Poets. See the Works of Sir John Suckling, Lond. 1719, 12mo, p. 5.

Our author's intimate friends, at this time, were Sir Lucius Cary, afterwards Lord Viſcount Falkland, Mr John Hales of Eton, *&c* but more particularly Mr Gilbert Sheldon, who ſucceeded Dr Juxon in the See of Canterbury, in 1663 (4).

(4) Hiſtorical and Critical Account, *&c.* p. 3.

[*B*] *He was converted, by John Fiſher the Jeſuit, to the Romiſh Religion.*] The converſation and ſtudy of the Univerſity ſcholars, in our author's time, turned chiefly upon the controverſies between the Church of England and the Church of Rome; occaſioned by the uncommon liberty allowed the Romiſh prieſts by King James I. and King Charles I. Several of them lived at or near Oxford, and made frequent attempts upon the young Scholars, ſome of whom they deluded to the Romiſh religion, and afterwards convey'd to the Engliſh Seminaries beyond ſea. Among theſe prieſts was the celebrated John Fiſher (5), who was, at that time, very converſant at Oxford; and Mr Chillingworth being accounted a very ingenious man, he uſed all poſſible means to be acquainted with him. Their converſation ſoon turned upon the points controverted between the two Churches; but more particularly on the neceſſity of an infallible living judge in matters of faith. Mr Chillingworth found himſelf unable to anſwer the arguments of the Jeſuit on this head; and, being once convinced of the neceſſity of ſuch a judge, he was eaſily brought to believe, that this infallible judge was to be found in the Church of Rome, and that therefore the Church of Rome muſt be the true Church, and the only Church, in which men could be ſaved. He therefore forſook the communion of the Church of England, and, with incredible ſatisfaction of mind, embraced the Romiſh religion (6). Mr Des Maizeaux has given us a letter (7), which Mr Chillingworth wrote on this occaſion to his friend Mr Sheldon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in which he deſires him ſeriouſly to conſider the following queries. I. *Whether it be not evident from Scriptures, and Fathers, and reaſon, from the goodneſs of God, and the neceſſity of mankind, that there muſt be ſome one Church infallible in matters of faith?* II. *Whether there be any other ſociety of men in the world, beſides the Church of Rome, that either can upon good warrant, or indeed at all, challenge to itſelf the privilege of infallibility in matters of faith.* After which, he concludes his letter with theſe words; 'When you have applied your moſt 'attentive conſideration upon theſe queſtions, I do 'aſſure myſelf, your reſolution will be affirmative in 'the firſt, and negative in the ſecond. And then the 'concluſion will be, that you will approve and follow 'the way wherein I have had the happineſs to enter 'before you; and ſhould think it infinitely increaſed, 'if it would pleaſe God to draw you after.'

(5) His true name was *John Perſeor Perſey*. See an account of him in the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jeſu*, &c. Romæ 1676, p. 487.

(6) Hiſtorical and Critical Account, *&c.* p. 3—7; and Wood, ubi ſupra.

(7) Ibid.

[*C*] *Dr*

College at Douay (*d*). But Dr Laud, then Biſhop of London, who was his godfather (*e*), correſponding with him by letters [*C*], and preſſing him with ſeveral arguments againſt the doctrines and practices of the Romaniſts, Mr Chillingworth, who began now to ſee the arguments, by which he had been converted, in another light, left Douay, after a ſhort ſtay there [*D*], in 1631 (*f*). Upon his return to England, with the approbation of Biſhop Laud, he retired to Oxford, where he purſued his enquiries into religion with great care and diligence, reading the beſt books, and converſing with the learnedeſt men, of both perſuaſions; 'till, at laſt, the Proteſtant principles appearing to him the moſt agreeable to Scripture and reaſon, he declared for them; and, about the year 1634, wrote a paper [*E*] in confutation of the arguments, by which he had been ſeduced; tho' ſuch was his love of truth, that, even after his return to Proteſtantiſm, he made no ſcruple to re-examine the grounds of it, as appears by a *letter* he wrote to Dr Sheldon, *containing ſome ſcruples* he had *about leaving the Church of Rome, and returning to the Church of England* (*g*); which ſeems to have occaſioned the report, that he had turned Papiſt a ſecond time, and then Proteſtant again (*h*). Nor is it ſtrange, that this ſeeming inconſtancy of temper and judgment, for which our author has modeſtly apologized [*F*], ſhould

(*d*) Id. Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Ib. col. 415

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) See the remark [*K*].

(*h*) M. Des Maizeaux's *Hiſtorical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of William Chillingworth Chancellor of the Church of Sarum*, Lond. 1725 8*vo*, p. 13—18.

[*C*] *Dr Laud—correſponded with him by letters.*] Archbiſhop Laud, in his ſpeech before the Lords, on the firſt day of his trial, March 12, 1643, appealed to the letters, which then paſs'd between him and Mr Chillingworth, in order to vindicate himſelf from the charge of Popery. 'Mr Chillingworth's learning and 'abilities, *ſays he* (8), are ſufficiently known to all 'your Lordſhips. He was gone, and ſettled at 'Dowaye. My letters brought him back; and he 'lived and died a defender of the Church of England. 'And that this is ſo, your Lordſhips cannot but know: 'for Mr Pryn took away my letters, and all the pa'pers, which concerned him, and they were examined 'at the Committee.' Theſe letters are ſupoſed to be loſt. Mr Prynne, who took away Archbiſhop Laud's papers, purſuant to an order of the Hotſe of Commons, kept them 'till after the Reſtoration, when, by order of the King in Council, they were deliver'd to Dr Sheldon Archbiſhop of Canterbury But very few of thoſe papers, which Prynne had publiſhed in ſeveral pamphlets and books, came into the Archbiſhop's hands: And many, even of thoſe which had not been publiſhed, were found wanting; among which were the letters in queſtion (9).

(8) Wharton's Hiſtory of the Troubles and Trial of William Laud, &c. p. 227.

(9) Ibid. Pref.

[*D*] *He left Douay, after a ſhort ſtay there.*] Mr Chillingworth was ſoon tired with the company of his new friends at Douay, as appears from the following paſſages of Mr Lacy, a Jeſuit, who wrote a bitter invective againſt him, after he had publiſhed his book, intitled, *The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe way to Salvation*, &c. 'Had he not made, *ſays that author* (10), 'ſo much haſt in running back from the Catholique, 'as though he had come thither only to fetch fire of 'faction, he might have acquainted himſelf better 'with the practice of the holy Church, in this very 'point of miracles, and relations concerning ſaints.' Again: 'Yet, had the man but ſtay'd, *ſays he* (11), 'to have learned his catechiſme among us, he might 'have knowne the uſe and meaning of our ceremonies: 'now having come into the Church, as Cato came 'unto the theater, only to go out againe; what mer'uaile if he returne a ridiculous cenſurer of what he on'ly ſaw and underſtood not? Such poſt-haſt were hard'ly tolerable in a ſpie, much leſſe in one who comes 'to ſee and cenſure.' Elſewhere he ſays (12); 'Would 'any man think, that this man was never Catholique 'above two months at once, who knowes the Jeſuits 'ſo well?' That Mr Chillingworth met with a kind and reſpectful treatment from the Jeſuits, during his ſhort ſtay among them, may be inferred from the abovecited author, who ſays (13): 'Indeed he loſt his 'fellowſhip by it (*by changing his religion*), but I pre'ſume the Catholique would have given him a better, 'had he but held out his yeares probation.' Some Proteſtant writers have indeed inſinuated the contrary; particularly Dr Fuller, who, mentioning Mr Chillingworth, tells us (14), 'he was an acute and ſubtil diſputant, but unſettled in his judgment, which made 'him go beyond the ſeas, and in ſome ſort was con'ciled to the Church of Rome, but, whether becauſe 'he found not the reſpect he expected (which ſome 'ſhrewdly ſuggeſt) or becauſe his conſcience could not 'cloſe with all the Romiſh corruptions (which more 'charitably believe) he returned into England, &c.' Beſides this groundleſs inſinuation, there are two faults in this narrative: for, firſt, Mr Chillingworth's *going beyond the ſeas* was not occaſioned by his being *unſettled in his judgment*, but, on the contrary, by his being *ſettled* in his opinion in favour of the Romiſh Church; and, ſecondly, he was *conciled to the Church of Rome*, not *in ſome ſort*, but entirely and ſincerely Anthony Wood has ſuggeſted the ſame thing in regard to Mr Chillingworth's treatment by the Jeſuits, beſides ſome other miſtakes, and malicious reports, which we ſhall ſet down in his own words. 'About the ſame time, 'ſays he (15), being much unſettled in his thoughts, 'he became acquainted with one who went by the 'name of John Fiſher, a learned Jeſuit and ſophiſtical 'diſputant, who was often converſant in thoſe parts '(*Oxford*). At length, by his perſuaſions, and the 'ſatisfaction of ſome doubts which he could not find 'among our great men at home, he went to the jeſuits 'college at St Omer, forſook his religion, and —— 'became a Roman Catholic.' But 'ſo it was, that 'finding not that ſatisfaction from the Jeſuits concern'ing various points of religion, or (as ſome ſay) not 'that reſpect, which he expected (for the common re'port among his contemporaries in Trinity College 'was, that the jeſuits, to try his temper, and exerciſe 'his obedience, did put him upon ſervile duties far 'below him) he left them in the year 1631, returned 'to the Church of England (though the Preſbyterians 'ſaid not, but that he was always a Papiſt in his 'heart, or, as we now ſay, in maſquerade) and was 'kindly received by his godfather Dr Laud, then Bi'ſhop of London.' Mr Chillingworth did not retire to the college of St Omer, as this writer aſſerts, but to that of Douay, if Archbiſhop Laud, who certainly knew it beſt, is to be believed (16). Neither is it at all probable, what the Preſbyterians ſaid, that Mr Chillingworth continued ſtill a Papiſt in his heart, after his return to the Church of England.

(10) The Judgment of an Univerſity Man, &c. 1639. 4*to* p. 39.

(11) Ibid. p. 40.

(12) Ibid. p. 13.

(13) Ibid. p. 18.

(14) Worthies of England, Oxfordſhire, p. 339.

(15) Ubi ſupra.

(16) See the remark [*C*].

[*E*] *A paper.*] This paper is now loſt. It is true, we have a paper of Mr Chillingworth's on the ſame ſubject; but it ſeems to be written on ſome other occaſion, probably at the deſire of his friends. It was firſt publiſh'd, in 1687, in the *Additional Diſcourſes of Mr Chillingworth* (17).

(17) See the remark [*I*].

[*F*] *His modeſt Apology for this ſeeming inconſtancy of temper and judgment.*] There are numberleſs paſſages in Mr Chillingworth's works, wherein his religious conduct is ſtrongly juſtified. But we ſhall ſelect only the following from his celebrated piece, intitled *The Religion of Proteſtants*, &c. in anſwer to Mr Knott's *Charity maintained by Catholics*, &c. 'I know a man, 'ſays our author (18), *ſpeaking of himſelf*, that of a 'moderate Proteſtant turn'd a Papiſt, and the day that 'he did ſo (as all things that are done are perfected 'ſome day or other) was convicted in conſcience, that 'his yeſterdaies opinion was an error, and yet thinks 'hee was no ſchiſmatique for ſo doing, and deſires to 'be informed by you whether or no hee was miſtaken. 'The ſame man afterwards, upon better conſideration, 'became a doubting Papiſt, and of a doubting Papiſt 'a confirm'd Proteſtant. And yet this man thinks 'himſelf no more to blame for all theſe changes, than 'a travailer, who uſing all diligence to find the right 'way to ſome remote citty, where he had never beem '(as the partie I ſpeak of had never been in Heaven) 'did yet miſtake it, and after find his error, and 'amend

(18) Chap. v. §. 103.

ſhould expoſe him to the moſt malicious and ill-grounded calumnies [*G*], as well as to ſeveral diſputes with thoſe of the Romiſh Religion [*H*]. But, in 1635, he was engaged

' amend it. Nay, he ſtands upon his juſtification ſo ' farre, as to maintain that his alterations, not only to ' you, but alſo from you, by God's mercy, were the ' moſt ſatisfactory actions to himſelfe, that ever he did, ' and the greateſt victories that ever he obtained over ' himſelfe, and his affections to thoſe things which in ' this world are moſt precious; as wherein, for God's ' ſake, and (as he was verily perſuaded) out of love to ' the truth, he went upon a certain expectation of ' thoſe inconveniences, which to ingenuous natures are ' of all moſt terrible. So that though there were ' much weakneſſe in ſome of theſe alterations, yet cer- ' tainly there was no wickedneſſe. Neither does he ' yeeld his weakneſs altogether without apologie, ſee- ' ing his deductions were rational, and out of ſome ' principles commonly received by Proteſtants as well ' as Papiſts, and which by his education had got poſ- ' ſeſſion of his underſtanding.' Here, we ſee, Mr Chillingworth was ſo far from thinking ſuch changes of religion ſinful or diſreputable, that he glories in them, and makes them matter of triumph.

[*G*] *He was expoſed to the moſt malicious and ill-grounded calumnies.*] So, I think, we may very well call the following paſſage in one of Dr Wood's controverſial *Letters* to Mr Bulſtrode. ' Can there be any ' thing more notoriouſly falſe, *ſays he* (19), than the ' words of Chillingworth, cited by you; *I ſee plainly,* ' *and with my own eyes, Councils againſt Councils, a* ' *conſent of Fathers of one age, againſt a conſent of* ' *Fathers of another age; the Church of one age,* ' *againſt the Church of another age.* If I could find ' what he ſaid here to be true, I would ſoon diſcard ' all Revealed Religion, and would turn Deiſt, for I ' don't ſee any argument that can be more for a Deiſt's ' purpoſe than this; and, if the truth were known, ' he was one in maſquerade; for a confirmation of ' which I can give you a very good teſtimony, that at ' the bottom he was ſuch, notwithſtanding his book ' which he writ againſt us. Chillingworth having an ' intimate friendſhip with the gentleman of the Horſe ' to the grandfather (as I think) of the preſent Lord ' Mountague of Coudrey, was aſk'd by this gentleman ' (who heard all the world extolling Chillingworth for ' his great learning, and particularly in controverſy) ' as a true and ſincere friend, to tell him his opinion ' freely and candidly, which was the true Religion: to ' which he anſwered in ſhort, that he (*the Enquirer*) ' ſhould keep to the Religion in which he was (which ' was the Roman Catholick) for if there were any reli- ' gion, that it was the right, and that if there were ' none, that the worſt that could happen to him was ' but ſo much pains loſt. I don't ſay that theſe are ' the words of his letter, but I remember that they ' were much to this purpoſe. Now it is plain by this ' letter (which I don't doubt you will ſay it is feigned) ' that this great champion of your religion was but a ' ſceptick in religion at the beſt, and what moſt of ' your greateſt men are; for if they can believe that ' ſo many learned and holy men have been deceived ' for ſo many ages in matters of this conſequence, have ' they not reaſon to doubt, that theſe latter ages have ' been deceived ſo too, and ſo conſequently there muſt ' be very little or no ſecurity of the Chriſtian Faith.' 'Till the original of Mr Chillingworth's letter, here referred to, is produced (which it has never yet been) we may fairly ſet down this ſtory as a malicious and ill-grounded calumny.

(19) *Letters between Dr Wood, a Roman Catholick, the Pretender's Phyſician, and Whitelock Bulſtrode, Eſq; a Member of the Church of England,* &c. p. 136. This Letter is dated June 14, 1710.

[*H*] *He had ſeveral diſputes with thoſe of the Romiſh Religion.*] One of theſe was Mr John Lewgar, a great zealot for the Church of Rome; who was a beneficed Clergyman in Eſſex, but quitted both his religion and preferment, to turn Roman Catholick (20). Anthony Wood pretends (21), he was converted by the force of Mr Chillingworth's arguments, with whom he had ſeveral conferences, after that gentleman's return to England, about matters of religion. But, if Mr Chillingworth induced Mr Lewgar to turn Papiſt, it is ſtrange neither of them ſhould take any notice of it in the letters which paſſed between them. However, Mr Lewgar, between whom and Mr Chillingworth there had always been an intimate friendſhip, as ſoon as he heard that Mr Chillingworth was returned to the Church of England, ſent him a very angry and abuſive letter, to which Mr Chillingworth returned an anſwer full of affection and charity (22). This letter was firſt printed in the year 1662, with this title: *Mr Chillingworth's letter touching Infallibility*, 4to. In the laſt page is the *Imprimatur* of M. Frank, chaplain to Dr Sheldon, then Biſhop of London, dated the 5th of Auguſt 1662. It was afterwards inſerted in the fifth edition of Mr Chillingworth's *Religion of Proteſtants*, &c. in the year 1684, with this title: *Reaſons againſt Popery, in a letter from Mr William Chillingworth to his friend Mr Lewgar, perſuading him to return to his mother the Church of England from the corrupt Church of Rome.* It was printed again at the end of the contracted edition of Mr Chillingworth's *Religion of Proteſtants*, &c. in 1687, with this title: *Out of Mr Chillingworth's Manuſcript, A Letter to Mr Lewgar, concerning the Church of Rome's being the guide of faith and judge of controverſies.* But, notwithſtanding all theſe ſeveral impreſſions, Mr Graſcome, having met with an imperfect copy of it, inſerted it as a piece of Mr Chillingworth's never before publiſhed, in the *Preface* of his book intitled *Certamen Religioſum* (23), &c. in which he tells us, it was communicated to him by Sir Thomas Fanſhaw, a curious collector of uncommon pieces. The famous Dr Hickes, though a man of great knowledge in books, thought this piece had been firſt publiſhed by Mr Graſcome, and as ſuch reprinted it in 1705, in the *Appendix* to a book intitled; *ſeveral letters, which paſſed between Dr George Hickes and a Popiſh prieſt*, &c. in the preface to which, ſpeaking of the *Appendix*, he ſays, ' The ſecond paper is a let- ' ter of Mr Chillingworth, about the Infallibility of ' the Church of Rome. I have publiſhed it—becauſe ' I think it worthy to be read of all men, eſpecially ' by Proteſtants, who, when they happen to be aſſault- ' ed publickly or privately by Popiſh prieſts, may ' make this uſe of it, to defy them to anſwer this let- ' ter, and in the mean time to forbear.' Mr Lewgar could not help being touched with a letter, which ſhewed ſo much love, ſincerity, and moderation. He deſired to ſee his old friend again; and Mr Chillingworth had a *Conference* with him about Religion before Mr Skinner and Dr Sheldon (24). There paſſed afterwards ſeveral papers between them concerning the pretended Infallibility and Catholicity of the Romiſh Church; and we have a paper of Mr Chillingworth's, intituled, *A Conference concerning the Infallibility of the Roman Church*, &c. which ſeems to contain the abſtract or ſummary of their diſpute (25). We have, in the ſame manner, the ſubſtance of a diſpute he had with Mr Daniel, or Dan à Jeſu, a Jeſuit, whoſe real name was John Floyd; wherein he diſproves the Infallibility of the Church of Rome, by an argument taken from the contradictions, which are contained in the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation (26). He had another with a gentleman, whom he does not name; in which he confutes the ſame Infallibility, by proving, that either the preſent Church of Rome errs, in offering tapers and incenſe to the Virgin Mary, or that the antient Church of Rome did err, in condemning as hereticks the Collyridians for offering a cake to her (27). Beſides the pieces already mentioned, Mr Chillingworth wrote one to demonſtrate, that the doctrine of Infallibility is neither evident of itſelf, nor grounded upon certain and Infallible reaſons, nor warranted by any paſſage of Scripture (28). And in two other papers, he ſhews, that the Church of Rome hath formerly erred; firſt, by admitting Infants to the Euchariſt, and holding, that without it they could not be ſaved: and, ſecondly, by teaching the doctrine of the *Millenaries*; both which doctrines are condemned as falſe and heretical by the preſent Church of Rome (29). He wrote alſo a ſhort *letter*, in anſwer to ſome objections put to him by one of his friends, wherein he ſhews, that neither the Fathers, nor the Councils, are infallible witneſſes of tradition, and that the Infallibility of the Church of Rome muſt firſt of all be proved from the Scripture (30). We muſt not forget our author's *Anſwer* to ſome *Paſſages* in the *Dialogues*, publiſhed under the name of Mr *Ruſhworth* (31). The occaſion was this: The Lord Digby deſired Mr Chillingworth to meet Mr *White*, the true author of thoſe dialogues, at the lodgings of Sir Kenelm Digby, a late convert

(20) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 354.

(21) Ibid.

(22) See a Letter to Mr Lewgar, at the end of Mr Chillingworth's Religion of Proteſtants, &c. Lond. 1687, 4to.

(23) Printed at Oxford in 1704, 8vo.

(24) See A Conference between Mr Chillingworth and Mr Lewgar, in the Additional Diſcourſes of Mr Chillingworth. &c. Lond. 1687, 4to.

(25) See the Additional Diſcourſes, &c.

(26) Ibid. p. 91.

(27) Ibid. p. 41.

(28) Ibid. p. 26.

(29) Ibid. p. 80.

(30) Ibid. p. 90.

(31) Ibid. p. 103.

engaged in a work, which gave him a far greater opportunity to confute the principles of the Romiſh Church, and to vindicate the Proteſtant Religion: we mean his *Religion of Proteſtants, a ſafe way to Salvation* [*I*], which was publiſhed about the latter end of the year

convert to the Church of Rome. The Lord Digby himſelf was there. Their conference turn'd upon *Tradition*; and as Mr White had treated the ſame matter in his Dialogues, which were not yet publiſhed, Mr Chillingworth, probably at the requeſt of the Lord Digby, ſelected out of them ſome paſſages relating to that ſubject, and confuted them (32). The foregoing pieces were publiſhed together in the year 1687, under the title of *Additional Diſcourſes of Mr Chillingworth, never before printed.*

(32) See M. Des Maizeaux, &c. ubi ſup. p. 41, 42. See alſo Letters between the Lord George Digby and Sir Kenelm Digby, Knt. concerning Religion, Lond. 1651, p. 84, 85.

[*I*] *His* Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe way to Salvation.] The whole title is: *The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe way to Salvation: Or, An Anſwer to a Book intitled*; Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintained by Catholiques: *which pretends to prove the contrary. By William Chillingworth, Maſter of Arts of the Univerſity of Oxford.* Edward Knot (33), the Jeſuit, had put out, in 1630, a little book, intitled, *Charity miſtaken, with the want whereof Catholickes are unjuſtly charged, for affirming, as they do with grief, that Proteſtancy unrepented deſtroies ſalvation.* In 8vo. This book was anſwered by Dr Potter, Provoſt of Queen's College in Oxford, in a piece, intitled, *Want of Charitie juſtly charged on all ſuch Romaniſts, as dare (without truth or modeſty) affirme, that Proteſtancie deſtroyeth Salvation. In anſwer to a late Popiſh pamphlet, intituled,* Charity miſtaken, &c. 1633. The Jeſuit replied in 1634, under this title: *Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintayned by Catholiques. By way of Reply upon an Anſwere lately framed by D. Potter to a Treatiſe which had formerly proved, that* Charity *was* miſtaken *by Proteſtants: With the want whereof Catholiques are unjuſtly charged, for affirming, that Proteſtancy unrepented deſtroyes Salvation. Devided into two parts.* Mr Chillingworth undertook to anſwer this Reply: which gave him frequent occaſions to reſort to his moſt ingenious and learned friend the Lord Falkland, at Great Tew, his Lordſhip's ſeat in Oxfordſhire; whoſe curious library, as well as converſation, was of great uſe to him on this occaſion (34). Mr Knott, being informed that Mr Chillingworth was preparing an Anſwer to his book againſt Dr Potter, came out with an abuſive piece againſt him, intituled, *A Direction to be obſerved by N. N. if hee meane to proceede in anſwering the Booke intitled,* Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintained by Catholicks, &c. 1636. 8vo. The Jeſuit's deſign in this pamphlet being to prejudice the publick againſt Mr Chillingworth's anſwer, he charged him in it with Socinianiſm, the moſt odious imputation he could find, and the fitteſt for his purpoſe (35). Mr Chillingworth's Anſwer to Mr Knott was very near finiſhed by the beginning of the year 1637; when Archbiſhop Laud, who knew our author's freedom in delivering his thoughts, and was under ſome apprehenſion he might indulge it too much in his book, recommended the reviſal of it to Dr Prideaux (36), Profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford; and deſired it might be publiſhed with his approbation annex'd to it (37). And to Dr Prideaux were added Dr Baylie, Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity, and Dr Fell, Lady Margaret's Profeſſor in Divinity, for the examination of Mr Chillingworth's book, which was ſoon after put to the preſs at Oxford. Mr Knott was then lurking about that place, and found means, by bribery, to have the ſheets from the preſs, as they were wrought off (38). The impreſſion of our author's Anſwer to the firſt part of Mr Knott's book being near finiſhed; he acquainted Dr Baylie with his reaſons for not anſwering the ſecond part; and the Archbiſhop being conſulted thereupon (39), it was agreed, that Mr Chillingworth, in the *Concluſion* of his work, ſhould give the reaſons he had for not publiſhing an anſwer to the ſecond part. Accordingly the book was publiſhed, and preſented by the author to the King, with a very elegant, modeſt, and pious dedication; in which we learn this remarkable circumſtance, that Dr Potter's vindication of the Proteſtant Religion againſt Mr Knott's book was *written by ſpecial order from* his *Majeſty*; and that, by giving ſuch an order, that moſt pious and religious Prince, beſides *the general good,* had alſo *ſome aime at the recovery of* Mr Chillingworth *from* the *dangerous deviation* he happened then to be in, by the change of his religion (40). Next to the Dedication were printed, as the Archbiſhop had deſired, the approbations of Dr Baylie, Dr Prideaux, and Dr Fell; who had examined Mr Chillingworth's book with ſuch rigour and ſeverity, as made him ſay (41), it had *paſſed a fiery trial.* And Mr Knott affirmed (42), that ſo many alterations had been made by the cenſors in Mr Chillingworth's manuſcript, that the book was quite another thing from what it was firſt drawn up by the author. Anthony Wood, upon the authority of Mr Cheynell (43), tells us, that Dr Prideaux, after the examination and correction of Mr Chillingworth's book, uſed in private converſation to compare it to *an unwholeſome Lamprey, by having a poiſonous ſting of Socinianiſm throughout it, and tending in ſome places to plain infidelity and atheiſm* (44). Dr Fuller takes notice of the ſame ſtory, but with this judicious remark (45): *A paſſage in my opinion inconſiſtent with the Doctor's approbation prefix'd in the beginning of the book.* This *Approbation* is as follows: *Perlegi hunc librum——in quo nihil reperio doctrinæ vel diſciplinæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ adverſum, ſed quam plurima quæ fidem orthodoxam egregie illuſtrant, & adverſantia gloſſemata acute, perſpicue, & modeſte diſſipant.* After ſo full and expreſs an atteſtation to the orthodoxy of Mr Chillingworth's performance, is it probable, Dr Prideaux ſhould afterwards repreſent it, among his friends, as a book full of Socinianiſm, and even Infidelity and Atheiſm? But Mr Wood was fond of defamatory reports, however ill-grounded, when they concerned any adverſaries to Popery.——Mr Chillingworth's *Preface* is inſcribed 'To the author of *Charity maintained*; with an anſwer to his pamphlet, entituled *A Direction to* N.N.' He expreſſes what care and diligence he had employ'd to make his anſwer unexceptionable; how earneſtly he deſired, before the printing of it, to confer with Mr Knott, and hear what he could offer in vindication of any one argument in his book; and complains, that, inſtead of agreeing with this fair and reaſonable propoſal, he had uſed baſe and oblique means in order to deter him from publiſhing his anſwer (46). Then he proceeds to vindicate, firſt the Proteſtants in general; ſecondly, the Divines of the Church of England; and, laſtly, himſelf, from the calumnies and foul aſperſions caſt upon them in the Jeſuit's pamphlet (47). But, the Jeſuit having excepted againſt Mr Chillingworth's being a fit champion for the Proteſtant cauſe, becauſe he *had often, and even not very long ſince, profeſs'd that he would never ſubſcribe to their thirty nine Articles* (48); and, ſecondly, becauſe he *had ſet down in writing, motives, which enduced him to forſake Proteſtantiſme,* and had never anſwered them: Mr Chillingworth replies to theſe two objections in the cloſe of his preface (49). The book itſelf is divided into ſeven chapters, in anſwer to ſo many of which the Jeſuit's firſt part conſiſts, which are reprinted with our author's anſwers. In the firſt chapter Mr Chillingworth aſſerts, that *Papiſts are uncharitable in condemning Proteſtants:* in the IId, that *the Scripture is the only rule, whereby to judge of controverſies:* in the IIId, that *no Church of one denomination is infallible:* in the IVth, that *the Creed of the Apoſtles contains all neceſſary points of meer belief:* in the Vth, that *the Religion of Proteſtants is a ſafer way to Salvation than the Religion of Papiſts:* in the VIth, that *Proteſtants are not Hereticks:* and, in the VIIth, that *they are not bound by the charity, which they owe to themſelves, to re-unite themſelves to the Roman Church.* This performance of our author's was received with uncommon applauſe; inſomuch that two editions of it were publiſhed within leſs than five months. It has been re-printed ſeveral times ſince the Reſtoration. The firſt edition of it was printed at Oxford in 1638: the ſecond, the ſame year, at London, with the *Imprimatur* of Dr Samuel Baker, chaplain to Dr Juxon, then Biſhop of London. The third edition came out in 1664, with the licence of Dr Stradling, chaplain to Archbiſhop Sheldon. To this edition were added ſome other pieces of Mr Chillingworth, *viz.* the *Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy,* and *nine Sermons, the firſt preached before his Majeſty Charles* I. *the other upon ſpecial and eminent occaſions* (50). The fourth edition came out in 1674; and the fifth in 1684,

(33) His true name was Matthias Wilſon.

(34) Genuine Remains of Dr Thomas Barlow, &c. p. 329.

(35) See the ſubſtance of this piece, which is very ſcarce, in M. Des Maizeaux, ubi ſupra, p. 105—136.

(36) Afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter.

(37) Remains of Archbiſhop Laud, Vol. II. p. 128.

(38) Ibid. p. 141.

(39) Ibid. p. 142.

(40) See the Dedication.

(41) Preface, §. 4.

(42) Chriſtianity maintained, &c. p. 79.

(43) In his Diſcuſſion of Mr John Fry's Tenets, &c. p. 33.

(44) Athen. Oxon. ibid.

(45) Worthies of England, ubi ſup.

(46) Pref. §. 3.

(47) Ib. §. 9—38.

(48) See the next remark.

(49) Ibid. §. 39. ad finem.

(50) See the remarks [*R*] [*S*].

(i) Ibid. p. 141 · year 1637 (i). In the mean time, he had refuſed preferment, which was offered him by Sir Thomas Coventry, Keeper of the Great Seal, becauſe his conſcience would not allow him to ſubcribe the Thirty-nine Articles (k) [K]. But theſe ſcruples were not of long

(k) Ib. p. 56—103

1684, with the addition of Mr Chillingworth's *Letter to Mr Lewgar*. In 1687, when the nation was in imminent danger of Popery, Mr Chillingworth's book being looked upon as the moſt effectual preſervative againſt it, Dr John Patrick, at the requeſt of the London Clergy, publiſhed an abridgment of it; with ſome additional pieces of Mr Chillingworth againſt Popery, which had not been as yet printed. It came out with this title: *Mr Chillingworth's book, called* The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe way to Salvation, *made more generally uſeful, by omitting perſonal conteſts, but inſerting whatſoever concerns the common cauſe of Proteſtants, or defends the Church of England: with an addition of ſome genuine pieces of Mr Chillingworth, never before printed.* In quarto. In the *Advertiſement* Dr Patrick informs us, that the manuſcript, out of which moſt of the *additional pieces* were faithfully tranſcribed, was an original of Mr Chillingworth's own hand-writing, in the cuſtody of the Reverend Dr Tennifon, to whom the reader was obliged for their publication. Theſe pieces were publiſhed with this title: *Additional Diſcourſes of Mr Chillingworth, never before printed*; with the licence of William Needham, chaplain to Archbiſhop Sancroft (51). The fixth edition of Mr Chillingworth's book was printed in 1704, with the *additional Diſcourſes*, and the *table of contents* of the contracted edition. But this impreſſion is very full of typographical errors. The ſeventh edition came out in 1719; the eighth, in ——; and the ninth, in 1727. This laſt edition was prepared from that of 1664, carefully examined and compared with the two proceding editions. The various readings of theſe editions are taken notice of at the bottom of each page, with the words *Oxf.* or *Lond.* after them. The tenth and laſt edition is of the year 1742, with the *Life of Mr Chillingworth*, by the Reverend Mr Thomas Birch (52). In 1638, Mr Knott publiſhed a pamphlet, intituled, *Chriſtianity maintained: Or, A Diſcovery of ſundry doctrines tending to the overthrowe of the Chriſtian Religion, contained in the Anſwere to a book entituled*, Mercy and Truth, &c. Printed at St Omer, in 4to. This laſt pamphlet of Mr Knott's is but a paraphraſe of the firſt: The ſame accuſations are brought over again, and little or no notice is taken of Mr Chillingworth's anſwers. Mr Knott himſelf was ſo ſenſible, that this piece could never be looked upon as a ſatisfactory anſwer to Mr Chillingworth's book, that, in the preface, he promiſes a larger work. The *doctrines tending to the overthrowe of the Chriſtian Religion*, which he imputes to Mr Chillingworth, are theſe: 1. *That fayth neceſſary to Salvation is not infallible, the grounds of which doctrine*, he ſays, *lead to Atheiſme.* 2. *That the aſſurance we have of Scriptures is but moral.* 3. *That the Apoſtles were not infallible in their writings, but erred with the whole Church of their time.* 4. *That* his *principles are injurious to the miracles of our Saviour and his Apoſtles.* 5. *That by reſolving faith into reaſon*, he *deſtroyes the nature of faith, and beliefe of all Chriſtian verities.* 6. *That* his *doctrine is deſtructive of the theological virtues of Chriſtian hope and charity.* 7. *That it takes away the grounds of rational diſcourſe.* 8. *That it opens a way to deny the bleſſed Trinity, and other high myſteries of the Chriſtian faith.* 9. *That it layes grounds to be conſtant in no religion.* 10. And laſtly, *That it provides for the impunity and preſervation of whatſoever damnable error againſt Chriſtian faith.* Mr Knott dedicated this piece to the King. There is ſubjoined to it a little piece, printed the ſame year, and at the ſame place, under the title of; *Motives maintained, or, A Reply unto Mr Chillingworth's Anſwere to his own motives of his converſion to Catholicke Religion.* Mr Wood did not know, that Mr Knott was the author of this pamphlet: if he had, he would undoubtedly have named him; whereas he only deſcribes the author by the letters I. H. (53), which are at the bottom of the dedication to the King. But Mr Knott had uſed the ſame initials at the end of his dedication to that Prince, prefixed to his *Charity maintain'd*, &c. The next pamphlet againſt Mr Chillingwoth was printed likewiſe at St Omer, with this title; *The Church conquerant over human wit, Or, The Churches Authority demonſtrated by M.* William Chillingworth *(the proctour for wit againſt her) his perpetual contradictions, in his booke entituled* The Religion of Proteſtants, &c. 4to. The anthor was John Floyd the Jeſuit (54); who publiſhed, in 1639, by way of Appendix to this piece, another intitled; *The totall Summe, or, No danger of Damnation unto Roman Catholiques for any errors in faith*, &c. 4to. The third and laſt pamphlet againſt Mr Chillingworth's book was printed, in 1639 (probably at St Omer) under the title of *The Jadgment of an Univerſity man cencerning Mr William Chillingworth his late pamphlet* (55), *in anſwer to* Charity maintain'd. 4to. The author of it was Mr William Lacy, a Jeſuit, who, at the time of writing it, lived at Oxford (56). At the ſame time was printed a ſequel to this piece, by the ſame hand, under the title of *Heautomachia, Mr Chillingworth againſt himſelf.* But our author's performance was not only attacked in his lifetime, but even nine years after his death, by his old antagoniſt Mr Knott, who, as, in his laſt pamphlet, he had charged him with *Socinianiſm*, ſo, in a book publiſhed in 1652, he charges him with *Infidelity:* for he entitled it; *Infidelity unmaſked: Or, The Confutation of a Booke publiſhed by Mr William Chillingworth, under this title*: The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe way to Salvation. Printed at Ghent, in 4to (57).

(51) See the remark [H].

(52) This Life is the ſame with that printed in the General Dict.

(53) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 43.

(54) See his article.

(55) So he calls Mr Ch's book.

(56) See his article.

(57) See the article KNOTT (EDWARD).

[K] *He refuſed to ſubſcribe the Thirty nine Articles.*] Mr Chillingworth, conſidering, that, by ſubſcribing the articles, he muſt not only declare *willingly* and *ex animo*, that every one of the *Articles* is *agreeable to the word of God*, but alſo that *the Book of Common-Prayer contains nothing contrary to the word of God*; that *it may lawfully be uſed*; and that *he himſelf would uſe it*; and conceiving, at the ſame time, that, both in the *Articles*, and in the *Book of Common-Prayer*, there were ſome things repugnant to the Scripture; or that were not lawful to be uſed: he fully reſolved to loſe for ever all hopes of preferment, rather than comply with the ſubſcription required (58). One of his chief objections to the *Common-Prayer* related to the *Athanaſian Creed*; the *damnatory clauſes* of which he look'd upon as *contrary to the word of God.* Another objection concerned the *Fourth Commandment*; which, by the prayer ſubjoined to it, *Lord, have mercy upon us*, &c. appeared to him to be made a part of the Chriſtian Law, and conſequently to bind Chriſtians to the obſervation of the Jewiſh Sabbath (59). See, in Mr Des Maizeaux (60), a letter, which he wrote upon this occaſion, to his good friend Dr Sheldon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury. It ſeems there paſſed ſeveral letters between our author and Dr Sheldon upon this ſubject. For Mr Chillingworth being now intent upon a full enquiry into the ſenſe of the Articles, every ſtep afforded him new ſcruples. Thus he objected, 1. To the XXth Article, importing, that *the Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controverſies of Faith.* 2 To the XIVth Article, that *voluntary works, beſides over and above God's commandments, which they call works of ſupererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety*, &c. which ſeemed to him to condemn the doctrine of *Evangelical counſels*, maintained by the Fathers, and by ſeveral eminent Divines of the Church of England, as Biſhop Andrews, Biſhop Morton, Biſhop Mountague, &c. 3. To the XXXIſt Article, that *the offering of Chriſt once made*, &c. 4. To the XIIIth Article, that *works done before the grace of Chriſt*, &c. which ſeemed to him to confine God's grace within too narrow bounds, and to exclude from ſalvation the moſt virtuous among the Pagans. Laſtly, he objected to the Articles in general, as an impoſition on mens conſciences, much like the authority aſſumed by the Church of Rome (61). Theſe ſcruples of our author, about ſubſcribing the Articles, furniſhed his antagoniſt, the Jeſuit (62), with one objection againſt him, as an improper champion for the Proteſtant cauſe. To which Mr Chillingworth anſwers, in the cloſe of his *Preface* to the *Religion of Proteſtants*, &c. that, 'though *he* 'does not hold the doctrine of all Proteſtants abſolutely true—yet *he* holds it free from all impiety, and 'from all error deſtructive of ſalvation, or in itſelf 'damnable. And this, *he* thinks, in reaſon, may ſufficiently

(58) M. Des Maizeaux, ubi ſupra, p. 78, 84.

(59) Ibid. p. 78—82.

(60) Ibid. p. 86.

(61) Ib. p. 99—101.

(62) Mr Knott. See the preceding remark.

long continuance, being, probably, removed by the arguments of his good friend, Dr Sheldon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*l*) : for, being promoted to the Chancellorſhip of Saliſbury, with the Prebend of Brixworth in Northamptonſhire annexed, the 20th of July 1638, he complied with the uſual ſubſcription [*L*]. About the ſame time, he obtained the Maſterſhip of Wigſtan's Hoſpital in Leiceſter (*m*). In 1640, Mr Chillingworth was deputed, by the Chapter of Saliſbury, as their Proctor to the Convocation, which met with the Parliament, and was opened the 14th of April (*n*) [*M*]. He was likewiſe deputed to the Convocation, which met the ſame year with the new Parliament, and was opened the 4th of November (*o*). He was zealouſly attached to the Royal party, and, in Auguſt 1643, was preſent, in the King's army, at the ſiege of Gloceſter; where he adviſed and directed the making certain engines, for aſſaulting the town [*N*], after the manner of the Roman *Teſtudines cum pluteis* (*p*). Soon after, having accompanied the Lord Hopton, General of the King's forces in the Weſt, to Arundel-Caſtle in Suſſex, and chuſing to repoſe himſelf in that garriſon, on account of an indiſpoſition occaſioned by the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, he was there taken priſoner, the 9th of December 1643, by the Parliament forces under the command of Sir William Waller, who obliged the caſtle to ſurrender (*q*). But, his illneſs increaſing, and not being able to go to London with the garriſon, he obtained leave to be conveyed to Chicheſter; where he was lodged in the Biſhop's palace, and, after a ſhort illneſs, died [*O*], ſome time in the

(*l*) See the remark [*K*].

(*m*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*n*) Nalſor.'s Impartial Collection of the great Affairs of State, &c. Vol. I. p. 353. and Vol. II. p. 260.

(*o*) MS. H. Wharton. in Biblioth. Lambeth, Vol. A. p. 264.

(*p*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. II. Partiii. an. 1643.

(*q*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, B. viii. edit. Oxf. 8vo, 1720, p. 473.

'ciently qualify him for a maintainer of this aſſertion, 'that *Proteſtancy deſtroys not ſalvation.*' Then he adds this remarkable declaration: 'For the Church of 'England, I am perſuaded, that the conſtant doctrine 'of it is ſo pure and orthodox, that whoſoever believes 'it, and lives according to it, undoubtedly he ſhall be 'ſaved; and that there is no error in it, which may 'neceſſitate or warrant any man to diſturb the peace, 'or renounce the communion of it. This, in my opi'nion, is *all* intended by ſubſcription; and thus much 'if you conceive me not ready to ſubſcribe, your *cha*'*rity*, I aſſure you, is much *miſtaken* (*).' Mr Chillingworth expreſſes here, not only his readineſs to ſubſcribe, but alſo what he conceives to be the ſenſe and intent of ſuch a ſubſcription; which he now takes to be a ſubſcription of *peace* or *union*, and not of *belief* or *aſſent*, as he formerly thought it was. And, as he did, within a few months, actually ſubſcribe, we have reaſon to believe he did it in the ſame ſenſe; eſpecially if we conſider, that this was alſo the ſenſe of Archbiſhop Laud (63), with which Mr Chillingworth could not be unacquainted; and of Dr Sheldon (64), who laboured to convince him of it, and was, no doubt, the perſon that brought him at laſt into it. Dr Bennet, indeed, in his *Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles* (65), undertakes to prove, from the foregoing paſſage of Mr Chillingworth, that he was of opinion, that a ſubſcription of *belief* or *aſſent* to the articles is required of the Clergy. But, beſides the plain import of our author's words, it may be obſerved, that the Romiſh controverſiſts have always underſtood Mr Chillingworth's ſenſe of ſubſcription to be as we have repreſented it, and have charged it upon him as a novelty he had introduced into the Church of England (66). Archbiſhop Sancroft, and ſeveral other Divines of the Church of England, have concurred in opinion with Mr Chillingworth, that her articles are not articles of *belief* and *aſſent*, but of *peace* and *union*, and conſequently may be ſubſcribed as ſuch.

(*) Alluding to the title of the Jeſuit's book.

(63) Relation of a Conference between W. Laud, &c. and Mr Fiſher, &c. Lond. 1639, p. 50—52.

(64) See the copy of a Letter from Dr Sheldon to Mr Chillingworth, *apud* M. Des Maizeaux, ubi ſupra, p. 103.

(65) Ch. xxxiv. p. 429.

(66) See Mr Lacy's Judgment of an Univerſity Man, &c. p. 156. Mr Cheſſy's Exomologeſis, &c. ed. t. 1647, p. 404; and Mr Woodhead's Humble Apology for the Nonconformiſts, &c. Pref.

[*L*] *He complied with the uſual ſubſcription.*] He did it in the following words, as appears from the ſubſcription-book of the Church of Saliſbury: *Ego Gulielmus Chillingworth, Clericus, in Artibus Magiſter, ad Cancellariatum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis beatæ Mariæ Sarum, una cum Præbenda de Brixworth alias Brickleſworth in comitatu Northampton, Petriburgenſis Diocæſeos in eadem Eccleſia fundata & eidem Cancellariatui annexa, admittendus & inſtituendus, omnibus hiſce articulis & ſingulis in iiſdem contentis volens & ex animo ſubſcribo, & conſenſum meum iiſdem præbeo*; 20 *die Julii* 1638. GULIELMUS CHILINGWORTH. Hence it appears, that Mr Chillingworth did actually ſubſcribe, and that in the legal form: both of which have been queſtioned by ſeveral perſons. Mr Knott affirms (67), that Mr Chillingworth never ſubſcribed the Articles; and the Biſhop of Bangor (now (†) Biſhop of Wincheſter) concludes (68), upon the ſame falſe ſuppoſition, that Mr Chillingworth's enjoying a preferment in the Church, *without ſubſcribing*, was an effect of the particular favour, which the churchmen of thoſe days had for him, as a convert from the Church of Rome.

(67) Infidelity Unmaſk'd, &c. c. i. §. 24, p. 56.

(†) In 1748.

(68) A Letter to Dr Snape, prefixed to Mr Pillonniere's Reply to Dr Snape's Vindication of a paſſage in his Second Letter, &c. Lond. 1718, p. 43, 44.

[*M*] *He was Proctor for the Chapter of Saliſbury to the Convocation which met——the 14th of April* 1640.] The proceedings of this Convocation (which ſat after the diſſolution of the Parliament, and made ſeveral Canons and Conſtitutions) being highly reſented in the next Parliament by the Houſe of Commons, who declared them to be againſt the right of Parliament, and the liberty of the ſubject (which votes were agreed to by the houſe of Lords). A bill was brought in, and paſs'd the Commons (but was thrown out by the Lords) for puniſhing and fining the members of the Convocation; wherein Mr Chillingworth, as Proctor for the Chapter of Saliſbury, was fined a thouſand pounds (69).

[*N*] *He adviſed and directed the making certain engines, for aſſaulting the town of* Gloceſter.] Mr Ruſhworth's account of this matter is as follows (70): 'The King's forces, by the direction of Dr Chilling'worth, had provided certain engines, after the man'ner of the Roman *Teſtudines cum pluteis*, wherewith 'they intended to aſſault the city between the ſouth 'and weſt gates: They ran upon cart-wheels, with a '*blind* of planks muſket-proof, and holes for four 'muſqueteers to play out of, placed upon the axle'tree, to defend the muſqueteers, and thoſe that 'thruſt it forwards, and carrying a bridge before it: 'the wheels were to fall into the ditch, and the end 'of the bridge to reſt upon the town's breaſt-work, ſo 'making ſeveral compleat bridges to enter the city.' But, before the effect of Mr Chillingworth's machines could be proved, the ſiege was raiſed by the approach of the Earl of Eſſex's forces. That Mr Chillingworth was preſent at the ſiege of Gloceſter, is farther confirmed by a letter of Biſhop Barlow's, in anſwer to one from a friend, who had quoted Mr Corbet's (‖) *Relation of the ſiege of Gloceſter*, in which, that writer mentions Mr Chillingworth very unworthily, calling him the *Jeſuitical Doctor Chillingworth*. The Biſhop's words are (71): 'For Mr Chillingworth, none ever 'queſtioned his loyalty to his King. What Corbet '(in his book you mention) writes of him, that he 'was in the ſiege of Gloceſter, in the King's army, 'aſſiſting it to take the city, is a great commendation 'of his loyalty and truth: for I know Mr Chilling'worth was there in the ſiege (but whether as a Chap'lain, or Aſſiſtant only, I know not). For going 'thither to ſee Sir William Walter my good friend 'who was a commander there, I did alſo ſee Mr Chil'lingworth among the commanders there.'

(69) Nalſon, ubi ſupra, p. 285, 286 and Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. IV. ann. 1641, p. 236.

(70) Ibid. Vol. II. ann. 1643.

(‖) Mr Corbet was Chaplain to Col. Maſſey, Governor of Gloceſter.

(71) Genuine Remains of Dr Thomas Barlow, &c. p. 346.

[*O*] *His death.*] We have a very particular account of Mr Chillingworth's ſickneſs and death, written by his great adverſary Mr Cheynel, who accidentally met him in Arundel Caſtle, and frequently viſited him at Chicheſter 'till he died. It was at the requeſt of this gentleman, that our author was removed to Chicheſter. Here Mr Cheynel attended him conſtantly, and behaved towards him with as much charity and compaſſion, as his rigid orthodoxy would permit. And no doubt, it was out of a deſire to ſhew his zeal in that reſpect, as well as his entire devotion to the Parliament, that he publiſhed his account of Mr Chillingworth;

(r) Chillingworthi Noviſſima, &c. See remark [Q].

the month of January [P] 1643-4, and was buried, according to his own deſire, in the Cathedral Church of Chicheſter (r) [Q]. Beſides our author's works already mentioned, there are extant *nine Sermons* [R], a Tract in defence of *Epiſcopacy* [S], and ſome other pieces,

worth; which he intituled, *Chillingworthi Noviſſima: Or, The ſickneſſe, hereſy, death and buriall of William Chillingworth (in his own phraſe) Clerk of Oxford, and, in the conceit of his fellow-ſoldiers, the Queen's arch-engineer, and grand-intelligencer. Set forth in a letter to his eminent and learned friends: A relation of his apprehenſion at Arundel, a diſcovery of his errors in a briefe catechiſme, and a ſhort Oration at the buriall of his heretical book. By Francis Cheynell, late fellow of Merton College. Publiſhed by Authority.* London, 1644, in *quarto*. He prefixed to it an epiſtle or dedication, 'To the learned and eminent friends of 'Mr Chillingworth, and in particular to Sir John 'Culpepper, Knight; Dr John Prideaux, Biſhop of 'Worceſter; Fell, Dean of Chriſt-Church; Bayly, 'Dean of Sarum; Sheldon, Warden of All-Soules; 'Potter, Provoſt of Queene's; and Morley, Canon of 'Chriſt-Church.' Then comes the *Relation* itſelf, with a new title, no leſs curious than the firſt: *A briefe and plaine Relation of Mr Chillingworth's ſickneſſe, death, and burial; together with a juſt cenſure of his work, by a diſcovery of his errors collected out of his book, and framed into a kind of atheiſticall Catechiſme, fit for Racovia or Cracovia; and may well ſerve for the inſtruction of the Iriſh, Welſh, Dutch, French, Spaniſh, Army in England, and eſpecialy for the black Regiment at Oxford.* The whole piece is a moſt ludicrous, as well as melancholy, inſtance of fanaticiſm and religious madneſs. But, as we cannot reaſonably ſuſpect the truth of the moſt material paſſages it contains, we may learn from it, that Mr Chillingworth was attended, during his ſickneſs, and provided with all neceſſaries, by one Lieutenant Golledge, and his wife Chriſtobell, at the command of the Governor of Chicheſter: that, at firſt, he refuſed the aſſiſtance of Sir William Waller's Phyſician, but afterwards was perſwaded to admit his viſits, though his diſtemper was too far gone to leave any hope of his recovery: that his indiſpoſition was increaſed by the abuſive treatment he met with from moſt of the officers, who were taken priſoners with him in Arundel Caſtle, and who looked upon him as a ſpy, ſet over them and their proceedings: and that, during his whole ſickneſs, he was often teazed by Mr Cheynell himſelf, and by an officer of the gariſon of Chicheſter, with impertinent queſtions and diſputes (72). If this be a true account, as moſt probably it is, the Earl of Clarendon was miſinformed in relation to Mr Chillingworth's death. For, after having obſerved, that he was taken priſoner in Arundel Caſtle, he adds (73): 'As ſoon as his perſon was 'known, which would have drawn reverence from 'any noble enemy, the Clergy that attended that army 'proſecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable; 'ſo that, by their barbarous uſage, he died within 'few days; to the grief of all that knew him, and of 'many who knew him not, but by his book, and the 'reputation he had with learned men.' From whence it may be inferr'd, that the Noble Hiſtorian did not know, or had forgot, that Mr Chillingworth was ſent to Chicheſter; but believed, that he died in Arundel Caſtle, within a few days after the taking of it by Sir William Waller. Mr Wood, who had before him Mr Cheynell's *Relation*, tells us (74), the Royal party in Chicheſter looked upon the impertinent diſcourſes of Mr Cheynell to our author as a ſhortning of his days.

(72) See large Extracts from this pamphlet in M. Des Maizeaux, ubi ſupra, p. 320—370.

(73) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, B. viii. edit. Oxford, 8vo, 1720, p. 473.

(74) Ubi ſupra.

[P] *He died ſome time in the month of January.*] It may be thought ſtrange by thoſe, who are unacquainted with the many defects in hiſtory, that no body as yet has ſettled the exact day of Mr Chillingworth's death. Anthony Wood (75) ſays, *he gave way to fate on the 24th of January, or thereabouts*, but he quotes no authority for it. Dr Walker, who has taken almoſt his whole account of our author from Wood, yet affirms (76), that *his death happen'd on the 20th of January*: but why he differs from the Oxford Antiquary, he does not tell us. Le Neve ſays (77), Mr Chillingworth *died the 20th of January, or thereabouts*. But Mr Des Maizeaux, from ſeveral circumſtances in Mr Cheynell's Narrative, has made it highly probable, that he died on Tueſday the 30th of January 1643 (78).

(75) Ibid.

(76) Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. Part ii. p. 63.

(77) Faſti Eccleſ. Anglic. p. 267.

(78) Des Maizeaux, ubi ſupra, p. 346.

[Q] *He was buried at Chicheſter.*] We learn from the author of the *Relation* abovementioned (79), that the Preſbyterian party were unwilling, at firſt, to allow Mr Chillingworth Chriſtian burial, but afterwards conſented, that he ſhould be buried by thoſe *of his own perſwaſion*; which was accordingly performed in the Cathedral Church, moſt of the Royal Party of that city attending his body to the grave. Here Mr Cheynell gave a new and uncommon inſtance of his zeal and orthodoxy. For he met the *Malignants*, as he calls them, at the place of interment, with Mr Chillingworth's book in his hand, which, after a ridiculous and fanatical ſpeech, he flung into the grave, *to rot with* it's *author, and ſee corruption*. It may ſerve to amuſe the reader, if we tranſcribe here Mr Cheynell's whimſical lamentation over Mr Chillingworth, in Scripture phraſe. 'Howle ye firre trees, for a cedar is 'fallen: lament, ye ſophiſters, for the maſter of ſen-'tences (ſhall I ſay) or fallacies is vaniſh'd: wring 'your hands, and beat your breaſts, *yee Antichriſtian* 'Engineers, for your arch-engineer is dead, and all 'his engines buried with him. Ye daughters of Ox-'ford, weep over *Chillingworth*, for he had a conſi-'derable and hopeful project how to clothe you and 'himſelf *in ſcarlet and other delights. I am diſtreſſed* 'for thee, my brother Chillingworth (may his execu-'trix (*) ſay) *very pleaſant haſt thou been unto me,* 'thy love to me was wonderful, paſſing the love of fa-'ther, huſband, brother. O how are the mighty 'fallen, and the weapons, nay engines, of warre periſh-'ed!* O tell it not in *Gath*, that he who raiſed a 'battery againſt the Pope's chaire, that he might 'place reaſon in the chaire inſtead of Antichriſt, is 'dead and gone: publiſh it not in the ſtreets of Aſkelon, 'that he who did at once batter *Rome*, and under-'mine *England*, the reforming Church of *England*, 'that he might prevent a Reformation, is dead; leſt 'if you publiſh it, you puzzle all the Conclave, and 'put them to conſider, whether they ſhould mourn or 'triumph.'

(79) Chillingworthi Noviſſima, &c.

(*) His ſiſter.

[R] *His* Sermons.] They were printed together in in the year 1664, with this title: *Nine Sermons: the firſt preached before his Majeſty King Charles the Firſt: the other eight upon ſpecial and eminent occaſions.* The firſt of theſe diſcourſes, preach'd before the King, at Oxford, on a publick faſt day, was publiſhed at Oxford, by his Majeſty's command, after the author's death, in 1644; and was the firſt ſermon of our author's printed before the Reſtoration. The publiſher of theſe *Sermons* juſtly obſerves, that they were *fitted* by the author *to the congregations to which he was to ſpeak*, and *intended only for the benefit of hearers, not of readers*. But yet a judicious reader will ſoon perceive, that they come from a maſterly hand. He will find in them in a noble ſimplicity, attended with ſublime and exalted thoughts, with an unfeigned zeal for the glory of God, and the good of mens ſouls.

[S] *His Tract in defence of Epiſcopacy.*] The deſign of this piece was to ſhew, that *Epiſcopacy is not repugnant to the government ſettled in the Church for perpetuity by the Apoſtles.* The occaſion was this: Dr Morton, Biſhop of Durham, having compoſed a treatiſe, intitled, *The Judgment of Proteſtant Divines, of remote Churches, as well ſuch as were the firſt reformers of religion, as others after them, in behalfe of epiſcopal degree in the Church:* his manuſcript was ſent to Archbiſhop Uſher, who was then at Oxford: and he publiſhed it *without* the author's *name to it, and knowledge of it* (80), under the title of *Confeſſions and Proofes of Proteſtant Divines of reformed Churches; that Epiſcopacy is in reſpect of the office according to the word of God, and in reſpect of the uſe the beſt.* The learned Primate added to it a *brief treatiſe* of his own, with his name prefixed to it, *touching the original of Biſhops and Metropolitans.* And, in order to complete that collection, Mr Chillingworth furniſhed him with the aforeſaid tract; which being ſubjoined to the other two, as a concluſion, was intitled, *The Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy, deduced out of the premiſes by W. C.* This little piece was printed by itſelf in 1644, in 4to, with this title: *The Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy:* but without the author's name. It was

(80) Life of Thomas Lord Biſhop of Dureſme, by Dr John Barwick, p. 173.

again

pieces, in the cauſe of religion and loyalty, never yet printed [T]. The opinions of ſome eminent writers concerning this great man, will deſerve our notice in the remark [U].

again printed in 1660, with a *Speech* of my Lord Falkland *concerning Epiſcopacy:* and here our author's tract is intituled, *The Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy, demonſtrated by Mr William Chillingworth.* This performance of our author's was attacked, in 1707, by Mr Alexander Lauder, a Scotch Divine, in a book intitled, *The antient Biſhops conſidered, both with reſpect to the extent of their juriſdiction, and nature of their power: In anſwer to Mr Chillingworth and others.*

[T] *His other pieces——never yet printed.*] They are in the library of Lambeth, among the manuſcripts of Mr Henry Wharton, purchaſed by Archbiſhop Teniſon. Mr Wharton, in the catalogue of thoſe manuſcripts, drawn up by himſelf, obſerves, that the volume marked M is *Volumen Chartaceum in fol.* containing, *A Collection of papers, formerly belonging to Archbiſhop Laud, many of them wrote with his own hand, but moſt of them endorſed with his hand, together with ſome papers of the Archbiſhops Sheldon and Sancroft, and many of Mr Chillingworth:* and after having ſet down part of the contents of that volume, he adds: *Several Papers of Mr William Chillingworth,* viz. 1. *Mr Peake's five queſtions propoſed to Mr Chillingworth, about the nature of faith, and the reſolution and conſequences of the faith of Proteſtants.* 2. *Mr Chillingworth's anſwer to Mr Peake's queſtions:* firſt draught imperfect. 3. *Mr Chillingworth's anſwer to the ſame:* being complete and perfect. 4. The beginning of *A Treatiſe againſt the Scots: by Mr Chillingworth.* 5. *Paſſages extracted out of the Declarations of the Scots; by Mr Chillingworth* 6. *Obſervations upon the Scottiſh Declaration; by Mr Chillingworth.* 7. *A Treatiſe of the unlawfulneſſe of reſiſting the lawfull Prince, although moſt impious, tyrannical, and idolatrous; by Mr Chillingworth.* 8. *A Letter of Mr Chillingworth excuſing his writing againſt the rebels* (81). 9. *Notes of Mr Chillingworth concerning God's univerſal mercy in calling men to repentance.* 10. *A problematical Tentamen of Mr Chillingworth againſt puniſhing crimes with death in Chriſtian ſocieties:* cancelled. 11. *A Letter of Mr J. to Mr Chillingworth, of the imperfection of Natural Religion and Reaſon, without the aſſiſtance of Revelation:* wrote in 1637. 12. *A ſhort Diſcourſe of the Nature of Faith; by Mr Chillingworth.* 13. *A larger Diſcourſe of the Nature of Faith; by Mr Chillingworth.* 14. *Of the Abſurdity of departing from the Church of England, for want of a ſucceſſion of viſible profeſſors in all ages; by Mr Chillingworth.* 15. *A briefe Anſwer to ſeveral texts of Scripture, alledged to prove the Church to be one, viſible, univerſal, perpetual, and infallible; by Mr Chillingworth.* 16. *A Letter of Dr Sheldon to Mr Chillingworth, to ſatisfy his ſcruples about ſubſcribing* (82). 17. *Letter of Mr Chillingworth to Dr Sheldon, containing ſome ſcruples about leaving the Church of Rome, and returning to the Church of England.* 18. *Letter of Mr Chillingworth to Dr Sheldon, containing his ſcruples about Subſcription, and the reaſon of them* (83).

(81) It is printed in M. Des Maizeaux, ubi ſupra, p. 300.

(82) See the remark [K].

(83) Vide ibid.

[U] *The opinions of ſome eminent writers concerning* Mr Chillingworth.] We begin with Archbiſhop Tillotſon, who, in his Sermon on *The Efficacy,* &c. *of Divine Faith* (84), ſays: 'I know not how it comes to 'paſs, whether through the artifice of the Popiſh 'party—— or through the ignorance of too many 'well-meaning Proteſtants; I ſay, I know not how it 'comes to paſs, but ſo it is, that every one that offers 'to give a reaſonable account of his Faith, and to eſta'bliſh religion upon rational principles, is preſently 'branded for a *Socinian*; of which we have a ſad in'ſtance in that incomparable perſon Mr *Chillingworth*, 'the glory of this Age and Nation; who, for no other 'cauſe, that I know of, but his worthy and ſucceſsful 'attempts to make the Chriſtian Religion reaſonable, 'and to diſcover thoſe firm and ſolid foundations, 'upon which our Faith is built, hath been requited 'with this black and odious character. But if this be '*Socinianiſm*, for a man to enquire into the grounds 'and reaſons of Chriſtian Religion, and to endeavour 'to give a ſatisfactory account why he believes it, I 'know no way but that all conſiderate inquiſitive 'men, that are above fancy and enthuſiaſm, muſt be 'either Socinians or Atheiſts.' Mr Locke had a high value for Mr Chillingworth, and recommends the reading of his works, in ſeveral of his pieces. Particularly, in his tract, containing *Some Thoughts concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman*, after having obſerved, that the art of ſpeaking well conſiſts chiefly in two things, perſpicuity and right reaſoning, and propoſed Dr Tillotſon as a pattern of the former, he adds (85): 'Beſides perſpicuity, there muſt 'be alſo right reaſoning; without which perſpicuity 'ſerves but to expoſe the ſpeaker. And for attaining 'of this, I ſhould propoſe the conſtant reading of '*Chillingworth*, who, by his example, will teach 'both perſpicuity, and the way of right reaſoning, 'better than any book that I know; and therefore 'will deſerve to be read upon that account over and 'over again; not to ſay any thing of his argument.' Biſhop Barlow, in a letter to one of his friends, who had writ to him for his judgment, *wherein Mr Chillingworth's peculiar excellency above other writers conſiſted*, returns the following anſwer (86): 'You deſire 'to know, wherein Mr Chillingworth's excellency, 'above other writers, did conſiſt? So that you ſeem 'to take it for granted, that he has an excellency (if 'not above all, yet) above many, or moſt writers; 'and I think ſo too But then the caſe muſt be cautiouſly ſtated; for his excellency we ſpeak of, cannot 'conſiſt in any extraordinary knowledge he had of '*Antiquity* (ſacred or civil) of *Councils* and *Fathers*, 'or learned mens animadverſions upon them; nor in 'any great ſkill he had in ſeveral *Tongues* and *Languages*, &c. But his excellency, wherein he excelled many (if not moſt) writers, did ariſe from, 'and conſiſt in his *Logick*, both *natural*, and (by exceeding great induſtry) *acquired*—— But that *Logick*, 'in which Mr Chillingworth's excellency did principally conſiſt, was his *acquired Logick:* he induſtriouſly 'ſtudied it, finding the exceeding uſe of it, eſpecially 'in controverſies of religion. *Logick* (and that only) 'makes a man to write ſo, that his arguments ſhall 'be, 1. *Conſequent.* 2. *Evident.* For that (and that only) enables a writer really to know, whether the 'premiſes do indeed infer the concluſion; or otherwiſe are falſe, or fallacious, and ſophiſtical, and not 'truly logical and concluding arguments. And for this Mr Chillingworth (after an induſtrious and diligent reading *Ariſtotle's* and *Crakenthorp's Logick*, 'who were beſt able to inſtruct him) was of greater 'ability to judge truly, than moſt (if not all) the writers I have yet met with. Beſides, Mr Chillingworth, in all his diſputes againſt *Popery*, draws his 'arguments, not from the *Fathers* or *Councils* (though 'in ſeveral things they may be of good uſe, though 'they be not infallible) but from the *ſacred Scriptures*; which being of divine authority and infallible, 'are a ſure and juſt ground of that confidence we are 'ſpeaking of.' We ſhall only add the following judicious obſervation of Biſhop Hare, in relation to the reading of our author. 'Mr Chillingworth, *ſays he* '(87), is certainly a good reaſoner, and may be read 'with much advantage: but I fear the reading of him 'by young Divines hath had one great inconvenience: 'They ſee little ſhew of *reading* in him, and from 'thence are induced to think, there is no neceſſity of 'learning, to make a good Divine; nay, that if he 'had been more a ſcholar, he had been a worſe reaſoner; and therefore not to ſtudy the ancient writers 'of the Church, is one ſtep to the being *Chillingworths* 'themſelves: I fear, I ſay, the reading Mr *Chillingworth* in their firſt years has had this influence, to 'make them think, that good parts and good ſenſe 'would do without learning, and that learning is 'rather a prejudice than an improvement of them. 'But 'tis a great miſtake to judge of a man's learning 'by the ſhew that is made of it. Mr *Chillingworth* 'had ſtudied hard, and digeſted well what he read; 'and ſo muſt they who hope to write as well, and be 'as much eſteemed.' T

(84) Vol. XII. Serm. vi. publiſhed by Dr Barker, p. 167.

(85) A Collection of ſeveral pieces of Mr John Locke, &c. p. 262.

(86) Genuine Remains of Dr Thomas Barlow, &c. p. 347.

(87) Scripture vindicated, &c. Pref. p. 32.

CHURCHILL (Sir WINSTON) a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed loyalty, and an eminent Hiſtorian in the reign of Charles II. He was deſcended from an antient and very honourable family in Dorſetſhire, who had been owners of land in that county, from a very little after the Norman Conqueſt, down to the time of his birth (*a*); ſo that in point of deſcent, there was no need of having recourſe to art, in order to give luſtre to a family, which, in itſelf, had all the genuine marks of ſplendor that conſtitute true nobility, *viz.* a known lineage of worthy perſons through a long ſeries of years, whoſe names are to be found in our records, the only certain evidences of Engliſh gentility [*A*]. He was the ſon of John Churchill, Eſq; of Minthorn in Dorſetſhire, a very eminent Lawyer, who added that and other eſtates to thoſe which deſcended to him from his anceſtors, by his ſucceſs in his profeſſion (*b*), by Sarah, daughter and coheireſs of Sir Henry Winſton, of Standiſton in Glouceſterſhire, Knt (*c*). He was born at Wooton Glanvile in Dorſetſhire, ſome time in the year 1620, as ſome ſay (*d*), but Anthony Wood tells us that he was born at London, but fixes his birth in the ſame year (*e*). He was diſtinguiſhed in his youth by the mildneſs and modeſty of his diſpoſition, as well as by a natural turn to learning, which occaſioned his being ſent to St John's college at Oxford, when he had ſcarce attained the age of ſixteen (*f*). He ſtudied there with great induſtry and application, and would probably have betaken himſelf to ſome learned profeſſion, if the diſorders of the times, and the circumſtances of his family, had not obliged him to leave the univerſity ſooner than he intended, and before he had taken a degree (*g*). He engaged, from principles of loyalty, in the cauſe of his unfortunate Sovereign King Charles I, for which he ſuffered ſeverely in his fortune, and having married while young, Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Drake of Aſh in Devonſhire, ſhe was forced to ſeek a refuge in her father's houſe, when Mr Churchill's undeſerved misfortunes left him none that he could call his own, and there moſt of his children were born, and conſequently were, by the mother's ſide, allied to ſome of the beſt and nobleſt families in this kingdom [*B*]. At the King's

(*a*) Baronage, by Collins, Vol. I. p. 191.

(*b*) Genealogical Notes relating to the Family of Churchill.

(*c*) Lediard's Life of John Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 6, edit. 1743.

(*d*) Peerage of England, Vol. I p. 193.

(*e*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 820.

(*f*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 6.

(*g*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 820.

[*A*] *The only certain evidences of Engliſh gentility.*] A certain German writer, after the battle of Hochſtedt, drew up an account of this family, in the manner of that country, without authorities (1), and therefore, little or no regard ought to be paid to it. The higheſt that, with any appearance of truth, and hiſtorical certainty, can be traced of this line, is Gitto de Leon, a Norman, who flouriſhed, *Anno Domini* 1055, under William the Baſtard, Duke of Normandy. His ſecond ſon, Wandrill, took the ſurname of Courcil, from a Lordſhip of that name, of which he was the owner. He had two ſons, Roger and Rowland. From the latter deſcend the family of Courcils, who have large poſſeſſions in ſeveral provinces in France, at this day. Roger de Courcil attended Duke William in his expedition into this kingdom, and as a reward for his ſervices had lands given him in Wiltſhire, Dorſetſhire, Somerſetſhire, and Shropſhire, among which was the Lordſhip of Churchill, as it was afterwards called, in the county of Somerſet, the place of his abode (2). This Roger by his wife Gertrude, daughter to Sir Guy de Torbay, had John his ſon and heir, whoſe wife was Joan de Kilrington, by whom he had Sir Bartholomew de Chercile, who held the Caſtle of Briſtol for King Stephen. In whoſe ſervice he was killed, and in honour of him, the ſmall town of Churchill, was ſo called (3). He married Agnes, daughter to Ralph Fitz Ralph, Lord of Tiverton, and by her had Pagan de Chercile, whoſe ſon Roger had free warren in his lands in Chercile in the reign of Edward I. To this Roger ſucceeded Elias de Churchelle, whoſe wife was Dorothy, a daughter of the ancient family of Columbiers, and by her had three ſons, John, who married Joan, daughter and coheir to Roger Dawney of Norton, and left only two daughters his coheirs, Margaret, the wife of Andrew Hilberſdon of the county of Devon, and Agnes, married to Thomas Gifford of Theuborough in Cornwall, whereby the Lordſhip of Churchill and other lands devolved on them. Giles ſecond ſon, had the Lordſhip of Yampton and Lineham in Devonſhire, which eſtates, by a female heir, deſcended to the family of Croker of the ſame county, ſo that William, the third ſon of Elias was the chief heirmale (4). This William was ſeated at Rockbear in the county of Devon, and left iſſue, Giles Churchill, Eſq; father of Charles Churchill, Eſq; who for his firm adherence to the Houſe of York, was in great favour with King Edward IV, who advanced him to the marriage of Margaret, only daughter of Sir William Wodvile, by whom he had Thomas Churchill, Eſq; whoſe wife was Grace, daughter and coheir to Thomas Tylle of Tylle houſe in the county of Cornwall, and by her he had William Churchill, his heir and ſucceſſor, who married Mary, eldeſt daughter to Richard Creuſe of Wicroft-caſtle in the county of Devon, Eſq; and by her he had three ſons, Roger of Catherſton, William of Corton, and John, who was ſeated at Muſton, all in the county of Dorſet. The ſaid Roger marrying Jane, relict of Nicholas Mogg, and daughter to William Peverell of Bradford, by her had Matthew Churchill of Bradford, who marrying Elizabeth, daughter to John Chaplet of Herringſton in the county of Dorſet, had John, his heir, grandfather of Sir Winſton, and another ſon, named Jaſper, father of Sir John Churchill, an eminent Counſel in the reign of King Charles II, who marrying Suſan, daughter to Edmund Prideaux, Eſq; by her left only four daughters, who where his coheirs (5).

(1) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 1, 2.

(2) E LibroDom. Dei, fol. 47, 58, 80.

(3) MS. Remarks upon Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle. See alſo his epitaph in the Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 3.

(4) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 191.

(5) Remarks on the Genealogy of the Family of Churchill.

[*B*] *To ſome of the beſt and nobleſt families in this kingdom.*] The family of the Drakes of Aſhe in the county of Devon, were very ancient and honourable, and were firſt ſeated at Exmouth in the ſame county, where there had been no leſs than ten ſucceſſions, all of the name of John (6). Sir Bernard Drake, grandfather of Sir Winſton Churchill, by his mother's ſide, was a great Courtier, and a famous ſea Captain in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was a perſon of ſo high ſpirit, that he gave the famous Sir Francis Drake a box on the ear for aſſuming his Arms, which were a Wivern diſplayed, Gules; and this provoked the Queen to ſuch a degree, that ſhe gave a new Coat to Sir Francis Drake, and for his creſt, a ſhip on a Globe held by a cable with a hand out of the clouds, and in the rigging hung up by the heels a Wivern with wings diſplayed, Gules; of which, when ſhe aſked Sir Bernard his opinion, he boldly anſwered, *Madam, though you could give him a finer, yet you could not give him an ancienter Coat than mine* (7). This gentleman, who deceaſed *Anno Dom.* 1585, by Gertrude his wife, daughter of Bartholomew Forteſcue of Fillegh in the ſame county, anceſtor to the preſent Earl of Clinton (8), had iſſue, Sir John Drake, Knt. who married Eleanor, ſecond daughter, and one of the coheireſſes of John Lord Boteler of Brampfield (9) in the county of Hertford, a perſon of very illuſtrious deſcent, and who eſpouſed Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir George Villiers of Brokeſby in the county of Leiceſter, Knt. ſiſter to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the great favourite of the Kings, James and Charles I (10). The ſon of this gentleman, and the brother of Lady Churchill, was Knighted by King Charles II, and afterwards created a Baronet by the ſame Prince, Auguſt 31, 1660 (11); he was alſo intended among the reſt of the loyal Gentlemen of Devonſhire to have been made a Knight of the Royal Oak, if the King, for very good reaſons, had not thought fit to deſiſt from that deſign; but his name ſtill

(6) Sir William Pole's Deſcents of Devon, MS.

(7) Prince's Worthies of Devon, P. 245.

(8) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. P. 29.

(9) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 465.

(10) See the article VILLIERS (GEORGE) Duke of Buckingham, in this Dictionary.

(11) Dugdale's Cat. of Baronets.

King's return Mr Churchill's affairs wore another aſpect, he removed to his ſeat at Minthorn in Dorſetſhire, and was elected a Burgeſs for the borough of Weymouth in that county, for that Parliament which met May 8, 1661 (*i*), and ſoon after, *viz.* in the latter end of 1663, his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer upon him the honour of knighthood (*k*). The ſecurity and quiet of the times reviving in his breaſt that love of literature which had poſſeſſed him in his youth, he aſſociated himſelf much with men of learning, and with ſuch as were remarkable for being the patrons of learning, which induced the Members of the Royal Society, ſoon after it's foundation, to elect him a Fellow of that noble eſtabliſhment for the promoting uſeful knowledge (*l*). In the year 1664, Sir Winſton Churchill, together with Sir Richard Rainsford, Sir Thomas Beverly, Sir Edward Deering, Sir Edward Smith, Sir Allen Broderick, and Col. Cook, were appointed Commiſſioners of the Court of Claims in Ireland (*m*), with power to hear and adjudge the qualifications of thoſe who had forfeited their eſtates, in which office he did very great ſervice, by contributing, in conjunction with his collegues, to ſettle that nation in a ſtate of tranquillity, which, at the time of their coming over, was in very great diſtraction (*n*) [*C*]. Upon his return from thence he was conſtituted one of the Clerks Comptrollers of the Green Cloth, an office of conſideration and credit at Court, and received alſo other marks of his Majeſty's kind acceptance of his ſervices. But, as his attendance at Court did not take up any great portion of his time, he had leiſure enough to reſume his ſtudies, and this lead him to review and publiſh a kind of Political Eſſay upon the Hiſtory of England, in which having treated many points, and more eſpecially one, according to thoſe high notions of loyalty which he had imbibed in his youth, and upon which he always acted (*o*), they drew a cenſure upon his book by men of different principles, who likewiſe attacked his conduct in Parliament with great virulence. It is perhaps owing to the notions then conceived to it's prejudice, that, notwithſtanding the reading and learning ſhewn therein, very little regard is now paid to his work [*D*]. The diſlike

(*i*) Will's's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. P. 445.

(*k*) Alphabetical Liſt of Knights made by Charles II.

(*l*) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 432.

(*m*) Sir Richard Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland.

(*n*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 297.

(*o*) He publiſhed this work in 1675.

ſtill remains in the liſt of thoſe who were propoſed for that honour, from whence it appears, that he was then eſteemed to have an eſtate of eight hundred pounds a year (12); this family is now extinct, but in honour of his deſcent from it, his Grace, the late Duke of Marlborough, took for his ſupporters, two Wiverns, Gules (13); and the preſent Duke has for his ſiniſter ſupporter, a Wivern, Argent, wings expanded (14).

(12) Liſt of the intended Knights of the Royal Oak, MS. belonging to the late Peter Le Neve, Eſq;

(13) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 203.

(14) See the Coats of Arms at the Head of the fourth Volume of the Peerage, No. 7.

[*C*] *Was in very great diſtraction.*] The deſign of this Court, which was erected in virtue of the Act of Settlement, was to diſtinguiſh, among the old Iriſh, between the innocent and the guilty. The period aſſigned by the King's Declaration, was the 2d of May 1661, which the Iriſh Parliament enlarged to the firſt of Auguſt 1662, and prolonged it afterwards to July 2, 1663. The place in which they ſat was at the King's Inns in Dublin, and out of about four thouſand Claims, they determined before their commiſſion expired, about ſix hundred and thirty, by which, numbers of perſons and their heirs were reſtored, who would otherwiſe have loſt their eſtates (15). This certainly contributed not a little to calm the minds of the native Iriſh, but at the ſame time it occaſioned a very high clamour amongſt Cromwell's ſoldiers, and all thoſe to whom theſe lands had been diſpoſed of, by the powers that were then lately in being; and to this, we are to impute that reſentment with which ſome writers ſpeak of this Court of Claims, and of thoſe who ſat therein (16).

(15) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. ii. p. 6.

(16) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 297.

[*D*] *Very little regard is now paid to his work.*] The title of this book at large, runs thus: Divi Britannici, *being a Remark upon the Lives of all the Kings of this Iſle, from the year of the world* 2855, *unto the year of Grace* 1660, by Sir *Winſton Churchill*, Knt. London 1675, fol. It is dedicated to King Charles II; and in the Dedication, the author takes notice, that having ſerved his Majeſty's father as long as he could with his ſword, he ſpent a great part of thoſe leiſure hours, which were forced upon him by his misfortunes, in defending that Prince's cauſe, and, indeed, the cauſe of Monarchy itſelf, with his pen; and he very clearly avows, that he looked upon his work as the funeral Oration of that deceaſed government, or rather, as his title ſpeaks it, the Apotheoſes of departed Kings. This being the nature of his work, it was natural to expect, that the ſtile ſhould correſpond therewith, that it ſhould be raiſed and florid, and not ſubjected to the rules of Hiſtory, for which the author never meant it. But notwithſtanding this, the dates are generally very exact, the facts are well ſupported by authorities, there are abundance of curious and judicious obſervations interſperſed through it, and if it was not for that flaming zeal, that Enthuſiaſm of Loyalty which runs through it, and which, if it was a weakneſs in the author, was alſo the foible of thoſe times, and the more excuſable in a perſon who had fought and ſuffered for his principles, it might be conſidered as a very extraordinary performance. In order to juſtify in ſome meaſure this account, it may not be amiſs to cite a very curious paſſage from his Introduction. Thus it runs; 'What the number and ſtrength of the Norman was, 'may be nearly computed by what he did abroad in 'that holy, and what he ſuffered at home in that unholy, war, commonly called the Barons War: the 'firſt, for religion; the laſt, for liberty. The one 'having conſumed as many lives as there were ſtones 'in the walls of the Holy City they fought for; 'the other not ſo fatal, becauſe poiſed with a 'more equal force, but altogether as formidable; 'there being at leaſt 50,000 always ready to do 'execution on either ſide. So ſtood the caſe for 'the firſt two hundred and fifty years after the 'entrance of William the Firſt. The computation of 'the middle times, muſt be taken from the preparation of Edward the Third, when he took two Kings, 'and miſſed but little of taking two kingdoms at once, 'engaging himſelf in a double edged war, that ended 'not with his own life or theirs; wherein, though 'it is ſuppoſed he exhauſted as much of the force as 'the treaſure of the kingdom, yet he did not ſo 'weaken his ſucceſſor Richard II, but that he was 'able to take the field with 300,000 foot, and 100,000 'horſe attending him (as Walſingham tells us) whoſe 'teſtimony has the more credit, by how much it is 'ſeconded by Emilius, the French Hiſtorian, who had 'no cauſe to magnify the number of the Engliſh at 'that time. Later computations may be taken from 'the preparations of Henry the Eighth, at Bullen, 'Queen Elizabeth, at Tilbury, at either, not ſo little, 'as 185,000 foot, and 40,000 horſe in readineſs for 'preſent ſervice; for I am willing to paſs by the conſideration of thoſe vaſt numbers which ſupported 'that unnatural quarrel betwixt the two fatal Houſes of 'York and Lancaſter, as likewiſe the late war betwixt 'King Charles the Firſt and the Republican Faction, 'when it is believed there were no leſs than three 'hundred thouſand foot, and ſixty thouſand horſe 'actually engaged in arms, and from thoſe parades at 'the reception of King James, when he made he firſt 'entry into England, and more eſpecially at the happy 'Reſtauration of our Sovereign that now is, whoſe 'Life-guard at his landing, were no leſs than fifty 'thouſand or perhaps the beſt horſe in the world: 'not reckoning thoſe appointed for the defence of the 'Realm. However, all the computations of our land

'forces

diſlike of the party did not ſtop here, but followed him ſo cloſely, that after the diſſolution of that which was ſtiled the Long Parliament, he was, in 1678, diſmiſſed from his poſt of Clerk of the Green Cloth (*p*), though much againſt his Maſter's will, who, as ſoon as he delivered himſelf from the reſtraint which the ſituation of his affairs had put him under, reſtored him again to his office, which, during the reſt of that reign, he held, and was the oldeſt Clerk of the Green Cloth at King Charles's death (*q*). He remained in his office, and enjoyed the ſame if not a greater degree of favour from Court, during the ſhort reign of King James II, and having had the pleaſure to ſee his eldeſt ſurviving ſon raiſed to the Peerage, and the reſt of his children in a fair way of promotion, he departed this life the twenty-ſixth of March 1688 (*r*), and three days after was buried in the pariſh-church of St Martin in the Fields, leaving iſſue by his Lady beforementioned ſeveral children both ſons and daughters, as the reader may ſee in the notes [*E*]; beſides three ſons and as many daughters that died in their infancy, and of whom therefore it was not neceſſary to give any farther account.

(*p*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 7.

(*q*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 821.

(*r*) Peerage of England, by Collins, Vol. I. p. 193.

' forces fall ſo ſhort of our Maritime, that, as there is ' no compariſon to be made betwixt them; ſo we may ' ſay, that we have rendred ourſelves more formidable ' by our Cannon Law at ſea, than any other people by any ' Law of Arms whatſoever.' We are told by Anthony Wood (17), that there being ſome paſſages in this work about the King's power of raiſing money without Parliament; this gave ſuch offence to the Members of the Parliament then ſitting, that the leaf in which this occurred being cancelled, and reprinted without that offenſive paſſage in a great part of the edition, the author hoped thereby to pleaſe and to give content. If Mr Wood had been pleaſed to inform us, which page this was, it would have ſhewn more accuracy and better acquaintance with a work that he has cenſured very ſeverely. *In the ſaid book*, ſays he, *which is very thin and trite, are the Arms of all the Kings of England, which made it ſell among Novices, rather than from the matter therein.* Another critical Hiſtorian, who ſeems to have had Mr Wood in his eye, ſpeaks alſo very ſlightly of our author's performance (18). ' There ' are, *ſays he*, ſome later Hiſtories, which are ſo well ' known to all that are any thing curious in theſe ' matters, that I need do little more than mention ' them; ſuch are Sir Winſtone Churchill's *Divi Britanici*, which gives the reader a diverting view of the ' Arms and exploits of our Kings down to the Reſtoration in 1660, &c.' Another writer treats our author's character as well as book with leſs decency, for he charges him (19) not only with aſſerting that the King might raiſe money without a Parliament, but with conſenting to his daughter's kindneſs for the Duke of York, and receiving in gratifications from the Crown ten thouſand pounds. But conſidering this as a political pamphlet written to ſerve a particular turn, and written at a time when the preſs being under reſtraint, that which was intended for the cure, proved really the cauſe of libels, we are not bound to receive all the author of it ſays for Goſpel.

(17) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 821.

(18) Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, p. 74.

(19) A Seaſonable Argument to perſuade all Grand Juries to petition for a new Parliament, &c. 4to, 1677, p. 19.

[*E*] *As the reader may ſee in the notes.*] The eldeſt of his ſons that lived to man's eſtate, was John, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, &c. of whom in the next article. The next, George Churchill, of whom we ſhall alſo ſpeak hereafter. Charles Churchill, the Duke's ſecond brother was born at Aſhe the 2d of February 1656. He was likewiſe bred to arms, and was noted for ſeveral brave actions. At thirteen years of age, he was made Page of Honour to Chriſtian King of Denmark; and at ſixteen, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to his brother Prince George. At the Revolution, he ſucceeded Major-General Oglethorpe in his regiment of foot; and in 1692, at the battle of Steenkirk, Auguſt 23, he was Brigadier-General. The Brigade under his command behaved bravely, as they did, likewiſe the year following, at the battle of Landen, where he himſelf gave the greateſt proofs of his courage and conduct in the defence of the villages of Lare and Neder Winden, and where he took his nephew the Duke of Berwick priſoner. He was made Major-General of Foot, and Governor of Kinſale in Ireland, by King William, and after many battles fought with great bravery and conduct, was eſteemed one of the beſt Commanders of Foot in Europe. By his gracious Miſtreſs, Queen Anne, he was made Governor of the Tower of London, General of the army, and General in Chief of Foot, and, had a great and honourable ſhare in the ever memorable battle of Blenheim: after which, for his many and great ſervices, he was made Governor of Bruſſels, Colonel of the Coldſtream regiment of Foot guards, and Governor of her Majeſty's iſland of Guernſey. In the year 1702, he married Mary, daughter and ſole heireſs of James Goulde of Dorcheſter, Eſq; by whom he had no iſſue; he died much lamented, December 29, 1714; and his widow about three years after his deceaſe, married the Right Honourable the Earl of Abingdon. Theobald Churchill, Sir Winſton's youngeſt ſon, had his academical education in Queen's College in Oxford, where he commenced Maſter of Arts, June 13, 1683; and entering into Holy Orders, died unmarried, December 3, 1685, and was buried in the pariſh-church of St Martin in the Fields in Weſtminſter. Arabella Churchill, the eldeſt of Sir Winſton's children, was born in March 1648, was Maid of Honour to the Ducheſs of York, and beloved by the Duke, afterwards King James II, by whom ſhe had two ſons and two daughters. The eldeſt, James Fitz-James, was created by his father, Duke of Berwick; he was alſo Knight of the Garter and of the Golden-Fleece, Marſhal of France, and Grandee of Spain of the firſt claſs. He was juſtly reputed one of the greateſt officers of his time, and being Generaliſſimo of the armies of France, fell by a cannon-ſhot at the ſiege of Philipſburgh in 1734. Henry Fitz-James, Grand Prior of France, Lieutenant-General and Admiral of the French gallies, was born in 1673, and died in 1702. Henrietta, born in 1670, married Sir Henry Waldgrave of Cheuton, grandfather to the preſent Earl of Waldgrave, and died in 1730: the younger daughter was a Nun. This Lady afterwards married Colonel Godfrey, by whom ſhe had two daughters; the eldeſt, Charlotte, married the late Lord Viſcount Falmouth; and the younger, Elizabeth, eſpouſed Edmund Dunch, Eſq;

E

CHURCHILL (John) Duke of Marlborough, and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, one of the ableſt Stateſmen and moſt polite Courtiers, as well as one of the greateſt Captains and moſt illuſtrious Heroes, that our nation, or indeed any other, has produced. He was born at Aſhe, the ſeat of his grandfather by the mother's ſide, in Devonſhire, on Midſummer day 1650, a little before noon, and two days after was baptized by Mr Matthew Drake Rector of that pariſh (*a*). We have already ſhewn that his father's circumſtances were far from being eaſy, either at this time, or for ſeveral years afterwards, therefore we need not at all wonder, that his ſon had not thoſe advantages in his education which were due to his birth (*b*). Yet there is reaſon to believe, that a learned father would not in any degree neglect the care of a ſon, who was the firſt hopes of his family, for though he had an elder brother, Winſton Churchill, yet he ſoon died, and therefore John, while a child, was conſidered as the heir, and treated accordingly. A

(*a*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 17, edit. 1743.

(*b*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 765.

worthy

worthy clergyman in the neigbourhood inſtructed him in the firſt principles of literature, under the eye of his farther, and from them both he received ſuch a tincture of true religion and zeal for the Church of England, as continued to manifeſt itſelf throughout his whole life, and tho' no man was leſs a bigot, yet never any perſon of his rank ſhewed either greater reſpect for, or firmer belief in, the Chriſtian faith, than he (*c*). His father carried him very early to Court, where the beauty of his perſon, the pregnancy of his parts, and the modeſty of his behaviour, recommended him, when but twelve years of age, to the peculiar notice of James Duke of York, to whom he ſoon afterwards became a Page, and at the ſame time a favourite (*d*). It is generally agreed, that he had a pair of colours given him in the Guards during the firſt Dutch war, that is, about the year 1666, but the manner in which he obtained them is ſomewhat differently reported [*A*]. That war ending ſoon after, and Mr Churchill being impatient to gain ſome practical knowledge in the trade of arms, which he now conſidered as his profeſſion, obtained leave to go over to Tangier, then in our hands and beſieged by the Moors (*e*), where he reſided for ſome ſhort time, and where he had the firſt opportunity of ſhewing his courage, and of acquiring experience, which never any did in leſs time than he; for, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to obſerve, his very firſt actions were in their nature as great as any in his whole life, and the firſt time he was honoured with a command in chief, he appeared as much a General as in the laſt of his moſt glorious actions. Upon his return to England he continued his attendance at Court, and received, as well from the King as from the Duke, daily marks of kindneſs and favour, notwithſtanding the ſlanderous tales that flew about the Court as to his amorous adventures (*f*). In 1672 the Duke of Monmouth commanding a body of Engliſh auxiliaries in the ſervice of France, Mr Churchill, who was always for ſeeing action, attended him, and was very ſoon after made Captain of Grenadiers in his Grace's own regiment. He had a ſhare in all the actions that were performed in that famous campaign, which brought the republick of Holland lower in a few months, than the Spaniards were able to bring her in many years. At the ſiege of Nimeguen Captain Churchill diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly, inſomuch that he was taken notice of by the celebrated Marſhal Turenne, who beſtowed on him the name of the handſome Engliſhman, by which he was generally known while he continued in the French army, more eſpecially after a very gallant action he performed, in recovering a poſt of importance from the Dutch, with half the number of men that had been under a French Lieutenant-Colonel, who was entruſted with the defence of it, and who quitted it upon the enemy's approach (*g*). But the moſt ſoldier-like action of this war was the reduction of the ſtrong fortreſs of Maeſtricht, which had in it a garriſon of ten thouſand men at that time, and thoſe too well provided and well commanded. In the night of the fourteenth of June, the Duke of Monmouth being Lieutenant-General of the trenches, attacked, and made himſelf maſter of a half-moon, but the Dutch before day ſprung a mine to the right with ſo good effect, that the French troops, though the beſt in the whole army, were beaten out of thoſe poſts, nor could the forces ordered for that ſervice recover them, 'till the Duke of Monmouth with ten or twelve Engliſh voluntiers, threw himſelf into the hotteſt fire, and thereby inſpired the forces with ſuch ardour that they again drove out the Dutch, and became a ſecond time maſters of all the poſts which they had attacked the day before (*h*). The ſhare Captain Churchill had in this buſineſs was ſo very remarkable, that the French King thanked him for it at the head of the line, and aſſured him that he would acquaint his Sovereign with the particulars of his gallant behaviour, which he did; and his Grace the Duke of Monmouth, on their return to England, in relating what happened at the attack, told the King his father, that he was indebted to Captain Churchill for much of his glory, and for his ſafety altogether, ſince by his bravery he had preſerved his life (*i*). This good fortune which began in the ſecond year of our hero's life, attended all his ſucceeding undertakings, ſo that his ſword was never drawn but victory purſued. The laurels he brought from France very juſtly entitled him to preferment at home, and his Majeſty

(*c*) Memoirs of John Duke of Marlborough.

(*d*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 193.

(*e*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*f*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 19.

(*g*) Military Hiſt. of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene.

(*h*) An Account of the Siege of Maeſtricht, printed by Authority, in fol. 1673.

(*i*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 194.

[*A*] *Is ſomewhat differently reported.*] It is ſaid by ſome, that Sir Winſtone Churchill perceiving his ſon's inclination to Arms, and being deſirous to gratify it, applied to the Duke of York, and by his intereſt with that Prince, procured him an Enſign's commiſſion (1). Another account is given, which is the more probable, and which I have heard confirmed by perſons that had a relation to the Duke of Marlborough's family. He was firſt Page to the Duke, and in that quality attended his Royal Highneſs frequently when the Guards were exerciſed and muſtered before him, to which the youth being extremely attentive, and upon being aſked ſome queſtions relating to their exerciſe, anſwering with an unexpected degree of penetration and ſagacity, the Duke, who, in the judgment of Marſhal Turenne, had a very good military genius, and was to the laſt degree fond of troops, ſhewed himſelf highly pleaſed, as well with his capacity as his inclination, and thereupon, to encourage and enter him in the world, gave him the next pair of Colours that fell (2). Thoſe who are fond of ſecret Hiſtory and marvellous adventures, have reported, that the Duke gave him this commiſſion, that he might have an opportunity of ſending him to Tangier out of the way of the Ducheſs of York, who was thought to look upon him with an air of tenderneſs, that made his Royal Highneſs not a little uneaſy (3). But whoever conſiders, not only the great difference of rank, but the vaſt diſproportion in age between them, for Mr Churchill could not be above fifteen, when this is ſuppoſed to have happened, the ſeveral eaſy and natural motives excluſive of the young Gentleman's merit, that might induce the Duke to have a more than ordinary affection for him, and the conſtancy of that Prince's favour towards him through all the different changes of both their circumſtances, will ſee no cauſe whatever to recur to any ſuch ſlight anecdotes as theſe, which tarniſh ſo many reputations, and, at the ſame time, are not ſo much as reported by any who could be ſuppoſed to have a juſt knowledge of the truth of them, if, which is very improbable, they had been really facts.

(1) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 18.

(2) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(3) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 18, 19.

Majeſty having made him Lieutenant-Colonel of Littleton's regiment, the Duke made him Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, and ſoon after Maſter of the Robes (*k*). The ſecond Dutch war being over, Colonel Churchill found himſelf again obliged to paſs his days at Court, where he was no leſs diſtinguiſhed as a fine gentleman, than he had been admired for his military qualities in the camp [*B*]. He behaved with great prudence and circumſpection in thoſe troubleſome times that enſued, and gave frequent demonſtrations of his inflexible attachment to the Proteſtant Religion, as well as an inviolable fidelity to his moſt gracious Maſter. In the beginning of the year 1679, when the King's pleaſure was ſignified to the Duke of York, that he ſhould paſs ſome time in the Low-Countries, Colonel Churchill attended his Royal Highneſs and his family, firſt to the Hague and then to Bruſſels, waited upon him in his ſhort trip to England, and in his journey to Windſor, and returned with him upon the King's recovering from that illneſs, which brought over the Duke a ſecond time to Bruſſels (*l*). He likewiſe accompanied him the next year in travelling by land into Scotland, where the King his brother gave him not only leave to reſide, but in ſome meaſure put the management of that kingdom into his hands, which has not been numbered amongſt the wiſeſt actions of that Monarch's reign. His Royal Highneſs arrived at Edinburgh on the fourth of December 1680, whither Colonel Churchill attended him, and being then conſidered as a favourite, was very reſpectfully treated, and generally applied to by the Nobility of Scotland (*m*). He returned with his Maſter to London, and went down with him a ſecond time by ſea, when he had the misfortune to be obliged to retire thither again, upon the heats raiſed againſt him in the Houſe of Commons. While he waited upon the Duke, here he had a regiment of dragoons given him, and thinking it now time to ſettle himſelf in the world, he made his addreſſes to Mrs Sarah Jennings, who then waited on the Lady Anne, afterwards Queen of Great Britain. This young Lady, who was then about twenty-one, and juſtly eſteemed both for her perſon and her parts one of the fineſt woman in this iſland, he married in 1681, and thereby added very conſiderable to the intereſt he already had at Court (*n*). In the ſpring of the year 1682 the Duke of York returned to London, and having procured his Majeſty's leave to quit that kingdom, and to reſide as formerly at Court, he reſolved to return to Scotland by ſea to bring up his family, and for that purpoſe embarked on board the Glouceſter-frigate, commanded by Sir John Berry, May 4, 1682, but unluckily ran upon the Lemon-Oar, a dangerous ſand that lies about ſixteen leagues from the mouth of the Humber, where his ſhip was loſt with ſome perſons of quality, and upwards of one hundred and twenty perſons on board her (*o*). This melancholy accident afforded his Royal Highneſs an opportunity of ſhewing the tender affection that he had for Colonel Churchill, of whoſe ſafety he was particularly careful, by taking him with him in the boat in which himſelf eſcaped the danger. The circumſtances of this ſhipwreck are very differently reported, but with regard to the Duke's concern for Colonel Churchill all writers are agreed, though hardly in any other point [*C*]. The ſtay of

(*k*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*l*) Temple's Memoirs.

(*m*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*n*) Chauncy's Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 560.

(*o*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 29.

[*B*] *For his military qualities in the camp*] It may be reaſonably looked upon as a thing not a little ſtrange, that, conſidering the great figure the Duke of Marlborough made for ſo many years, there ſhould be ſo few materials preſerved of the earlier part of his life; and that thoſe we have, are much fitter to adorn Novels, than to enrich Hiſtories. It is for this reaſon, that all one can ſay upon this ſubject, muſt be borrowed from tradition, and from the reports of thoſe, who were well acquainted with this great man in the dawn of his life. On this, which is the beſt authority that can be had, I may venture to acquaint the reader, that very few people of his rank, were either ſo much or ſo generally eſteemed, as Colonel Churchill; and I dare aſſure him, that at a time when the Court of England was conſidered in all reſpects, as the moſt ſplendid and the moſt polite in Europe, that of France only excepted, Colonel Churchill was diſtinguiſhed by the general reputation, of being one of the beſt natured and beſt bred men in it. It is very certain, that his amours are much talked of, and in ſo gallant a Court, as that of King Charles II, a very young, a very handſome, and a very riſing man, might be excuſed, if he fell into ſome errors of this kind; but it is on all hands allowed, that even at this time, his prudence had ſo much the better of his paſſions, that he never ſuffered himſelf to be carried away by any of them, to ſuch a degree, as to be in any reſpect wanting, either to his duty or his intereſts, which, whoever is well acquainted with human nature, will look upon to be a very extraordinary thing at his time of life; ſince experience, as well as reaſon, will inform us, that tho' commanding armies and gaining victories are great things, yet in reſpect to the powers of the human mind, it is a ſtill greater, with faculties capable of commanding and conquering, to be able to controul deſires, and to keep every appetite in due ſubjection. This he did in a very great degree, and yet in his youth, he was thought for a courtier ſomewhat too free a ſpeaker. He had wit, and indeed a great deal of wit, but his ſupreme excellency was his penetration, for which he was highly diſtinguiſhed long before the great riſe of his fortunes; for by the natural ſtrength of his judgment, he would pronounce ſo clearly, both of men and things, that his remarks were frequently talked of, and as they were almoſt always juſtified by the event, he was admired as one of the ſhrewdeſt men of thoſe times; but together with this admiration, there went no ſmall mixture of envy. He was ſo ſenſible of the inconveniences that might ariſe from the liberty that was natural to him in diſcourſe, that he declined as much as he could all political ſubjects, and never had any notion of becoming a Member of the Houſe of Commons, but contented himſelf with puſhing his fortune in his own way, or as the gameſters ſay, he would bowl only upon ground that he perfectly underſtood. In ſhort, his affability gained him a general good report, for which he had a juſt eſteem; his application to the profeſſion of arms, ſecured to him the character he truly deſerved, of being, in it's moſt extenſive ſenſe, a good officer; and his ſteady zeal for the perſon and cauſe of the Duke, which at that juncture was very conſpicuous, procured him that intereſt and influence, which no man in the world knew better, how to direct or to apply.

[*C*] *Tho' hardly in any other point*] This buſineſs of the Duke's ſhipwreck in going to Scotland has exerciſed many pens, and has been tranſmitted to poſterity in very different lights; but with reſpect to the ſaving Colonel Churchill, it is agreed, that when the ſhip was loſt, the Duke was aſleep; and that upon his being awaked, and finding nothing to truſt to but the long-boat, he named ſome particular perſons who ſhould go into her with him, and amongſt others,

Colonel

of his Royal Highneſs in that kingdom was but very ſhort, for as he ſailed from England in the beginning, ſo he arrived with his family in the river of Thames from Scotland, before the end of the month of May 1682, and was received with the utmoſt marks of brotherly affection by the King. The firſt uſe made by his Royal Highneſs of this ſun-ſhine of favour, was to obtain a title for his favourite, Colonel Churchill, who, by Letters Patents bearing date December 1, 1682, was created Baron of Eymouth in the kingdom of Scotland (*p*), and was alſo appointed Colonel of the third troop of Guards. Theſe were the laſt favours he received from that King, and no doubt his Lordſhip would have much more regretted the loſs of ſo kind and good a Prince, had he not been ſucceeded by the Duke of York, to whom the Lord Churchill was ſtill dear. This appeared plainly upon the firſt acceſſion of King James, who not only continued him in his poſt in the Bedchamber, and in his command in the Guards, but ſent him alſo his Ambaſſador to France to notify his acceſſion, which high office he diſcharged with much advantage to his reputation (*q*) [*D*]. On his Lordſhip's return from France he was conſtituted High-Steward of the borough of St Alban's, on the ſixteenth of March 1685; an honour ſeldom conferred but upon perſons of the higheſt quality (*r*). He aſſiſted at the coronation of King James on the twenty-third of April following, and on the fourteenth of May the ſame year he was created a Peer of England, by the title of Baron Churchill of Sandridge in the county of Hertford, a manor that belonged to him in right of his wife, into whoſe family it came a little before by marriage (*s*). In the month of June, his Lordſhip being then Lieutenant-General of the King's forces, was ordered into the Weſt, upon the Duke of Monmouth's making a bold but very inconſiderate attempt, in which, amongſt many other errors, his greateſt was that of aſſuming the lofty title of King, and ſetting a price upon

(*p*) Crawford's Peerage, p. 141.

(*q*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 623.

(*r*) Chauncy's Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 465.

(*s*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 194.

Colonel Churchill (4), tho' a certain author turns the tables, and ſays, the Colonel was very inſtrumental in ſaving his Royal Highneſs's life (5), which very poſſibly might, and if there was any room for it muſt, be true. A certain reverend Prelate (6) gives us the following account of it, which, conſidering the reſpect paid to his authority, deſerves, if poſſible, to be explained and corrected. 'The Duke had leave given 'him to come to the King at New-Market: and there 'he prevailed for leave to come up and live again at 'Court. As he was going back to bring the Ducheſs; 'the Glouceſter frigat that carried him ſtruck on a 'bank of ſand. The Duke got into a boat: and 'took care of his dogs, and ſome unknown perſons, 'who were taken from that earneſt care of his to be 'his Prieſts. The long-boat went off with very few 'in her, tho' ſhe might have carried off above eighty 'more than ſhe did. One hundred and fifty perſons 'periſhed: ſome of them, men of great quality. 'But the Duke took no notice of this cruel neglect 'which was laid chiefly to Legge's charge.' Another writer who penned his accounts of things at this time, and without any view of publiſhing them, tells this ſtory thus (7): 'May the 10, 1682, this day came 'news, that his Highneſs had been in great danger of 'being caſt away in his voyage back to the North, 'the ſhip he was in having ſtruck upon Yarmouth 'ſands, and that a great number of the paſſengers had 'been loſt; a piece of news, that was at firſt contradict-'ed, but in a day or two confirmed by a particular 'account, that the Glouceſter, a third rate, in which 'the Duke of York had embarked for Scotland, had 'actually ſuffered ſhipwreck upon one of Yarmouth 'ſands, called the Lemon-Oar; and that the Duke 'with about an hundred and ſixty perſons were ſaved: 'among thoſe that periſhed were the Lords O Brian 'and Roxborough, and Mr Hyde Lord Clarendon's 'brother.' This account agrees very well with that given us by another writer, of there being above three hundred perſons aboard the ſhip, of which the major part were ſaved, and amongſt thoſe who were drowned was the Duke's brother-in-law, Mr Hyde, which did not argue any great reſpect of perſons in thoſe who were ſuffered to go into the long-boat (8). What blame fell upon Legge, or who this Legge was, is not eaſy to determine; for as to Colonel Legge, then Maſter of the Ordnance, and a Privy Counſellor, afterwards Lord Dartmouth, and Admiral of the fleet, he was viſiting the fortreſſes of the kingdom at this time by his Majeſty's command (9). What there was of ſeverity in the caſe, ſeems to have been no more than this; that two perſons, one in the boat, the other on board the ſhip, ſtood with their ſwords drawn, to prevent that irregular crowding, which might have endangered the boat as well as the ſhip; and if the reader is curious to know who thoſe perſons were, we ſhall endeavour to ſatisfy him. He on board the ſhip was Sir John Berry, who after performing this ſervice, eſcaped very narrowly himſelf, by ſwimming to a rope that was thrown over the ſtern of Capt. Wybourn's ſhip (10); and he in the boat was Colonel Churchill (11), who for this ſervice is very juſtly ſaid to have contributed to the preſervation of the Duke his maſter's life.

(4) Life of King James II. p. 35.

(5) Churchill's Annals.

(6) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 523.

(7) Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, p. 144, 145.

(8) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 144.

(9) Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 107.

(10) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 404.

(11) Churchill's Annals.

[*D*] *Which high office he diſcharged with much advantage to his reputation.*] We have an account of this matter from a reverend Prelate, who ſeems to be better acquainted with it than any writer of thoſe times, and therefore upon his authority we muſt in this caſe wholly rely. His words upon the ſubject are theſe (12). 'In one thing only the King ſeemed to 'comply with the genius of the nation, though it 'proved in the end to be only a ſhew. He ſeemed 'reſolved not to be governed by French counſels, but 'to act on an equality with that haughty monarch in 'all things. And as he entertained all the other foreign 'Miniſters with aſſurances, that he would maintain 'the balance of Europe with a more ſteady hand than 'had been done formerly, ſo when he ſent over the 'Lord Churchill to the Court of France, with the 'notice of his brother's death, he ordered him to 'obſerve exactly the ceremony and ſtate with which 'he was received, that he might treat him who ſhould 'be ſent over, with the compliment in return to that 'in the ſame manner. And this he obſerved very 'punctually, when the Marſhal de Lorge came over. 'This was ſet about by the courtiers, as a ſign of ano-'ther ſpirit, that might be looked for in a reign ſo 'begun. And this made ſome impreſſion on the Court 'of France, and put them to a ſtand. But not long 'after this the French King ſaid to the Duke of Ville-'roy, who told it to young Rouvigny, now Earl of 'Galway, (from whom I had it) that the King of 'England, after all the high things given out in his 'name, was willing to take his money, as well as his 'brother had done.' It may not be amiſs to anex here, another piece of ſecret hiſtory from a writer, who was very well acquainted with theſe times, and yet he will be a bold man that ſhould deſire implicit credit to be given to either author (13); 'At this time, ſays my author, 'the Favourites at Court began to be 'at ſtrife with each other; the Lord Sunderland was 'made Preſident of the Council, and continued Secre-'tary of State; his Lordſhip having artfully inſinua-'ted to the Queen (he had then a miſunderſtanding 'with the Treaſurer) that the friends and relations of 'the King's firſt wife, as Rocheſter, Clarendon, Dart-'mouth, and others, were in greateſt favour, and in 'poſſeſſion of the beſt places, while her friends, though 'ſhe was Queen conſort, were but ſlenderly provided 'for; and her friends being reckoned to be Lord 'Sunderland, the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord 'Churchill, they began to play their private batteries 'againſt each other.'

(12) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 623.

(13) Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 223.

[*E*] *From*

upon his uncle's head, which afterwards became fatal to his own (*t*). His forces were, from the beginning, harraſſed by a very inconſiderable body of horſe commanded by Lord Churchill, which was one great reaſon that compelled him to venture all upon a battle, and knowing that his irregular troops would be very unequally matched, though ſomewhat ſuperior in number to the King's forces, he laboured to remedy that inconvenience by attacking in the dark (*u*), which might probably have been attended with ſucceſs, if Lord Churchill, who was more vigilant than other officers, had not ſat up all night, and with part of Dunbarton's regiment kept the rebels in play 'till the infantry was formed, and then charging the Duke's horſe that were commanded by Lord Gray, they were either broken or betrayed into immediate flight, which decided the fortune of the day and that early, for the battle of Sedgmore was over between four and five o'clock in the morning, on the ſixth of July 1685 (*w*). This was a deciſive ſtroke, and would have been ſo which ever ſide prevailed, for a great part of the nation, from the fear of Popery, were inclined to the Duke, but his army being defeated, and himſelf taken, the danger of the rebellion was entirely over. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that Lord Churchill was extreamly well received by the King upon his return, but it was not long before his Lordſhip diſcerned that this victory had bad as well as good effects, that it confirmed the King in his opinion of his ſtanding forces, and miſ-led him into a belief, that at the head of an Engliſh army he might trample upon Engliſh liberty, but he ſoon found his miſtake (*x*). Whatever ſhare his Lordſhip had in the Royal favour, and whatever advantage accrued to him from his poſts and preferments, it is a truth notorious, that he was never guilty of any mean compliance, nor had any concern in ſuggeſting, or in executing any of the violent counſels in that unhappy reign. Thoſe came from other men, and men of other principles, or rather of no principles at all, who hurried their maſter to his ruin, while Lord Churchill very prudently declined meddling much in buſineſs, ſpoke little except when his advice was aſked, and then always recommended moderate meaſures (*y*). It is ſaid that he declared very early to Lord Galway, that if his maſter attempted to overturn the eſtabliſhed religion he would leave him, and this is the more probable, becauſe during that whole reign, and indeed during his whole life, he never diſſembled his zeal for the Church of England, on what ſide ſoever that Church was attacked. It is alſo ſaid that he ſigned the Memorial tranſmitted to the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, by which they were invited to reſcue this nation from Popery and ſlavery (*z*), but be that as it will, it is very certain that he remained with, and was entruſted by, the King, after the Prince of Orange was landed, November 5, 1688. He attended King James when he marched with his forces to oppoſe, and even to fight, the Prince, and had the command of a brigade of five thouſand men, yet the Earl of Feverſham ſuſpecting his inclinations, adviſed the King to ſeize him, but his Majeſty's affection to him was ſo great, that he rejected that motion, which gave his Lordſhip an opportunity of executing his deſign of retiring to the Prince; but he betrayed no poſt, carried off no troops, but with the Duke of Grafton, Colonel Berkeley, and four or five officers, withdrew from the King's quarters, and joined the Prince of Orange at Axminſter, which is about twenty miles from Exeter, leaving a letter for the King, expreſſing the reaſons of his conduct, and the grief of mind he was under from the part that he was obliged to take (*a*) [*E*]. It has been indeed ſaid by a French Jeſuit, and from him copied by ſome other ſpiteful writers, that he not only left the King, but alſo laid a deſign for betraying his Majeſty, which was concerted with Colonel Kirke, who commanded at Warminſter (*b*), and that it was prevented by the King's being taken with a bleeding at the noſe, which was not ſtopped 'till a vein was opened. Some of theſe writers afterwards aſſerted, that he was concerned in Sir John Fenwick's plot for reſtoring King

(*t*) Life of King James, p. 135.

(*u*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 38.

(*w*) Reresby's Memoirs, p. 210.

(*x*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 438, 439.

(*y*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 765.

(*z*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 50, 51.

(*a*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 497.

(*b*) Father Orlean's Revolutions of England, p. 312.

[*E*] *From the part that he was obliged to take.*] Whoever conſiders the great obligations that Lord Churchill lay under to King James, muſt naturally conclude, that he could not take the reſolution of leaving him, and withdrawing to the Prince of Orange, but with infinite concern and regret; and that this was really the caſe, appears very plainly from the letter which follows; and which has ſo ſtrict a relation to the hiſtory of this illuſtrious perſon, that it is abſolutely neceſſary to give it a place here; the very language in which it is conceived, being perhaps the beſt proof of it's ſincerity; for if any man will but conſider with himſelf, what under ſuch circumſtances he would have wiſhed to have ſaid, he cannot help ſeeing, that this is what the Lord Churchill has ſaid, in the ſhorteſt and moſt pathetic terms poſſible (14).

(14) Compl Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 407.

SIR,

'SINCE men are ſeldom ſuſpected of ſincerity 'when they act contrary to their intereſts: and 'though my dutiful behaviour to your Majeſty in the 'worſt of times (for which I acknowledge my poor 'ſervices much over-paid), may not be ſufficient to in-'cline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions; yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under 'your Majeſty, which I can never expect in any other 'change of government, may reaſonably convince 'your Majeſty and the world, that I am acted by an 'higher principle, when I offered that violence to my 'inclination and intereſt, as to deſert your Majeſty at 'a time, when your affairs ſeem to challenge the 'ſtricteſt obedience from all your ſubjects, much more 'from one, who lies under the greateſt obligations 'imaginable to your Majeſty. This, Sir, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable dictates of my 'conſcience, and a neceſſary concern for my religion, 'which no good man can oppoſe, and with which I 'am inſtructed nothing ought to come in competition. 'Heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your Majeſty, has hitherto repreſented thoſe 'unhappy deſigns, which inconſiderate and ſelf-intereſted men have framed againſt your Majeſty's true 'intereſt and the Proteſtant Religion; but as I can no 'longer join with ſuch, to give a pretence by conqueſt 'to bring them to effect; ſo I will always with the 'hazard of my life and fortune (ſo much your Majeſty's due) endeavour to preſerve your royal perſon 'and lawful rights, with all the tender concern and 'dutiful reſpect, that becomes, &c.'

[*F*] *Which*

King James (*c*): it is impoſſible to believe both theſe ſtories to be true, but we may rationally conclude them to be both abſolutely falſe, as Yonge's contrivance was proved to be, who laboured to fix a conſpiracy of the ſame nature upon his Lordſhip, and Dr Sprat Biſhop of Rocheſter (*d*). It is ſuppoſed to have been in conſequence of his Lordſhip's ſollicitation, that Prince George of Denmark took the ſame ſtep, as ſoon after his conſort the Princeſs Anne likewiſe did, by the advice of Lady Churchill (*e*). His Lordſhip was received with great marks of eſteem and reſpect by the Prince of Orange, who when he advanced with his army as far as Henley, ſent Lord Churchill to London to re-aſſemble his troop of guards, which ſervice he readily performed, and concurred in the application of the Lords to the Prince, at the cloſe of the year, deſiring him to take upon him the adminiſtration (*f*). But it is very remarkable, that in all the delicate conjunctures of thoſe diſturbed times, he acted not only with caution and circumſpection, but with ſo true a ſpirit of moderation, that, notwithſtanding the malice of one party, and the envy of the other, for he was very early expoſed to both, he maintained his intereſt as well with the Prince of Orange as with Prince George and the Princeſs Anne, and was extreamly ſerviceable in compoſing thoſe jars, which had otherwiſe prevented that ſettlement that was afterwards made by the Convention (*g*). But notwithſtanding his influence and even activity in thoſe important affairs, he carried every thing with ſo much ſilence and ſecrecy, that his ſentiments were never to be collected otherwiſe than by the event, for he was ever an enemy to the noiſe and buſtle, as well as to the heats and fury of a party, taking his meaſures after mature deliberation with ſteadineſs, and behaving to perſons of all ranks and of all ſentiments, with a ſmoothneſs and civility that contented them, and made things eaſy to himſelf. He was entruſted in that critical conjuncture by the Prince of Orange, who gave him the rank of Lieutenant-General, with the care of new modelling the army, and reducing ſome new raiſed regiments, which he performed (*h*), and the Prince and Princeſs of Orange being declared King and Queen of England, the ſixth of February 1689, Lord Churchill went immediately to congratulate them, and on the fourteenth of the ſame month was ſworn of their Privy-Council, and one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber to the new King (*i*). On the ninth of April following he was raiſed to the dignity of Earl of Marlborough (*k*) in the county of Wilts; but though a certain writer poſitively ſays, that he was made Viſcount Churchill by King James (*l*); yet it may be looked upon as a thing out of doubt, that he never had that title either in England or in Scotland. He aſſiſted at the coronation of their Majeſties, and was very ſoon after appointed to command in chief the Engliſh forces that were ſent over to Holland, in order to make a part of the army of the Allies, and according to his uſual cuſtom haſtened early to his command, arriving at Rotterdam the ſeventeenth of May, from whence he proceeded immediately to the army, which was then commanded by the famous Prince of Waldeck. The Earl of Marlborough was at the head of thoſe forces at the battle of Walcourt, which was fought Auguſt 15, 1689 (*m*), wherein the Engliſh troops diſtinguiſhed themſelves in ſo extraordinary a manner, that we find it both acknowledged and applauded even by the French Hiſtorians, and the Earl of Marlborough gave ſuch extraordinary proofs of his conduct upon this occaſion, that Prince Waldeck, ſpeaking in his commendation to King William, ſaid, *That he ſaw more into the art of war in a day, than ſome Generals in many years* (*n*). It is to be obſerved that King William commanded this year in Ireland, which was the reaſon that the Earl of Marlborough was at the head of the Engliſh troops abroad, and gave him an opportunity of laying the foundation of that fame amongſt Foreigners, which he extended afterwards to the utmoſt bounds of Europe [*F*].

(*c*) Hiſt. of the Proceedings againſt Sir John Fenwicke, p. 95.

(*d*) See an Account of this written and publiſhed by the Biſhop himſelf.

(*e*) Reresby's Memoirs, p. 293.

(*f*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 500, 501.

(*g*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 58, 59.

(*h*) Life of King William III. p. 159.

(*i*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 515.

(*k*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 195.

(*l*) Reresby's Memoirs, p. 291.

(*m*) Supplement to Rapin's Hiſt. p. 41.

(*n*) Life of King William III. p. 246.

It

[*F*] *Which he extended afterwards to the utmoſt bounds of Europe.*] It is the fault of almoſt all our hiſtorians, that they do not take pains enough in looking for foreign materials, in reference even to thoſe parts of their hiſtories, which relate to foreign parts; and which therefore it is impoſſible to treat clearly, from the materials that are to be met with at home. In reference to our heroe's future exploits, this is very ſeldom the caſe; in reſpect to this campaign it is apparently ſo, for though Prince Waldeck's character of the Earl of Marlborough, has been over and over repeated, yet in our hiſtories it ſeems to be a compliment rather than a character, becauſe we are not ſufficiently acquainted with the facts upon which it was founded. We will endeavour to relate theſe, in as narrow a compaſs as it is poſſible (15). The French army was commanded by the Marſhal de Humieres, and was very little, if at all ſuperior to that of the Allies, commanded by the Prince of Waldeck; and the true deſign of both Generals was the ſame, *viz.* each intended to hinder the other from paſſing the Sambre. At length however, Prince Waldeck, after many marches and countermarches, found means to paſs at Fontaine l' Eveque. This alarmed the French Marſhal, who though he pretended to ſeek nothing ſo much as an action, yet was really rather inclined to avoid it (16); and the Allies on the other hand, had no temptation to fight, unleſs they had ſome conſiderable advantage. But on the 15th of Auguſt, N. S the cavalry of the Allies being for the moſt part abroad for forage, the Duke de Joyeuſe, Lieutenant-General of the day, fell upon and defeated them; and either he or the Marſhal himſelf, were ſo heated by this ſmall ſucceſs, that they reſolved to puſh the affair as far as it would go (17), and at length attacked the little town of Valcourt; which though not regularly fortified, had a very good wall, and was ſtrong by ſituation, lying at the diſtance of about half a league from the Prince of Waldeck's camp, having a ſharp rugged aſcent on the one ſide, and a flat open plain on the other (18). A numerous body of infantry in the town, kept a ſmart fire on the enemy in front, who were alſo galled by a battery of twelve pieces of cannon, Prince Waldeck cauſed to be erected on the eminence beforementioned. The Earl of Marlborough at the head of two regiments of horſe and the guards, kept poſſeſſion of the plain, and was a very calm ſpectator of the attack; for ſeeing the infantry of the Allies well covered by the wall, he would give the enemy no diſturbance; but when after a furious attack which laſted an hour and half, the enemy found it was impoſſible to prevail, and the Marſhal ſent orders for a retreat; the Earl as ſoon as they began to move, fell in upon their flank, and as the French themſelves allow, did terrible execution;

(15) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militare de Louis XIV. Tom. II. p. 185.

(16) Riencourt, Tom. III. p. 165.

(17) Limiers, Tom. II. p. 507.

(18) Larrey, Tom. II. p. 104.

It doth not appear that his Lordſhip was employed any where in the beginning of the next campaign, but towards the cloſe of it he propoſed a ſcheme for reducing Cork, a place of great conſequence in Ireland, and thought to be well fortified, with a ſmall body of troops in the winter when they could be of no uſe elſewhere, to which King William aſſented (*o*). He landed near Cork in the latter end of the month of September, and though ſome ſmall delay was occaſioned by the Duke of Wirtemberg's diſputing with him the command, yet he very ſoon reduced the place, having obſerved what thoſe who were employed to fortify it had never diſcerned, that it was commanded by an adjacent eminence, upon which erecting a battery, the garriſon capitulated and were made priſoners of war (*p*). The very important port of Kinſale, and two ſtrong forts that were erected to cover it, ſoon ſhared the ſame fate, all the troops in them being made priſoners likewiſe, and the Earl having thus gloriouſly compleated the deſign which he had ſo wiſely contrived, returned to England before the cloſe of November, and on his firſt appearance at Court, King William was pleaſed to ſay of him (*q*), *That he knew no man ſo fit for a General who had ſeen ſo few campaigns.* It was thought proper, and much for the King's ſervice, that the Earl ſhould return to Ireland, which he accordingly did, notwithſtanding the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, and by his prudent management, and directing proper forts to be erected, kept the Iriſh in cloſe quarters, and yet returned early enough to be ready to attend King William the next ſpring into the field (*r*). His Majeſty ſhewed the entire confidence which at that time he placed in his Lordſhip, by ſending him with Count Solmes before him to the army, in order to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for opening the campaign (*s*), and very certain it is, that his behaviour on receiving and in diſcharging this commiſſion, could not but raiſe his credit with ſo wiſe a Prince, ſince it was ſuch that deſerved the applauſe of one of the beſt officers, and moſt experienced Generals of that age, and this not grounded at all upon events, for the great ſcheme the Earl of Marlborough had formed was actually laid aſide from the oppoſition of the Dutch (*t*) [*G*]. His Lordſhip returned into England in the beginning of the winter, attended the ſervice of Parliament very aſſiduouſly, and his duty at Court as the nature of his office required, for in things of this kind there was no man in the world more punctual, and yet all this attention, all his paſt ſervices, and all the knowledge King William had of the great abilities he had for his ſervice, did not hinder his being diſgraced, and that in a manner ſo ſudden, ſo publick, and with ſuch extraordinary circumſtances, that it was as much the wonder of thoſe times, as the real cauſe of it remains a ſecret even in theſe (*u*) [*H*]. The

(*o*) Burchet's Naval Hiſt. p. 430.

(*p*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*q*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 572.

(*r*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 69.

(*s*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 195.

(*t*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*u*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 90.

execution; ſo that this affair coſt them two thouſand killed and wounded, and the loſs of the Allies did not exceed three hundred (19). One of the beſt French writers on the art of war, having given a very ſuccinct account of this action, concludes with this remark, that he mentioned it only as a caution to prevent any General from making ſuch another miſtake, as Marſhal de Humieres made here (20).

(19) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(20) Memoirs de Marquis Feuquieres, Tom. III. p. 195.

[*G*] *From the oppoſition of the Dutch.*] To explain this matter a little, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the reaſon of the King's ſtaying in Holland, was on the ſcore of that famous Congreſs at the Hague, which was one of the moſt illuſtrious ſcenes in his whole reign (21). To have the more leiſure to confer with ſo many great Princes that repaired thither, purely to pay their reſpects to his Majeſty, he ſent the Earl of Marlborough to the army, who upon his arrival, and receiving an account of the contents of two magazines, one of fire-wood and the other of dry forage, immediately pronounced that the deſign of Louis XIV, was againſt Mons and not Charleroy; upon which he propoſed to the Deputies of the States-General in the army taking ſuch a camp, as would have fruſtrated that deſign; but they depended ſo much upon their own intelligence, and looked upon a ſiege at that time of the year as a thing ſo impracticable, that they would not yield to his repreſentations; and when Marſhal Boufflers on the 4th of March inveſted Mons on the ſide neareſt the Allies, their aſtoniſhment was ſo great, that they could hardly believe it (22). All precautions however were then too late, for the French King beſieged and took the place in much leſs time than could have been expected. Prince Vaudemont being ſome time after with the King at Loo, is ſaid to have ſpoken to him in this manner. 'There is ſomewhat in the Earl of 'Marlborough, that I want words to expreſs; he has 'the fierceneſs of Kirk, the judgment of Laniere, the 'conduct of Mackay, and the intrepidity of Colcheſter 'altogether; and either my ſkill in faces deceives me, 'which yet it never did, or he will make a greater 'figure as a General, than any ſubject your Majeſty 'has.' The King ſmiled and ſaid, Marlborough *is obliged to you, but I really believe you will loſe no credit by your prediction* (23).

(21) Life of King William III. p. 297.

(22) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(23) Military Hiſtory of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene.

[*H*] *As the real cauſe of it remains a ſecret even in theſe.*] It is natural to ſuppoſe, that upon the happening of an event of ſuch conſequence in it's nature, and ſo unexpected in it's manner, as the diſgrace of this noble Peer; abundance of ſtories were told, which however eaſily refuted, from the knowledge of the inconſiſtency of their circumſtances at that time, cannot be ſo well diſtinguiſhed at this diſtance. If the reader has a mind to take a view of theſe and judge for himſelf, he may find them recapitulated in a work, to which he is directed in the margin (24). But as he will probably expect to have ſome reaſon aſſigned here, or at leaſt our thoughts upon the ſubject, we ſhall give them with that freedom and impartiality, which a work of this kind demands; and in which there is nothing farther from our deſign, than either to flatter or to excuſe, except it be to calumniate or defame. It is certain that King William took it much amiſs, that upon ſettling the revenue, an independent proviſion was inſiſted upon for the Princeſs of Denmark, of fifty thouſand pounds per ann. and there were ſome circumſtances that rendered this ſtill more diſagreeable to his conſort. As the whole of this tranſaction was attributed to the advice of the Counteſs of Marlborough, in whom the Princeſs of Denmark was known to have an entire confidence; and as the ſucceſs of this meaſure in both Houſes of Parliament, was aſcribed to the extenſive influence and indefatigable induſtry of the Earl of Marlborough: it ſeems highly reaſonable to imagine, that though he was not immediately diſgraced, yet from this time forward, he could not ſtand upon very favourable terms with the King, and much leſs with the Queen (25). He had alſo the misfortune to be envied and hated by all the King's perſonal favourites, and more eſpecially by the Lord Sydney and Mrs Villers, afterwards Counteſs of Orkney; who no doubt were not wanting in their endeavours, to add credit to any informations, that were given to his Lordſhip's prejudice. It is no leſs certain, that at this juncture the King's counſels were moſt ſtrangely betrayed; and from thence it has been ſuggeſted, not without ſome degree of probability, that it was inſinuated the Counteſs of Marlborough being miſtreſs of her huſband's ſecrets, which were alſo thoſe of the King; and being intimate alſo with a certain Lady warm in the intereſts of King James, there might poſſibly be a

(24) Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. P. 73.

(25) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. P. 90.

canal

The Earl being in waiting at Court, as a Lord of the Bed-chamber, and having in that quality introduced to his Majesty Lord George Hamilton, a younger son of Duke Hamilton, afterwards Earl of Orkney and Field-Marshal of Great Britain, and returned from Court to his own house without receiving from the King any marks of coldness or displeasure, he was followed not long after, by the same Lord George Hamilton, with a very short and surprizing message, *That the King had no farther occasion for his service* (w). As he had been named to attend the King in the next campaign, in quality of Lieutenant-General of Foot, Lionel Talmash, Esq; was appointed in his stead; his troop of Guards was given to the Lord Colchester; and Lord George Hamilton, who brought him the message, had his regiment of Fuzileers; but his post in the Bed-chamber remained vacant some time after (x). This strange and unexpected blow was followed by one much stranger, for not long after, the Earl, by a warrant under the hand and seal of the Lord Viscount Sydney, then Secretary of State, was committed to the Tower for high-treason, which was the effects of a vile conspiracy formed by some desperate and profligate persons, who for their just deserts were at the time of framing it prisoners in Newgate, and supported by a horrid scene of forgery and perjury (y). His Lordship was soon after bailed, and the whole contrivance being fully and indisputably detected, a prosecution was commenced against the principal author of it, who was tried, convicted (z), and punished. Thus ended this strange affair, which had in all probability rendered a man of a less settled and sedate temper a malecontent, but it had no such effect upon the Earl of Marlborough, whose behaviour afterwards was as free from circumspection as from any colour of guilt. He behaved in Parliament as became an English Nobleman; he never failed to join with the Courtiers when he thought them in the right, and never opposed them from any other principle than a conviction in his own mind that they were in the wrong. His own and his Lady's interest with the Princess Anne of Denmark, made them still very considerable, nor was it in the power of their enemies, who had so much influence at one Court, to affect them even in the smallest degree in the other, and to the honour of both this noble pair it may be truly said, and now they are both dead it may be surely said without the least imputation of flattery, that never any persons appear to have deserved Court favour better than they did, since the greater measure they had of it, the better were the affairs of that Court managed in which they enjoyed it (a); so that, at this very time, the Earl of Marlborough and his Countess merited all things from King William, by the pains they took to keep the Princess of Denmark within those bounds of duty, and respect, from which she wanted not either provocations or sollicitations to digress; and to how great a degree this might have distressed the Court, the History of those times will thoroughly inform the reader (b). The attempt made to represent the Earl as embarked in the Assassination Plot, failed through it's great improbability, which made an extraordinary degree of evidence necessary to support it, and yet it came with none at all, save the assurance given by an unhappy man, who said what he did purely to save his life (c). It is certain that the Earl of Marlborough acted very cooly upon this occasion, shewed very little concern, and no degree of warmth. After Queen Mary's death, when their respective interests brought the two Courts to better agreement, King William thought fit to re-call the Earl of Marborough to his Privy-Council, and June 19, 1698, appointed him Governor to the Duke of Glouceſter with this extraordinary compliment (d), *My Lord, make him but what you are, and my nephew will be all I wish to see him.* His Lordship continued from this time forward in his Majesty's favour to the time of his death, as appears from his having been three times appointed one of the Lords Justices during his absence, *viz*, July 16, 1698, May 31, 1699, and June 27, 1700 (e). As soon as it was discerned that the death of Charles II. of Spain would become the occasion of another general war, the King endeavoured to provide for it early, by sending over a body of troops to Holland, and on the first of June the same year he declared the Earl of Marlborough General of Foot, and Commander in chief of those forces; and on the twenty-eighth of the same month, he was also pleased to appoint him Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to their High Mightinesses, upon which he went

(w) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 75.

(x) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(y) Duchess of Marlborough's Account of her own Conduct.

(z) Supplement to Rapin, p. 933, 94.

(a) Kennet, Burnet, &c.

(b) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 103.

(c) Compl. Hist. of England. Vol. III. p. 728.

(d) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 82. Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(e) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 755, 768, 784.

canal of intelligence this way established; and as the managers of this intrigue might lay hold, as it is said they did, of any remarkable instance of discovery, it might easily produce such a sudden disgrace as this of the Earl's, and that too without any explanation. It was immediately followed by forbidding the Countess of Marlborough the Court, as that was by the retiring of the Princess of Denmark from it, and in less than six weeks the sham plot followed this. We have an account of the last event, from the pen of Lady Marlborough herself, which the reader may peruse, and will from thence judge of the probability of the account that has been given (26). 'Soon after the 'Princess going to Sion, a dreadful plot broke out, 'which was said to have been hid somewhere, I don't 'know where, in a flower-pot, and my Lord Marlbo-'rough was sent to the Tower. To commit a Peer to 'prison, it was necessary there should be an affidavit 'from some body of the treason. My Lord R——y 'therefore, S——y of State, had sent to one 'Young, who was then in goal for perjury and for-'gery, and paid his fine, in order to make him what 'they call a *legal evidence:* for as the C——rt 'L——rs said, Young, not having lost his ears, was 'an irreproachable witness. I shall not dwell on the 'story of this fellow's villany, the B——p of R——r 'having given a full account of it in print.' It is very apparent from all our Histories, but more especially from the Journals of the House of Lords, and the Resolutions that they came to, that these accusations never gained the least degree of credit, except amongst those who were disposed to believe any thing of one, against whom they were prejudiced (27).

(26) Conduct of her Grace the Duchess of Marlborough.

(27) See the Libels published against the Duke of Marlborough after his disgrace.

[I] *Which*

went immediately over to Holland, where, as a particular mark of their reſpect, the States lodged him in the houſe of Prince Maurice, that he might with more conveniency confer with foreign Miniſters (*f*). Upon the King's coming over and taking a view of the forces, he dined with the Earl of Marlborough at his quarters on the 30th of September, which was one of the laſt marks of honour and favour he received from that great Prince, who died on the eighth of March following, unleſs we reckon his recommendation of his Lordſhip to the Princeſs of Denmark a little before his death, as the propereſt perſon to be entruſted with the command of the army which was to protect the liberties of Europe (*g*) [*I*]. About a week after the King's death, he was elected one of the Knights Companions of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, and ſoon after declared Captain-General of all her Majeſty's forces in England and abroad, and was immediately ſent over to the Hague with the ſame character that he had the year before (*h*). At his firſt audience of the States-General, on the twentieth of March, he made a ſhort, ſolid, and ſenſible ſpeech, in which, without making uſe of many fine-turn'd periods, he gave them ſuch plain and hearty aſſurances of his Miſtreſs's ſincere intention to purſue the plan that had been formerly ſettled, as fully convinced them of her ſincerity and of his own. His ſtay in Holland was very ſhort, and it was his peculiar felicity to diſpatch much, and even the moſt important buſineſs, in a very little time, of which he gave the ſtrongeſt inſtance here, for the States not only concurred in all that he propoſed, but of their own motive did what he could neither propoſe or expect, for they declared him Captain-General alſo of their forces, with an appointment of one hundred thouſand florins *per annum*, and left to him the ſettling the rank of General officers, which he did in ſuch a manner as was very honourable for his Sovereign, and entirely to their ſatisfaction (*i*). On his return to England he found the Queen's Council already divided, ſome being for carrying the war on as auxiliaries only, and others for declaring againſt France and Spain immediately, and ſo becoming principals at once; with theſe the Earl joined, and they carrying their point, war was declared the fourth of May, 1702, which was afterwards approved by Parliament, notwithſtanding the Dutch at that time had not declared (*k*) [*K*]. The campaign was opened with but indifferent ſucceſs, which was chiefly owing to the extraordinary caution of the Earl of Athlone, a very brave man, but either a little too circumſpect, or, which is more probable, too much limited in his command. However that matter may be, certain it is, that the army had retired with ſome precipitation under the walls of Nimeguen, before the Earl of Marlborough took the command, which was on the twentieth of June (*l*). His preſence and his activity ſoon changed the face of affairs, for though his army did not conſiſt of above ſixty thouſand horſe and foot, and that of the enemy was ſuperior in number, commanded

(*f*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 86.

(*g*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*h*) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1702, p. 86.

(*i*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 315.

(*l*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. III. p. 551.

[*I*] *Which was to protect the liberties of Europe.*] There has been a doubt raiſed, as to the high marks of favour ſhewn to the Earl of Marlborough in the laſt years, and even the laſt hours of King William's life and reign, for ſome have attributed them merely to policy. Mr Hornby, if he was really the author of the book cited in the margin, would perſuade us, that it was not out of affection to the common cauſe, or a ſenſe of the Earl of Marlborough's merit, but from his love to his own country, and his kindneſs to the Earl of Albemarle, that the King took theſe ſteps (28). His words are theſe. 'The late King, who was as 'well acquainted with his qualifications as his intereſt, 'had foreſeen theſe effects of her Majeſty's favour; 'and his own ſtate of health given him cauſe to ap'prehend a ſhort continuance in this world, he had 'recommended him to his countrymen, as the man on 'whom they were chiefly to depend after his deceaſe, 'when that he might be leſs a ſtranger to them, Wil'liam reſolves to ſacrifice his reſentments to their in'tereſt, and procure a reconciliation with the Earl, in 'order to introduce him into their acquaintance; and 'at the ſame time finding that his deluge of bounty to 'his new favourite, unlike the old one, had been only 'poured like water through a ſieve, and that therefore 'he might ſtand in need of a friend after the loſs of ſo 'kind a maſter, the King, to kill two birds with one 'ſtone, employed him to manage this affair, as if it 'were entirely of his own motion.' This has been eſteemed a ſevere ſatire upon the memory of King William, but it appears to me in quite another light; for, granting it to be true, it ſhews a high command over his paſſions, and a ſtrong affection for his country; and if theſe are faults, what are virtues! Yet the fact ſeems to be, that with the death of Queen Mary, the King's diſlike to the Earl of Marlborough vaniſhed; and there is no doubt that he was convinced, that all the ſtories told of him were falſe, and as to his parts and abilities, he was acquainted of them long before. In ſhort, his conduct in this reſpect, was perfectly right; and as it was the laſt, it was the greateſt action of his life; the cleareſt proof of his having a ſoul ſuperior to little and narrow notions, and entirely taken up with the great view of ſaving England and Holland, and indeed all Europe, from being ſwallowed up by an overgrown power, conducted by a Prince, whoſe ambition was without bounds (29), and who could know no quiet, while his neighbours were free and independent.

(28) Caveat againſt the Whigs, P. iii. p. 50, 51.

(29) Life of King William III. p. 622.

[*K*] *Notwithſtanding the Dutch at that time had not declared.*] This was a point of very great importance, and it cannot but be allowed, that the arguments which were offered in favour of an auxiliary war, were many of them very plauſible; but the Earl of Marlborough oppoſed it by unanſwerable reaſons, and thoſe conceived, as his always were, in very few words (30). He ſaid, the war took riſe from injuries received heretofore, and the want of ſecurity for the future; that England was as much intereſted in both as any other nation, and was therefore as much bound to act as a principal as they; that war was an evil in itſelf, conſidered in any other light than as an inſtrument, neceſſary to procure a ſafe and ſolid peace; which end the war could never anſwer, if England was not a principal. That a favorable opportunity now offered, for reducing France, which, let ſlip, might in all probability never return; and that the true queſtion was, whether conſidering the power of France, England could be ſafe? for if ſhe might, it was better to maintain peace; if not, that kind of war was beſt, that would make her ſafe. The majority of the Council concurred with him in opinion, and upon this the declaration of war was drawn, agreeable to the prerogative of the Crown; but it was not actually proclaimed, 'till the ſentiments of the Parliament were known, and conſequently the ſenſe of the nation. The Earl of Marlborough procured alſo Lord Godolphin's being made High-Treaſurer, which was a thing diſagreeable to many, and not at all pleaſing to that Lord himſelf; but the Earl inſiſted upon it as a meaſure abſolutely requiſite, ſince without it he could not depend upon the Treaſury, or the punctuality of remittances ſo neceſſary to an army in the field; where a ſlip of this kind might in a ſingle inſtance prove fatal (31).

(30) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(31) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 313.

[*L*] *At*

manded by the Duke of Burgundy, whoſe firſt campaign it was, yet the Earl never declined any opportunity of coming to action, but on the contrary preſſed it all he could, and would have forced the French to a battle three ſeveral times, if he had not been hindered by the Dutch Deputies (*m*). Yet thoſe who blame them do it without reaſon, for the very ſpirit of the army, and their offering the enemy battle, was of great uſe to their affairs, whereas any check would have deſtroyed them, the party which had oppoſed King William beginning to ſhew itſelf in ſeveral cities and provinces, ſo that they had reaſon to be cautious. On the other hand the Earl of Marlborough, far from complaining of their conduct, contented himſelf with ſhewing them clearly what advantages they loſt, by which he gained their confidence highly, as he ſecured the affection of all their officers by his condeſcenſion and politeneſs (*n*). He very ſoon diſcerned that the States were made uneaſy by the places which the enemy held on their frontiers, and therefore he readily conſented to attack and reduce them, and accordingly, in this ſingle campaign, he made himſelf maſter of the caſtles of Gravenbroeck and Waerts, the towns of Venlo, Ruremond, and Stevenſwaert, together with the city and citadel of Liege, which laſt was taken ſword in hand, and the States, as they had reaſon, teſtified the higheſt ſatisfaction with regard to his Lordſhip's conduct and ſucceſs (*o*). The Earl of Athlone did a gallant thing upon this occaſion, he wrote to the States, that their thanks were due entirely to the Earl of Marlborough, whoſe meaſures he had oppoſed during the whole campaign, but was not at all leſs pleaſed with the advantages he had obtained. Theſe had like to have been of very ſhort date, for the army ſeparating in the neigbourhood of Liege on the third of November, his Lordſhip was taken the next day in his paſſage by water, by a ſmall party of thirty men from the enemies garriſon at Gueldres, but it being towards night, and the Earl inſiſting upon an old paſs given to his brother, and out of date, was ſuffered to proceed, and arrived at the Hague when they were in the utmoſt conſternation on the news of the accident that had befallen him (*p*). His calmneſs of mind upon this occaſion, and the dexterity with which he extricated himſelf in ſo unexpected a diſaſter, raiſed his credit prodigiouſly, and the Grand Penſionary made him a compliment upon that occaſion, which did him more honour than all his victories, and the modeſty of his Lordſhip's anſwer at leaſt equalled the dignity of that compliment (*q*). On his return to England, he received the higheſt teſtimonies of the ſenſe that his Sovereign and the nation had of his ſervices, expreſſed in the thanks of the two Houſes, and his being created Duke, which ſerved only to encourage and confirm him in his noble reſolution of continuing to render them ſtill greater and more important ſervices. A few of the moſt remarkable particulars during his ſtay in the winter, are taken notice of at the bottom of the page [*L*]. He was on the point of returning to Holland, when, on Feb. 20, 1702-3, his only ſon, the Marquis of Blandford, died at Cambridge at the age of eighteen. This afflicting accident did not however long retard his Grace, who was too wiſe a man to ſuffer even the neareſt of his private concerns to prejudice the publick affairs, now almoſt wholly entruſted to his care, and therefore, after allowing a very ſhort ſeaſon to grief, paſſed over to Holland, and arrived at the Hague the ſixth of March. It very ſoon appeared how much the common cauſe was aſſiſted by the wiſe precautions, and judicious foreſight, of the Duke of Marlborough, for he was very careful in obliging the Princes of the Empire, whoſe troops were in the Britiſh pay, to bring them early into the field, and perfectly compleat; and yet in his repreſentations upon this head, though his remarks were very ſmart and ſtrong, yet they were expreſſed in a language ſo decent and full of reſpect, that they were kindly received, and punctually complied with (*r*). The French had a great army this year in Flanders, in the Low-Countries, and in that part of Germany which the Elector of Cologne had put into their hands, and the Marſhals Villeroy and Boufflers were ſent to command there, aſſiſted by Prince Tſerclaes de Tilly, the Marquis de Bedmar, and other experienced officers in the Spaniſh ſervice, who, depending entirely upon that promptneſs with which the abſolute power of the French King enabled him to execute all his projects, intended to act offenſively, and to open the campaign with the ſiege of Liege on the eighteenth of April, for which prodigious preparations

(*m*) Rapin Thoyras Continue, Tom. XI. p. 647.

(*n*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*o*) Hiſtory of Europe for 1702, p. 415.

(*p*) Ledlard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 133.

(*q*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*r*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 347. Memoires de Lamberty, Vol. II. p. 345.

[*L*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The Earl of Marlborough arrived in London on the 28th of November, ſome time after the Queen had been complimented by both Houſes of Parliament, on the ſucceſs of her arms in Flanders; in conſequence of which there had been a publick Thankſgiving on the 4th of November, when her Majeſty went in great ſtate to St Paul's (32). Soon after a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, of which Sir Edward Seymour, was Chairman, attended him with the thanks of the Houſe. On the 2d of December, her Majeſty declared her intention in Council, of creating his Lordſhip a Duke; which ſhe ſoon after did, by the title of Marquis of Blandford, and Duke of Marlborough; ſhe likewiſe added a penſion of five thouſand pounds a year out of the Poſt-Office during her own life (33), and ſent a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, ſignifying her deſire that it might attend the honour ſhe had lately conferred; but with this the Houſe would not comply, contenting themſelves in their addreſs to the Queen upon this occaſion, to applaud her manner of rewarding publick ſervice; but declaring their inability to make ſuch a precedent, for alienating the revenue of the Crown (34). The Houſe did not ſhew the leſs reſpect for this to another motion, that was made in conſequence as they very well knew of his advice, viz. that an additional number of troops might be employed in Flanders, to fruſtrate the deſigns of France, as ſhe was then preparing to take the field early, and with a ſuperior force (35). It was with this view, that a vote paſſed for taking ten thouſand foreign-troops into Engliſh pay, which was a very ſeaſonable meaſure, and what indeed could not be avoided as things ſtood at that time; and there is no doubt that this raiſed his Grace's reputation not a little with the States-General, as it was an equal proof of his ſincerity and intereſt.

(32) Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1702, p. 441.

(33) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 196.

(34) See the Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons preſented Dec. 21, 1702, in anſwer to her Majeſty's Meſſage.

(35) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. II. p. 312, 313.

parations were made, and all the neceſſary meaſures taken (*s*). Yet theſe were all broken by the vigilance and activity of the Duke of Marlborough, who, with the army of the Allies, was in the field before them, and on the thirteenth of April inveſted Bonn, the uſual reſidence of the Elector of Cologne (*t*). This ſiege was carried on with ſo much ſpirit, and with a train of artillery ſo much ſuperior to any thing that had been ſeen, as advanced it's progreſs beyond expectation. The French, in order to create a diverſion, made a haſty march towards Maeſtricht with a view to have ſurprized the army of the States under Marſhal D'Averquerque, and in their way ſurrounded two battalions that lay in Tongeren, but though theſe were made priſoners of war, yet it was after ſo obſtinate a defence, that the Dutch army had all the time requiſite to provide againſt the ſurprize, ſo that the enemy's deſign miſcarried (*u*); and after the ſurrender of Bonn on the fourth of May, the Duke of Marlborough rejoined the army of the Allies, and obliged the enemy to retire before him, and to ſhelter themſelves behind their lines, which were ſoon after forced in two places (*w*). The Duke, upon this, formed a project of making himſelf maſter of Antwerp, which was fruſtrated by Marſhal Boufflers attacking the Dutch General Opdam at Eckeren, on the nineteenth day of June, in which action both ſides claimed the victory (*x*). The truth is that there were two actions, in the former of which the French were entirely ſucceſsful, but loſt all they obtained in the firſt by the ſecond, and were obliged to abandon the paſſes they had taken, through which the Dutch, under the command of General Schlangenburgh, for Opdam in the beginning of the battle was obliged to fly with a few horſe, made (*y*) not a ſafe only, but glorious retreat. The Duke of Marlborough, after this, would have attacked the French lines, but being hindered by the Dutch Deputies, Huy was inveſted and taken. His Grace propoſed again attacking the lines, in a grand Council of War held the fourteenth of Auguſt, in which he was again reſtrained by the Dutch, and the ſiege of Limburgh reſolved upon (*z*), which was very ſoon taken, as by the cloſe of the year was the city of Gueldres, which left the Dutch ſecure on every ſide except that of Brabant (*a*). When the campaign was over his Grace went to Duſſeldorp, to meet the late Emperor, then ſtiled Charles III, King of Spain, who made him a preſent of a very rich ſword from his ſide, with a compliment more glorious than the preſent, and then returning to the Hague, after a very ſhort ſtay came over to England (*b*) [*M*]. When meaſures were properly ſettled at home, the Duke, on the eighth of April 1704, embarked at Harwich for Holland, where he ſpent near a month, in adjuſting all the neceſſary ſteps for executing the greateſt deſign that had been formed within this century, which he covered ſo effectually, that when in the beginning of May he began his march for Germany, the French imagined that he intended to act upon the Moſelle, and the whole of the expedition was conducted with ſuch addreſs, that he paſſed both the Maine and the Neckar before the French had any juſt notion of his intention, and indeed before it was known in it's full extent in Holland (*c*). After this, he took ſome ſteps that looked as if his deſign tended to the recovery of Landau, which put all the enemy's troops in motion on that ſide, while his Grace continued his march into the heart of the Empire, and had a conference with the Princes Eugene of Savoy, and Lewis of Baden, who complimented him in the higheſt terms on the generoſity of his deſign, and the great prudence he had ſhown in the conduct of it (*d*). His Grace continued to preſs the march of his troops, and of the reinforcements ſent him from Holland, with the utmoſt vigour, ſo that he arrived before the ſtrong intrenchments of the enemy at Schellenburgh very unexpectedly on the twenty-firſt of June, and though there were in them twenty thouſand men, and it was afternoon when they arrived, yet he could not be perſuaded to delay the attack, but began it with the Engliſh and Dutch infantry, before the Imperialiſts, under Prince Lewis of Baden, could come up (*e*). The diſpute was very obſtinate and bloody, the Allies were twice repulſed, but at the third attack the Imperialiſts forced the intrenchment on the right, and ſoon after the Engliſh and

(*s*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 8.

(*t*) Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. p. 318.

(*u*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. II. p. 440.

(*w*) See Baron Spar's Letter to the States, dated June 27, N.S.

(*x*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 21. Mem. de Marquis Feuquieres, Tom. IV. p. 195.

(*y*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. II. p. 456.

(*z*) See thoſe Reſolutions tranſlated from the French, and publiſhed in Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*a*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. II. p. 467.

(*b*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 184.

(*c*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 381.

(*d*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 80.

(*e*) See the Duke of Marlborough's Letter to the States, dated July 3, N.S. 1704, as alſo his Letter of the next day.

[*M*] *Came over to England.*] His Grace arrived here on the 13th of October 1703, and ſoon after King Charles III of Spain, whom he had accompanied to the Hague, came likewiſe over to England, and arrived at Spithead the day after Chriſtmas. His Grace the Duke of Somerſet, and his Grace of Marlborough, were immediately ſent down to receive and to conduct him to Windſor (36). On the 28th he lay at Petworth, and on the 29th in the evening, he arrived in company of the two Dukes at Windſor. Upon this occaſion, I muſt mention what moſt of our Hiſtorians have overlooked, *viz.* that on the 30th the Duke of Marlborough introduced to his Catholick Majeſty the Spaniſh Merchants, and procured for them the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of protection and favour, that the King could give (37). In the beginning of the month of January, the States-General deſired her Majeſty to give leave to his Grace of Marlborough to come to the Hague, which her Majeſty granted, and his Grace embarked on the 15th of the ſame month on board the Mary Yacht, in which he paſſed over to Rotterdam (38), and went from thence immediately to the Hague, where he communicated to the Penſionary, his ſenſe of the neceſſity there was, of attempting ſomething the next campaign for the relief of the Emperor, whoſe affairs at this time were in the utmoſt diſtreſs; having the Bavarians on one ſide, and the Hungarian malecontents on the other, making incurſions to the very gates of Vienna; while his whole force ſcarce enabled him to maintain a defenſive war; which unleſs ſpeedily relieved, would certainly exhauſt him. The Penſionary approved ſo much of the Duke's ſcheme as he opened to him, but it was agreed that he ſhould not explain himſelf to the States, only meaſures were concerted, as if the next campaign was to open upon the Moſelle; and even in this an air of ſecrecy was obſerved, which had very good effects. Matters being thus adjuſted, and the Generals named who were to command on the frontiers of the State's dominions, the Duke returned to England (39) on the 14th of February following.

(36) London Gazette, Monday January 3, 1703.

(37) Hiſt. of Europe, for 1703, p. 485.

(38) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 45.

(39) London Gazette, Feb. 17, 1703.

[*N*] *Was*

and Dutch did the ſame on the left, ſo that the enemy were obliged to retire very precipitately, after loſing one third of their troops at leaſt (*f*). It was upon this occaſion that the Emperor wrote the Duke a letter with his own hand, acknowledging his ſervices in the moſt obliging manner, and offering him the title of a Prince of the Empire, which he modeſtly declined (*g*), 'till the Queen afterwards commanded him to accept of it. This great ſtroke, by which a way was opened for the relief of the Empire, was, by the Germans themſelves, juſtly and univerſally aſcribed to the Duke [*N*]. He proſecuted this ſucceſs with all the diligence imaginable, and laboured to bring the enemy to a deciſive battle, which the Elector of Bavaria declined by retiring under the walls of Augſburgh. At length, being joined by a new French army under the command of Marſhal Tallard, he advanced to Hochſtet, where, on the ſecond of Auguſt, he was attacked by the Allies (*h*). Prince Lewis of Baden being detached with part of the army to make the ſiege of Ingoldſtat, the remainder conſiſted of about fifty-two thouſand men, commanded on the right by Prince Eugene, and on the left by the Duke of Marlborough; the French and Bavarians were about ſixty thouſand, commanded by Marſhal Tallard on the right, and on the left by the Elector of Bavaria and Marſhal Marſin; the attack, though bold and hazardous, was conducted with all the caution imaginable, and the Duke receiving the Sacrament the evening before, went to the field with a reſolution to conquer or to die (*i*). The diſpute was for ſome hours bloody and doubtful, but at length Victory declared on the ſide of the Allies, the enemy loſing at leaſt half, ſome accounts ſay two thirds, of their army, of whom thirteen thouſand, and amongſt them Marſhal Tallard, with twelve hundred officers, were made priſoners, and fourteen thouſand killed or drowned, beſides a vaſt number that were loſt in their precipitate retreat (*k*). After this glorious action, by which the Empire was ſaved, and the whole electorate of Bavaria conquered, the Duke continued his purſuit 'till he forced the French to re-paſs the Rhine, and then Prince Lewis of Baden laid ſiege to Landau, while the Duke and Prince Eugene covered it, and if through the ſlowneſs of the Germans that ſiege had not laſted too long, his Grace had projected an expedition on the Moſelle, in order to have forced a paſſage that way into France; as it was, he took poſſeſſion of Homburgh, Treves, *&c.* and had the pleaſure of ſeeing Landau taken on the twelfth of November, after ſixty-ſix days open trenches (*l*). He made a tour alſo to Berlin, and by a ſhort negotiation ſuſpended the diſputes between the King of Pruſſia and the Dutch, by which he gained the good will of both parties. When the campaign was over he returned to Holland, where he received the publick thanks of the States for his ſervices in the field and in the cabinet, and on the fourteenth of December he arrived in England, laden with the trophies of his victories (*m*), by which he gained a reputation truly immortal [*O*]. As the

(*f*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. II. p. 85.

(*g*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 223.

(*h*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 31. Mem. de Marquis Feuquieres, Tom. III. p. 266.

(*i*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 236.

(*k*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 98.

(*l*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 315. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 505.

(*m*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 303. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian p. 507.

[*N*] *Was by the Germans themſelves juſtly and univerſally aſcribed to the Duke.*] The tranſactions of this campaign, are ſo peculiarly glorious in reſpect to the memory of this noble perſon, that we are under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of detaining the reader, upon ſome few of the moſt remarkable circumſtances, that demonſtrate the veracity of what is aſſerted in the text. In the firſt place, the great *capacity* of the Duke is viſible, in forming ſo vaſt a deſign in his own mind, with reſpect to which he could not either aſk or receive advice; but was obliged to lay the whole plan, and to contrive the means of overcoming the many difficulties, excluſive of all the hazards of war that lay in the way of it's execution, without the leaſt aſſiſtance. We are next to advert to the great *ſecrecy* and wonderful *addreſs*, with which he managed it. At home it was entruſted only to the Queen, the Prince of Denmark, and the Lord Treaſurer Godolphin; abroad, only the Penſionary and another perſon had any intimation of it, neither was it communicated to them in it's full extent. But what is ſtill more admirable, there was no intimation given of it to the Imperial Court, as appears from the memorial of the Imperial Miniſter, preſented to the Queen in the middle of April, when the Duke was actually on his march, beſeeching her aſſiſtance. It is no wonder therefore, that with all their intelligence, the French were deceived to the very laſt, and did not apprehend the Duke's true deſign, 'till he was within ſight of the Danube. His Grace's *dexterity*, in opening his deſign to the States by degrees, and thereby obtaining their conſent, not only to carry their troops with him to ſuch a diſtance, but alſo to have them augmented by conſiderable reinforcements, which from the nature of their conſtitution at all times, and the ſituation they were in at this critical conjuncture, will to future ages ſeem incredible. His *celerity* in performing ſo extraordinary a march, as from the frontiers of Holland to the Danube, in about fifty days, without prejudice to his troops, is aſtoniſhing; but the moſt ſurprizing ſtroke of all was, the *firmneſs* the Duke expreſſed in attacking the enemy the ſame day that he arrived, when their entrenchments were not half finiſhed, and before they were recovered from the confuſion into which he had thrown them, by his unexpected arrival; to which, and to his perſiſting in making the laſt effort, the ſucceſs of this affair (with the aſſiſtance of the divine favour) was abſolutely due. The ſame thing happened again at Hochſtet, where moſt of the Generals would have diſſuaded his Grace from fighting; but he was inflexible, well knowing that to do nothing was the ſureſt way to be undone, and that delay would have made the hazard greater; ſo that we may truly ſay, the fortune of the Duke of Marlborough aroſe from his conduct; and that he was victorious, in conſequence of his chuſing the fitteſt times for actions; being always cool and compoſed, obſerving and making the moſt of every advantage, and rendering his forces ſuperior to the enemy, by that confidence which he placed in them, and which thro' the whole war they never failed to juſtify, by ſhewing that ſpirit, which Prince Eugene frankly ſaid, he never ſaw in any other troops.

[*O*] *By which he gained a reputation truly immortal.*] It is impoſſible within the narrow compaſs to which we are confined, to mention all the honours this hero received; and it is the leſs neceſſary, as not our own hiſtories only, but thoſe of foreign nations alſo, will always preſerve them, we ſhall content ourſelves therefore with remarking, that, excluſive of the medals ſtruck, and the Poems written in honour of this victory, of which Mr Addiſon's was really worthy of it, all the other teſtimonies of a juſt ſenſe of his ſervices were given, that even thoſe ſervices could merit. He brought over with him Marſhal Tallard, and twenty-ſix other officers of diſtinction, one hundred twenty-one ſtandards, and a hundred and ſeventy-nine colours, which by her Majeſty's order, were put up in Weſtminſter-Hall (40); he was received by the Queen and her Royal Conſort, with the higheſt marks of eſteem, and had the ſolemn thanks of both Houſes of Parliament.

(40) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I, p. 306. London Gazette. Jan. 4, 1704.

the Duke's designs cost him much greater pains than the execution of them, so when they were once formed he was unwilling to part with them, what obstacles soever lay in the way of compleating them. He meditated therefore all the winter the project he had formed of penetrating from the Moselle, which project, by the way, is the original after which many have been copied since, and upon his going over to Holland, in the latter end of March, he laboured to put every thing in order for this favourite expedition, which might possibly have ended the war that campaign, but must have reduced the enemy to the greatest extremity in the next. The raising of magazines, which was the greatest obstacle apprehended in the execution of the Duke's scheme, he had wisely provided for, by causing them to be erected the winter before at Triers, and under various pretences keeping them there to this time (*n*). The States-General, upon his laying before them the great advantages that would follow from a successful campaign on the Moselle, consented, without much difficulty, to his leading their troops thither; and Prince Lewis of Baden also, without whose concurrence he could do nothing, promised him an interview at Creutznach. His Grace having done every thing at the Hague, and having marched part of the troops with a view to his great design, went in person to Coblentz, where he arrived on the sixth of May, and proposed two days after to have had an interview with Prince Lewis, but the next morning his Highness excused himself by a message, on account of his ill state of health (*o*). Upon this his Grace set out for Rastadt, the place of his Highness's residence, where he had a long conference with him, in a manner against his will, in which it is said his Highness promised him, to concur as far as in him lay to the execution of his designs; upon which the Duke returned to the army, passed the Moselle, and disposed every thing for the siege of Saar Lewis, but Prince Lewis of Baden falling sick again, and the Germans failing in every thing, the Duke was able to do nothing (*p*). On the other hand, the French, instead of reinforcing the army that should have oppofed the Duke of Marlborough, pursued their plan of operations in the Low-Countries, as if they had depended upon this disappointment, and taking the advantage of the weakness of Marshal D'Averquerque's army, recovered Huy, and laid siege to Liege (*q*). His Grace, upon this, decamped on the sixth of June, and made so quick a march with his cavalry, that he obliged the enemy to raise the siege of the citadel of Liege, and soon changed the face of affairs on that side. But his back was no sooner turned, than Monsr. d'Aubach, the Palatine General, who was left to act upon the defensive on the Moselle, retired precipitately, and, as if he meant to put it out of his Grace's power ever to resume his design of penetrating into France that way, burnt all his magazines at Triers, upon the first motion of the French towards him, without waiting for orders (*r*). The Duke, having recovered Huy, resolved to force the French lines, which some of the Dutch Generals opposed, but Marshal D'Averquerque, and the present King of Sweden, declaring positively in favour of the Duke's proposition, it was carried into execution with all the ease imaginable, by which, exclusive of the glory of the action, the French suffered a very considerable loss, and the Elector of Bavaria, and Marshal Villeroy, were obliged to retire with precipitation (*s*). Yet the Duke missed his principal design, which was recovering Lorrain, Brussels, and Antwerp, by the slowness of some of the Dutch Generals. He was in like manner disappointed in two other designs, in one, by the obstinacy of General Schlangenburg, in the other, by the opposition of the Dutch Deputies, which occasioned pretty warm disputes with the States, who at last gave him some kind of satisfaction. The campaign ended soon after with some successes, which would have made a considerable figure in a campaign under any other General, but are scarce worth mentioning where the Duke of Marlborough commanded, who though he bore them with admirable patience, yet was infinitely chagrined with such a train of disappointments (*t*). The season for action being over, he made a tour to the Courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Hanover. At the first of these he acquired the entire confidence of the new Emperor Joseph, who made him a present of the principality of Mindelheim; at the second he renewed the contract for the Prussian forces, and obtained every thing he asked from a Prince, with whom all other Ministers could do nothing; and at the last, he restored a perfect harmony, and adjusted every thing to the Elector's satisfaction; after which he returned to the Hague, where, in a single conference, he induced the States to agree

(*n*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 456.

(*o*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 313. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 469.

(*p*) Limiers, Tom. III. p. 183. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 471. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 316.

(*q*) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 497. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 471. Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 516.

(*r*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 471.

(*s*) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 506. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 472.

(*t*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 477. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 331.

(41) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(42) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 308, 309.

ment (41). Besides this the Commons addressed her Majesty to perpetuate the memory of this victory, which she did, by granting him the honour of Woodstock, with the Hundred of Wotton, that was vested in him and his heirs for ever by act of Parliament, which passed on the 14th of March following, with this remarkable clause, that they should be held by rendering to the Queen, her heirs and successors, on the 2d of August, every year for ever, at the Castle of Windsor, a standard, with three fleurs de lys painted thereon (42). On the sixth of January, the Duke was feasted by the City; and on the 8th of February, the Commons addressed the Queen to testify their thanks for the wise treaty which the Duke had concluded with the Court of Berlin, by which a large body of Prussian troops were sent to the assistance of the Duke of Savoy (43); so equal was this great man to all things, and so great was his dexterity in managing the most arduous negotiations; which he concluded in less time, than most ministers would have taken to enter upon business; and at the same time so extensive were his views, that every scene of action was alike the object of his care; and he had no sooner freed Germany from her fears, than he provided effectually for the relief of Italy, by engaging Prince Eugene to take upon him the command there, and by procuring for him this necessary and effectual assistance; so that in reality he was the very soul of the war, animating and directing it every where for the service of the common cause, and for the glory of his country.

(43) London Gazette, Jan. 8, 1704. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I, p. 310.

agree to their proportion of the pay of ten thouſand men that were to be ſent into Italy, and towards the cloſe of the year, embarked for, and arrived ſafely in, England (*u*) [*P*]. All things being concerted for rendering the next campaign more ſucceſsful than the former, his Grace, in the beginning of April 1706, embarked for Holland. He remained at the Hague about three weeks, and found the States very well diſpoſed to perform the promiſe they had given him, of making him eaſy in his command, which was not only a thing very reaſonable in itſelf, but highly conducive to their intereſts, and very ſuitable to the inclinations of the people. In order to this, General Schlangenburg was laid aſide, which was a thing of great conſequence with reſpect to other officers, and the Field Deputies were given to underſtand, that a very high deference was on all occaſions to be paid to his Grace's ſentiments (*w*). On his arriving in the army which was in the neighbourhood of Liege, he found new difficulties to ſtruggle with. He had intelligence that the French army under Marſhal Villeroy was perfectly compleat, while, as to that of the Allies, the Daniſh horſe abſolutely inſiſted upon being paid their arrears before they left their winter-quarters, and as for the Pruſſian troops that were ordered to join them, they were at a great diſtance. While things were in this ſituation the French paſſed the Deule, whence the Duke very eaſily diſcerned that they hoped to treat him as they had done the laſt year, and placed their whole confidence in his diſappointments. To prevent this his Grace applied himſelf to the Duke of Wirtembergh, with whom, ever ſince the little diſpute they had in Ireland, he had a ſtrict friendſhip, and having given him his own, and procured the Dutch Field Deputies to engage their promiſe, that all arrears ſhould be duly paid, his Serene Highneſs generouſly declared that he thought it was all his Daniſh Majeſty could expect, and that he would march his troops immediately without waiting for that Monarch's orders (*x*). This was a thing of the utmoſt conſequence, for the French relied upon the obſtinacy of the Danes which induced them to hurry on an action in ſuch a manner, that the Elector of Bavaria was forced to ride poſt to it, and ſcarce arrived in time. They were deceived in their expectations, for the Daniſh horſe joined the Confederates on Saturday the eleventh of May, and the next morning, being Whitſunday, was fought the battle of Ramillies. The French muſt be allowed the honour of having offered the Allies battle, which, if they had not done, the Duke would have forced them to an action the next day (*y*). It began about one, and the Duke ſoon obſerving that his right wing would not be able to act on account of a moraſs, drew twenty ſquadrons from thence to the aſſiſtance of the left (*z*), where the Dutch cavalry had been broke by the French houſhold troops; but the Daniſh horſe, ſupported by this reinforcement, and encouraged by the preſence of the Duke, broke them in their turn, and carried all before them. The Duke was twice in the utmoſt danger, once by a fall from his horſe, and a ſecond time by a cannon ſhot, that took off the head of Col. Bringfield as he was holding the ſtirrup for his Grace to re-mount (*a*). The diſpute was indeed but very ſhort, ſome of the beſt accounts ſay not above half an hour, others two hours, and then the French began every where to give way; ſo that the rout ſoon became total, and their baggage being placed between the two lines of the army, not only rendered the day irrecoverable, but hindered all regularity in the retreat (*b*). The loſs of the enemy was very great; about ſix thouſand killed, near the ſame number taken, and not many fewer than theſe deſerted; their whole train, conſiſting of fifty pieces of cannon, ſeveral kettle-drums, one hundred and twenty ſtandards and colours, demonſtrated the entireneſs of the victory (*c*). If any farther proof of this was neceſſary, it was given by their retreat, or rather by the precipitation of their flight, by which they abandoned a great part of Brabant without any apparent neceſſity, and this was ſo far improved by the vigilance and wiſdom of the Duke, that Louvain, Bruſſels, Mechlin, and even Ghent and Bruges, ſubmitted to King Charles III of Spain without a ſtroke, and Oudenard ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons. The city of Antwerp followed this example, and thus, in the ſhort ſpace of a fortnight, the Duke reduced all Brabant, and the marquiſate of the Holy Empire, to the obedience of King Charles (*d*). He gave, upon this occaſion, ſuch extraordinary marks of diſintereſtedneſs,

(*u*) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 592.

(*w*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. III. p. 495. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 337.

(*x*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. IV. p. 56. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 354.

(*y*) Memoires de Feuquieres, Tom. IV. p. 12.

(*z*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. IV. p. 56. Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 408.

(*a*) London Gazette, for May 20, 1706.

(*b*) Quincy; Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. V. p. 6. Memoires de Feuquieres, Tom. IV. p. 12. Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*c*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 300. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 537.

(*d*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 452. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 538.

[*P*] *Embarked for, and arrived ſafely in, England.*] A new Parliament had been called this year, and great expectations were formed of their conduct, and it ſoon appeared with very good reaſon (44). Upon the 7th of January, the Houſe of Commons, came to a reſolution to thank his Grace of Marlborough, as well for his prudent negotiations, as for his great ſervices. But notwithſtanding this, it very ſoon appeared, that there was a ſtrong party formed againſt the war; and a pamphlet was publiſhed, in which the conduct of his Grace of Marlborough was directly attacked; but the author ſoon after thought proper to write a letter (45) to the Duke by way of recantation. An attempt was alſo made in the Houſe of Lords, to have procured from her Majeſty all the papers relating to the laſt campaign, in hopes that ſomething might have been found in them, which might have proved a ground for cenſuring his Grace's conduct; which, in the mean time, to take off all ſuſpicion, they very highly commended, and ſpoke with the utmoſt bitterneſs of Prince Lewis of Baden and the Dutch (46). But this alſo was ſeen through and defeated, chiefly through the prudence of the Duke, who ſpoke always with much moderation of what had happened abroad, and having ſeen Prince Lewis of Baden after the campaign was over, in the tour he made through Germany, he treated him with the utmoſt deference and reſpect (47). Her Majeſty at this time had ſome overtures made to her by the Duke of Savoy, in reference to the attempt upon Thoulon, which were referred to the Duke of Marlborough, ſuch was the entire confidence the Queen repoſed in him at that time (48); and as to the plan of the enſuing campaign, it was alſo entirely referred to his Grace; who at that time was very apprehenſive that the French would act as they had done the year before, entirely on the defenſive; and had therefore fixed on ſeveral ſteps proper to have forced them to change that ſcheme, if their own politicks (49) had not, very fatally for them, had that effect, as the reader will ſee in the text.

(44) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 426.

(45) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 348.

(46) See the Earl of Haverſham's Speech upon that occaſion.

(47) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(48) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p 350.

(49) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

tereſtedneſs, as deſerved more regard than have been hitherto paid them. Inſtead of making thoſe advantages to which his victory entitled him, he received and protected the inhabitants of theſe places as the King of Spain's ſubjects, and when the government of the Auſtrian Netherlands was offered him with the uſual appointments, he generouſly refuſed it, put the adminiſtration into the hands of the States of the province, and by various other inſtances gave inconteſtible proofs, that he did all for the Common Cauſe and nothing for himſelf (*e*). In the latter end of May he made a ſhort tour to the Hague, in order to prevail upon the States to have conſented to certain meaſures, particularly the ſiege of Dunkirk, by which he hoped to have ſhortened the war, but not being able to prevail, he was obliged to purſue his ſucceſſes in the way moſt agreeable to them, and accordingly ordered Oſtend to be inveſted, before which the trenches were opened on the eighteenth of June (*f*). It was during this ſiege, that, in my poor judgment, his Grace committed the greateſt overſight in his whole life, for going to viſit this ſiege, he expoſed his perſon for more than an hour in the trenches, during as warm a fire as ever was ſeen, and this notwithſtanding a letter the Queen did him the honour to write him on his victory, with her own hand, in which the only command ſhe gave him was, *Be careful of yourſelf* (*g*). The ſiege was conducted with ſo much vigour that the place ſurrendered on the twenty-ſeventh. The ſtrong fortreſs of Menin, eſteemed the maſter-piece of Marſhal Vauban, defended by a numerous garriſon under the command of one of the beſt officers in France, was inveſted next, the trenches opened before it on the twenty-fourth of July, and the ſiege being carried on with extraordinary diligence and warmth, the place ſurrendered on the eleventh of Auguſt (*h*). Dendermonde, which had been blocked up ſoon after the battle of Ramillies, ſurrendered, after a ſhort ſiege, on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month; and on the fifth of September Aeth was inveſted, and the trenches opened before it upon the eleventh. It was expected that this place would have made a pretty long defence, but, following the example of the reſt, it ſurrendered on the twenty-firſt. The Duke de Vendoſme had been ſent to command in Flanders inſtead of Marſhal Villeroy, and though without doubt he was as good an officer, and as brave a man, as any ſubject the French King had, and notwithſtanding his army was reinforced to an equality at leaſt with that of the Allies, he remained a calm ſpectator of the Duke's conqueſts, not daring to undertake any enterprize of importance, with an army that had quite loſt their ſpirits (*i*). The forces of the Allies after this glorious campaign being about to ſeparate, his Grace, on the ſixteenth of October, went to the Hague, where the propoſals which France had made for a peace, contained in a letter from the Elector of Bavaria to the Duke of Marlborough, were communicated to the Miniſters of the Allies, after which his Grace embarked on the fifteenth of November for England, where he arrived the day following (*k*) [*Q*]. The meaſures neceſſary for promoting the ſucceſs of the enſuing campaign being very early ſettled at home, and it being found abſolutely neceſſary that his Grace ſhould make a tour to Germany before the army entered upon action, he propoſed to have been at the Hague before the end of March, but being hindered by contrary winds, he did not arrive there before the fifth of April, 1707 (*l*). He explained to the States the motives of his journey to Saxony, whither he went to confer with the King of Sweden, whoſe ſituation was at that time ſuch as enabled him to have given law to Europe. His Grace accordingly made a jonrney to his Swediſh Majeſty's head quarters, preſented him with the Queen his Miſtreſs's letters, and after a very ſucceſsful negotiation, in which it is certain that he made very favourable impreſſions on the mind of that Prince, and gained a perfect acquaintance with his deſigns (*m*), he returned by Hanover to the Hague, and having acquainted the States with the iſſue of his journey, he ſet out for Bruſſels where he arrived

(*e*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 394. Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*f*) Hiſtoire Chronologique de Dernier Siecle, p. 273. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 540.

(*g*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*h*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. IV. p. 91. Hiſtoire Chronologique du Dernier Siecle, p. 274. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 540.

(*i*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. V. p. 16.

(*k*) London Gazette, for Monday November 18, 1706.

(*l*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 452.

(*m*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 473, 474.

[*Q*] *Where he arrived the day following.*] His Grace of Marlborough arrived at London on the eighteenth of November 1706 (50), and though at this time there was a faction forming againſt him at Court, yet the great ſervices he had done the nation, and the perſonal eſteem the Queen always had for him, procured him an univerſal good reception, in which it ſeemed as if there was a competition who ſhould oblige him moſt. The Houſe of Commons, in their Addreſs in anſwer to her Majeſty's Speech from the throne, ſpoke of the ſucceſs of the campaign in general, and the Duke of Marlborough's ſhare in particular, in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible, and the very next day after they preſented this Addreſs, unanimouſly voted him their thanks (51). The Lords did the ſame with reſpect both to the Addreſs and their thanks, which were given his Grace by William Cowper, Eſq; then Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal (52). They went ſtill farther, for on the ſeventeenth of December they addreſſed the Queen for leave to bring in a bill, to ſettle the Duke's honours upon the male and female iſſue of his daughters, which was granted, and Blenheim-houſe, and the manor of Woodſtock, was, after the deceaſe of the Ducheſs upon whom they were ſettled in jointure, entailed in the ſame manner with the honours (53). Two days after this, the ſtandards and colours taken at Ramillies being carried in ſtate through the city, in order to be hung up in Guild-Hall, his Grace of Marlborough was invited to dine with the Lord Mayor, which he accordingly did. The laſt day of the year was appointed for a General Thankſgiving, and her Majeſty went in ſtate to St Paul's, in which there was this ſingularity obſerved, that it was the ſecond Thankſgiving within the year (54). On the ſeventeenth of January, the Houſe of Commons addreſſed the Queen, ſignifying, that as her Majeſty had built the houſe of Blenheim to perpetuate the memory of the Duke of Marlborough's ſervices, and the Houſe of Lords ordered a bill for continuing his honours, ſo they were deſirous to make ſome proviſion for the more honourable ſupport of his dignity (55). In conſequence of this, and of the Queen's anſwer, the penſion of five thouſand pounds a year from the Poſt-Office, was ſettled in the manner the Queen had formerly deſired of another Houſe of Commons, who happened not to be in quite ſo good a temper. Theſe points adjuſted, his Grace made haſte to return to his charge, it being thought more eſpecially neceſſary, that he ſhould give the foreign Miniſters at the Hague to underſtand (as he did) that the Queen of Great Britain would hearken to no propoſals for a peace, but what would firmly ſecure the general tranquillity of Europe (56).

(50) London Gazette, Nov. 18, 1706.

(51) See the Journal of the Houſe of Commons.

(52) See the Journal of the Houſe of Peers.

(53) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 551.

(54) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 449.

(55) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 553.

(56) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

arrived on the second of May (*n*). The army of France was commanded this year by two great Princes, who were also great officers, the Elector of Bavaria, and the Duke of Vendosme. They were both esteemed enterprizing in their conduct, as they were indisputably very gallant in their persons, yet the highest honour to which they aspired with a superior army, was to move about a little from camp to camp without being obliged to fight, to which the Duke of Vendosme would never consent (*o*). His Grace of Marlborough was a little deceived in the beginning of the campaign, he knew the strength of the French army, and was well acquainted with the character of the Princes beforementioned, and therefore when he knew they had assembled their army without the lines, he took it for granted they intended to give him battle, upon which he advanced towards them, who were then encamped on the plains of Flerus, but, upon the approach of the Allies, the Duke de Vendosme occupied the pass at Ronquiers by so strong a detachment, that the Duke of Marlborough saw plainly, his intention was neither to offer battle nor to be forced to fight, upon which he was obliged to retire towards Brussels (*p*). His intention at the beginning of the campaign was to have besieged either Mons or Charleroy, in case the enemy declined fighting, and this the Dutch Deputies did not in the least oppose, but the Duke de Vendosme having seized the strong camp of Gemblours, his Grace of Marlborough saw plainly that there was no venturing to make a siege, without exposing all the great open towns of Brabant to be re-taken by the French, and this kept him in a kind of inaction during the remaining part of the campaign, except that, upon his receiving advice of the enemy's having detached a few squadrons and thirteen battalions into Provence, he advanced with a resolution of attacking Vendosme, even in the strong camp of Gemblours (*q*). But upon his approach he decamped, and by very quick marches gained a stronger post at Peiton, whither his Grace followed, and pushed him so close, that they were obliged to decamp again, and at last, after shifting from place to place, retired within their lines, where, having the Schelde and strong entrenchments before them, the army of the Duke of Vendosme could bear the approach of the Allies, without desiring to get out of their way (*r*). The Duke, finding all his endeavours to no purpose, and the weather being grown very bad, quitted the army on the twenty-third of September, and went to the Hague, from whence he set out again soon after for Franckfort, where he laboured to have infused some degree of warmth into the Princes of the Empire, and to have drawn his Imperial Majesty to have shewn more punctuality to his engagements than he had done hitherto since the war begun, in which, not meeting with his usual success, he returned again to the Hague (*s*), and after encouraging the States to persist in the resolutions they had taken for the support of the Common Cause, he embarked for England, without shewing any apparent concern at the close of the most barren campaign he ever made [*R*]. The very unexpected distastes the Duke had met with through the whole course of the winter, as well as the repeated applications of the States-General, induced him to go to Holland early in the Spring, and arriving at the Hague on the nineteenth of March, he found there Prince Eugene of Savoy, who had been at infinite pains to engage the Court of Vienna, and some of the Princes of the Empire, to come into a scheme which he knew would be grateful to the Duke, as well as of high consequence to the Common Cause (*t*). In order to compleat this, however, it was absolutely necessary to engage the Elector of Hanover, afterwards King George I, to part with some regiments that were to have composed the army that he was to command on the Rhine, and this the Duke of Marlborough was to undertake, which he did, and succeeded in his commission (*u*). Prince Eugene, who made a tour through the Empire, met his Grace at Hanover, and concerted with him there the operations of the campaign, after which he returned to Vienna, giving out that he was to command a separate body upon the Moselle, which was understood to be avoiding a junction with the Duke of Marlborough (*w*). The giving credit to this circumstance, trifling as it seemed, proved the ruin of the French affairs, for at the same time the Duke of Burgundy was sent to command in Flanders, Marshal

(*n*) Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 563.

(*o*) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. V. p. 276. Limieres, Tom. III. p. 230.

(*p*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 474.

(*q*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*r*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 494, 495.

(*s*) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 485. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 499.

(*t*) Memoires de Lamberty, Vol. II. p. 345.

(*u*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 12.

(*w*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

[*R*] *Of the most barren campaign he ever made.*] After the fatigue of so dissatisfactory a negotiation as that of Franckfort, the troublesome appendix of his labours in the field, which this year only repaid him not with laurels, his Grace no doubt hoped for some quiet at his return. His hopes however were disappointed, that fire which had been suspected the last year, had broke out in his absence, and it was known that the Queen had a female favourite who was in a fair way of gaining ground of the Duchess, and that she listened to the insinuations of a Statesman who was no friend to the Duke (57). He bore this with an unshaken serenity, but when he found not himself only but the Common Cause attacked, though in a very dark and sinister way, in the House of Lords, his patience was somewhat moved, and he could not help shewing his enemies for once, that however great in the field, or wise in the cabinet, he had still the like passions with themselves (58). His Speech however had a good effect, and prevented that project from taking place, which had done the French king more service, than even the cautious conduct of the Duke of Vendosme in the last campaign, I mean the scheme for lessening the army in Flanders on the colour of augmenting that in Spain, where, for reasons known only to themselves, the very Allies for whom we fought seemed not very anxious about our success. He gained likewise a compleat victory at Court, where his antagonist was forced to quit the field, but it was in such a manner, and with so visible a reluctance in the Queen, that the Duke, who was a man of the utmost penetration, easily foresaw the inconveniencies that were like to follow; to prevent which his only hopes lay in the success of the next campaign, for now, and indeed throughout the war, his personal interest was bound up in the Common Cause, for he had no enemies but those who were likewise no friends to that, and who might have been easily reconciled, if his Grace would have detached himself from that system, which he took to be the only one that could effectually provide for the independency of Europe, the Queen his Mistress's security, and the safety and glory of Great Britain.

(57) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 457.

(58) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

[*S*] *And*

Marſhal Berwick was ſent to oppoſe Prince Eugene upon the Rhine, but he having ſeveral days march of him, moved with ſuch unuſual celerity, that his forces preſerved the advantages they had acquired 'till they had joined the Allies. The French, under the Dukes of Burgundy and Vendoſme, had a very fine army of one hundred thouſand men (*x*), whereas, after draining all his garriſons, the Duke of Marlborough could not take the field with full fourſcore. The enemy might have preſerved this ſuperiority through the campaign, if they had taken care to facilitate their junction with Marſhal Berwick, but the Duke of Burgundy, miſ-led by the advice of a few favourites, croſſed the Duke of Vendoſme in every thing, and having ſucceeded in his deſign of ſurprizing Ghent and Bruges, fancied he was able to act by his own lights, and thereupon cauſed the little town of Oudenard (*y*) to be inveſted, which brought on a battle, contrary to that Prince's deſign, who, to avoid it, would have retired towards Ghent, and by this means the French army were attacked on the thirtieth of June 1708, when they were in great diſorder, and without any difficulty defeated, with the loſs of four thouſand killed, and ſeven thouſand taken priſoners, and about one hundred ſtandards and colours, and would have ſuffered ſtill more in their retreat if the Duke of Vendoſme had not commanded the rear guard (*z*). But, as it was, the conſequences of the defeat were very fatal, and made way for the ſiege of Liſle, which was inveſted by the Prince of Naſſau, father to the preſent hereditary Stadtholder of the United Provinces, on the ſecond of Auguſt (*a*). This was by far the boldeſt undertaking of the kind during the war, and many have not ſcrupled to ſtile it a very raſh attempt. It is very probable, that the Duke of Marlborough depended on the vigour and ſpirit with which Prince Eugene would carry on the ſiege on one ſide, and the miſunderſtandings that reigned amongſt the French Generals on the other, and the event ſhewed that he was not miſtaken in his conjecture, for notwithſtanding the French had, according to their own accounts, an army ſuperior to the Duke's by above a fourth, commanded by the Dukes of Burgundy, Vendoſme, and Berwick, yet they did nothing, ſo that October 12, the town of Liſle ſurrendered, and Marſhal Boufflers retired into the citadel (*b*). To relieve this important place, the Elector of Bavaria, on the fifteenth of December, made a very briſk attempt upon Bruſſels, in which he was diſappointed by the vigilance of the Duke of Marlborough, and his paſſing the Schelde with the army under his command, which was looked upon as a thing impracticable (*c*), and the Duke of Marlborough himſelf conſidered it as ſo high a providence, that he cauſed a General Thankſgiving to be religiouſly obſerved throughout the whole army, on the ſecond of December N.S. (*d*) and on the ninth the citadel of Liſle ſurrendered, which was one of the greateſt blows the French received during the war (*e*). His Grace, to compleat the ſucceſs of this campaign, cauſed Ghent to be inveſted, which was very ſoon ſurrendered, in conſequence of which the French abandoned Bruges, and the reſt of the places they had ſurprized in the beginning of the campaign (*f*), ſo that the Duke returned to the Hague, and from thence to England, as uſual, crowned with laurels, and the univerſal acclamations of his countrymen and their Allies [*S*]. The French King thought fit, in the beginning of the year 1709, to ſet on foot a negotiation for peace, in which it is thought he had three principal points in view, and failed in them all (*g*). The firſt was, to quiet the minds of his own ſubjects, labouring under the deepeſt diſtreſs, and afflicted with calamities the moſt grievous that a nation can ſuſtain, war, ſickneſs, and famine; the ſecond, ſowing jealouſies and ſuſpicions amongſt the Confederates, in hopes of bringing ſome of them either to deſert the Common Cauſe, or to proſecute it with leſs vigour; the third, to amuſe the Allies with falſe hopes of peace, and thereby retard their military preparations. Theſe negotiations induced the Queen to ſend his Grace back to Holland, in the latter end of the month of March, with the character of her Plenipotentiary, which was a point of very great conſequence, and contributed not a little to the enemy's diſappointment.

After

(*x*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de LouisXIV. Tom. V. p. 487.

(*y*) Memoires de Feuquieres, Tom. IV. p. 26.

(*z*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de LouisXIV. Tom. V. p. 496. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. V. p, 106. Memoires de Feuquieres, Tom. IV. p. 26. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 595.

(*a*) Memoires de la Torſe, Tom. V. p. 145. Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de LouisXIV. Tom. IV. p. 510. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. V. p. 118.

(*b*) Hiſtoire Chronologique du Dernier Siecle, p. 284. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 596.

(*c*) Rapin Thoyras Continue, Tom. XII. p. 228.

(*d*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 106.

(*e*) Hiſtoire Chronologique, p. 286. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 596.

(*f*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 111.

(*g*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. V. p. 263.

[*S*] *And the univerſal acclamations of his countrymen and their Allies.*] The Houſe of Commons this year gave a very uncommon teſtimony of their reſpect for the Duke of Marlborough; for, beſides addreſſing the Queen, they, on the twenty-ſecond of January, voted thanks to his Grace unanimouſly, and ordered them to be tranſmitted to him abroad by the Speaker (59), His Grace returned to England on the twenty-fifth of February, and on his firſt appearance in the Houſe of Lords, the thanks of that auguſt aſſembly were given him by the Lord Chancellor Cowper, to which, as upon all other occaſions, the Duke gave an anſwer full of modeſty, gratitude, and deep reſpect (60). His ſtay was ſo very ſhort, that we have no need to dwell long upon what paſſed here in the winter, it is ſufficient to ſay, that thoſe who were apprehenſive of the dangerous effects that might attend the artificial propoſals that France made for the concluſion of a general peace, were alſo of opinion, that nobody was ſo capable of ſetting their danger in a true light in Holland as his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, which was the reaſon of his going thither (61). We have had occaſion to ſhew in ſome inſtances before, that whatever might be ſaid from party reſentment, the Duke was far enough from deſiring to protract the war, and that the ſteps which his enemies had mentioned as inſtances of his inclination that way, were in reality taken from no other motive than that of neceſſity; he would have acted with more vigour, and have brought things ſooner to a concluſion, if he could; but not being able to do this, he did all in his power abroad, and bore with great temper the groundleſs reflections that were made upon his conduct at home. In reſpect to peace his ſentiments were the ſame, he was far from being averſe to it, but then he was deſirous that this peace ſhould be ſafe and ſolid, which he thought it could not be if the power of France was not greatly reduced, and as he had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing that the war was in a fair way of doing this effectually, he was loth to loſe a certainty, though attended with many inconveniencies, for an uncertainty that he foreſaw muſt be attended with more. He had the good luck to bring the States-General entirely into his ſentiments, and thereby defeated the French in their negotiations, as clearly as he had ever done their forces; ſo that he might be truly ſaid to triumph over them in the cabinet as well as in the field, and to have done equal honour to his country as a Statesman and a Soldier.

(59) See the Journal of the Houſe of Commons.

(60) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 126.

(61) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

[*T*] *Returned*

After his Grace's return to England, the French King made another attempt, by ſending the Marquis de Torcy, his Miniſter for foreign affairs, into Holland. This meaſure proved alſo without effect, for the Duke of Marlborough had contrived to have the preliminaries for a peace, that were not only propoſed, but ſigned and ratified by the Queen his Miſtreſs, ſo drawn, that the concerns of all the Allies were equally and effectually provided for, by which means the French arts, inſtead of diſturbing the Confederates, or detaching any of them from the Grand Alliance, only united them more firmly, by procuring them this deciſive proof, that perſeverance would procure them all that they could deſire (*b*). The Marſhal Villars commanded the French army, which was very numerous, and in good condition. Lewis XIV expreſſed his hopes, by ſaying a little before the opening of the campaign, *Villars was never beat* (*i*). Indeed that General ſeemed very deſirous of preſerving that reputation, for upon his taking the field he entrenched his army at Lens in ſuch a manner, that though the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene were very willing to have come to a battle, they found it not in their power. As their army was conſiderable enough to form a ſiege and to cover it againſt the enemy, that was reſolved upon. M. Villars foreſaw this, and believed that Ypres would be the place, for which reaſon he had taken ſuch a camp as covered it (*k*). The Duke of Marlborough having ſent his heavy baggage to Liſle, and made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking the enemy, marched in the night towards their camp without ſound of trumpet or beat of drum, and ſuddenly turning off to the left, to the ſurprize of his own troops as much as thoſe of the enemy's, inveſted Tournay on the ſixteenth of June (*l*). This place was but indifferently provided in reſpect to a garriſon, but Lieutenant-General de Surville, who commanded in the town, was a very able and gallant officer, and M. de Megrigni, Governor of the citadel, was the beſt Engineer in France; beſides, the place was looked upon as one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the Low-Countries, and the citadel eſteemed the maſter-piece of the officer appointed to defend it (*m*). The trenches were opened in the night of the twenty-ſeventh, and though Marſhal Villars made ſeveral attempts, either to ſuccour the place, or to raiſe the ſiege, they proved all ineffectual, ſo that on the twentieth of July it was ſurrendered, and the garriſon retired into the citadel (*n*). Upon this a negotiation was ſet on foot for the ſurrender of that place alſo, with a view only to gain time, in reſentment of which the Duke of Marlborough would grant no other terms, than the garriſon ſurrendering priſoners of war, as they did on the twentieth of Auguſt (*o*). After this conqueſt the army of the Allies advanced to the enemy's lines, which they abandoned in order to take ſuch a poſt as might prevent the ſiege of Mons, and a very ſtrong camp they took, however, even in that it was reſolved to attack them, and this brought on the famous battle of Blaregnies, Malplaquet, Tanieres, or the Wood, which was fought Auguſt 31, 1709, in which the French were clearly defeated, after a moſt bloody and obſtinate engagement, notwithſtanding all the advantages they had from the ſituation of ground, and entrenchments raiſed with incredible labour, diſpoſed with great ſkill, and defended by a numerous artillery, with the loſs of fifteen thouſand men to the enemy, and about eighteen thouſand killed and wounded of the Allies (*p*). This victory made way for the ſiege of Mons, before which the trenches were opened on the fifteenth of September; the garriſon was but weak, which was the true reaſon the French ran the hazard of a battle to protect it, and the Governor, deſirous of ſaving his garriſon, ſigned an honourable capitulation on the tenth of October following (*q*), after which the army went into winter quarters, and his Grace of Marlborough, after regulating ſome matters of importance at the Hague, returned to England [*T*]. The entertainment the Duke met with here at home during the winter did not render it very agreeable to him, and he would very probably have gone abroad earlier if things could have been properly ſettled for that purpoſe, which at laſt they were, and towards the latter end of February his Grace went to the Hague, where he met with Prince Eugene, and ſoon after ſet out with him for the army which aſſembled in

(*b*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. VI. p. 136. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. V. p. 288. Rapin Thoyras Continue, Tom. XII. p. 251.

(*i*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 531.

(*k*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. VI. p. 150. Limiers, Tom. III. p. 293.

(*l*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*m*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. VI. p. 158. Memoires de Feuquieres, Tom. IV. p. 152.

(*n*) Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques. Rapin Thoyras Continue, Tom. XII. p. 266.

(*o*) Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 289. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 612.

(*p*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. VI. p. 193. Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. V. p. 306. Rapin Thoyras Continue, Tom. XII. p. 271. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 166.

(*q*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. VI. p. 207. Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 290. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 613.

[*T*] *Returned to England.*] Upon the firſt news of the glorious victory gained at Malplaquet, the city of London addreſſed the Queen in terms the moſt expreſſive, the moſt loyal, and the moſt reſpectful, which the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, carried to Windſor, and preſented on the tenth of September (62). The Queen in Council, on the third of October following, ordered a Proclamation for a General Thankſgiving (63). The Duke of Marlborough came to St James's on the tenth of November, on the fifteenth the Parliament of Great Britain aſſembled, and, on the very firſt day of their ſitting, appointed a Committee, conſiſting of thirteen of their moſt diſtinguiſhed members, to carry their thanks to the Duke (64). The Lord Chancellor Cowper gave him the thanks of the Houſe of Peers on his firſt coming thither (65). The Addreſſes to the Crown were conceived even in ſtronger terms than formerly, and the Queen, as if ſhe was deſirous of taking any occaſion that preſented itſelf of ſhewing her kindneſs for his Grace, appointed him Lord Lieutenant, and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the county of Oxford (66). In the beginning of the year 1710, the French ſet on foot a new negotiation for a peace, which was commonly diſtinguiſhed by the title of the treaty of Gertrudenburgh. The States-General upon this having ſhewn an inclination to enter into conferences with the French Plenipotentiaries, the Houſe of Commons being made acquainted with it by Sir Gilbert Heathcoate, immediately framed an Addreſs to the Queen, that ſhe would be pleaſed to ſend the Duke of Marlborough over to the Hague without delay, with which Addreſs the Houſe of Lords having concurred, it was preſented on the eighteenth of February, and immediately complied with (67). But amidſt theſe ſeeming honours, preferments, and favours, the Duke was really chagrined to the laſt degree. He perceived that the French intrigues began to prevail both in England and Holland, the affair of Dr Sacheverell had thrown the nation into a ferment, and the Queen was not only eſtranged from the Ducheſs of Marlborough, but had taken ſuch a diſlike to her that ſhe very ſeldom appeared at Court (68). The friends of the Duke therefore were glad of an opportunity to divert his uneaſineſs, by ſending him abroad again in ſo honourable a manner.

(62) Hiſtory of Europe for 1709, p. 310.

(63) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 625.

(64) See the Journal of the Houſe of Commons.

(65) See the Journal of the Houſe of Peers.

(66) Lediard's of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 217.

(67) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1710, p. 143.

(68) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 547.

in the neigbourhood of Tournay (*r*). The firſt thing done of importance was the entering of the French lines, and this was performed without any loſs. The ſiege of Douay was next reſolved upon, and the place inveſted on the twelfth of April; it was naturally ſtrong, had been fortified with great ſkill, well provided with every thing in the winter, had a garriſon of eight thouſand good troops commanded by the Marquis de Albergotti, an Italian Nobleman of great merit and of long ſervice, there was no place better defended during the war, and yet, notwithſtanding the ſiege was often interrupted by a ſuperior army under the command of Marſhal Villars, the place was forced to ſurrender (*s*) on the 22d of June 1710, though upon very honourable terms, but an attempt that was concerted for ſurprizing Ypres, during this ſiege, miſcarried. After the ſurrender of Douay, the French army under the command of Marſhal Villars retired within their new lines, and the forces of the Allies under Prince Eugene, inveſted Bethune on the fourth of July; the place was ſtrong, the garriſon numerous, and the Governor a man of experience and valour, who defended it to the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, and then ſurrendered upon honourable terms (*t*). The enemy ſtill continuing to decline an engagement, the army of the Allies inveſted Aire and St Venant in one day. The trenches were opened before the latter on the fifth of September, and though the place was remarkably ſtrong by nature, as lying in the midſt of a moraſs, and for it's ſize defended by a numerous garriſon, yet it ſurrendered on the eighteenth (*u*). The ſiege of Aire was a work of greater difficulty, the garriſon was commanded by Lieutenant-General Goeſbriant, who had under him a Major-General, ſeven Brigadiers, and a garriſon of at leaſt eight thouſand men; the place was defended with much obſtinacy, and did not ſurrender 'till the thirtieth of October, and then upon honourable conditions (*w*). The Confederate army ſoon after going into winter quarters, the Duke and Prince Eugene went together to the Hague, and the former about the middle of December returned to England [*U*]. An exterior civility, which in the Court language was ſtiled a good underſtanding, being eſtabliſhed between the Duke and the new Miniſtry, and the Queen having written to the States-General in very gracious terms in relation to her confidence in him, he went over ſoon after to the Hague, and there met with Prince Eugene with whom he went to the army, reſolved to convince all Europe, that no perſonal reſentment ſhould reſtrain him from ſupporting the Common Cauſe, and proſecuting the war with ſucceſs while he continued at the head of the Allies (*x*). Villars, who had undergone a kind of diſgrace at the latter end of the laſt campaign, for ſpeaking his mind a little too freely of the Ducheſs of Burgundy, was again at the head of the French army, which, by the care he had taken of it, was one of the fineſt that had been ſent into the field during the war, and not at all inferior to that of the Allies. His Grace, from the time that he opened the campaign, propoſed to himſelf getting within the French lines, which Villars had over and over declared to be impenetrable; he propoſed alſo to offer the enemy battle, and if it was found impoſſible to force him to fight, he then reſolved to reduce by ſiege that fortreſs, which would contribute moſt to open a paſſage into France (*y*). It was with this intention that he attacked and made himſelf maſter of the little poſt of Arleux, marching the Confederate army through the plains of Lens, that if they had any intention of fighting, the enemy might have a fair opportunity of ſhewing it. But finding both ſchemes diſappointed, for Villars would not hazard a battle, nor did the poſſeſſion of Arleux anſwer what was expected from it; one muſt naturally ſuppoſe that this ſtrongly affected the Duke's mind, who knew that the eyes of the whole world were upon him, and that a diſappointment would tarniſh all the glory he had acquired; he made therefore a great effort, and ſince Villars would not run the riſk of being beaten in the field, he contrived to beat him in his own way, by ſtratagem; in other campaigns he had excelled all other Generals, but foreſeeing it would be his laſt, in this he excelled himſelf (*z*). He made ſuch a diſpoſition of his troops that Arleux was attacked, but he took care to ſupport that poſt in ſuch a manner that the French were repulſed. He made another motion by which it was again expoſed,

(*r*) Larrey, Tom. III. p. 794. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Malborough, Vol. II. p. 240.

(*s*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. VI. p. 378. Limieres, Tom. III. p. 336. Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 291.

(*t*) Rapin Thoyras Continue, Tom. XII. p. 312. Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 293. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 653.

(*u*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. VI. p. 378. Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 293. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 653.

(*w*) Rapin Thoyras Continue, Tom. XII. p. 314. Limiers, Tom. III. p. 343. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 653.

(*x*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*y*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 576. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 307.

(*z*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

[*U*] *And the former about the middle of December returned to England.*] The negotiations mentioned in the laſt note, were carried on during a great part of the ſummer, but ended at laſt in nothing (69). In the midſt of the ſummer the Queen began the great change in her Miniſtry, by removing the Earl of Sunderland from being Secretary of State; and on the 8th of Auguſt following the Lord Treaſurer was likewiſe removed (70). Upon the meeting of the Parliament, no notice was taken in the addreſſes of the Duke of Marlborough's ſucceſs. An attempt was made to procure him the thanks of the Houſe of Peers, but it was very eagerly thwarted by the Duke of Argyle (71). After his Grace came over, he was kindly received by the Queen, who ſeemed to be deſirous that he ſhould live well with her new Miniſtry, which the world in general looked upon as a thing impracticable; and it was every day expected, that his Grace would have laid down his commiſſion. There is not however the leaſt appearance that he had any ſuch intention, for the ſervice of his country he had long commanded armies, and the ſame principle now required that he ſhould command his paſſions. Faithful to that in both, he carried the Gold Key, the enſign of the Ducheſs of Marlborough's dignity, on the 19th of January to the Queen, and reſigned all her employments with that duty and ſubmiſſion, which became him (72). With the ſame firmneſs of mind, he conſulted the neceſſary meaſures for the next campaign, with thoſe whom he knew to be no friends of his; but the candour of his behaviour, and the generous concern he expreſſed for the common cauſe, moved even theſe men, while he was preſent, to treat him with decency and reſpect; and as it was phraſed in thoſe days, to take ſuch meaſures as made him eaſy in his command (73). There is no doubt that the Duke felt ſome inward diſquiet, though he ſhewed no outward concern, at leaſt for himſelf; but when the Earl of Galway was very indecently treated in the Houſe of Lords, the Duke of Marlborough could not help ſaying (74), 'It was ſomewhat 'ſtrange, that Generals who had acted according to 'the beſt of their underſtandings, and had loſt their 'limbs in the ſervice, ſhould be examined like offenders about inſignificant things.'

(69) Memoires de Lamberty.

(70) Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1710, p. 556.

(71) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 279.

(72) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(73) Hiſt. of the Four laſt Years of Queen Anne.

(74) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 287.

[*W*] *He*

poſed, and ſix hundred men only left to defend it; it was then attacked by Marſhal Monteſquiou at the head of a whole army, and before the great detachment the Duke ſent to ſave it could come up, was taken. His Grace ſeemed then to abandon his deſign, and moved ſtill farther, and at laſt, as if he was grown impatient, he ordered faſcines to be cut, went himſelf with all the General Officers to view the enemy's diſpoſitions, and made his own in ſuch a manner, that there was not a man in his army who did not expect a battle the next morning, but at the cloſe of the evening on the twenty-fourth of July, he marched off without beat of drum or ſound of trumpet, having ordered Lieutenant-General Cadogan, and Count Hompeſch, to paſs the Senſett at Arleux with twenty-three battalions and ſeventeen ſquadrons, which were ſo placed as that they were able to aſſemble them in a little time; for his Grace foreſaw they would find that place ſlighted, and no troops near enough to oppoſe them, which indeed happened, for Marſhal Villars re-called all his detachments, from an apprehenſion of being attacked in his camp as at Malplaquet (*a*). But as ſoon as he was informed of the march of the Confederates, he perceived the deceit, and taking a ſhorter rout to Arleux with his horſe and dragoons, arrived within ſight of the Senſett, as the Duke of Marlborough in perſon, and the cavalry of his left wing, joined the troops under General Cadogan, and advanced in order to attack him (*b*). Aſhamed of being out-done in that point of conduct which he beſt underſtood, the Marſhal gave out that he would fight the next day, but he was wiſer, and the Duke of Marlborough, who in the beginning of the war had been ſo often hindered from fighting by the Dutch Deputies, now declined fighting when they preſſed him to it, becauſe the troops were exceſſively fatigued with marching all night, and becauſe, if any accident happened, their being within the enemy's lines might have been fatal (*c*), he reſolved therefore to beſiege Bouchain, contrary to the ſentiments of all that were about him, who thought it impoſſible that he ſhould take a fortreſs, ſtrong by ſituation, well garriſoned as well as excellently fortified, and with which it was hardly poſſible to cut off the enemy's communication. The Duke however was determined, and the place was inveſted on the firſt of Auguſt (*d*). This ſiege was apparently a tryal of ſkill between the two Generals, and it muſt be allowed that Marſhal Villars gave the cleareſt proofs of his capacity in the courſe of it, but the bravery of the troops of the Allies, animated by the preſence of the Duke who was every where in perſon, carried all before them, and, contrary to the expectation both of friends and enemies, the place was ſurrendered on the ſeventeenth of September, and that too upon the worſt terms poſſible, for the Duke would grant no other (*e*). After which the army ſeparated, though the Duke would willingly have beſieged Queſnoy, to which the Dutch refuſed their conſent (*f*). On his return to the Hague he was received with the higheſt marks of reſpect poſſible, and having adjuſted all things with the States, he embarked for England, and came to London on the eighteenth of November [*W*]. As his Grace had always declared, that no ill uſage that he met with from his enemies ſhould drive him to revenge himſelf on his country, or on the Common Cauſe, by reſigning his commiſſion; ſo thoſe who were reſolved that he ſhould keep it no longer, found themſelves under a neceſſity to engage the Queen to take it from him; this neceſſity chiefly aroſe from Prince Eugene's being expected to come over with a commiſſion from the Emperor, and to give ſome kind of colour for it, an enquiry was promoted in the Houſe of Commons to fix a very high imputation upon the Duke, as if he had put very large ſums of publick money into his own pocket. When a queſtion to this purpoſe had been carried, the Queen, by a letter conceived in very obſcure terms, acquainted him with her having no farther occaſion for his ſervice, and diſmiſſed him from all his employments, to which he returned a dutiful and ſubmiſſive anſwer (*g*). He was from this time expoſed to the moſt painful perſecution that a great and good man could endure. On the one hand he ſtood expoſed to the clamour of the populace, and to the outrages of thoſe licentious pens, which are ever ready to eſpouſe the quarrels of a Miniſtry, and to inſult without mercy whatever characters they know they may inſult with impunity; on the other hand, a proſecution was commenced againſt him by the Attorney-General, for applying publick money to his private uſe, and the workmen employed in building Blenheim-houſe, though ſet at work by the Crown, were encouraged to ſue his Grace for the money that was due to them; all his actions alſo were ſcandalouſly miſrepreſented (*h*). Theſe uneaſineſſes,

(*a*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. VI. p. 517.

(*b*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. VI. p. 544.

(*c*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 576.

(*d*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. VI. p. 549.

(*e*) Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 299. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 682.

(*f*) Memoires de Lamberty, Tom. VI. p. 551.

(*g*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 307.

(*h*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

[*W*] *He embarked for England, and came to London on the 18th of November.*] Upon his Grace's return to England, he acted with all the caution imaginable; for happening to land the very night of Queen Elizabeth's inauguration, when great rejoicings were intended by the populace, he continued very prudently at Greenwich, and the next day waited upon the Queen at Hampton-Court, who received him graciouſly (75). He was viſited by the Miniſters, and viſited them; but he did not go to Council, becauſe a negotiation for peace was then on the carpet, upon a baſis which he did by no means approve; he acquainted her Majeſty in the audience he had at his arrival, that as he could not concur in the meaſures of thoſe who directed her councils, he would not diſtract them by a fruitleſs oppoſition (76). Yet finding himſelf attacked in the Houſe of Lords, and loaded with the imputation of having protracted the war, he vindicated his conduct and his character, with great dignity and ſpirit; and in a moſt pathetic ſpeech, appealed to the Queen his Miſtreſs, who was there incognito, for the falſhood of that imputation; declaring, that he was as much for a peace as any man, provided it was ſuch a peace, as might be expected from a war undertaken on ſo juſt motives, and carried on with continual ſucceſs (77). This had a very great effect on that moſt auguſt aſſembly, and perhaps made ſome impreſſion on the Queen, but at the ſame time it gave ſuch an edge to the reſentment of his enemies, who were then poſſeſſed of power, that they reſolved to remove him, and to be rid of him, which was ſoon after put in execution (78).

(75) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(76) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 353.

(77) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(78) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 358, 359.

[*X*] *Leaving*

neſſes, added to his grief for the death of the Earl of Godolphin, induced his Grace to gratify his enemies by going into a voluntary exile, and accordingly he embarked at Dover, Nov. 14, 1712, and landing at Oſtend, went from thence to Antwerp, and ſo to Aix la Chapelle, being every where received with the honours due to his high rank, and with the applauſe juſtly paid to his merit (*i*). At home, as if their end had been anſwered, thoſe proſecutions were ſuſpended, which were as ſcandalous in their nature, as they were falſe and groundleſs in point of fact (*k*). The Ducheſs of Marlborough alſo, as ſhe ſhared the Glory, took likewiſe her part in her Lord's diſgrace, and attended him in all his journies, and particularly in his viſit to the principality of Mindelheim, that was given him by the Emperor, and exchanged for another at the peace which was made while the Duke was abroad, though all the advantages that were derived from it, as well as many more that might have been derived from it, were the fruits of his victories. The concluſion of that peace was ſo far from reſtoring harmony amongſt the ſeveral parties in Great Britain, that it widened their differences exceedingly, inſomuch that the Chiefs, deſpairing of ſafety in the way they were in, began to think of a retreat, and are ſaid to have ſecretly invited the Duke of Marlborough back to England. However that matter may be, it is very certain that he took a reſolution of returning a little before the Queen's death, and, landing at Dover, came to London Auguſt 4. 1714 (*l*). His Grace was received with the utmoſt joy and reſpect poſſible, by thoſe who, upon the demiſe of the Queen, were entruſted with the government, and upon the arrival of his late Majeſty King George I, the Duke was particularly diſtinguiſhed by the moſt remarkable acts of royal favour, for he was again declared Captain-General, and Commander in Chief, of all his Majeſty's land forces, Colonel of the firſt regiment of foot-guards, and Maſter of the Ordnance (*m*). His advice was of great uſe in concerting thoſe meaſures by which the rebellion was defeated, and it has been particularly remarked, that the Duke had the ſagacity to foreſee that raſh attempt would be cruſhed at Preſton. The advice he gave upon this occaſion was his laſt effort in reſpect to publick affairs (*n*), for his infirmities increaſing with his years, he retired from buſineſs, and ſpent the greateſt part of his time, during the remainder of his life, at one or other of his houſes in the country. His death happened June 16, 1722, in his ſeventy-third year (*o*), at Windſor-lodge, leaving behind him a very numerous poſterity, allied to the nobleſt and greateſt families in theſe kingdoms [*X*]. Upon his demiſe all parties united in doing honour or rather juſtice to his merit, and his corpſe was interred the ninth of Auguſt following, with all the ſolemnity due to a perſon who had deſerved ſo highly of his country, in Weſtminſter-abbey (*p*). The noble pile near Woodſtock, which bears the name of Blenheim-houſe, may be juſtly ſtiled his monument, but without pretending to the gift of prophecy one may venture to foretel, that his glory will long ſurvive that ſtructure, and that ſo long as our Hiſtories remain, or indeed the Hiſtories of Europe, his memory will live and be the boaſt of Britain, who by his labours was raiſed to be the firſt of nations, as during the age in which he lived he was deſervedly eſteemed the firſt of men [*Y*].

(*i*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 402.

(*k*) Hiſt. of the Four laſt Years of the Queen.

(*l*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 443.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 458.

(*n*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*o*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 202.

(*p*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 472.

[*X*] *Leaving behind him a very numerous poſterity, allied to the nobleſt and greateſt families in theſe kingdoms.*] His Grace had four daughters, upon whom in ſucceſſion his honours were entailed, firſt in the male, and failing that in the female line. *Firſt*, Henrietta, born July 19, 1682, married in 1698, to the preſent Earl of Godolphin; ſhe had the title of the junior Ducheſs of Marlborough, and died in 1733. Her Grace had iſſue William, Marquis of Blandford, who was born in February 1699, and died without iſſue in 1731; Henrietta, born April 12, 1701, married to his Grace the preſent Duke of Newcaſtle, by whom ſhe has no children; and Mary, who married June 26, 1740, his Grace the preſent Duke of Leeds. His Grace's *ſecond* daughter Anne, married Charles Earl of Sunderland, by whom ſhe had Robert Earl of Sunderland, who died in 1729; Charles, born November 22, 1706, who on the demiſe of his brother, became Earl of Sunderland; and on the death of the Marquis of Blandford, ſucceeded him in title and eſtate, as he did to all the honours of this entail upon the demiſe of Henrietta, Ducheſs of Marlborough. His Grace married Elizabeth, daughter to Thomas Lord Trevor, by whom he has iſſue; John, who married a third daughter of John Lord Carteret, who is now his widow, and by whom he has iſſue; Anne, married to the late Lord Viſcount Bateman of the kingdom of Ireland; and Diana, late Ducheſs of Bedford, who died without iſſue. The *third* daughter, Elizabeth, born in 1687, married Scroop, late Duke of Bridgwater, by whom ſhe had two ſons that died young, and a daughter Anne, married firſt to the late Duke of Bedford, and now the wife of William Earl of Jerſey. Her Grace the Ducheſs of Bridgwater died March 22, 1713-14. His Grace's *youngeſt* daughter, Mary, who is ſtill alive, was born in 1689, and married the preſent Duke of Montague, by whom ſhe had two ſons, who died young, and two daughters ſtill living; Iſabella, who married the late Duke of Manchester, by whom ſhe had no iſſue, and now the wife of Mr Huſſey, by whom ſhe has iſſue; Mary, married to George Earl of Cardigan, by whom ſhe has ſeveral children (79).

(79) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 203. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 12.

[*Y*] *Firſt of men.*] He was in his private life remarkable for an eaſineſs of behaviour, which gave an inimitable propriety to every thing he ſaid and did; a calmneſs of temper no accident could move, a temperance in all things, which neither a court life, or court favours, could corrupt; a great tenderneſs for his family, a moſt ſincere attachment to his friends, and a ſtrong ſenſe of religion, without any tincture of bigottry. He was the moſt accompliſhed Courtier of his time, diſtinguiſhed by the favour of five Princes at home, and by particular marks of reſpect from the greateſt Princes abroad; more eſpecially thoſe two great rivals for fame, Charles XII and Peter the Great, who ſent a Captain of his guards expreſs, to carry the Duke the news of his victory at Puſtowa. He was an able Stateſman, as appears from his ſucceſs in many negotiations; a ſtrong and clear ſpeaker, and one who from the pathetic manner of his delivery, never failed to move the paſſions of others, as it did his own. He was a conſummate General, for he gained every battle he fought, took every town he beſieged, and had the better of all the great Generals that were employed againſt him. But above all, he was a true Patriot, and followed what he took to be the intereſt of this nation at home and abroad, without reſpect of perſons or of conſequences. In fine, he was equally amiable and great; and if he had foibles, as theſe are inſeparable from human nature, they were ſo hid by the glare of his virtues, that they were ſcarce perceived in his own time; and one has reaſon to hope, that envy will hardly find a ſecretary, capable of tranſmitting them to poſterity.

CLAGETT (NICOLAS) an eminent Divine in the XVIIth Century, was born in the city of Canterbury (*a*), about the year 1607 [*A*]. In the beginning of the year 1628, he was entered a Student of Merton-College in Oxford (*b*); and on the 20th of October 1631, took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, as a member of that Houſe (*c*). Afterwards he removed to Magdalen-Hall in the ſame Univerſity (*d*), and took his degree of Maſter of Arts the 11th of June 1634 (*e*), being then generally eſteemed a very able moderator in Philoſophy (*f*). About the year 1636, he became Vicar of Melbourne in Dorſetſhire; and, ſome years after, was elected Preacher at St Mary's Church in St Edmundſbury Suffolk, where he was held in great veneration for his improving way of preaching, and for his ſingular piety. He died on the 12th of September 1663, aged fifty-ſix years or thereabouts, and was buried in the chancel of St Mary's Church beforementioned (*g*). He publiſhed, 'The Abuſes of God's Grace, diſcovered 'in the Kinds, Cauſes, &c. propoſed as a ſeaſonable Check to the wanton Libertiniſm of 'the preſent Age.' Oxon. 1659, 4*to* (*h*). Though he was a man eminent in himſelf, he was more ſo for being the father of two worthy ſons, of whom we ſhall give an account in the two next articles.

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 326, edit. 1721.
(*b*) Ibid. and col. 327.
(*c*) Idem, Faſti. Vol. I. col. 252.
(*d*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.
(*e*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 260,
(*f*) Idem, Ath. ubi ſupra.
(*g*) Ibid.
(*h*) Wood, ibid. See alſo Hiſtoria & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 375.

[*A*] *Was born——about the year* 1607.] This appears from his age at the time of his death, mentioned above, namely, that he was fifty-ſix, in the year 1663. But there ſeems to be a miſtake in what Mr Wood ſays of his age. For if he was fifty-ſix years of age in 1663, and conſequently born in 1607, he muſt have been twenty-one years old when he was admitted into the Univerſity; which is a little improbable, the uſual years of admiſſion there being about ſeventeen or eighteen. It is therefore more probable that he was born about the year 1610, and that he was not quite ſo old at the time of his death as Mr Wood imagin'd.

C

CLAGETT (WILLIAM) a moſt valuable and learned Divine in the XVIIth Century, and eldeſt ſon of Mr Nicolas Clagett mentioned in the laſt article, was born at St Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, September 14, 1646 (*a*). His education was in the Free-School there, under the care of Dr Thomas Stephens, author of the notes on Statius's Sylvæ, who took very early notice of the promiſing parts of his Scholar. And, what great and uncommon improvements he made, is manifeſt from his early admiſſion into the Univerſity, even before he was full thirteen years of age: for he was admitted in Emmanuel-College in Cambridge, September 5, 1659; under the tuition of Mr Thomas Jackſon (*b*). He regularly took his degrees in Arts, and commenced Doctor in Divinity in 1683 (*c*). His firſt publick appearance in the world, was at his own native town of St Edmund's-Bury, where he was choſen one of the Preachers: which office he diſcharged for ſeven years with an univerſal reputation (*d*). From thence, at the inſtance of ſome conſiderable men of the long robe, whoſe buſineſs at the aſſizes there, gave them opportunities of being acquainted with his great worth and abilities, he was prevailed with to remove to Gray's-Inn. And it was no ſmall teſtimony given to his merit, that he was thought worthy by that Honourable Society to ſucceed the eminent Dr Cradock, as their Preacher (*e*). He continued in this place all the remaining part of his life, and therein behaved himſelf worthily; which the gentlemen of that Houſe took all occaſions of declaring, by the conſtant kindneſs they expreſſed to him while he lived, and the reſpects they paid him at his death (*f*). Beſides this honourable employment, he was preſented by the Lord Keeper North (who was his wife's kinſman) to the Rectory of Farnham-Royal in Buckinghamſhire, into which he was inſtituted, May 14, 1683 (*g*). He had another preferment, which he himſelf moſt valued next to his Preacher's place at Gray's-Inn, and that was the Lecture of St Michael Baſiſhaw, to which he was elected by that pariſh about two years before his death [*A*]. He was alſo Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty (*h*). This excellent perſon, who was worthy of a longer life, was untimely ſnatched away by the ſmall-pox, in the forty-ſecond year of his age. He was ſeized with that fatal diſtemper on a Sunday evening, March the 16th, after having preached at St Martin in the Fields, in his Lent courſe there (*i*): and dying of it, March 28, 1688, he was buried in a vault under part of the Church of St Michael Baſiſhaw (*k*). His wife, Mrs Thomaſin North, a moſt virtuous and accompliſhed woman, died eighteen days after him of the ſame diſeaſe, and was buried in the ſame grave with him (*l*). We are aſſured by the teſtimony of Dr Sharp (*m*), and of perſons ſtill living, that no man of a private condition, in the laſt age, died more lamented. For, as he had all the amiable charming qualities to procure the eſteem and love of every one that knew him: ſo he was endowed with ſo many great and uſeful talents, for the doing ſervice to religion, to the Church, to all about him; and he ſo faithfully and induſtriouſly employed thoſe talents to thoſe purpoſes, that he was really a publick bleſſing, and he had that right done him as to be eſteemed ſo. It was the Society of Gray's-Inn that brought him to London: but after he came thither, his own merit in a little time rendered him ſufficiently conſpicuous. For, ſo innocent and unblameable was his life, ſuch an unaffected honeſty and ſimplicity appeared in all his converſation, ſo obliging he was in his temper, ſo ſincere in all his friendſhips, ſo ready to do all ſorts of good offices that came in his way;

(*a*) From Memoirs communicated by Nicolas, late Lord Biſhop of Exeter. See alſo Preface to the firſt Vol. of Dr Clagett's Sermons, by J.S. *i.e.* his intimate friend Dr John Sharp, afterwards Archbiſhop of York.
(*b*) From the Memoirs abovementioned.
(*c*) Ibid.
(*d*) Ibid. and Preface abovementioned.
(*e*) Preface, as above.
(*f*) Ibid.
(*g*) Ibid. and the Memoirs mentioned above.
(*h*) Ibid.
(*i*) Preface, &c. as above.
(*k*) Ibid. and Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 327.
(*l*) Preface, &c. as above.
(*m*) Ibid.

[*A*] *To which he was elected——about two years before his deceaſe.*] He was choſen upon the Death of Dr Benjamin Calamy. And, as Dr Sharp obſerves (1), never were there two greater men ſucceſſively lecturers of one pariſh; nor ever was any pariſh kinder to two lecturers.

(1) Preface, as above.

way; and withal so prudent a man, so good a preacher, so dexterous in untying knots, and making hard things plain, so happy in treating of common subjects in an uncommon, and yet useful way. So able a champion for the true religion against all opposers whatsoever; and lastly, so ready upon all occasions to advise, to direct, to encourage any work that was undertaken for the promoting or defending the cause of God.—All these qualities were so eminent in Dr Clagett, that it was impossible they should be hid. The town soon took notice of him, and none that intimately knew him could forbear to love and admire him; and scarce any that had heard of him, to esteem and honour him (*n*). Bishop Burnet ranks him, among those worthy and eminent men, whose lives and labours did in a great measure rescue the Church from those reproaches that the follies of others drew upon it. And adds,—that they deserved a high character; and were indeed an honour, both to the Church, and to the age in which they lived (*o*). It must not be forgotten, that he was one of those excellent Divines, who made that noble stand against Popery in the reign of King James II, which will redound to their immortal honour.—The several things published by Dr Clagett, are as follow. I. 'A Discourse 'concerning the Operations of the Holy Spirit: with a confutation of some part of Dr 'Owen's book upon that subject.' Part I. Lond. 1677, 8*vo* (*p*).—Part II. Lond. 1680, 8*vo*. In this second part, there is 'An Answer to Mr John Humphreys's Animadversions 'on the first Part [*B*].' II. 'A Reply to a Pamphlet, called *The Mischief of Impositions* by Mr Alsop, which pretends to answer the Dean of St Paul's (Dr Stillingfleet's) 'Sermon concerning the Mischief of Separation.' Lond. 1681, 4*to*. III. 'An Answer to the Dissenters Objections against the Common Prayers, and some other parts of 'the Divine Service prescribed in the Liturgy of the Church of England.' Lond. 1683, 4*to*. IV. 'The Difference of the Case between the Separation of Protestants from the 'Church of Rome, and the Separation of Dissenters from the Church of England.' Lond. 1683, 4*to*. V. 'The State of the Church of Rome, when the Reformation began, as it appears by the advices given to Pope Paul III, and Julius III, by creatures of 'their own (*q*).' VI. 'A Discourse concerning the Invocation of the blessed Virgin 'and the Saints.' Lond. 1686, 4*to*. VII. 'A Paraphrase with Notes upon the Sixth 'Chapter of St John, shewing, that there is neither good reason, nor sufficient authority 'to suppose that the Eucharist is discoursed of in that Chapter, much less to infer the 'Doctrine of Transubstantiation from it.' Lond. 1686, 4*to*. Reprinted in 1689, 8*vo*. at the end of his second volume of sermons. VIII. 'Of the Humanity and Charity of 'Christians. A Sermon preached at the Suffolk Feast in St Michael Cornhill London, 'November 30, 1686.' IX. 'A Discourse concerning the pretended Sacrament of 'Extreme Unction, *&c.*' in three parts. 'With a Letter to the Vindicator of the 'Bishop of Condom.' Lond. 1687. 4*to*. X. 'A second Letter to the Vindicator of 'the Bishop of Condom.' Lond. 1687, 4*to*. XI. 'Authority of Councils, and the 'Rule of Faith, with an Answer to the Eight Theses laid down for the tryal of the 'English Reformation.' The first part about Councils by —— Hutchinson, Esq; the rest by Dr Clagett, 4*to*. XII. 'Notion of Idolatry considered and confuted.' Lond. 1688. XIII. 'Cardinal Bellarmine's seventh Note, Of the Union of the Members among 'themselves, and with the Head.' XIV. 'His twelfth Note, Of the Light of 'Prophecy, examined and confuted (*r*).' XV. 'A View of the whole controversie 'between the Representer and the Answerer; in which are laid open some of the Methods by which Protestants are misrepresented by Papists.' Lond. 1687, 4*to*. XVI. 'An Answer to the Representer's Reflections upon the State and View of the Controversie. 'With a Reply to the Vindicator's full Answer; shewing that the Vindicator has utterly 'ruined the new design of expounding and representing Popery.' Lond. 1688, 4*to*. XVII. 'Several captious Queries concerning the English Reformation, first in Latin, 'and afterwards by T.W. in English; briefly and fully answered.' Lond. 1688, 4*to*. XVIII. 'A Preface concerning the Testimony of Miracles,' prefixed to 'The School 'of the Eucharist established upon the miraculous Respects and Acknowledgments, which 'Beasts, Birds, and Insects, upon several occasions have rendred to the Sacrament of the 'Altar.' Translated, by another hand, from the original French of F. Toussain Bridoul, a Jesuit. Lond. 1687, 4*to* [*C*].—After this learned author's decease, his brother Mr Nicolas

(*n*) Preface, *&c.* as above.

(*o*) Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. Vol. I. p. 462.

(*p*) See A. Wood, Athen. Vol. II. col. 745.

(*q*) Printed in 'A Preservative 'against Popery, Lond. 1739, 2 Vols, fol.

(*r*) Both reprinted in the *Preservative*, abovementioned.

[*B*] *Part II Lond.* 1680. 8vo. &c.] The learned author composed also a third part. Dr Owen having made a great shew, in the margin of his book, of quotations from the Fathers, as if Antiquity had been on his side; it was intended in this third part to prove (as may be seen in the conclusion of the second part) that Dr Owen had not the Fathers with him, as he pretended. Dr Clagett had finished his Collections from the Ancients to this purpose, and made the book ready for the press, but it happened unfortunately that the manuscript copy was lodged with a friend of his, whose house was burnt, and the book perished in the flames. After this accident he attempted to make his collections over again, but never had an opportunity to finish them (2). An Abridgment of the two parts published, was printed at London in 1719. 8vo. under the following title; 'A treatise concerning the Operations of the Holy Spirit, being the substance of the 'late Reverend and Learned Dr William Clagett's 'Discourse upon that subject, with large additions. 'By Henry Stebbing, M A. Rector of Rickinghall in 'Suffolk, and late Fellow of St Katharine's-Hall in 'Cambridge.' [Now Chancellor of the Diocese of Sarum, Preacher at Gray's-Inn, and Rector of Garboldisham in Norfolk.]

(2) From the Memoirs abovementioned.

[*C*] *From the original French of Father Toussain Bridoul, a Jesuit.*] By these several learned pieces, which Dr Clagett published himself, the reader may in some measure (as Dr Sharp observes) be able to make a judgment of his genius and abilities (3). If a friend, adds he, can speak without partiality, there doth in those writings appear so strong a judgment, such an admirable

(3) Preface, as above.

Nicolas Clagett publiſhed four volumes of his ſermons [*D*]. The firſt, printed in 1689, contained ſeventeen ſemons; with the Sum of a Conference on February 21, 1686, between Dr Clagett and Father Gooden, about the point of Tranſubſtantiation. One of thoſe ſermons was greatly admired by Queen Mary [*E*]. The ſecond volume, printed in 1693, contained, eleven ſermons. A Paraphraſe and Notes upon the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, fifth, ſeventh, and eighth Chapters of the Goſpel of St John [*F*]: the Paraphraſe, and Notes on the ſixth Chapter, which had been publiſhed before: A Diſcourſe of Church-Unity, with directions how in this divided State of Chriſtendom to keep within the Unity of the Church: A Diſcourſe of Humanity and Charity: And a Letter concerning Proteſtants Charity to Papiſts; publiſhed by Dr Clagett. The third and fourth volumes did not come out 'till the year 1720; which was at ſo great a diſtance of time from the two former volumes, that the Bookſellers concerned could not be prevailed with to call them the third and fourth volumes, as they really were; but they were called the firſt and ſecond volume, as well as the former: only notice was given, that they were never before publiſhed (*s*).

(*s*) From the Memoirs above-mentioned.

admirable faculty of reaſoning, ſo much honeſty and candour of temper, ſo great plainneſs and perſpicuity, and withal ſo much ſpirit and quickneſs; and, in a word, all the qualities that can recommend an author, or render his books excellent in their kind; that I ſhould not ſcruple to give Dr Clagett a place among the moſt eminent and celebrated writers of this Church. And if he may be allowed that, it is as great on honour as can be done him. For perhaps from the inſpired age to this, the world did never ſee more accurate, and more judicious compoſures in matters of Religion, than the Church of England has produced in our days.

[*D*] *His brother Mr Nicolas Clagett publiſhed four volumes of his Sermons.*] Theſe poſthumous Sermons, as Dr Sharp well obſerves (4), do ſufficiently ſpeak their author. For they every where expreſs the ſpirit, the judgment, and the reaſoning of that excellent man; though ſome of them, perhaps, want that finiſhing which his maſterly hand would have given them, had he been to have publiſhed them himſelf. The learned publiſher informs us (5), that his ſudden thoughts upon a ſubject were ſo marvellous good, that they ſeemed to flow from a fountain of reaſon, and diſcovered a great readineſs of judgment in him; but they were very clear and full diſcourſes, which he took any time, and a particular care to compoſe.

(4) In the ſame Preface.

(5) Preface to Vol. II.

[*E*] *One of theſe ſermons was greatly admired by Queen Mary.*] Namely, the ſixteenth in the firſt volume, on Job ii. 10. *Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and ſhall we not receive evil?* This the pious Queen deſired to hear read more than once, during her illneſs, a little before her deceaſe (6). It was compoſed by the learned author upon occaſion of the death of a child of his, that happened a little before; and it was the laſt he made. The laſt he preached, was the ſeventeenth in the firſt volume (7).

(6) Biſhop Teniſon's Sermon at the Funeral of Queen Mary. Memoirs of Dr Tho. Teniſon, 8*vo*.

[*F*] *A Paraphraſe and Notes upon the firſt, ſecond, third, &c. chapters of the Goſpel of St John.*] The occaſion of his writing this Paraphraſe was this; a Commentary upon the whole Bible was undertaken by a ſelect number of Divines of our Church. Every one of them chuſing his part, Dr Clagett made choice of the Goſpel of St John (8).

(7) Preface to Vol. I. as above.

(8) Preface to Sermons, Vol. II.

C

CLAGETT (NICOLAS) a learned Divine in the XVIIth, and part of the XVIIIth Century, was a younger ſon of Mr Nicolas Clagett, Miniſter of St Edmund's-Bury, and brother to Dr William Clagett mentioned in the laſt article. He is entered in the regiſter-book of St Mary's pariſh in Bury, as baptized, May 20, 1654 (*a*). His education was in the Free-School of the place of his nativity, which was at that time under the care of Mr Edward Leeds [*A*]. From hence he was ſent to Chriſt's College in Cambridge, where he was admitted, January 12, 1671, under the tuition of Dr Widdrington. He regularly took his degrees in Arts, and in 1704 commenced Doctor in Divinity. Upon his brother's removal to Gray's-Inn, he was elected in his room, March 21, 1680, Preacher at St Mary's in St Edmund's-Bury. In this ſtation he continued near forty-ſix years: and, during that long period of time was a conſtant preacher, and diligent in every other part of his miniſtry. On the firſt of February 1683, he was inſtituted to the Rectory of Thurlo parva. Dr John Moore, then Biſhop of Norwich, who was well acquainted with his merit and abilities, collated him, on the 14th of June 1693, to the Archdeaconry of Sudbury. He had alſo the Rectory of Hitcham in Suffolk, to which he was inſtituted, March 8, 1707 (*b*). This eminent Divine lived extremely valued and reſpected, on account of his exemplarineſs, charity, and other virtues; and died much lamented, on the 27th of January 1726-7, in the ſeventy-third year of his age. He was buried in the chancel of the pariſh Church of St Mary's in St Edmund's-Bury. Among other children, he had Nicolas, Lord Biſhop of Exeter, lately deceaſed. The following things were publiſhed by him; I. 'A Perſuaſive to 'Peaceableneſs and Obedience, being an Aſſize Sermon preached at St Edmund's-Bury.' Lond. 1683, 4*to*. II. A pamphlet, intituled, 'A Perſuaſive to an ingenuous Trial of 'Opinions in Religion.' Lond. 1685, 4*to*. III. 'A Sermon preached at St Edmund's-'Bury at the Viſitation of William (Lloyd) Lord Biſhop of Norwich.' Lond. 1686, 4*to*. IV. 'Chriſtian Simplicity. A Sermon preached, December 31, 1704, before the 'Queen.' Lond. 1705, 4*to*. V. 'Truth Defended, and Boldneſs in ERROR Rebuked: 'or, a Vindication of thoſe Chriſtian Commentators, who have expounded ſome Prophecies 'of the Meſſias not to be meant only of him. Being a Confutation of Part of Mr 'Whiſton's book, intituled, *The Accompliſhment of Scripture Prophecies*; wherein he 'pretends to diſprove all Duplicity of Senſe in Prophecy. To which is ſubjoined, an 'Examination of his Hypotheſis, That our Saviour aſcended up into Heaven ſeveral 'times after his Reſurrection. And in both, there are ſome Remarks upon other 'Eſſays of the ſaid Author, as likewiſe in an Appendix and a Poſtſcript. With a large 'Preface.' Lond. 1710, 8*vo*.

(*a*) From Memoirs communicated to us by Nicolas Lord Biſhop of Exeter.

(*b*) Thoſe dates of his preferments I had from the ſame Memoirs as above.

[*A*] *Under the care of Mr Edward Leeds.*] The ſame who publiſhed ſome ſelect dialogues of Lucian, a Greek Grammar, &c.

C

CLARKE

CLARKE (Dr SAMUEL) a very learned and eminent Divine of the laſt and preſent Centuries, was born in the city of Norwich [*A*], the 11th of October 1675, and educated in the Free-School of that place, under the care of the Reverend Mr Burton. In 1691, he was removed to Caius-College in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr Ellis, afterwards Sir John Ellis (*a*). Here his great genius and abilities ſoon diſcovered themſelves; and, before he was much above twenty-one years of age, he greatly contributed, both by his own example, and his excellent tranſlation of, and notes upon, *Rohault's Phyſicks* [*B*], to the eſtabliſhment of the *Newtonian Philoſophy* [*C*]. Afterwards he turned his thoughts to Divinity [*D*], and, having taken holy Orders, became Chaplain to Dr John Moore, Biſhop of Norwich [*E*]. In 1699, he publiſhed *Three Practical Eſſays upon Baptiſm, Confirmation,*

(a) Account of the Life, Writings, and Character, of Dr Clarke. By Benj. Hoadly, Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter. Prefixed to Dr Clarke's Works, in folio, 1731, p. 1.

[*A*] *He was born at Norwich.*] His father was Edward Clarke, Eſq; Alderman of that city, and one of it's Repreſentatives in Parliament for ſeveral years: a gentleman of an excellent natural capacity, and untainted reputation for probity and virtue. His mother was Hannah, the daughter of Mr Samuel Parmenter, Merchant, of the ſame city (1). Mr Whiſton informs us (2), that Mr Clarke was ſo acceptable to the citizens of Norwich, that they choſe him, without any ſolicitation, nay, againſt his own inclination, to repreſent them in Parliament.

(1) Account of the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr Clarke. By Dr Benj. Hoadly, Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter. Prefixed to Dr Clarke's Works in folio, 1731, p. 1.

(2) Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Life of Dr S. Clarke, &c. 8vo, 1738, p. 5, 6.

[*B*] *His tranſlation of, and notes upon,* Rohault's Phyſicks.] There have been four editions of it: the firſt in 1697, in 8vo; the laſt in 1718, in 8vo, under this title, *Jacobi Rohaulti Phyſica; Latine vertit, recenſuit, & uberioribus jam Annotationibus, ex illuſtriſſimi Iſaaci Newtoni Philoſophia maximam partem hauſtis, amplificavit & ornavit,* S. Clarke, S.T.P. *Accedunt etiam in hac quarta editione novæ aliquot Tabulæ æri inciſæ, & Annotationes multum ſunt auctæ.* Dr John Clarke, Dean of Sarum, and our author's brother, tranſlated this work into Engliſh, and publiſhed it, in two volumes, 8vo, under the title of: *Rohault's Syſtem of Natural Philoſophy; illuſtrated with Dr Samuel Clarke's Notes, taken moſtly out of Sir Iſaac Newton's Philoſophy; with Additions. Done into Engliſh by John Clarke, D. D.* The motives that induced Dr Samuel Clarke to tranſlate, and comment upon, Mr Rohault, may be ſeen in the following remark.

[*C*] *He greatly contributed——to the eſtabliſhment of the* Newtonian Philoſophy.] When our author came firſt to the Univerſity, the ſyſtem of Des Cartes was the eſtabliſhed Philoſophy there; though (as Biſhop Hoadly juſtly obſerves) it was no more than the invention of an ingenious and luxuriant fancy, having no foundation in the reality of things, nor any correſpondency to the certainty of facts. Mr Ellis himſelf (Mr Clarke's tutor) though a very learned man, was a zealot for this Philoſophy, and no doubt gave his pupils the moſt favourable impreſſions of what he had ſo cloſely embraced himſelf. The great Sir Iſaac Newton had indeed then publiſhed his *Principia*. But this book was but for the few; both the matter and manner of it placing it out of the reach of the generality even of learned readers, and ſtrong prejudice, in favour of what had been received, working againſt it. But neither the difficulty of the taſk, nor the reſpect he paid to the director of his ſtudies, nor the warmth and prejudice of all around him, had any influence upon his mind. Diſſatisfied therefore with arbitrary *Hypotheſes*, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of what was real and ſubſtantial. And in this ſtudy he made ſuch uncommon advances, that he was preſently maſter of the chief parts of the Newtonian Philoſophy; and, in order to his firſt degree, performed a public exerciſe in the Schools, upon a queſtion taken from thence; which ſurprized the whole audience, both for the accuracy of knowledge, and clearneſs of expreſſion, that appeared through the whole. The Syſtem of Natural Philoſophy, then generally taught in the Univerſity, was that written by Mr Rohault, entirely founded upon the Carteſian principles, and very ill tranſlated into Latin. Mr Clarke juſtly thought, that Philoſophical notions might be expreſſed in pure Latin; and therefore reſolved to give a new tranſlation of that author, and to add to it ſuch notes, as might lead ſtudents inſenſibly, and by degrees, to other and truer notions than could be found there. And this certainly (the Biſhop obſerves) was a more prudent method of introducing truth unknown before, than to attempt to throw aſide this treatiſe entirely, and write a new one inſtead of it. The ſucceſs anſwered exceedingly well to his hopes. For, by this means, the true Philoſophy has, without any noiſe, prevailed: and to this day his tranſlation of Rohault is, generally ſpeaking, the ſtanding text for lectures; and his notes, the firſt direction to thoſe, who are willing to receive the reality and truth of things, in the place of invention and romance (3). Mr Whiſton relates (4), that, in the year 1697, while he was Chaplain to Dr Moore, then Biſhop of Norwich, he met young Mr Clarke (at that time wholly unknown to him) at one of the Coffee-houſes in the Market-place of Norwich; where they entered into a converſation about the Carteſian Philoſophy, particularly *Rohault's Phyſicks*, which Mr Clarke's tutor (Mr Whiſton ſays) had put him to tranſlate. Mr Whiſton, being aſked his opinion concerning the fitneſs of ſuch a tranſlation, anſwered; 'that 'ſince the youth of the Univerſity muſt have, at preſent, ſome ſyſtem of Natural Philoſophy for their 'ſtudies and exerciſes; and ſince the true ſyſtem of Sir 'Iſaac Newton was not yet made eaſy enough for 'that purpoſe; it was not improper, for their ſakes, 'to tranſlate and uſe the Syſtem of Rohault, who was 'eſteemed the beſt expoſitor of Des Cartes; but that 'as ſoon as Sir Iſaac Newton's Philoſophy came to be 'better known, that only ought to be taught, and the 'other dropped.' Which laſt part of his advice (Mr Whiſton tells us) has not been followed; *Dr Clarke's Rohault* being ſtill the principal book for young ſtudents in the Univerſity. 'Though ſuch an obſervation '(*he adds*) is no way to the honour of the tutors, 'who, in reading *Rohault*, do only read a *Philoſophi-* 'cal Romance to their pupils, almoſt perpetually con- 'tradicted by the better notes thereto belonging.' However, upon this occaſion, Mr Whiſton and Mr Clarke fell into a diſcourſe about the wonderful diſcoveries made in Sir Iſaac Newton's Philoſophy. And the reſult was, that Mr Whiſton was greatly ſurprized, that ſo young a man, as Mr Clarke then was, ſhould know ſo much of thoſe ſublime diſcoveries, which were then almoſt a ſecret to all, but to a few particular Mathematicians.

(3) Account of the Life, &c. of Dr Clarke, ubi ſupra, p. 1, 2.

(4) Hiſtorical Memoirs, &c. p. 4, 5.

[*D*] *He turned his thoughts to Divinity.*] His firſt ſtudies, in order to fit himſelf for the ſacred function, were, the Old Teſtament in the original Hebrew, the New in the original Greek, and the Primitive Chriſtian writers. The firſt of theſe he then read with that exactneſs of judgment, which very few have ſhewn after a much longer application; and which furniſhed him with many obſervations, written at that time with his own hand in the margin, relating to the miſtakes of the common tranſlation of it (5).

(5) Account, &c. ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *He became Chaplain to Dr John Moore, Biſhop of Norwich.*] This Prelate, the greateſt patron of Learning, and learned men, received Mr Clarke into his familiarity and friendſhip, to ſuch a remarkable degree, that he lived for near twelve years in that ſtation, with all the decent freedoms of a brother and an equal, rather than an inferior. The Biſhop's value for him increaſed every day, and there was no mark of eſteem he did not ſhew him while he lived: and, at his death, he gave him the higheſt proof of confidence in leaving all the concerns of his family ſolely in his hands; a truſt, which Mr Clarke executed with the moſt faithful exactneſs, and to the entire ſatisfaction of every perſon concerned (6). Mr Whiſton (7) lays claim to the merit of introducing Mr Clarke to the acquaintance and friendſhip of the Biſhop of Norwich. After the converſation mentioned above (8), which Mr Whiſton gave the Biſhop an account of, upon his return to the Palace, Alderman Clarke and his ſon were, by order of the Biſhop, invited, and handſomely entertained by Mr Whiſton at the Palace. The next year (1698) Mr Whiſton, being collated by the Biſhop to the Living of Loweſtoft in Suffolk, reſigned his Chaplainſhip, in which he was ſucceeded by Mr Clarke.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Hiſt. Mem. p. 6.

(8) See the remark [C].

[*F*] *His*

tion, and Repentance [F], and an anonymous piece, intituled, *Reflexions on part of a book, called* Amyntor [G]. In 1701, he publiſhed his *Paraphraſe on the Goſpel of St Matthew*, which was ſoon followed by thoſe on St *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John* [H]. Biſhop Moore

[F] *His* three Practical Eſſays upon Baptiſm, Confirmation, and Repentance.] The whole title is: *Three practical Eſſays on Baptiſm, Confirmation, and Repentance: Containing full Inſtructions for a Holy Life; with earneſt Exhortations, eſpecially to young Perſons, drawn from the conſideration of the ſeverity of the Diſcipline of the Primitive Church.* The author, in his Preface, having obſerved the miſtakes men have run into with reſpect to the great buſineſs of repentance and converſion, tells us, his deſign in theſe *Eſſays*, is, 'to endeavour briefly to ſet this great and important 'matter in it's true light, from the analogy of Scripture, and from the ſenſe of the pureſt ages of the 'Primitive Church: to ſhew, that at *Baptiſm God* 'always beſtowes that grace, which is neceſſary to enable men to perform their duty; and that to thoſe, 'who are baptiſed in their infancy, this grace is ſealed 'and aſſured at *Confirmation*: that from henceforward 'men are bound, with that aſſiſtance, to live in the 'conſtant practice of their known duty, and are not 'to expect (except in extraordinary caſes) any extraordinary, much leſs irreſiſtible grace, to preſerve 'them in their duty, or to convert them from ſin: 'that if after this they fall into any *great* wickedneſs, 'they are bound to a proportionably *great* and *particular* repentance: and that, as the Goſpel hath 'given ſufficient aſſurance of ſuch repentance being 'accepted, to comfort and encourage all true penitents; ſo it has ſufficiently ſhewn the *difficulty* of it 'at all times, and the *extreme danger* of it when *late*, 'to deter men from delaying it when they are convinced of it's neceſſity, and from adding to their ſins 'when they hope to have them forgiven.' Biſhop *Hoadly* (9) mentions theſe *Eſſays*, and the *Reflections* on *Amyntor* (10), not to put them upon a level with the author's other performances, but only as having upon them the plain marks of a Chriſtian frame of mind, and as proofs of his knowledge in the writings of thoſe early ages, even at his firſt ſetting out into the world. Mr Whiſton (11) eſteems theſe *Eſſays* the moſt ſerious treatiſe Dr Clarke ever wrote, and which, with a little correction, will ſtill be very uſeful in all Chriſtian families. Upon this occaſion Mr Whiſton tells us, he remembers, he once told Dr Clarke, after he had been long at St James's, and about the Court, that 'he doubted he was not now ſo ſerious, and good a 'Chriſtian, as he had been *in the days of Hermas*.' This, he ſays, Dr Clarke readily underſtood to mean the time of his writing theſe three practical Eſſays, in which he had very often quoted that excellent, but deſpiſed, book of Primitive Chriſtianity: *The Shepherd of Hermas*. There have been five editions of theſe *Eſſays*.

(9) Account, &c. p. 3.

(10) See the next remark.

(11) Hiſt. Mem. &c. p. 7.

[G] *His* Reflexions on——*Amyntor.*] The whole title is: *Some Reflections on that part of a book, called* Amyntor, or, A Defence of Milton's life, *which relates to the Writings of the Primitive Fathers, and the Canon of the New Teſtament: In a Letter to a Friend.* The author of *Amyntor*, it is well known, was the famous Mr Toland, and the propoſitions, maintained therein, which Dr Clarke thought moſt to deſerve conſideration, are theſe three: Firſt, That *The books aſcribed to the Diſciples and Companions of the Apoſtles, which are ſtill extant, and at this time thought genuine, and of great authority; ſuch as, the epiſtle of* Clemens *to the* Corinthians, *the epiſtles of* Ignatius, *the epiſtle of* Polycarp *to the* Philippians, *the Paſtor of* Hermas, *and the epiſtle of* Barnabas, &c. *are all very eaſily proved to be ſpurious, and fraudulently impoſed upon the credulous.* Secondly, That *it is the eaſieſt taſk in the world, to ſhew the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the writers of theſe books: that* Barnabas *has many ridiculous paſſages; and by ſaying, that the Apoſtles before their converſion were the greateſt ſinners in nature, we are robbed of an argument we draw from their integrity and ſimplicity againſt infidels: that the paſtor of* Hermas *is the ſilleſt book in the world: and that* Ignatius *ſays, the virginity of* Mary *was a ſecret to the devil*; which, Dr Clarke ſuppoſes, Mr Toland cites as a ridiculous ſaying. Thirdly, that *They, who think theſe books genuine, ought to receive them into the Canon of Scripture, ſince the reputed authors of them were the companions and fellow-labourers of the Apoſtles, as well as* St Mark *and* St Luke, *which is the only reaſon* (Mr T. ever heard of) *why theſe two Evangeliſts are thought inſpired.* Theſe are the principal aſſertions of the author of *Amyntor*; in oppoſition to which Dr Clarke advances, and maintains, the three following propoſitions: *Firſt, that*, 'Though we are not infallibly certain, that the Epiſtles of *Clemens, Ignatius, Polycarp* and *Barnabas*, with the *Paſtor of Hermas*, are genuine; yet that they are generally believed to be ſo, upon very great authority, and with very good reaſon.' *Secondly, that therefore* 'Though they are not received as of the ſame authority with the Canonical Books of the New Teſtament, yet they ought to have a proportionable veneration paid to them, both with reſpect to the authors, and to the writings themſelves.' *Thirdly, that* 'Neither the belief of the genuineneſs of theſe 'books, nor the reſpect paid to them as ſuch, does in 'the leaſt diminiſh from the authority of the New 'Teſtament, or tend to make the number of the Canonical Books uncertain or precarious.' This Tract was firſt publiſhed, without a name, in 1699, and ſince added to Dr Clarke's *Letter to Mr Dodwell*, &c.

[H] *His* Paraphraſes on *the Four Goſpels.*] Among the many excellent Commentaries and Expoſitions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture, there had been none, wherein the text of the *New Teſtament* is fully paraphraſed with brevity and plainneſs. *Eraſmus*'s performance of this kind is very elegant and judicious: but his explications are large, having frequent digreſſions; in many places he indulges allegorical interpretations; and, beſides, the beauty of his work is very much loſt in our tranſlation. The eminent and learned Biſhop *Hall* wrote a pious Expoſition upon particular difficult texts; but, becauſe it was only upon particular texts, the deſign itſelf allowed him not to regard tranſitions, and to make his paraphraſe one continued uninterrupted diſcourſe. Dr *Hammond* has with great pains collected all the aſſiſtances of antient and modern learning, and with great ſucceſs applied them to the explication of the *New Teſtament*. But thoſe, who juſtly admire his great learning and ſkill in interpreting, yet complain of the obſcuity and perplexedneſs of his ſtile, which makes his Paraphraſe ſomewhat difficult, and of leſs general uſe: and beſides, it was never printed by itſelf without his large notes. Dr *Patrick*, Biſhop of Ely, has, with admirable learning and judgment, brought this way of writing to perfection, in his Paraphraſe upon ſome books of the *Old Teſtament*; and all, who deſire to underſtand the Scriptures fully, will ever wiſh he had gone through all the writings both of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* in the ſame way. Others, who have written good expoſitions upon the Holy Scriptures, have either made large commentaries, of leſs general and conſtant uſe; or have inſiſted chiefly on ſuch critical obſervations, as are proper only for the learned. Dr Clarke tells us (12), he has 'endeavoured in theſe papers to 'expreſs the full ſenſe of the Evangeliſts in the pleaneſt 'words, and to continue the ſenſe without interruption by the cleareſt tranſitions *he* could. *He has* all 'along conſulted the beſt Expoſitors, and ſelected out 'of every one what ſeemed to diſcover the moſt natural meaning of the text: and where any thing 'remarkable offered itſelf to *his* thoughts, different 'from what *he* met with in Commentators, *he* ſet it 'down in ſhort notes in the margin. But other critical 'obſervations *he has* generally omitted (excepting what 'uſe is made of them in the Paraphraſe) that *he* might 'not ſwell the marginal notes into a commentary, and 'trouble the reader with repeating what others had 'ſaid already.' Of how great benefit theſe *Paraphraſes* have been, and always will be, to thoſe Engliſh readers, who have ſenſe and goodneſs enough to be pleaſed with a juſt repreſentation of the true meaning of what is recorded in the Goſpel, we need not ſay. And we cannot but expreſs our wiſhes, that he had purſued his original deſign, which was to have compleated the work upon the whole New Teſtament. We are told (13), he had actually begun his *Paraphraſe* upon the *Acts of the Apoſtles*: but ſomething accidental

(12) Pref. to his Paraphraſe, &c. See Dr Clarke's Works, in folio Lond. 1738, Vol. III. *init.*

(13) Account, &c. ibid.

Moore gave our author the Rectory of Drayton near Norwich, and procured for him a parish in that city; both together of very inconsiderable value: and these he served himself in the season when the Bishop resided at Norwich. His preaching was, at first, without notes, and so continued 'till he became Rector of St James's (*b*). In the year 1704, he was appointed to preach Mr Boyle's Lecture; and the subject he chose was, *The Being and Attributes of God* [*I*]: in which he succeeded so well, that he was appointed to

(*b*) Ibid. p. 4.

tal interrupted the execution. And it is now only to be lamented, that he did not afterwards resume and complete so excellent a work; which his friends often pressed upon him, and to which he would sometimes answer, That it was made less necessary by the labours of several worthy and learned persons, since the publication of his work upon the *Four Gospels* There have been four editions of Dr Clarke's *Paraphrase*.

[*I*] *His Sermons on* the Being and Attributes of God.] These, together with his Sermons on the *Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion*, are thrown into continued Discourses, and printed together, under the general title of *A Discourse concerning the Being and Attributes of God, the Obligations of Natural Religion, and the Truth and Certainty of the Christian Revelation, in answer to Mr* Hobbs, Spinoza, *the author of the* Oracles of Reason, *and other deniers of Natural and Revealed Religion: being sixteen Sermons preached in the cathedral church of St Paul, in the years* 1704 *and* 1705, *at the Lecture founded by the Honourable* Robert Boyle, *Esq*; The particular title of the first eight sermons is, *A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God.* There having been already published, many and good books, to prove the Being and Attributes of God, our author chose to contract what was requisite for him to say upon this subject, into as narrow a compass, and to express what he had to offer, in as few words, as he could with perspicuity. For which reason, he confined himself to one only method, or continued thread of arguing; which he endeavoured should be as near to mathematical, as the nature of such a discourse would allow: omitting some other arguments, which he could not discern to be so evidently conclusive: 'Because (to use his own words) 'it seems not to be at any time for the real advan- 'tage of truth, to use arguments in it's behalf founded 'only on such *hypotheses*, as the adversaries apprehend 'they cannot be compelled to grant (14).' Yet he has not made it his business to oppose any of those arguments, because he thought it not the best way 'for 'any one to recommend his own performance, by en- 'deavouring to discover the imperfection of others, 'who are engaged in the same design with himself, of 'promoting the interest of true religion and virtue (15).' Dr Clarke's *Sermons* at Mr *Boyle's* Lecture were printed in two distinct volumes; the former in 1705, and the latter in 1706. They have been since printed in one volume, and have passed through several editions. In the fourth and fifth editions were added several letters to Dr Clarke from *A Gentleman in Gloucestershire* *, relating to the *Demonstration*, &c. with the Doctor's Answers. In the sixth aud seventh editions were added, *A Discourse concerning the Connexion of the Prophecies in the Old Testament, and the Application of them to Christ*; and *An Answer to a seventh Letter concerning the Argument* à Priori. Dr Clarke having endeavoured to shew, that the Being of a God may be demonstrated by arguments *à Priori* (in which attempt, whether successful or not, surely he may be excused) is unluckily involved in the censure a very great wit has passed upon this method of reasoning, in the following lines, which he puts into the mouth of one of his Dunces, addressing himself to the Goddess:

(14) Pref. to the Demonstration, &c. See his Works, Vol. II. p. 517.

(15) Ibid.

(*) Dr Joseph Butler, now Lord Bishop of Bristol, 1748.

Let others creep by timid steps and slow,
On plain experience lay foundations low,
By common sense to common knowledge bred,
And, last, to nature's cause thro' nature led.
All-seeing in thy mists, we want no guide,
Mother of arrogance, and source of pride!
We nobly take the high *Priori* road,
And reason downward, 'till we doubt of God (16).

(16) Dunciad, B. iv. l. 455.

Upon which we have the following note: 'Those, 'who, from the effects in this visible world, deduce the 'eternal power and Godhead of the First Cause, tho' 'they cannot attain to an adequate idea of the Deity, 'yet discover so much of him, as enables them to see 'the end of their creation, and the means of their 'happiness; whereas they, who take this *high Priori* 'road (as Hobbs, Spinoza, Des Cartes, and some *bet- 'ter reasoners*) for one that goes right, ten lose them 'selves in mists, or ramble after visions, which de- 'prive them of all sight of their end, and mislead them 'in the choice of wrong means.' Mr Pope would, perhaps, have spared his *better Reasoners*, and not have joined them with such company, had he recollected our author's apology for using the argument *à Priori*. *The argument* à posteriori (he tells us) *is indeed by far the most generally useful argument, most easy to be understood, and in some degree suited to all capacities; and therefore it ought always to be distinctly insisted upon. But forasmuch as* atheistical *writers have sometimes opposed the Being and Attributes of God by such* metaphysical *reasonings, as can* no otherwise *be obviated, than by arguing* à Priori; *therefore this manner of arguing also is useful and necessary in it's proper place* (17). Bishop Hoadly, speaking of Dr Clarke's *Demonstration*, &c. tells us (18), he has 'laid the 'foundations of true religion too deep and strong, to 'be shaken either by the superstition of some, or the 'infidelity of others:' That 'He chose particularly 'to consider the arguings of Spinoza and Hobbs, the 'most plausible patrons of the system of *Fate* and *Ne- 'cessity*; a system, which, by destroying all true free- 'dom of action in any intelligent being, at the same 'time destroys all that can be stiled virtue, or praise- 'worthy:' That, 'this being a subject, into which 'all the subtilties and querks of Metaphysicks had 'entered, and thrown their usual obscurity and in- 'tricacy; the difficulty lay in clearing away this rub- 'bish of confusion; in introducing a language that 'could be understood; in clothing the clearest ideas 'in this plain and manly language; and in concluding 'nothing but from such evidence as amounts to *De- 'monstration*:' That 'He began with self-evident 'propositions; from them advanced to such as re- 'ceived their proof from the former; and in these 'took no step 'till he had secured the way before him:' That 'Throughout the whole no word is used, but 'what is intelligible to all who are at all versed in 'such subjects, and what expresses the clear idea in the 'mind of him who makes use of it:' And that 'All 'is one regular building, erected upon an immoveable 'foundation, and rising up, from one stage to another, 'with equal strength and dignity.' Let us hear Mr Whiston's opinion in relation to this performance of Dr Clarke's. He tells us (19), when the author brought him his book, he was in his garden over-against St Peter's College in Cambridge, where he then lived. 'Now I perceived, *says he*, that in these 'Sermons he had dealt a great deal in abstract and me- 'taphysick reasonings. I therefore asked him how he 'ventured into such subtilties, which I never durst 'meddle with? And shewing him a nettle, or the like 'contemptible weed, in my garden, I told him, that 'weed contained better arguments for the Being and 'Attributes of God than all his Metaphysicks. He 'confessed it to be so; but alledged for himself, that 'since such Philosophers as Hobbs and Spinoza had 'made use of those kind of subtilties *against*, he 'thought proper to shew, that the like way of rea- 'soning might be better made use *on the side of* re- 'ligion. Which reason, or excuse, I allowed not to 'be inconsiderable. As to myself, I confess I have 'long esteemed such kind of arguments as the most 'subtle, but the *least satisfactory* of all others what- 'soever. And my own opinion is, that, perhaps, 'Angels, or some of the orders of rational beings su- 'perior to them, may be able to reason a great way 'à *Priori*, as it is called, and from Metaphysicks, to 'their own and others satisfaction; but I do not per- 'ceive that we men, in our present imperfect state, 'can do so.' Whatever this honest gentleman can, or cannot do, it is certain, that Dr Clarke, and other ingenious men, of clear heads and sound judgments, have

(17) Works, Vol. II. p. 756.

(18) Account, &c. p. 4.

(19) Hist. Mem. p. 8.

to preach the ſame Lecture the next year, when he choſe for his ſubject, *The Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion* [*K*]. About this time, or not much later, Mr Whiſton tells us (*c*), he diſcovered, that Mr Clarke had been looking into the primitive writers, and began to ſuſpect, that the *Athanaſian* doctrine of the *Trinity* was not the doctrine of the early ages [*L*]. In 1706, his Patron Biſhop Moore, by his Inteteſt, procured for him the Rectory of St Bennet Paul's Wharf in London (*d*). The ſame year, he publiſhed his *Letter to Mr* Dodwell, in anſwer to that author's *Epiſtolary Diſcourſe* concerning the *Immortality of the Soul* [*M*]. The ſame year likewiſe, he tranſlated Sir Iſaac Newton's Treatiſe of *Opticks* into elegant Latin [*N*]. He was now brought by his Patron to Court, and

(c) Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Life of Dr S. Clarke, &c. 8*vo*, 1730, p. 8.

(d) Account of the Life, &c. p. 5.

having reaſoned a great way *à Priori*; and that metaphyſical reaſoning in ſuch hands is not only *the moſt ſatisfactory*, but is the higheſt and nobleſt effort of the human nnderſtanding. We ſhall conclude this remark, with juſt mentioning ſome pieces written for, and againſt, Dr Clarke's *Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God*. It was animadverted upon by Mr Edmund Law, in his *Notes* upon Archbiſhop King's *Eſſay on the Origin of Evil*, tranſlated from the Latin. This occaſioned a piece intitled, *A Defence of Dr Clarke's Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God: Wherein is particularly conſidered the nature of Space, Duration, and neceſſary Exiſtence: Being an Anſwer to a late Book intitled*, A Tranſlation of Dr King's Origin of Evil, *and ſome other Objections: Together with a Compendium of A Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God*, London, 1732. in 8*vo*. Mr Law vindicated his *Remarks* in a *Poſtſcript* to the ſecond edition of Dr King's *Eſſay*: which occaſioned, *A ſecond Defence of Dr Clarke's Demonſtratien of the Being and Attributes of God: In anſwer to a* Poſtſcript, &c. *By the author of the firſt Defence*, London, 1732. in 8*vo*. The ſame year was publiſhed a pamphlet, intitled, *Dr Clarke's notion of Space examined: In vindication of the tranſlation of Archbiſhop King's* Origin of Evil: *Being an Anſwer to two late pamphlets intitled*, A Defence, &c. Mr John Jackſon publiſhed a piece, intitled, *The Exiſtence and Unity of God, proved from his Nature and Attributes: Being a Vindication of Dr Clarke's Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God*, London, 1734, in 8*vo*. The ſame year appeared two pamphlets, printed at Cambridge; one intitled, *An Enquiry into the ideas of Space, Time, Immenſity, and Eternity, as alſo the Self-Exiſtence, Neceſſary Exiſtence, and Unity of the Divine Nature, by* Edmund Law, M. A. the other intitled, *An Examination of Dr Clarke's Notion of Space, by* Joſeph Clarke, M. A. Mr John Clarke, author of the two *Defences* of Dr Clarke's *Demonſtration*, having publiſhed a *third*, Mr Joſeph Clarke publiſhed *A further Examination of Dr Clarke's Notions of Space, with ſome Conſiderations on the poſſibility of Eternal Creation: In Reply to Mr John Clarke's* third Defence, &c. *To which are added, ſome Remarks on Mr Jackſon's Exceptions to Dr Clarke's* Notions of Space examined *in his* Exiſtence and Unity, &c.

[*K*] *On the* Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion.] In theſe Diſcourſes he laid the foundations of Morality deep, in the mutual relations of things and perſons one to another; in the unalterable fitneſs of ſome actions, and the unfitneſs of others; and in the will of the great Creator of all things, evident from his making man capable of ſeeing theſe relations and this fitneſs, of judging concerning them, and of acting agreeably to that judgment. He then proceeded to demonſtrate the Chriſtian Religion to be worthy of God, from it's *internal* evidence, taken from the perfect agreeableneſs of it's main deſign to the light of nature, and to all the moral obligations of eternal reaſon; without which agreeableneſs, all the arguments in the world could never conclude in it's favour: and, after this, to prove it to have been actually revealed to the world by God, from the *external* evidence of prophecy going before it, and of miraculous works performed in expreſs confirmation of it. Theſe Sermons, together with thoſe on the *Being* and *Attributes* of *God*, every Chriſtian in this country, as Biſhop Hoadly well obſerves (20), 'ought to eſteem as his treaſure; 'as they contain the true ſtrength, not only of *natu-* 'ral but of *revealed* religion: which, if ever it be 'removed from ſuch a foundation, or ſeparated from 'ſuch an alliance with reaſon and uncorrupted nature, 'will not long ſubſiſt in the belief of underſtanding 'perſons, after ſuch a ſeparation. And therefore, 'What God hath joined together, let not man put 'aſunder.'

(20) Account, &c. p. 5.

[*L*] *He began to ſuſpect, that the* Athanaſian *doctrine of the* Trinity *was not the doctrine of the early ages.*] Whether Mr (Sir Iſaac) Newton had given Mr Clarke any intimations of that nature, or whether it aroſe from enquiries of his own, Mr Whiſton, who gives us this account (21), cannot directly inform us; though he inclines to the latter. This only he remembers to have heard Mr Clarke ſay, that he never read the *Athanaſian* Creed, in his Pariſh, at or near Norwich, but once, and that was only by miſtake, at a time when it was not appointed by the Rubrick.

(21) Hiſt. Mem. p. 8, 9.

[*M*] *His* Letter to Mr Dodwell, *in anſwer to that author's* Epiſtolary Diſcourſe *concerning the* Immortality of the Soul.] The whole title is, *A Letter to Mr* Dodwell; *wherein all the arguments in his Epiſtolary Diſcourſe againſt the immortality of the ſoul are particularly anſwered, and the judgment of the Fathers concerning that matter truly repreſented.* Mr Dodwell's book, againſt which this is levelled, is intitled: *An Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, proving from the Scriptures, and the firſt Fathers, that the ſoul is a principle naturally mortal, but immortalized actually by the pleaſure of God, to puniſhment or to reward, by it's union with the divine baptiſmal Spirit: Wherein is proved, that none have the power of giving this divine immortalizing Spirit, ſince the Apoſtles, but only the Biſhops.* The miſchievous tendency of this doctrine, as it was backed by the great name of the author in the learned world, made it more neceſſary that an anſwer ſhould be given to what, from another hand, might perhaps have been received as a deſigned banter upon both natural and revealed religion. Mr Clarke was thought the moſt proper perſon for this work. 'And he did it (*ſays the Biſhop of Wincheſter*) 'in ſo excellent a manner, 'both with regard to the philoſophical part, and to 'the opinions of ſome of the primitive writers, upon 'whom this doctrine was fixed, that it gave univerſal 'ſatisfaction (22).' But this controverſy did not ſtop here. For Mr Anthony Collins, coming in as a ſecond to Mr Dodwell, went much farther into the philoſophy of the diſpute, and indeed ſeemed to produce all that could plauſibly be ſaid, againſt the *immateriality* of the ſoul, as well as the *liberty* of human actions (23). This opened a larger field of controverſy, into which Mr Clarke entered, and wrote with ſuch a ſpirit of clearneſs and demonſtration, as ſhewed him greatly ſuperior to his adverſaries both in metaphyſical and natural knowledge. 'And I am perſuaded, *ſays* 'Biſhop Hoadly (24), that, as what he has writ in this 'controverſy comprehends the little that the Antients 'had ſaid well, and adds ſtill more evidence than ever 'clearly appeared before, and all in words that have a 'meaning to them; it will remain the ſtandard of good 'ſenſe on that ſide of the queſtion, on which he 'ſpent ſo many of his thoughts, as upon one of his 'favourite points.' Mr Clarke's piece was ſoon followed by *four Defences* of it in *four* ſeveral *Letters* to the author of *A Letter to the learned Mr Henry Dodwell; containing ſome Remarks on a* (*pretended*) *Demonſtration of the immateriality and natural immortality of the ſoul, in Mr Clarke's Anſwer to his late Epiſtolary Diſcourſe*, &c.

(22) Account, &c. p. 5.

(23) See Mr Collins's Philoſophical Inquiry into Human Liberty, Lond. 1717, 8*vo*.

(24) Ibid.

[*N*] *He tranſlated Sir Iſaac Newton's* Opticks *into elegant Latin.*] In the midſt of his other labours, he found time alſo to ſhew his regard to the mathematical and phyſical ſtudies, and his exact knowledge and ſkill in them. And his natural affection and capacity for theſe ſtudies were not a little improved by the particular friendſhip of the incomparable Sir Iſaac Newton; at whoſe requeſt, Biſhop Hoadly tells us (25), he tranſlated that excellent performance, and ſent it all over Europe in a plainer and leſs ambiguous ſtile, than

(25) Ibid. p. 9.

and recommended to the favour of Queen Anne, who appointed him one of her Chaplains in Ordinary; and soon after, in consideration of his great merit, and at the request of the Bishop, presented him to the Rectory of St James's Westminster [O]: from which time he left off his former way of preaching without notes, and made it his business to (e) Ibid. p. 5, 6. compose, and write down, as accurate sermons as he could (e). Upon his advancement to this station in 1709, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity at Cambridge, and distinguished himself upon that occasion by the performance of a remarkable publick exer- (f) Ibid. p. 6, 7. cise (f) [P]. The same year, he revised and corrected Mr Whiston's translation of the *Apostolical Constitutions* into English [Q]. In 1712, he published a beautiful edition of *Cæsar's Commentaries* [R]. Soon after this, Dr Clarke became engaged in a warm controversy,

than the English language will permit. And here it may be proper to add, that, after the death of that great man, Dr Clarke vindicated his doctrine concerning the proportion of velocity and force of bodies in motion, against the objections of some late Mathe- (26) See Philos. Transact. No. 401, an. 1728. maticians, in a short, plain, and masterly letter (26). Nor must it be forgot, that Sir Isaac Newton was so particularly pleased with our author's version of his *Opticks*, that he presented him with the sum of five hundred pounds, or 100 *l.* for each child, the doctor having then five children (27). (27) Hist. Mem. p. 9.

[O] *The Queen presented him to the Rectory of St James's, Westminster.*] From the time of his taking possession of this living, he resided constantly in the Rectory-House; seldom leaving the place, unless for a few weeks in the long vacation, when the town was empty: and, during the time of his being Rector, besides the regular performance of all the other duties of his profession, he followed the custom of his predecessors, in reading Lectures upon the Church-Catechism, every Thursday-Morning, for some Months in the year (28). (28) Account, &c. p. 8.

[P] *He performed a remarkable publick exercise.*] The questions, on which he disputed, were these: I. *Nullum Fidei Christianæ Dogma, in S. Scripturis traditum, est rectæ rationi dissentaneum*, i. e. 'No 'article of Christian Faith, delivered in the Holy 'Scripture, is disagreeable to right reason.' II. *Sine actionum humanarum libertate nulla potest esse religio*, i. e. 'Without the freedom of human actions, there 'can be no religion.' The Doctor's *Thesis* was an elaborate discourse upon the first of these two questions. Dr James, then Royal Professor of Divinity, a very learned and acute disputant, exerted himself more than usual upon this occasion; and, after having sifted every part of Dr Clarke's *Thesis* with the strictest nicety, pressed him with all the force of syllogism in it's various forms. To the former our respondent made an *extempore* reply, in a continued discourse for near half an hour; in which, without any hesitation either for thoughts or language, he took off the force of all that the Professor had said, in such a manner, that many of the auditors declared themselves astonished, and owned that, if they had not been within sight of him, they should have supposed he had read every word of his reply out of a paper. After this, in the course of the syllogistical disputation, he guarded so well against the arts, which the Professor was master of in perfection; replied so readily to the greatest difficulties such an objector could propose; and pressed him so close and hard with clear and intelligible answers; that, perhaps, never was such a conflict heard in the schools; nor any disputation kept up with such spirit, and ended with equal honour to the respondent. The Professor, who was a man of humour as well as learning, said to him aloud, towards the end of the disputation, *Probe me exacuisti*, or (as others think) *exercuisti*: which was looked upon as a very high compliment, in his humourous way of speaking. And the learned members of the University, who had with pleasure attended to every part of the disputation, went away discoursing to one another of the unusual entertainment they had had in the schools; and particularly admiring, that, after an absence of so many years, and a long course of business of quite another nature, they heard him now handling the subjects he undertook in such a masterly manner, as if this sort of academical exercise had been his constant employment; and with such a fluency and purity of expression, as if he had been accustomed to no other language in conversation but *Latin* (29). Mr Whiston tells us (30), in the words of an unknown admirer of Dr Clarke, who was present (29) Ib. p. 6, 7. (30) Hist. Mem. p. 12.

at this famous *act*, that 'Every creature was wrapt 'up into silence and astonishment, and thought the 'performance truly admirable.' *In the course of this act, where I was present*, adds Mr Whiston (31), (31) Ibid. p. 13. *Professor* James, *who knew of the intimacy of Dr* Clarke and me; *knew also that I was a professed* Eusebian *, *and suspected Dr* Clarke *to be a latent one; digressed from one of the doctor's questions, and pressed him hard to condemn one of the opinions I had just then published in my* Sermons *and* Essays; *which book he held in his hand, when he was in the chair. I suppose it might be this, that* our Saviour had no human soul, but that the divine Λόγος, or *Word*, supplied it's place. *This was done in such a rude, indecent, and almost profane manner, as occasioned the following Tetrastick, which was produced by Dr* Bentley, *when Dr* Clarke *and I supped with him that very evening:*

(*) Anti-Trinitarian, or rather Anti-Athanasian.

Tune Mathematicum, male false Jacobe, lacessis,
Histrio dum ringis serium habere virum?
Ludis tu Christum, *Dominumque Deumque* professus:
Ille colit *Dominum*, quem negat esse *Deum*.

Which I have seen thus translated:

And do'st thou, James, with awkard keenness mark
Whiston, *and scoffing fret at serious* Clark?
Thou jest'st on Christ, thy Lord *and* God *supreme:*
Whiston *adores him* Lord, *but fears him* God *to name.*

However Dr Clarke, *who, I believe, had not then particularly examined that point, did prudently avoid either the approbation or condemnation of it.*

[Q] *He revised and corrected Mr Whiston's Translation of the* Apostolical Constitutions *into English.*] Mr Whiston tells us (32), that, his own studies having (32) Ibid. p. 15. been chiefly upon *things*, and having rendered him incapable of being also a critick in *words* or *languages*, he desired his great friend and great critick Dr Clarke, to revise that translation. 'We read *(says he)* a 'great part of it over together; as he corrected the 'rest by himself, and sent me the corrections: some 'or all of which I have now by me, under his own 'hand. I perceived their contents made then a very 'great impression upon him; though he seemed, I 'know not how, to have suffered some part of that 'impression gradually to wear off afterward. When 'he had revised and corrected the whole, and found 'about ten or twelve places, which he hesitated about, 'he recommended it to me to go to our great and 'common friend Dr Smalridge (with whom my ac- 'quaintance commenced about the same time it did 'with Dr Clarke, if not a little sooner) for the last 'correction of those more difficult places: who as he 'was a very great admirer of the book itself, so was 'he pleased to examine and correct my version of it, 'as to every one of those places. These were the 'two persons intimated, but not named by me, on 'this account, in the *advertisement* to the first of my 'four volumes of *Primitive Christianity revived:* 'where I justly call Dr Clarke, *one excellently skilled* 'in *such matters* and *an accurate hand*; and Dr Smal- 'ridge, *a very learned and judicious person.*'

[R] *He published a beautiful edition of* Cæsar's Commentaries.] It is intitled, *C. Julii Cæsaris quæ extant, accuratissime cum libris editis et MSS. optimis collata, recognita, et correcta: Accesserunt Annotationes Samuelis Clarke, S. T. P. Item indice locorum, rerumque et verborum, utilissimæ.* It was printed in 1712, in *folio*; and afterwards, in 1720, in 8*vo*. It was dedicated to the great Duke of Marlborough, at a time

controverſy, occaſioned by the publication of his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* [S]; of which

a time when *his unequalled victories and ſucceſſes had raiſed his glory to the higheſt pitch abroad, and leſſened his intereſt and favour at home* (33). In the publication of this book, Dr Clarke took particular care of the *punctuation*, or a proper diſtribution of each *ſentence* into it's *conſtituent members:* an exactneſs too much neglected by learned men, though abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving the perſpicuity, and even beauty, of an author's language. In the *annotations*, he ſelected what appeared the beſt and moſt judicious in other editors, with ſome corrections and emendations of his own interſperſed. He acknowledges himſelf particularly obliged to the learned Dr Richard Bentley, for the uſe of a manuſcript in the King's Library; to the Rev. Dr Robert Cannon, for ſome various readings, tranſcribed from the *Muſeum* of Iſaac Voſſius; but different from thoſe, which are inſerted in the *Amſterdam* edition of *Cæſar*, with the notes of Dionyſius Voſſius; and laſtly, to Dr John Moore, Biſhop of Ely, for a manuſcript, uſed by Dr Davis in his edition of *Cæſar*, and by him called *the Norwich manuſcript* *. Mr Addiſon takes notice of Dr Clarke's *folio* edition of *Cæſar's Commentaries* in the following words: 'The new edition, which is given us of '*Cæſar's Commentaries*, has already been taken notice 'of in foreign Gazettes, and is a work that does ho'nour to the *Engliſh* preſs. It is no wonder, that an 'edition ſhould be very correct, which has paſſed 'through the hands of one of the *moſt accurate, 'learned, and judicious writers* this age has produced. 'The beauty of the paper, of the character, and of 'the ſeveral cuts, with which this noble work is il'luſtrated, makes it the fineſt book that I have ever 'ſeen; and is a true inſtance of the *Engliſh* genius, 'which, though it does not come the firſt into any 'art, generally carries it to greater heights than any 'other country in the world (34).'

[S] *His* Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity.] It was firſt publiſhed in 8*vo*, in 1712. Afterwards there was a ſecond edition, with ſome alterations, in 1719. The whole title is: *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity; wherein every text in the New Teſtament relating to that doctrine is diſtinctly conſidered, and the Divinity of our bleſſed Saviour, according to the Scriptures, proved and explained.* The ſubject of this book, the author tells us (35), 'is a doctine no way affecting 'the particular conſtitution, order, or external go'vernment of the Church, but in general of great im'portance in religion; a matter not to be treated of 'ſlightly and careleſsly, as it were by accident only, 'or after the manner of ſuperficial controverſies about 'words, or of particnlar occaſional queſtions con'cerning the meaning of ſingle ambiguous texts; but 'which ought, when diſcourſed upon at all, to be ex'amined thoroughly on all ſides, by a ſerious ſtudy 'of the whole Scripture, and by taking care that the 'explication be conſiſtent with itſelf in every part.' It is divided into three parts. The *firſt* is, *A Collection and Explication of all the Texts in the New Teſtament, relating to the doctrine of the Trinity.* In the *ſecond* part, *The foregoing doctrine is ſet forth at large, and explained in particular and diſtinct propoſitions.* And in the *third, The principal paſſages in the Liturgy of the Church of England, relating to the doctrine of the Trinity, are conſidered.* The Biſhop of Wincheſter applauds our author's method of proceeding, in forming his own ſentiments upon ſo important a point. 'He knew, and all men agreed, 'that it was a matter of meer revelation: he did not 'therefore retire into his cloſet, and ſet himſelf to in'vent and forge a plauſible hypotheſis, which might 'fit eaſily upon his own mind. He had not recourſe 'to abſtract and metaphyſical reaſonings, to cover or 'patronize any ſyſtem he might have embraced before. 'But, as a Chriſtian, he laid open the New Teſta'ment before him. He ſearched out every text, in 'which mention was made of the three Perſons, or 'of any one of them. He accurately examined the 'meaning of the words uſed about every one of 'them; and by the beſt rules of Grammar and *Cri'tique*, and by his ſkill in language, he endeavoured 'to fix plainly what was declared about every perſon, 'and what was not (36).' 'I am far from taking 'upon me, *adds the Biſhop*, to determine, in ſo difficult a queſtion, between *Dr Clarke*, and thoſe who 'made replies to him. The debate ſoon grew very 'warm; and in a little time ſeemed to reſt princi'pally upon him, and one particular adverſary (*), 'very ſkilful in the management of a debate, and 'very learned and well verſed in the writings of the 'antient Fathers. —— This I hope I may be allowed 'to ſay, that every Chriſtian Divine, and Layman, 'ought to pay his thanks to Dr Clarke, for the me'thod into which he brought this diſpute, and for that 'collection of texts of the New Teſtament, by 'which at laſt it muſt be decided, on which ſide ſo'ever the truth may be ſuppoſed to lie. And let me 'add this one word more, that, ſince men of ſuch 'thought, and ſuch learning, have ſhewn the world, 'in their own example, how widely the moſt honeſt 'enquirers after truth may differ upon ſuch ſubjects; 'this, methinks, ſhould a little abate our mutual cen'ſures, and a little take off from our poſitiveneſs 'about the neceſſity of explaining, in this or that one 'determinate ſenſe, the antient paſſages relating to 'points of ſo ſublime a nature (37).' His Lordſhip concludes what he had to ſay upon this ſubject, with aſſuring us, 'that from the time of *Dr Clarke*'s pub'liſhing this book, to the day of his death, he found 'no reaſon, as far as he was able to judge, to alter 'the notions which he had there profeſſed, concern'ing the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, towards any 'of thoſe ſchemes, which ſeemed to him to derogate 'from the honour of the Father on one ſide, or from 'that of the Son and Spirit on the other. This (*adds 'the Biſhop*) I thought proper juſt to mention, as what 'all his friends know to be the truth (38).' Some time before the publication of Dr Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, a meſſage was ſent him from the Lord Godolphin, and others of Queen Anne's Miniſters, importing, 'that the affairs of the publick 'were with difficulty then kept in the hands of thoſe, 'who were at all for liberty; that it was therefore an 'unſeaſonable time for the publication of a book, 'which would make a great noiſe and diſturbance; 'and that therefore they deſired him to forbare, 'till a 'fitter opportunity ſhould offer itſelf.' Which meſſage Dr Clarke had no regard to, but went on, according to the dictates of his conſcience, with the publication of his book (39). Since Dr Clarke's death, a third edition of this book has been printed, with very great additions, left under the author's own hand, ready prepared for the preſs. As it gave occaſion to a great number of books and pamphlets on the ſubject, written by himſelf and others, we ſhall ſubjoin a liſt of thoſe publiſhed by our author, referring, for the reſt, to a Pamphlet intitled, *An Account of all the conſiderable books and pamphlets, that have been wrote on either ſide, in the Controverſy concerning the Trinity, ſince the year* 1712; *in which is alſo contained an account of the pamphlets writ this laſt year on each ſide by the Diſſenters, to the end of the year* 1719, London, 1720, in 8*vo*. Dr Clarke's Tracts are as follow. I. *A Letter to the Rev. Dr* Wells, *in anſwer to his* Remarks, London 1714, in 8*vo*. II. *A Reply to the Objections of* Robert Nelſon, *Eſq*; *and of an Anonymous Author* (‖) *againſt Dr* Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity: *Being a Commentary on forty ſelect Texts of Scripture.* III. *An Anſwer to the Remarks of the Author* (*) *of* Some Conſiderations concerning the Trinity, and the ways of managing that Controverſy. Theſe two laſt publiſhed together; London, 1714, in 8*vo*. IV. *A Letter to the late Rev. Mr R. M.* (†) *containing Obſervations upon his book, intitled,* A plain Scripture Argument againſt Dr Clarke's Doctrine concerning the ever-bleſſed Trinity. V. *A Letter to the author of a book, intitled,* The true Scripture Doctrine of the moſt holy and undivided Trinity, continued, and vindicated: *Recommended firſt by Mr* Nelſon, *and ſince by Dr* Waterland. The two laſt pieces publiſhed together, London 1719, in 8*vo*, at the end of a Tract by another author, intitled, *The modeſt Plea for the Baptiſmal and Scripture Notion of the Trinity*, &c. VI. *The modeſt Plea continued; or, A brief and diſtinct Anſwer to Dr* Waterland's Queries *relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity*, London, 1720, in 8*vo*. VII. *Obſervations on Dr* Waterland's *ſecond Defence of his Queries*, London, 1724, in 8*vo*.

(33) Account, &c. p. 8.

* MS. Norvicenſ. Biſhop Moore being then Biſhop of Norwich. Dr Clarke calls it MS. Elienſ.

(34) Spectator, No. 367.

(35) Pref.

(36) Account, &c. p. 7.

(*) Dr Waterland, Head of Magd. Coll. Cambr.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Ibid. p. 8.

(39) Hiſt. Mem. p. 25.

(‖) Suppoſed to be Dr James Knight, Vicar of St Sepulchre's in London.

(*) Dr Gaſtrel, Biſhop of Cheſter.

(†) Richard Mayo.

which notice was taken, and complaint made, by the Lower House of Convocation in 1714 [T]: but the affair soon ended, upon the Members of the Upper House declaring themselves

VIII. *Dr* Clarke's Replies *to the author of* three Letters to Dr Clarke, from a Clergyman of the Church of England, concerning his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*. The *Letters* and *Replies* published together, by the author of the *Letters*; London 1714, in 8*vo*.

[T] —— *Of which complaint was made by the Lower House of Convocation, in* 1714.] Their complaint was sent to the Upper House, *June* the 2d, setting forth: 'That a book had been lately published, and dispersed throughout the province, intitled, *The Scripture Doctrine*, &c. and several Defences thereof, by the same author: which book, and defences, did, in their opinion, contain assertions contrary to the Catholick Faith, as received and declared by the Reformed Church of England, concerning *three Persons, of one Substance, Power and Eternity, in the Unity of the Godhead:* and tending moreover to perplex the minds of men in the solemn acts of worship, as directed by our established Liturgy, &c.' The Bishops returned for answer, *June* the 4th, that *they approved the zeal of the Lower House, thought they had just cause of complaint, and would take it into their consideration. June* the 12th, their Lordships sent a message to the Lower House, directing an *extract* to be made of *particulars* out of the books complained of. *June* the 23d, the said *extract* was accordingly laid before the Bishops, disposed under the following heads: I. *Assertions contrary to the Catholick Faith, as received and declared by this Reformed Church of England, concerning three Persons, of one Substance, Power, and Eternity, in the Unity of the Godhead.* II. *Passages tending to perplex the minds of men in the solemn acts of worship, as directed by our established Liturgy.* III. *Passages in the Liturgy and Thirty-nine Articles, wrested by Dr Clarke in such manner, as is complained of in the Representation.* Dr Clarke drew up a *Reply* to this *extract*, dated *June* the 26th: which, it seems, was presented to some of the Bishops; but (for what reason we are not told) was not laid before the House. After this, there appearing, in almost the whole Upper House, a great disposition to prevent dissensions and divisions, by coming to a *temper* in this matter; Dr Clarke was *prevailed upon* to lay before the House a *paper*, dated *July* the 2d, setting forth: 1. *That* 'his opinion was, that the Son of God was eternally 'begotten by the eternal incomprehensible *power* and '*will* of the Father; and that the Holy Spirit was 'likewise eternally derived from the Father, by or 'through the Son, according to the eternal incomprehensible *power* and *will* of the Father.' 2. That, 'Before his book, intitled, *The Scripture Doctrine*, '&c. was published, he did indeed preach two or 'three sermons upon this subject; but, since the book 'was published, he had never preached upon this 'subject: and (because he thought it not fair to propose particular opinions, where there is not liberty 'of answering) he was willing to *promise* (as indeed he 'intended) not to preach any more upon this subject.' 3. That 'He did not *intend* to write any more concerning the doctrine of the Trinity: but, if he 'should fail herein, and write any thing hereafter, upon this subject, contrary to the doctrine of the 'Church of England, he did hereby willingly *submit* 'himself to any such censure, as his superiors should 'think fit to pass upon him.' 4. That, 'Whereas it 'had been confidently reported, that the *Athanasian* 'Creed, and the 3d and 4th petitions in the *Litany*, 'had been omitted in his Church by his direction, he 'did hereby declare, that the 3d and 4th petitions in 'the *Litany* had never been omitted at all, as far as he 'knew; and that the *Athanasian Creed* was never 'omitted at eleven o'clock prayers, but at early prayers 'only, for brevity sake, at the discretion of the curate, and not by his appointment.' 5. That, 'As 'to his private conversation, he was not conscious to 'himself, that he had given any occasion for those 'reports, which have been spread concerning him, 'with relation to this controversy.' The paper concludes with these words: *I am sorry that what I sincerely intended for the honour and glory of God, and so to explain this great mystery, as to avoid the heresies in both extreams, should have given any offence to this Synod, and particularly to my Lords the Bishops. I hope my behaviour for the time to come, with relation hereunto, will be such, as to prevent any future complaints against me.* After this paper had been laid before the Upper House, Dr Clarke being apprehensive, that if it should be published *separately* (as afterwards happened) without any true account of the preceding and following circumstances, it might be liable to be misunderstood in some particulars; caused an *explanation*, dated July 5, to be presented to the Bishop of London, the next time the Upper House met; setting forth: 'That, whereas the paper, laid before their 'Lordships the Friday before, was, through haste and 'want of time, not drawn up with sufficient exactness, '&c. he thought himself indispensibly obliged in 'conscience to acquaint their Lordships; that he did 'not mean thereby to *retract* any thing he had written, 'but to declare, that the opinion set forth at large in 'his *Scripture Doctrine*, &c. is that *The Son was eternally 'begotten by the eternal incomprehensible* Power *and* 'Will, &c. and that, by declaring he did not intend 'to write any more concerning the doctrine of the 'Trinity, he did not preclude himself from a liberty 'of making any inoffensive corrections in his former 'books, if they should come to another edition; or 'from vindicating himself from any misrepresentations or 'aspersions, which might possibly hereafter be cast upon 'him on occasion of this controversy.' After the delivery of the foregoing *explanation* to the Bishop of London, the Upper House *resolved, July* the 5, *to proceed no farther upon the extract laid before them by the Lower House*; and *ordered* Dr Clarke's papers to be entered in the Acts of that House. But the Lower House, not so satisfied, *resolved, July* the 7, *that the paper subscribed by Dr Clarke, and communicated to them by the Bishops, does not contain in it any recantation of the heretical assertions, and offensive passages, complained of in their* Representation, *and afterwards produced in their* Extract; *nor gives such satisfaction for the great scandal occasioned thereby, as ought to put a stop to any further examination and censure thereof.* Thus ended this affair; the most authentick account of which we have in a piece, intitled, *An Apology for Dr Clarke, containing an Account of the late Proceedings in Convocation upon his writings concerning the Trinity.* London 1714, in 8*vo*. It was written, Mr Whiston tells us (40), by a worthy Clergyman in the country (*), a common friend of his and Dr Clarke's, and contains true copies of the original papers relating to the proceedings of the Convocation and Dr Clarke, communicated by the Doctor himself, and occasioned by his friend's letter to him, in relation to his conduct; which letter, with Dr Clarke's answer, is printed in the *Apology* (41). The *paper*, laid by Dr Clarke before the Upper House of Convocation, was presently published, by an unknown hand, without the *explanation* that followed it, the *resolution* of the Bishops consequent thereupon, or the *vote* of the Lower House, which followed that resolution. This gave occasion to a report, both in written and printed news-papers, that Dr Clarke had RETRACTED what he had written concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. Particularly, in the *Political State of Great Britain* for *June* 1714, were published these words: 'A few days after (*after the extract 'was sent up*) Dr Clarke thought fit to make a *sub-'mission* to the Upper House, and to deliver to their 'Lordships a paper, wherein he PROMISED neither to 'write nor preach any more upon those abstruse points: 'whereby an end was put to that portentous affair. 'And, oh! that all Divines would be as wise, and 'sacrifice their private opinions to the peace and unity 'of the Church!' And, in October following, in a book, intitled, *The History of the First and Second Session of the last Parliament*, were published the following words: 'The Upper House of Convocation 'being made sensible, that he (*Dr Clarke*) had made 'a *sacrifice* of his private opinions to the peace and 'unity of the Church; and that by this prudent and 'Christian behaviour, &c.' About the same time came out several other accounts of the proceedings of the Convocation relating to this matter; most of which seemed to represent Dr Clarke as having made such *compliances*, as could not but be a great discouragement

(40) Hist. Mem. P. 43.

(*) Supposed to by the Rev. Mr John Lawrence, M. A.

(41) No. 7.

themſelves ſatisfied with the explanations, delivered in to them by the author upon the ſubject of the complaint (*g*). About the year 1712, Dr Clarke had a conference with Dr Smalridge, concerning the Trinity, at Thomas Cartwright's Eſq; at Aynho in Northamptonſhire [*U*]. In 1715 and 1716, he had a diſpute with the celebrated Mr Leibnitz, relating to the principles of Natural Philoſophy and Religion; and a *collection* of the *papers*, which paſſed between them, was publiſhed in 1717 [*W*]. In 1718, a controverſy aroſe concerning the primitive *Doxologies*, occaſioned by an alteration made by Dr Clarke in thoſe of the ſinging Pſalms [*X*]. About this time, he was preſented by Mr Lechmere,

(g) Ibid.

ment to all who placed their religion in a free and impartial ſtudy of the Scriptures. How far Dr Clarke's conduct upon this occaſion, as repreſented above, will ſerve to juſtify theſe reports, is left to the reader's judgment. In the mean time, impartiality obliges us to ſet down Mr Whiſton's reflections upon this affair (42). He calls Dr Clarke's *opinion* delivered in to the Biſhops (at the head of the *paper*, recited above) a NEW DECLARATION of his Belief of a *fort* of *Eternity* of the *Son* and *Spirit*; the delivery of which *Declaration* he had heard him long afterward ſtyle a *fooliſh thing*, the occaſions of which, he thinks, beſides the ſiniſter motives of human *caution*, and human *fear*, were theſe two: Firſt, his own Metaphyſick opinion, which he conſtantly and vigorouſly maintained, That any *Creature* whatſoever might *poſſibly* have been *coëternal* with it's *Creator*; and, ſecondly, that Biſhop Smalridge, whoſe opinion was chiefly regarded, had dropped ſome words beforehand, intimating, that 'As to other of Dr Clarke's Metaphyſical notions about 'the Trinity, he did not think it neceſſary to proceed 'to their condemnation, provided he would but de- 'clare he believed the *eternity* of the Son of God.' This *New Declaration*, Mr Whiſton adds, was made, contrary to the wiſer advice of Dr Bradford, who would have had Dr Clarke rather tranſcribe ſome ſuch parts of his own books, as came neareſt to the common doctrine, and ſend them to the Convocation, as ſo far a declaration of his faith: 'Which (ſays Mr 'Whiſton) would have been a method of proceeding, 'both more honeſt and more unexceptionable.' And Mr Whiſton is of opinion, there is a great deal of truth in what is ſaid, that Dr Clarke was *prevailed upon* to deliver in his new, ſuſpicious, declaration; the true point (he thinks) being SAVE THY SELF AND US: both of which were by this means obtained.

(42) See Hiſt. Mem. p. 44, &c.

[*U*] *He had a conference with Dr Smalridge concerning the Trinity*, &c.] It was propoſed, Mr Whiſton tells us (43), by the former, in order to the conviction of the latter. And if any perſon in England was able to *convince* upon that head, he thinks, it muſt have been Dr Smalridge, who was a thorough maſter of thoſe original books of Chriſtianity, from whence the arguments were to be taken, and who wanted not ſagacity nor good-will to enforce them. However, if Mr Whiſton is to be credited, Dr Smalridge failed of ſucceſs, and the company were generally ſatisfied that the evidence on Dr Clarke's ſide was greatly ſuperior to the other.

(43) Hiſt. Mem. p. 41.

[*W*] *A collection of papers, which paſſed between Dr Clarke and Mr Leibnitz.*] To this collection are added, *Letters to Dr Clarke concerning Liberty and Neceſſity, from a Gentleman* (*) *of the Univerſity of Cambridge*; *with the Doctors Anſwers to them*: alſo *remarks upon a book, intitled*, A Philoſophical Enquiry concerning human Liberty (†). This book is inſcribed to her late Majeſty, Queen Caroline (then Princeſs of Wales) who was pleaſed, the Biſhop of Wincheſter tells us (44), to have the controverſy paſs thro' her hands, and was the witneſs and judge of every ſtep of it. And Dr Clarke, Mr Whiſton informs us (45), uſed often to ſpeak with admiration of the Queen's marvellous ſagacity and judgment in the ſeveral parts of the diſpute. It related chiefly to the important and difficult points of *liberty* and *neceſſity*; points, in which Dr Clarke always excelled, and ſhewed a ſuperiority to all, whenever they came into private diſcourſe, or publick debate. But, as the Biſhop of Wincheſter juſtly obſerves (46), he never more excelled, than when he was preſſed with the ſtrength his learned adverſary was maſter of; which made him exert all his talents, to ſet the ſubject once more in a clear light, to guard it againſt the evil of Metaphyſical obſcurities, and to give the finiſhing ſtroke to what muſt ever be the foundation of morality in man, and is the ſole ground of the accountableneſs of intelligent creatures for all their actions. 'And as this, *adds the Biſhop*, was the laſt of 'Dr Clarke's works relating to a ſubject, which had 'been, by the writings of cloudy or artful men, render- 'ed ſo intricate; I ſhall take the liberty to ſay, with 'regard to all of the ſame tendency, from his firſt diſ- 'courſe about the *being* of *God*, to theſe letters; that 'what he has written to clear and illuſtrate this cauſe, 'does now ſtand, and will for ever remain, before the 'world, a laſting monument of a genius, which could 'throw in light where darkneſs uſed to reign; and 'force good ſenſe and plain words into what was al- 'moſt the *privileged place* of obſcurity and unintelli- 'gible ſounds. For ſuch, indeed, had the ſubject 'before us been, under the hands of moſt who had 'written upon it; either thro' a deſire of darkening it 'by words without meaning, or thro' an inability of 'diſcourſing clearly and conſiſtently about it.' Mr Whiſton obſerves (47), that Mr Leibnitz was preſſed ſo hard by Dr Clarke, from matter of fact, known laws of motion, and the diſcoveries of Sir Iſaac Newton (who, he tells us, heartily aſſiſted the Doctor), that he was forced to have recourſe to Metaphyſical ſubtilties, and to a *pre-eſtabliſhed harmony of things*, in his own imagination, which he ſtyles a *ſuperior reaſon*; 'till it was ſoon ſeen, that Monſieur Leibnitz's *ſuperior reaſon* ſerved to little elſe, but to confirm the great *ſuperiority* of experience and Mathematicks above all ſuch Metaphyſical ſubtilties whatſoever. 'And I confeſs, *adds* 'Mr Whiſton, I look upon theſe letters of Dr Clarke, 'as among the moſt uſeful of his performances in 'Natural Philoſophy.'

(47) Hiſt. Mem. p. 80.

[*X*] *He altered the forms of doxology in the ſinging pſalms.*] This he did in certain *ſelect hymns and pſalms*, reprinted that year for the uſe of St James's pariſh. The alterations were theſe:

To God, *through* Chriſt, his only Son,
Immortal glory be, &c.

And,

To God, *through* Chriſt, his Son, our Lord,
All glory be therefore, &c.

A conſiderable number of theſe *ſelect pſalms and hymns* having been diſperſed by the *Society for promoting of Chriſtian knowledge*, before the alteration of the *doxologies* was taken notice of, Dr Clarke was charged with a deſign of impoſing upon the Society; whereas, in truth, the edition of them had been prepared by him for the uſe of his own pariſh only, before the Society had any thoughts of purchaſing any of the copies. However, the Biſhop of London thought proper to publiſh *A Letter to the Incumbents of all Churches and Chapels in his Dioceſe, concerning their not uſing any new Forms of Doxology*, dated *Dec.* 26, 1718. This letter was animadverted upon by Mr Whiſton, in his *Letter of thanks to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of London, for his late Letter to his Clergy againſt the uſe of new Forms of Doxology* &c. dated *Jan*, 17, 1718-19; and in a pamphlet, intitled, *An humble Apology for St Paul, and the other Apoſtles*; *or, a Vindication of them and their Doxologies from the Charge of Hereſy*. By Cornelius Paets. London 1719. Soon after came out an ironical piece, intitled, *A Defence of the Biſhop of London, in Anſwer to* Mr Whiſton's Letter of Thanks, *addreſſed to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. To which is added, A Vindication of Dr Sacheverell's late Endeavour to turn Mr Whiſton out of his Church.* Mr Whiſton's *Letter of Thanks* occaſioned likewiſe the two following pieces: *viz The Lord Biſhop of London's Letter to his Clergy vindicated*, &c. *By a Believer*; London 1719: and *A ſeaſonable Review of Mr Whiſton's Account of Primitive Doxologies*, &c. *By a Preſbyter of the Dioceſe of London* (*), London 1719.

(*) Richard Bulkley, Eſq;

(†) By Anthony Collins, Eſq;

(44) Account, &c. p. 9.

(45) Hiſt. Mem. p. 80.

(46) Account, &c. ibid.

(*) Suppoſed to be Dr William Berriman,

Lechmere, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter, to the Maſterſhip of Wigſtan Hoſpital in Leiceſter (*b*). In 1724, he publiſhed in 8*vo* *ſeventeen ſermons* on ſeveral occaſions, eleven of which were never before printed. In 1727, upon the death of Sir Iſaac Newton, he was offered the place of *Maſter of the Mint*, which he thought proper to refuſe [*Y*]. In 1728, was publiſhed *A Letter* from Dr Clarke to Mr Benjamin Hoadly, concerning *the Proportion of Velocity and Force in Bodies in Motion* (*i*). The beginning of the year 1729, he publiſhed at London in 4to the twelve firſt books of Homer's *Iliad* [*Z*]. This was the laſt year of this great and learned man's life: for he was taken ſuddenly ill the 11th of May, and died the 17th [*AA*]. He married Katherine the only daughter of the Rev. Mr Lockwood, Rector of Little Maſſingham in Norfolk; by whom he had ſeven children, two of which died before him, and one a few weeks after him (*k*). Since his death, have been publiſhed, from his original manuſcripts, by his brother Dr John Clarke, Dean of Sarum, *An Expoſition on the Church Catechiſm* [*BB*], and *ten volumes* of *ſermons*. The particulars of Dr Clarke's character ſhall be laid together in the laſt remark [*CC*].

(*b*) Hiſt. Mem. p. 61.

(*i*) Printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 401.

(*k*) Account, &c. p. 10.

CLIFFORD,

London 1719. To the latter Mr Whiſton replied in *A Second Letter to the Biſhop of London*, &c. dated March 11, 1718-19: and the author of the *ſeaſonable Review*, &c. anſwered him in a *Second Review*, &c. As to Dr Clarke's conduct in this affair, Mr Whiſton (48) eſteems it 'one of the moſt Chriſtian attempts 'towards ſomewhat of reformation, upon the primitive 'foot, that he ever ventured upon.' But he adds, that the Biſhop of London, in the way of *modern authority*, was quite too hard for Dr Clarke, in the way of *primitive Chriſtianity*.

(48) Ibid. p. 60.

[*Y*] *He thought proper to refuſe the place of Maſter of the Mint.*] Upon the offer of this place, he adviſed with his friends, and particularly with Mr Emlyn and Mr Whiſton; who were both heartily againſt his accepting it, as what he did not want, as what was entirely remote from his profeſſion; and would hinder the ſucceſs of his miniſtry. To which Mr Whiſton added, as his principal reaſon againſt it, that ſuch refuſal would ſhew that he was in *earneſt* in religion. Dr Clarke was himſelf of the ſame opinion, and could never reconcile himſelf to this *ſecular preferment*. And it is taken notice of, to the honour of *Mrs Clarke*, that ſhe never ſet her heart upon the advantages this place would produce to her family, but left the Doctor at full liberty to act as his conſcience and inclination ſhould direct him. Mr Whiſton, who particularly mentions this affair, informs us (49), that Mr Conduit, who ſucceeded, gave 1000l. to vacate a place among the *King's writers*; which was given to one of Dr Clarke's ſons.

(49) Ibid. p. 85.

[*Z*] *The twelve firſt books of Homer's* Iliad.] This edition was printed in *quarto*, and dedicated to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland. The Latin verſion is almoſt entirely new, and *annotations* are added at the bottom of the pages. Homer, the Biſhop of Wincheſter tells us (50), was Dr Clarke's admired author, even to a degree of ſomething like Enthuſiaſm hardly natural to his temper; and that in this he went a little beyond the bounds of Horace's judgment, and was ſo unwilling to allow the favourite Poet ever to *nod*, that he has taken remarkable pains to find out, and give a reaſon for every paſſage, word, and tittle, that could create any ſuſpicion. 'The tranſla-'tion, *adds his Lordſhip*, with his corrections, may now 'be ſtyled accurate; and his notes, as far as they go, 'are indeed a treaſury of grammatical and critical 'knowledge. He was called to this taſk by Royal com-'mand; and he has performed it in ſuch a manner, as 'to be worthy of the young Prince, for whom it was 'laboured. The praiſes given to this excellent work 'by the writers abroad in their *Memoirs*, as well as 'by the learned Maſters of the three principal Schools 'of England, thoſe of Weſtminſter, Eton, and St 'Paul's; and the ſhort character, that the performance 'was *ſupra omnem invidiam*, beſtowed by one, whom 'Dr Clarke had long before ſtyled, *Criticos Unus omnes* 'longe longeque antecellens, and whom every one will 'know by that title without my naming him; make 'it unneceſſary to add a word upon this ſubject.' The *twelve laſt books* of the *Iliad* were publiſhed, in 1732, in 4*to* by our author's ſon, Mr Samuel Clarke, who informs us, in the Preface, that his father had finiſhed the *annotations* to the three firſt of thoſe books, and as far as the 359th verſe of the fourth; and had reviſed the text and verſion as far as verſe 510 of the ſame book. *A ſecond edition* of the whole was publiſhed in 1735, in two volumes 8*vo*.

(50) Account, &c. p. 8.

[*AA*] *His death.*] The day on which he was taken ill (*Sunday, May* 11) he went out in the morning, to preach before the Judges at Serjeant's-Inn; and there was ſeized with a pain in his ſide, which made it impoſſible for him to perform the office he was called to, and became quickly ſo violent, that he was obliged to be carried home. He went to bed, and thought himſelf ſo much better in the afternoon, that he would not ſuffer himſelf to be blooded; againſt which remedy he had entertained ſtrong prejudices. But the pain returning very violently about two the next morning, made the advice and aſſiſtance of a very able Phyſician abſolutely neceſſary; who, after twice bleeding him, and other applications, thought him, as he alſo thought himſelf, to be out of all danger, and ſo continued to think, 'till the Saturday morning following; when, to the inexpreſſible ſurpriſe of all about him, the pain removed from his ſide to his head; and, after a very ſhort complaint, took away his ſenſes, ſo as they never returned any more. He continued breathing 'till between ſeven and eight in the evening of that day (*May* 17) and then died (51).

(51) Ibid. p. 10.

[*BB*] *His* Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm.] It is made up of thoſe Lectures he read, every Thurſday morning, for ſome months in the year, at St James's Church. In the latter part of his time, he reviſed them with great care, and left them completely prepared for the preſs. The firſt edition of them was in 1729. This performance of Dr Clarke's was immediately animadverted upon by a very learned Divine (*), under the title of, *Remarks upon Dr Clarke's Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm*. This produced *An Anſwer to the Remarks upon Dr Clarke's Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm* (‖). The author of the *Remarks* replied in a piece, intitled, *The Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy, of the Chriſtian Sacraments, conſidered; in Reply to a Pamphlet, intitled*, An Anſwer, &c. *As alſo the comparative Value of Moral and Poſitive Duties diſtinctly ſtated and cleared.* The *Anſwerer* rejoined in *A Defence of the Anſwer*, &c. *Wherein the Difference between Moral and Poſitive Duties is fully ſtated. Being a Reply to*, &c. This occaſioned *A Supplement to the Treatiſe, intitled*, The Nature, &c. *Wherein the Nature and Value of Poſitive Inſtitutions is more particularly examined, and Objections anſwered. By the ſame author.* Then followed the *Anſwerer's* Reply, intitled, *The true Foundations of Natural and Revealed Religion aſſerted: Being a Reply to the* Supplement, &c. Which being animadverted upon by the *Remarker* in the *Poſtſcript* to his *Second Part of Scripture vindicated*, produced An Anſwer to the *Poſtſcript*, &c. *Wherein is ſhewn, that if Reaſon be not a ſufficient Guide in Matters of Religion, the bulk of Mankind, for four thouſand years, had no ſufficient Guide at all in Matters of Religion.*

(*) Dr Waterland, Head of Magdalen Coll. Cambr.

(‖) By Dr Sykes, Dean of Burton.

[*CC*] *Dr* Clarke's *character.*] It is excellently and concisely drawn by the maſterly hand of the author (†) of *Difficulties and Diſcouragements, which attend the Study of the Scripture, in the way of private Judgment*; as follows (52): 'Dr Clarke is a man, who 'has *all the good qualities*, that can meet together, to 'recommend him. He is poſſeſſed of *all* the parts of 'learning, that are valuable in a Clergyman, in a de-'gree that few poſſeſs any *ſingle one*. He has joined,

(†) Dr Hare, Biſhop of Chicheſter.

(52) Page 20.

'to

'to a good skill in the *three learned languages*, a 'great compass of the best *Philosophy* and *Mathematicks*, 'as appears by his *Latin* works; and his *English* ones 'are such a proof of his own *piety*, and of his '*knowledge in Divinity*, and have done so much *service* '*to religion*, as would make any other man, that was 'not under the suspicion of *heresy*, secure of the 'friendship and esteem of all good Churchmen, especial-'ly of the Clergy. And to all this *piety*, and *learning*, 'and the good use that has been made of it, is added 'a *temper* happy beyond expression: a sweet, easy, 'modest, inoffensive, obliging behaviour, adorn all 'his actions; and no passion, vanity, insolence, or 'ostentation, appear either in what he writes or says: 'and yet these faults are often incident to the best men, 'in the freedom of conversation, and in writing against 'impertinent and unreasonable adversaries, especially 'such as strike at the foundations of virtue and religion. 'This is the *learning*, this the *temper* of the man, 'whose *study of the Scriptures* has betrayed him into a '*suspicion* of some *heretical opinions*.' After this short, but comprehensive character, and what has been already said of Dr Clarke as an *author*, we shall add only a few particulars from the accounts given us by Bishop Hoadly and Mr Whiston. The former, in his character of Dr Clarke (53), tells us; the first strokes of *knowledge*, in some of it's branches, seemed to be little less than *natural* to him; for they appeared to lie right in his mind, as soon as any thing could appear. He had one happiness, very rarely known among the greatest men, that his *memory* was almost equal to his *judgment*. He had so ready a *genius*, that he immediately comprehended what cost others a great deal of pains, and was esteemed one of the best judges to apply to, for a quick determination about the force or failure of any arguments. His critical skill in the learned *languages* he made subservient to the cause of religion, as well as polite learning. The design and tendency of his *preaching* was not to move the passions, nor had he any talent that way: but then his sentiments and expressions were so masterly, and his way of explaining the phrasefology of Scripture so extraordinary and convincing, as more than made amends for the want of the other. His *conversation*, which was highly useful and instructive, was attended with a readiness of thought, and clearness of expression, which hardly ever failed him, when his opinion was asked upon the most important and trying questions. His *piety* was manly and unaffected; his *charity* and benevolence, extensive as the whole rational creation; and the *ruling principle* of his heart and practice, a love of the religious and civil liberties of mankind. In a word, his *life*, when he came into the view of the great world, was an ornament and strength to that religion, which his *pen* so well defended. Mr Whiston gives us (54) a remarkable example of what Bishop Hoadly observes, that the *first strokes of knowledge seemed to be little less than natural to him*. He had it from Dr Clarke's own mouth, and it is this. One of his parents asked him, when he was very young, whether God could do every thing? He answered, yes. He was asked again, whether God could do one particular thing, could tell a lye? He answered, no: and he understood the question to suppose, that this was the only thing that God could not do. Nor durst he say, so young was he then, he thought there was any thing else, which God could not do: while yet he well remembered, he had even then a clear conviction in his own mind, that there was one other thing, which God could not do, *viz.* that he could not *annihilate* that *space*, which was in the room wherein they were. Which impossibility now appears even in Sir Isaac Newton's own Philosophy. Mr Whiston fully agrees to the character given above of Dr Clarke by the author of *Difficulties and Discouragements*, &c. with such abatements as the *Memoirs* he himself has given us of this great man will make necessary. These abatements, respecting some parts of the Doctor's conduct, impartiality requires us to mention. And, in the first place, he blames Dr Clarke for *subscribing* the *Articles*, at a time when he could not, with perfect truth and sincerity, assent to the *Athanasian* parts of them. This was at his taking the degree of Doctor in Divinity. Mr Whiston, then Professor of Mathematicks at Cambridge, endeavoured to dissuade him from it; and when he could not prevail on that head, he earnestly pressed him to declare openly, and in writing, in what *sense* he subscribed the suspected Articles: but he could not prevail on this head neither. Upon this occasion, Professor *James*, who suspected Dr Clarke of an inclination to *heretical gravity*, said to him, upon his subscribing the Articles, 'He hoped he would not 'go from his subscription.' The Doctor replied, 'He could promise nothing as to futurity, and could 'only answer as to his present sentiments (55).' However, Mr Whiston acknowledges, that Dr Clarke, for many years before he died, perpetually refused all, even the greatest preferments, which required *subscription*, and never encouraged those, who consulted him, to *subscribe* (56). In the next place, he objects to Dr Clarke his not acting *sincerely*, *boldly*, and *openly*, in the Declaration of his *true* opinions, and his *over-cautious*, and *over-timorous* way of speaking, writing, and acting, in points of the highest consequence. When Mr Whiston gave him frequent and vehement admonitions upon this head, his general answer, he tells us, was, who are those that act better than I do? 'Very few of which '(*says he*) I could ever name to him; tho' I did 'not think that a sufficient excuse.' Lastly, Mr Whiston is greatly displeased with Dr Clarke's conduct in relation to the affair of the *Convocation*. We have already seen (57) some of his reflexions upon that event, the account of which he concludes with these words: 'Thus ended this unhappy affair; unhappy 'to Dr Clarke's own conscience; unhappy to his best 'friends; and above all unhappy as to it's consequences 'in relation to the opinion unbelievers were hereupon 'willing to entertain of him, as if he had prevaricated 'all along in his former writings for Christianity.' This conclusion however, Mr Whiston owns, was too hasty, and that Dr Clarke did by degrees recover part of his former character (58). We shall finish this remark, and this whole account of Dr Clarke, with observing, that his great abilities and acquirements made him perpetually sought after by all the greatest lovers of virtue and knowledge; and that to such a degree, that, thro' his last years, he could command but very little time for his own studies, even in the morning: that, as he was the darling of the great and powerful, so, in particular, her late Majesty *Queen Caroline*, from her first acquaintance with his character to the day of his death, expressed the high esteem she had of his comprehensive capacity, and useful learning, by very frequent conversations with him upon the most important point of true Philosophy, and real knowledge (59).

(53) Account, &c. p. 10—13.

(54) Hist. Mem. p. 14, 15.

(55) Ibid. p. 12.

(56) Ib. p. 66, 67.

(57) In the remark [T].

(58) Ibid. p. 52.

(59) Account, &c. p. 13.

T

CLIFFORD (GEORGE) the third Earl of Cumberland, of that noble and ancient family [*A*], was a person very eminent for his skill in Navigation. He was born in the year 1558 (*a*), and educated at Peter-House in Cambridge, where he had for his tutor the celebrated John Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. In this place, he applied himself chiefly to the study of the Mathematicks, which his genius led him to; whereby he became qualified for the several great expeditions he undertook afterwards (*b*). The first time he had any publick employment, was in the year 1586, when he was one of

(a) This appears from hence, because he was above eleven years of age in 1569-70, January 8, when his father died. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 345.

(b) Ibid.

[*A*] *The third Earl of Cumberland, of that noble and ancient family.*] They derive their descent from——*Pontz*, who is supposed to have come into England with William the Conqueror. His younger son, *Richard* de Pontz, was father of *Walter*, who seating himself at *Clifford* in Herefordshire, took his surname from that place. Lineally descended from him, was, *Henry* Lord Clifford, who, on the 18th of June 1525, was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Cumberland. His eldest son and heir was *Henry*, father of *George*, of whom we are treating in this article (1).

(1) See Dugdale, ubi supra, Vol. I. p. 335—345.

of the Peers who sat in judgment upon Mary Queen of Scots (*c*). But having a greater inclination to act by sea than by land; and (according to the fashion in the brave and warlike reign of Queen Elizabeth) being bent on making foreign discoveries, and defeating the ambitious designs of the Spaniard, who was preparing his invincible Armada for conquering England: he fitted out, at his own charge, a little fleet, consisting of three ships, and a pinnace [*B*], with a view to send them into the South-Sea, on purpose to annoy the Spanish settlements there [*C*]. They sailed from Gravesend the 26th of June 1586, and from Plymouth the 17th of August; but were forced back by contrary winds into Dartmouth. From whence putting out again on the 29th, they fell with the coast of Barbary the 17th of September, and the next day halled in with the road of Santa Cruz. On the 25th, they came to the Rio del Oro, just under the northern Tropick; where they anchored (*d*). Searching up that river, the next day, they found it to be as broad fourteen or fifteen leagues upward, as at the mouth, which was two leagues over: but met with no town, nor house. The last of September they departed for Sierra Leona, where they arrived the 21st of October. Going on shore, they burnt a town of the Negroes, and brought away to their ships about fourteen or fifteen tuns of rice: and having furnished themselves with wood and water, they sailed the 21st of November from Sierra Leona, making for the Straights of Magellan. The second of January 1586-7, they discovered land; and, on the 4th day of that month, fell in with the American shore in 30 deg. 40 min. South Latitude. Continuing their course southward, they took, January 10, not far from Rio de la Plata, a small Portuguese ship; and the next day, another: out of which the furnished themselves with what necessaries they wanted (*e*). The 12th of January they came to Seal-island, and two days after to the Green-island, near which they took in water. Returning to Seal-island, a consultation was held on the 7th of February, Whether they should continue their course for the South-Sea, and winter in the Streights of Magellan; or spend three or four months upon the coast of Brasil, and proceed on their voyage in the spring? The majority being for the former, they went as far as 44 degrees of Southern Latitude. But, meeting with storms and contrary winds, they took a final resolution, on the 21st of February, to return to the coast of Brasil: accordingly, they fell in with it the 5th of April; and after taking in water and provisions in the bay of Camana, came into the port of Baya, the 11th. Eight Portuguese ships being there, they found means to carry off four of them (the least of which were of a hundred and thirty tuns) notwithstanding all the enemies resistance; and also fetched a supply of fresh provision from the shore. The 16th and 17th of May they got a quantity of sugar out of the Portuguese ingenio's (*f*). The 26th of the same month, they made themselves masters of a new ship, of a hundred and twenty tuns burden, loaden with meal and sugar. On the 3d of June, some were for pursuing their voyage to the South-Sea [*D*]. But finding themselves upon examination, in want of a due number of men, and sufficient provisions, they resolved, on the 10th, to sail back to England: where they arrived, September 29, after an unprosperous voyage (*g*). This same year, he went, with many other English Noblemen and gentlemen, to the relief of Sluys then besieged by the Duke of Parma; but at his arrival, he found the place surrendred (*h*). In 1588, he was one of those brave persons, who put themselves on board the English fleet, to oppose the Spanish Armada that was advancing to invade England. He commanded, on that occasion, the Elizabeth Bonaventure, and signalized himself in a remarkable manner; especially in the last engagement with the Spaniards, near Calais (*i*). Queen Elizabeth was so pleased with his good services, that she granted him a commission, dated, October 4, 1588, to pursue his intended voyage to the South-Sea: and, for his greater honour and encouragement, lent him one of her own royal ships, named the Golden-Lyon, to be the Admiral. This he victualled and furnished at his own charge; and sailed about the end of October, attended with many brave English gentlemen. In the channel, he took a ship of Dunkirk, named the Hare, laden with merchandize for Spain, which he sent home. But contrary winds at first, and afterwards a violent storm which forced him to cut his main-mast by the board, deprived him of further hopes and ability, to prosecute his designs on the Spanish coasts; so that he returned to England (*k*). However, not discouraged by this unhappy disappointment, he undertook a *third* voyage to the West-Indies in 1589. For that purpose, he obtained the Queen's leave, and one ship of the Royal navy, called the Victory; to which adding three other small ships, furnished, at his own

(*c*) Camdeni Annales Elizabethæ, ad ann. 1586.

(*d*) Voyages, Navigations, &c. published by R. Hakluyt, edit. 1600, Vol. III. p. 769. Purchas his Pilgrimes, edit. 1625. Part iv. p. 1141.

(*e*) Hakluyt, as above, p. 770, 771; and Purchas, ubi sup.

(*f*) That is, houses where they purge and refine the sugar.

(*g*) Hakluyt, p. 772—778. Purchas, p. 1142.

(*h*) Purchas, ubi supra, p. 1142.

(*i*) Account of the Spanish Invasion, by P. Morant, joined to the *Tapestry Hangings of the House of Lords*, &c. engraven by J. Pine. Lond. 1739, fol. p. 9, 28.

(*k*) Purchas, ubi supra, p. 1142.

[*B*] *Consisting of three ships, and a pinnace.*] They were; The Red Dragon, Admiral, of 260 tuns, and 130 men, commanded by Captain Robert Withrington. The Bark Clifford Vice-Admiral, of 130 tuns, and 70 men, Captain Christopher Lister Commander. The Roe, Rere-Admiral, commanded by Captain Hawes. The Dorothy pinnace, which was Sir Walter Raleigh's (2).

[*C*] *To annoy the Spanish settlements there.*] It was resolved by the judicious in that age, as Dr Fuller rightly observes (3), that the way to humble the Spanish greatness, was not by pinching and pricking him in the Low Countries, which only emptied his veins of such blood as was quickly refilled: but the way to make it a cripple for ever, was by cutting of the Spanish sinews of war, his money from the West-Indies.

(2) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 769; and Purchas, ubi supra.

(3) Worthies of England, in Yorkshire, p. 203.

[*D*] *Some were for pursuing their voyage to the South Sea.*] Captain Lister, in particular, had so great a desire to perform that voyage, according to the Earl of Cumberland's direction, that he went to the Admiral, and requested him to give him six buts of wine, one barrel of oyl, three or four barrels of flesh, and to have one Tho. Hood a Pilot, and seven or eight seamen in exchange for some landmen; and, by God's help, he, with the Bark Clifford, would alone proceed for the South-Sea: but the Admiral mightily withstood his motion, and would grant none of his requests (4).

(4) Hakluyt, ubi supra. p. 777.

[*E*] *To*

own expence, with about four hundred men, and all neceſſaries [*E*], he ſet ſail from Plymouth the 18th of June (*l*). Three days after, they took three French ſhips belonging to the Leaguers (*m*) in that nation. Meeting, on the 13th of July, with eleven ſhips bound for Hamborough, and other neighbouring ports, they took out of them a quantity of pepper and cinnamon belonging to a Jew of Liſbon, valued at about four thouſand five hundred pounds. The firſt of Auguſt, they came within ſight of St Michael, one of the Azores, and put out Spaniſh colours, the more eaſily to execute the project they had formed, of carrying off in the night ſome ſhips that were in the harbour. Accordingly they cut the cables of three of them, and towed them away: they were loaded with wine and oyl from Seville. The 7th, they took another little veſſel, whoſe lading was Madera-wine, woollen-cloth, ſilks, &c. Having got information, that the Spaniſh Carracks (a very valuable booty) were at Tercera, they made haſte thither: and by the way looked into Fyal road, Auguſt the 27th, whence they brought away a ſhip of two hundred and fifty tuns, and fourteen guns, that was moored to the caſtle, and loaded with ſugar, ginger, and hides. They fetched out likewiſe five other ſmall ſhips, newly come from Guinea, notwithſtanding the briſk fire of the enemy, and ſent four of them to England on the 30th of Auguſt. At there coming near Tercera, being told that the Carracks had been gone thence eight days, they returned back to Fyal on the 10th of September; and having made themſelves maſters of the town with much eaſe, obliged the inhabitants to ranſom it for two thouſand ducats (*n*). They took there alſo fifty-eight pieces of iron ordnance. The 27th of that month they went to St Michael: and the 1ſt of October to Gratioſa, where they got a new ſupply of proviſions. On the 14th they took a French ſhip loaden with fiſh from Newfoundland. The ſame day, and the five following, the Earl of Cumberland endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of fifteen ſail of the Spaniſh Weſt-India fleet, that had put into the port of Angra in Tercera: but finding it too dangerous an attempt, he deſiſted. Next, he ſailed to St Michael's; where being hindred from taking in freſh water, he went for it to St Mary's iſland. And finding two Braſil ſhips there, which the people were trying to bring a-ground, Captain Liſter boldly carried one of them off, notwithſtanding the enemy's violent fire. But the Earl attempting to take the other, had two parts of his own men killed or wounded; and receiving himſelf three ſhot upon his ſhield, and a fourth on his ſide, tho' not deep: his head was likewiſe broke with ſtones and all covered with blood, and both his head and legs were much burnt with granadoes (*o*). Not being able to have water there, he took ſome in at St George's iſland, October 29; and then reſolved to ſail for England, taking the coaſt of Spain in his way. On the 4th of November they had the good fortune to make themſelves maſters of a Portugueſe ſhip of one hundred and ten tuns, fraighted with ſugar and Braſil-wood: and two days after, of another, between three and four hundred tuns, loaden with hides, cochineal, ſugar, china-diſhes, and ſilver. Both were valued at fourteen thouſand pounds, and forthwith were ſent to England: but the latter was ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Cornwall, and all the men periſhed except five or ſix; however, ſome of the goods were ſaved (*p*). The Earl himſelf being kept out at ſea, by ſtorms and contrary winds, longer than he expected, was, for want of proviſions, reduced to the greateſt extremities [*F*]. But at length, on the 2d of December, reaching Bantry-

(*l*) Navigations, Voyages, &c. publiſhed by R. Hakluyt, Vol. II. edit. 1599. P. ii. p. 155. Purchas, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) That is, to the faction formed in France againſt King Henry III. They were looked upon as enemies by the Engliſh.

(*n*) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 157, 158.

(*o*) Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1143.

(*p*) Hakluyt, as above, p. 162, 163, 166.

[*E*] *To which adding three other ſmall ſhips*, &c.] Namely, The Meg, commanded by Captain William Monſon, Vice-Admiral: the Margaret, by Captain Edward Careles, alias Wright, Rear-Admiral: and a Caravel, by Captain Pigeon. The Earl himſelf was Commander of the Victory, having under him Captain Chriſtopher Liſter (5).

(5) Hakluyt, as above, p. 155; and Purchas, p. 1142.

[*F*] *Was, for want of proviſions, reduced to the greateſt extremities.*] The tragical account left us by one of the ſufferers (6), of the great extremities they were reduced to for want of drink, is equal to the ſcene of hunger in Beaumont and Fletcher's ſea-voyage. 'Soon after, *ſays he*, the wind came about to the 'eaſtwards, ſo that we could not fetch any part of 'England. And hereupon alſo our allowance of 'drinke, which was ſcant ynough before, was yet more 'ſcanted, becauſe of the ſcarcitie thereof in the ſhippe. 'So that now a man was allowed but halfe a pinte 'at a meale, and that many times colde water, and 'ſcarce ſweete. Notwithſtanding this was an happie 'eſtate in compariſon of that which followed: for 'from halfe a pinte we came to a quarter, and that 'laſted not long neither; ſo that by reaſon of this 'great ſcarcitie of drinke, and contrarietie of winde, we 'thought to put into Ireland, there to relieve our 'wants. But when wee came neer thither, we were 'driven ſo farre to Leeward, that we could fetch no 'part of Ireland. In the mean time we were allowed 'every man three or foure ſpoones full of vineger to 'drinke at a meale: for other drinke we had none, 'ſaving onely at two or three meales, when we had 'inſtead hereof as much wine, which was wringed out 'of wine-lees that remained. With this hard fare '(for by reaſon of our great want of drinke, wee durſt 'eate but very little) wee continued for a ſpace of a 'fortnight or thereabouts: ſaving that now and then 'wee feaſted for it in the meane time; and that was 'when there fell any haile or raine: the haile-ſtones 'wee gathered up and did eate them more pleaſantly 'than if they had bene the ſweeteſt comfits in the 'world. The raine-drops were ſo carefully ſaved, 'that ſo neere as we coulde, not one was loſt in all 'our ſhippe. Some hanged up ſheets tied with cordes 'by the foure corners, and a weight in the midſt that 'the water might runne downe thither, and ſo be re-'ceived into ſome veſſel ſet or hanged underneth: 'ſome that wanted ſheetes, hanged up napkins, and 'cloutes, and watched them 'till they were thorow wet, 'then wringing and ſucking out the water. And that 'water which fell downe and waſhed away the filth 'and ſoiling of the ſhippe, trod under foote, as bad 'as running down the kennell many times when it 'raineth, was not loſt, but watched and attended 'carefully, yea ſometimes with ſtrife and contention, 'at every ſcupper hole, and other place where it ran 'down, with diſhes, pots, cannes, and jarres, where-'of ſome drunk hearty draughts even as it was, mud, 'and all, without tarrying to clenſe or ſettle it: others 'clenſed it firſt, but not often, for it was ſo thicke 'and went ſo ſlowly thorow, that they might ill en-'dure to tary ſo long, and were loth to loſe too much 'of ſuch precious ſtuff: ſome licked with their 'tongues, like dogges, the boards under feete, the 'ſides, railes, and maſts of the ſhippe: others that 'were more ingenious, faſtened girdles of ropes about 'the maſtes, dawbing tallow betwixt them and the 'maſte,

(6) Edward Wright, a famous Mathematician. See Hakluyt, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 163, 164.

Bantry-bay in the West of Ireland, and having there refreshed himself and his men, he arrived safe at Falmouth the 29th of December; after a tedious passage of nine days from Ireland (*q*). In 1591, his Lordship undertook a *fourth* voyage, to the coast of Spain, with five ships [*G*], fitted out at his own charge (*r*). He sailed from England in May; and, in his way to the Spanish coasts, found several Dutch ships coming from Lisbon loaden with spices, which he took out of them. These spices, he determined to send to England, in a ship, guarded by the Golden Noble his Rear-Admiral, but they were taken in a calm, by some Portuguese gallies from Penicha; one of the Captains, with several of the men slain; and the rest carried prisoners to Penicha, and from thence to Lisbon. His Lordship took, besides the spices just now mentioned, a vessel fraighted with wine, which he unloaded into his own: and two ships laden with sugar; but one having a leak that could not be found, he left it: the other he sent for England; and by contrary winds, and want of victuals, it was forced into the Groyne, where it fell into the enemy's hands. These several misfortunes obliged the Earl to return to England; after having sent advice to the Lord Thomas Howard, Admiral of the English fleet, then waiting at the Azores to intercept the West-India plate fleet, That there was a large Spanish squadron ready to put out to sea (*s*). The next year, the Earl of Cumberland undertook a *fifth* expedition; in which he chose not to make use of any of her Majesty's ships [*H*]. He intended to have commanded in this voyage in person; but he was so crossed with winds, that three months provisions were spent in harbours, before they could get to the Westward of Plymouth. Whereupon, being disappointed in his principal design, namely, the taking of the outward-bound Spanish Carracks; he transferred the chief command to Captain Norton, with instructions to go to the Azores, and returned himself to London. His little fleet pursued their voyage, and one of the ships (*t*) took, near Cascais, and within shot of the castle, a Portuguese ship, which was conducted to England by the Golden Noble. The rest went to the Azores, and, with the assistance of other English Ships [*I*], attacked the Santa Cruz, a large Carrack, in the road of Lagowna; which the Spaniards set on fire, after having put the best of it's cargo on shore, but the English landed, and made themselves masters, both of it, and the town. The 3d of August, they took another rich Carrack, named Madre de Dios, or the Mother of God, valued at a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, which was brought to Dartmouth (*u*). The Earl of Cumberland's share, in proportion to his number of ships and men employed in that service, must have amounted to a very considerable sum: but, because his commission had not provided for the case of his return, and the substituting another in his room, it was adjudged, that he should depend on the Queen's mercy and bounty. And, by reason of several embezzlements, not above the fifth part of the ship's value being brought to account, his Lordship was forced to sit down contented with thirty-six thousand pounds; and that too as a mere matter of bounty and favour, not as his just right (*w*). The Earl, not hereby discouraged, undertook a *sixth* voyage, in the year 1593. Queen Elizabeth lent him for this expedition two ships of her Royal navy, namely, the Golden-Lyon, Admiral, which his Lordship commanded in person; and the Bonadventure, Vice-Admiral: to which he added four other ships (*x*). He had not been long at sea, before he took two French ships of great value, guarded by fourteen great hulks, one of which he carried with him, and sent the other to England. When he came near the Azores, hearing that the Spaniards had a fleet there to intercept him, and perceiving, by an advice-boat of theirs he took, that they were much superior to him in strength; he kept company with them one day, and then withdrew at ten or twelve leagues distance, and so continued for three weeks. In which time being seized with a violent fit of illness, he left the command of his little fleet to Captain Monson (who took one prize afterwards) and returned to England; this proving the most gainful voyage he ever made. Whilst he was near the coast of Spain, he sent three of his ships (*y*) to the West-Indies. They first touched at St Lucia and Martinico, where they refreshed themselves; and then proceeding

(*q*) Ibid. p. 164, 165, 166; and Purchas, p. 1143, 1144.

(*r*) Purchas, as above, p. 1144.

(*s*) Purchas, p. 1144; and Sir Will. Monson's Tracts.

(*t*) The Golden Noble.

(*u*) Hakluyt, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 196—198.

(*w*) Purchas, p. 1145.

(*x*) *Viz.* The bark Chaldon, the Pilgrim, the Antony, and the Discovery. Purchas, p. 1146.

(*y*) The Antony of 120 tuns, Capt. Jam. Langton, Commander: the Pilgrim of 100 tuns, commanded by Capt. Fr. Slingsby; and the Discovery. Purchas, ubi sup.

'masts, that the rain might not run down between, in 'such sort, that those ropes or girdles hanging lower 'on the one side than on the other, a spout of leather 'was fastened to the lowest part of them, that all the 'rain-drops that came running downe the masts, 'might meete together at that place, and there be re-'ceived. —— Some also put bullets of lead into their 'mouthes to slake their thirst. Now in every corner 'of the shippe were heard the lamentable cries of 'sicke and wounded men sounding wofully in our 'eares, crying out and pitifully complaining for want 'of drinke, being ready to die, yea many dying for 'lacke thereof, so as by reason of this great extremitie 'we lost many more men, then wee had done all the 'voyage before.'

[*G*] *With five ships.*] Namely, a new ship of the Queen's of six hundred tuns, named the Garland, being the Admiral: The Samson, Vice-Admiral, a ship of his Lordship's, of two hundred and sixty tuns: together with the Golden Noble, Rear-Admiral: the Allagarta: and a small pinnance called the Discovery (7).

(7) Purchas, ubi supra, p. 1144.

[*H*] *He chose not to make use of any of her Majesty's ships.*] By reason of the inconvenience of her Majesty's command, 'Not to lay any Spanish ship a-board with 'her ships, lest both might together be destroyed by 'fire.' So he hired of the Merchants, the Tigre, a ship of 600 tuns, furnished by the owners for three hundred pounds a months wages, in which he went in person; adding thereto his own ship the Samson, and the Golden Noble, with two small ships more (8); commanded by Captain Nicolas Downton, and Captain Abraham Cocke (9).

(8) Purchas, p. 1144.

(9) Hakluyt, p. 197.

[*I*] *And with the assistance of other English ships.*] That had been sent into those seas by Sir Walter Raleigh, to watch the return of the Spanish East and West-India fleets. The particular ships that assisted in fighting against the Santa Cruz, were, The Roebuck, a ship of Sir Walter Raleigh's, commanded by Sir John Burrough: the Foresight, belonging to the Queen, Sir Robert Crosse, Commander: the Dainty, a ship of Sir John Hawkins, Captain Tomson: and the Golden Dragon, commanded by Captain Christopher Newport (10).

(10) Hakluyt, p. 195—197; and Purchas, p. 1145.

[*K*] *Fitted*

ceeding to Margarita, an iſland famous for the pearl-fiſheries, ſeized there a large quantity of pearl, to the value of two thouſand pounds, beſides other booty; and obliged alſo the inhabitants to pay them two thouſand ducats in pearl, to ſave their town from being plundered. They ſailed next to Cumana, to the iſlands of Aruba and Curaſſow, and to Rio de la Hache, which they intended to have taken, but found the people ready for them, and learned that they had carried their goods up to the mountains: they therefore ſet ſail for Hiſpaniola, and having viſited ſeveral ports round it, and alſo the iſlands of Mona and Savona, went up the river Socko in Hiſpaniola, where they exacted large contributions, threatning otherwiſe to pillage the Spaniards farm-houſes. At Domingo, they took a fine frigat, which they brought to England. Thence they went to Jamaica, to Cuba, Cape Corientes and Cape St Antonio, where they waited for ſome time in vain for ſhips coming from the Havannah. After eight months ſpent in thoſe parts, the Pilgrim ſailed for England, and arrived at Plymouth, May 14, 1594. But the Antonio, and the frigat, went to the bay of Honduras, where, near Porto Cavallo, they found ſeven Spaniſh ſhips: from Six of them the Spaniards had taken off the rudders, that they might be diſabled from ſailing; and refuſing to ranſom them, the Engliſh ſet them on fire. But they firſt took out the beſt effects, and put them on board the Spaniſh Admiral, a ſhip of two hundred and fifty tuns, which they brought to England: and arrived at Plymouth the 15th of May, the next day after the Pilgrim (*z*). Before the return of theſe ſhips, the Earl of Cumberland had, at his own charge, with the help of ſome adventurers, fitted out a ſmall fleet [*K*], deſigned for the Azores, and particularly for the iſland of Tercera. They ſailed from Plymouth, April 6, 1594, and about the 25th, took a ſmall bark of Viana in Portugal, loaden with Galicia wines, and other commodities, which they divided amongſt themſelves. On the 2d of June they came within Sight of St Michael's iſland, one of the Azores; and on the 13th of the ſame month, met (*a*) with a large Portugueſe Carrack, of two thouſand tuns, called *Las cinque Llagas*, or the five wounds, returning from the Eaſt-Indies. They attacked it very vigorouſly, and would probably have become maſters of it: but it being accidentally ſet on fire during the engagement, was blown up, with a great quantity of powder it had on board. After this diſaſter they ſailed for the iſland of Flores, where they refreſhed themſelves: and then putting out again to ſea, came up, the 1ſt of July, with another large Carrack of fifteen hundred tuns, which, after a few ſhot, they ſummoned to ſurrender. But it ſtanding upon it's defence, and, in the engagement with the former Carrack, the Vice-Admiral and ſeveral men having been killed, and the Admiral with many more wounded, the reſt began to grow faint and diſcouraged. So leaving this Carrack, they went and waited about Corvo and Flores for ſome prize from the Weſt-Indies. None coming, and their victuals beginning to grow ſhort, they returned for England, and arrived at Portſmouth about the end of Auguſt, having done much harm to the enemy, and little good to themſelves (*b*). Notwithſtanding that, the Earl of Cumberland reſolved upon an *eighth* expedition in the year 1595. Thinking himſelf ill-uſed by the Queen, in the ſmall ſhare he received of the treaſure found in the Madre de Dios; and not liking to be tied to ſuch ſtrict orders as he was when he went out with any ſhips of the Royal navy; likewiſe, being highly diſpleaſed at the loſs of the two laſt mentioned Carracks for want of a ſufficient ſtrength; he built, at Deptford, a ſhip of his own, of nine hundred tuns: which the Queen, at the launching of it, named The Scourge of Malice. It was the beſt and largeſt ſhip, that, 'till then, had ever been built by any Engliſh ſubject. In this his Lordſhip intended to have gone in perſon, and had prepared three other ſhips to accompany him [*L*]. But when he had gone as far as Plymouth, the Queen ſent him an order, by Sir Walter Ralegh and Sir John Hawkins, to return: and he complied. The ſhips, however, purſued their voyage [*M*]: three of them (*c*) went to the Azores, where they took a Carvel from St Thomas, of a hundred tuns, laden with ſugar. They attacked, afterwards, near Flores, a large ſhip which they ſuppoſed to be a Carrack, but found it to be the St Thomas, Vice-Admiral of the Spaniſh Fleet, waiting there to convoy the Eaſt and Weſt-India fleets to Europe. Being like to be over-powered by the Engliſh, it went and joined the other Spaniſh ſhips: all which together were too ſtrong for the Earl of Cumberland's ſmall ſquadron. Whereupon, theſe latter ſailed for the coaſt of Spain. Near it, they took three Dutch Ships, laden with wheat, copper, and other ammunitions and proviſions; which being for the King of Spain, were on that account thought lawful prize. By this time their victuals being near ſpent, they returned to England (*d*). In 1596, his Lordſhip fitted out a ſecond time the Scourge of Malice: In which he went in perſon, accompanied with the Dreadnought belonging to the Queen, and ſome other ſmall ſhips. About thirty

(*z*) Purchas, as above, p. 1146, 1147.

(*a*) Off the Sound between Fyall and Pico, ſix leagues to the ſouthward.

(*b*) Hakluyt, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 199—201. Purchas, p. 1147, 1148.

(*c*) The Scourge, the Antony, and the Frigat.

(*d*) Purchas, p. 1148.

[*K*] *Fitted out a ſmall fleet.*] Which conſiſted of, The Royal Exchange, Admiral, commanded by Captain George Cave: the May-flower, Vice-Admiral, under the conduct of Captain William Anthony: and the Sampſon, Captain Nicholas Downton. They had each the like quantity of victuals; and the ſame number of men, that is 420, of all ſorts, Beſides theſe three ſhips, there was a pinnace, called the Violet, or The Why not I (11).

(11) Hakluyt, as above, p. 199; and Purchas, p. 1147.

[*L*] *And had prepared three other ſhips to accompany him.*] Namely, The Alcedo, Vice-Admiral, commanded by Captain Monſon: the Antony commanded by Captain Daniel Jarret: and the Old Frigate (12).

(12) Purchas, p. 1148.

[*M*] *The ſhips, however, purſued their voyage.*] Except the Alcedo: the Commander of which, Captain Monſon, was ſo highly diſpleaſed at Captain Langton's being appointed Admiral, and Commander of the Scourge, that he quitted the others, and betook himſelf to his own adventure in the Alcedo. That bred a quarrel, afterwards, between the Earl of Cumberland and him, and it was a long time before they were reconciled (13).

(13) See Sir Will. Monſon's Tracts; and Purchas, p. 1148.

thirty or forty leagues from England, he met with a ſtorm, wherein the Scourge ſprung her main-maſt, and was made unſerviceable for that voyage: ſo that he was forced to return for England in the Dreadnought (*e*). The Queen having at that time prepared a large fleet, to go on the coaſt of Spain, under the command of the Earl of Eſſex, and the Lord Admiral; the Earl of Cumberland thought it proper to ſend alſo thither the Aſcenſion, a ſhip of three hundred tuns, four and thirty pieces of ordnance, with a hundred and twenty men, commanded by Captain Francis Slingſby; on purpoſe to wait for ſuch ſhips as were expected from Liſbon. Near the Goodwin-ſands it had like to be loſt in a ſtorm: but, however, having been able to proceed to Plymouth, and being refitted there, they proceeded on their voyage. Meeting with a Carvel, they made a fruitleſs attempt upon it, in which the Captain was grievouſly wounded. Afterwards they happened to be vigorouſly attacked by ſeven Spaniſh ſhips, one of them the Admiral, againſt which they as vigorouſly defended themſelves. They continued on the coaſt of Spain 'till they had but fourteen days proviſions left; and then returned to England, without ſo much as one prize to make good the damage and loſs they and the ſhip had ſuſtained (*f*). The laſt, and moſt conſiderable expedition undertaken by the Earl of Cumberland, was in the year 1598. Having then fitted out, and victualled, his own ſhip the Scourge of Malice, with nineteen others [*N*], chiefly at his own charge, he undertook a voyage in perſon to the Weſt-Indies. For that purpoſe, he ſet ſail from Plymouth, March 6, 1597-8; and, on the coaſt of Spain, took a Hamburgh-ſhip laden with corn, copper, powder, and prohibited commodities; and a French ſhip laden with ſalt going into Liſbon: but had, in taking the firſt, three men killed, five or ſix wounded, and his ſhip ſhot in ſeveral places. Soon after he received intelligence, that there were at Liſbon, five very rich Carracks ready to ſail for the Eaſt-Indies, and five and twenty ſhips for Braſil. But they hearing of the approach of the Earl's fleet, and he being tired of waiting for them, ſailed on the 5th of April, for the South Cape. The 8th day they went from thence towards the Canaries; and, on the 13th, made themſelves maſters of Lancerota, where they hoped to have met with a very great treaſure, that iſland being then governed by a Marquis reputed worth an hundred thouſand pounds, but they found little or nothing in the place (*g*). On the 21ſt of April ſailing from Lancerota, they directed their courſe towards Dominica, where they arrived the 23d of May, and ſtaid 'till the 1ſt of June. Next they went to the Virgin iſlands, then uninhabited, where the Earl muſtered his men, and acquainted them with his deſign upon the iſland of St Juan de Porto Rico (*h*). Accordingly they ſet ſail for that place, where they arrived the ſixth of June, and immediately landed the ſoldiers, which were about a thouſand in number. After a very difficult paſſage over a cauſeway to the town [*O*], and two violent aſſaults, the enemies quitted the place, of which his Lordſhip took poſſeſſion, June the 8th (*i*). Within a few days, the ſtrong fort of Mora, in which were four hundred ſoldiers, ſurrendered alſo to the Engliſh; and was afterwards razed. This town being accounted the very key of the Weſt-Indies, and a paſſage to all the gold and ſilver in the Continent of America, his Lordſhip determined to keep it, and make it a place of war. For that purpoſe he ſent away the inhabitants, on the 7th of July, to Carthagena (*k*); tho' they made great offers, to be permitted to ſtay [*P*]. But a bloody-flux that carried off about

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 1149.

(*g*) Ib. p. 1149, —1156.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 1152, 1153, 1159.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 1160, 1161, 1162.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 1166.

[*N*] *With nineteen others.*] The whole fleet was as follows: The Scourge of Malice, commanded by the Earl himſelf; and, under him, by Captain John Watts outward, and Captain James Langton homewards. The Merchant Royal, Vice-Admiral, commanded by Sir John Berkley. The Aſcenſion, Rear-Admiral, Captain Robert Flicke. The Sampſon, Captain Henry Clifford, and after his death at Porto Rico, Captain Chriſtopher Colthurſt. The Alcedo, Captain John Ley, and homewards Captain Thomas Cotch. The Conſent, Captain Francis Slingſby. The Proſperous, Captain James Langton, and homewards Captain John Watts. The Centurion, Captain Henry Palmer, and, after his death, his ſon William Palmer. The Gallion Conſtance, Captain Hercules Folyambe. The Affection, Captain Flemming. The Guiana, Captain Chriſtopher Colthurſt, and homewards Captain Gerard Middleton. The Scout, Captain Henry Jolliffe. The Antony, Captain Robert Careles, and, after his death, Andrew Andrews. The Pegaſus, Captain Edward Goodwin. The Royal Defence, Captain Henry Bromley. The Margaret and John, Captain John Dixon. The Berkley-bay, Captain John Lea. The Old Frigot, Captain William Harper. And two barges uſed for landing of men (14). For this expedition, the Earl was authorized by the Queen's letters Patents dated the 14th of January 1586-7, to raiſe forces ſerviceable by ſea and land: accordingly he levied twelve companies of eighty men each; and appointed officers for them, when he was within one day's ſail of Porto Rico (15). The chief officers were, Sir John Berkley, General; William Meſey, Lieutenant-Colonel; Hercules Folyambe, Serjeant-Major, &c (16).

(14) Purchas, p. 1149.

(15) Ibid. p. 1155.

(16) Ibid. p. 1149.

[*O*] *After a very difficult paſſage over a cauſeway to the town.*] For, the town ſtood in a little iſland, to which there was no other paſſage but over a beach, or narrow cauſeway, guarded by two forts; not to be croſſed but at low-water. At the further end of it there was a bridge, which had been pulled up, and a ſtrong barricado. Beſides, the cauſeway had been purpoſely made ſo rugged, that the Engliſh could not keep on their feet, and therefore choſe to wade in the water by the ſide of it. To add to their misfortunes, the Earl of Cumberland, by the ſtumbling of him that bore his target, had a violent fall, and was in danger of drowning. For, his armour ſo overburdened him, that the Serjeant-Major, who by chance was next to him, had much ado at the firſt and ſecond attempt to raiſe him. When he was up, he found he had ſwallowed a great deal of ſalt-water: which made him ſo ſick, that he was forced to lie down for a while upon the cauſeway; 'till, being a little recovered, he was able to be led to a place of more eaſe and ſafety (17).

(17) Purchas, p. 1160, 1161.

[*P*] *Tho' they made great offers to be permitted to ſtay.*] The Earl, in a letter of his after the taking of this place, affirmeth, That if he would have left the place, he might have had by good account as much ſugar and ginger in the country as was worth 500,000 pounds. But he intended to keep it as the key 'of 'the Indies, which whoever poſſeſſeth (as his words 'were) may at his pleaſure go into any chamber in the 'houſe, and ſee how they ſleepe before he bee either 'ſtopped or deſcried: ſo as they muſt at every doore 'keepe ſo great a force to guard them, as will conſume 'a great part of their yeerely revenue; and ſend it 'from place to place with ſo great a waſtage, as will 'cauſe

about four or five hundred of his men (*l*), made him alter his reſolution. In the mean time, a Carvel coming on the 19th of July, into the harbour, from Margarita, with about a thouſand ducats worth of pearl, was ſeized upon by the Engliſh: by which they being informed, that the King of Spain's pearl-cheſt at Margarita was very rich, and but ſlenderly guarded, the Earl of Cumberland ſailed with three ſhips, in order to have that great booty, but was hindered by contrary winds from executing his purpoſe. Before he quitted the iſland of St Juan de Puerto Rico, he endeavoured to prevail upon the chief inhabitants, for a ſum of money to ranſom their iſland and city. But finding that they trifled with him, and ſuſpecting ſome treachery, he left the ſtrength of his fleet with Sir John Berkley [*Q*]; to whom he gave full power and commiſſion to tranſact all affairs in his abſence. He took, for his own part, nine ſhips with him [*R*], on board of which he put what hides, ginger, ſugar, and ammunition he could get; the bells of the Churches; and all the braſs-cannons that were in the iſland, being fourſcore in number. With theſe nine ſhips he ſet ſail, on the 14th of Auguſt, for the Azores, where he hoped to intercept the Spaniſh Mexico fleet, or ſome of the Carracks (*m*). After many tedious calms, and one violent ſtorm, he arrived at Flores, on the 15th of September: but, at his coming there, was told, that he came too late. It was in all likelihood much for his ſafety and advantage: for, but a few days before, there had been at that place nine and twenty large Spaniſh men of war, which undoubtedly would have proved too ſtrong for him (*n*). Here he was joined by Sir John Berkley, with the reſt of his fleet. After having taken in ſome proviſions, they ſailed all together, the 16th of September, for England; where they arrived about the beginning of October (*o*). In this expedition, his Lordſhip loſt, a barge ſunk by his order in the haven, to the prejudice of the enemy; another barge caſt away in a ſtorm at Bermudas; the Pegaſus wrecked upon the Goodwin ſands, and the old Frigat upon the Uſhent; in which two laſt ſhips, forty perſons were drowned. He loſt otherwiſe about ſeven hundred men, whereof ſix hundred died of the bloody-flux and calenture at Porto Rico; and ſixty were ſlain in fight (*p*). And, for the vaſt expences he was at in hiring and fitting up ſhips, *&c.* he got nothing in this voyage, only ſome quantities of hides, ginger, and ſugar, eighty pieces of ordnance, with ſome ammunition, the bells of the Churches, and about the value of a thouſand ducats of pearl. It was, however, of conſiderable ſervice to the Engliſh nation, and did great damage to the Spaniards; in that it hindered the Carracks from making their voyage to the Eaſt-Indies for this year, and obſtructed the return of the Spaniſh plate-fleet from America (*q*). By the eleven voyages abovementioned, and by building of ſhips, horſe-racing, tilting, and the like expenſive exerciſes, this noble Earl waſted more of his eſtate than any of his anceſtors (*r*). I ſhould have obſerved, that, in 1692, he was elected Knight of the Garter (*s*). In 1601, he was one of the Lords, that were ſent with forces to reduce the Earl of Eſſex to obedience (*t*). He departed this life at the Savoy in London, October 30, 1605, and was buried at Skipton in Craven in Yorkſhire the 30th of March following: where a fine tomb was afterwards erected to his memory (*u*). He married Margaret, the third daughter of Francis Earl of Bedford, by whom he had two ſons, who died young; and a daughter named Anne [*S*]. Dying thus without iſſue-male, he was ſucceeded in his honours by his brother *Francis*; who deceaſed in 1641, and had for ſucceſſor his only ſon *Henry*. And he alſo dying the 11th of December 1643, left one only daughter, Elizabeth, born in 1613, and married July 5, 1635, to Richard Boyle Viſcount Dungarvan, heir-apparent to Richard Earl of Cork, created in 1644 Lord Clifford of Lanſborough, and on the 20th of March 1664, Earl of Burlington, anceſtor of the preſent Earls of that name (*w*).

(*l*) Of the thouſand that landed, the greater part wasdead, or made unſerviceable, ibid p. 1167.

(*m*) Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1168, *&c.*

(*n*) Ibid. p. 1176.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 1174, 1175, 1176.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 1149.

(*q*) Ibid p. 1176. Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1598.

(*r*) Dugdale's Baronage, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Ibid. And Sept. 27, the ſame year, was created Maſter of Arts at Oxford, Wood, Faſti. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 144.

(*t*) Camden, as above, ad ann. 1601.

(*u*) Dugdale, p. 345, 346.

(*w*) Peerage of England, by A. Collins, Vol. II. p. 333.

'cauſe them to curſe their new Porter: for when 'they have done what they can, they ſhall beare his 'charge to their owne deſtructions, and ſtill be loſing 'places both of ſtrength and wealth (18).'

(18) Ibid. p. 1817.

[*Q*] *He left the ſtrength of his fleet with Sir John Berkley.*] Namely, The Aſcenſion, the Gallion, the Alcedo, the Conſent, the Pegaſus, the Centurion, two ſtrong Fly-boats, and the Antony (19).

(19) Id. p. 1169.

[*R*] *He took, for his own part, nine ſhips with him.*] *viz.* His own ſhip, The Scourge of Malice, and the Sampſon: and of leſſer veſſels, The Royal Defence, the Frigat, the Scout, the Elizabeth, the Guiana, and two little ones that were found in the harbour of Porto Rico, the one a French ſhip, and the other a Spaniſh frigat, which were rigged during their abode there (20).

(20) Ibid.

[*S*] *And a daughter named Anne.*] She was born at Skipton-caſtle, January 30, 1589; and married, *firſt*, to Richard Lord Buckhurſt, afterwards Eal of Dorſet. By whom ſhe had three ſons, who died young: and two daughters; Margaret, the wife of John Lord Tuſton Earl of Thanet; and Iſabel, of James Lord Compton, Earl of Northampton. She married, *ſecondly*, Philip Herbert Earl of Penbroke and Montgomery, by whom ſhe had no iſſue. On the 23d of April 1651, ſhe laid the firſt ſtone of an hoſpital at Appleby in Weſtmoreland, for thirteen widows. And alſo purchaſed lands for the repair of the church, ſchool-houſe, town-hall, and bridge, at Appleby. She likewiſe rebuilt a great part of the church there: and rebuilt, and repaired, the greateſt part of the church at Skipton. Moreover, ſhe totally rebuilt the churches of Bongate, and Ninekike; and the chapels of Brougham, and Mallerſtang: and purchaſed lands of eleven pounds yearly value, for the perpetual ſupport of a perſon qualified to read prayers, with the Homilies of the Church of England in this laſt; and to teach the children of the Dale, to write and read Engliſh (21).

(21) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 346.

C

(*a*) A. Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 93. Prince, Worthies of Devon, *&c.* Exeter, 1701, p. 217.

CLIFFORD (Thomas) Lord High Treaſurer of England in the reign of King Charles II, was born Auguſt 1, 1630, at Ugbrook in the pariſh of Chudlegh in Devonſhire, about nine miles from Exeter (*a*). His father, was Hugh Clifford, of Ugbrook, Eſq; Colonel of a regiment of foot in King Charles Iſt's expedition againſt the Scots, in

1639:

1639 [*A*]: and his mother, Mary, daughter of Sir George Chudlegh of Aſhton in the county of Devon, Bart (*b*). His grandfather, Thomas Clifford, Eſq; a very eminent perſon [*B*], derived his pedigree from the noble family of the Cliffords Earls of Cumberland [*C*], by Sir Lewis Clifford Knight of the Garter, who died in the ſixth of King Henry IV (*c*).——Thomas, who is the ſubject of this article, having in his youth had an education ſuitable to his birth and quality, was on the 25th of May 1647, admitted Gentleman-Commoner of Exeter-College in Oxford (*d*). In 1650, he ſupplicated for the degree of Bachelor of Arts; but whether he was admitted, appears not (*e*). However, after having made ſome conſiderable ſtay in the univerſity, and well furniſhed himſelf with Academical learning, he became a Student in the Middle-Temple, London (*f*). Having there continued a while, he travelled into foreign parts, 'Being accounted by his contemporaries a young man of a very unſettled head, or of a roving ſhattered brain (*g*).' Notwithſtanding that, we are aſſured by Mr Prince (*h*), that having an excellent genius, highly improved by education, he returned home a moſt accompliſhed gentleman. In the beginning of April 1660, he was elected one of the Burgeſſes for Totnes, to ſerve in that Parliament which began at Weſtminſter the 25th of the ſame month, and reſtored King Charles II. And, after his Majeſty's Reſtoration, he was choſen again Burgeſs for the ſame place, in the Parliament which began the 8th of May 1661 (*i*). In this Parliament he began to make a conſiderable figure [*D*]: for, being a man of great vivacity (*k*), of a good preſence of mind and body, a ſound judgment, and ready elocution, he became a frequent and celebrated Speaker in the Houſe; at firſt againſt, but at length in behalf of, the Royal Prerogative. For which being taken notice of at Court, he was admitted into the King's favour; and ſoon after received the honour of Knighthood (*l*). He was one of thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons, who formed, ſoon after the Reſtoration, the *wicked project*, of raiſing the King's authority, and encreaſing his revenue; which was defeated by the honeſt Earl of Clarendon (*m*). Being a perſon of a bold ſpirit, and martial temper, he attended in 1665, James Duke of York at ſea, and was in that ſea-fight with the Dutch, which happened on the 3d of June. After which continuing in the fleet, when it was commanded by Edward Earl of Sandwich, Vice-Admiral, he was in the expedition at Bergen in Norway; when, on the 2d of Auguſt, the Engliſh attacked the Dutch Eaſt-India fleet, which had taken refuge in that port (*n*). Soon after, he was ſent Envoy to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, with full power to conclude new Treaties and Alliances with them (*o*). The next year 1666, he attended Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle at ſea, in the expedition againſt the Dutch, and was in that great engagement which laſted the four firſt days of June; he was alſo with the ſame Generals, on the 25th of July following, in another fight with the Dutch (*p*). In conſideration of which great ſervices, he was, on the 8th of November following, made Comptroller of the King's Houſhold, in the room of Sir Hugh Pollard, Knt. and Bart. who died the day before; and on the 5th of December enſuing was ſworn one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council (*q*). The 13th of June 1668, he was conſtituted Treaſurer of the King's Houſhold, upon the deceaſe of Charles Viſcount Fitz-harding; and, about the ſame time was made, by Patent, one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury (*r*). In 1670, he became one, of the King's Cabinet-Council, known by the name of the *Cabal*; who contrived, to render the King abſolute; to eſtabliſh Popery, and deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion; to break the Triple-Alliance; and to make war upon Holland (*s*): in all which they acted as the tools of France [*E*]. The next year, his Majeſty granted him a ſixty years leaſe of the paſtures of

(*b*) Wood, and Collins, ibid.

(*c*) See Dugdale's Baronage, edit. 1675, Vol. I. p. 334, 342.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra. Prince, p. 218.

(*e*) Wood, ibid.

(*f*) Prince, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Wood, ubi ſupra. 'Twas probably in his travels that he turned Roman Catholick, for he was ſo before the Reſtoration. See Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1725, Lond. Vol. I. p. 225.

(*h*) Worthies, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Wood and Prince, ubi ſupra. See alſo *Notitia Parliamentaria*, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; 8vo, edit. 1716, Vol. II. p. 285.

(*k*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 225.

(*l*) Wood, ubi ſupra; and Prince, p. 219.

(*m*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 251.

(*n*) Wood, and Prince, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Ibid.

(*q*) Ibid.

(*r*) Prince p. 219.

(*s*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, edit. 1707, Vol. III. p. 251, 278. Rapin's Hiſt of England, edit. fol. 1733, Vol. II. p. 655, &c.

[*A*] *His farther was Hugh Clifford of Ugbrook, Eſq*; &c.] And therefore Biſhop Burnet is miſtaken, when he ſays, That 'he was the ſon of a Clergyman, born 'to a ſmall fortune (1).'

(1) Hiſtory of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. Vol. I. p. 225.

[*B*] *His grandfather Thomas Clifford, Eſq; a very eminent perſon*] He ſerved in his youth in the Netherlands; but afterwards became a Scholar in the Univerſity of Oxford, and attended Robert Earl of Eſſex in his naval expedition to Cadiz, in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, by whom he was twice ſent as Envoy to ſome of the German and Italian Princes. And having paſſed the age of fifty, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity; in which he became ſo great a proficient, that doing all his exerciſes, he took the degree of Doctor in the Univerſity of Oxford; and in that function continued, without accepting any preferment in the Church, but preached gratis all his time; to ſhew others the way of avoiding thoſe rocks whereon he himſelf had in his youth ſometimes run, as he often expreſſed. He died in the year 1634 (2). This gentleman's taking orders, is what probably occaſioned the miſtake animadverted upon in the foregoing note.

(2) Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 312.

[*C*] *Derived his pedigree from the noble family of the Cliffords Earls of Cumberland.*] The founder of this ancient family was *William Fitz-punz* (3), who came into England with William the Conqueror His grandſon, Walter, took the ſurname of *Clifford* from the pariſh of Clifford in Herefordſhire. Deſcended from him, was *Lewis* de Clifford, who lived in the reigns of King Richard II. and Henry IV. and was the immediate anceſtor of the preſent Lords Cliffords. His great grandſon was Thomas Clifford of Borſcombe in the county of Wilts; whoſe great grandſon Antony Clifford of Borſcombe aforementioned, and King's Teignton in Devonſhire, married Anne, daughter, and one of the heirs, of Sir Peter Courtenay of Ugbrook, Knt. by which means that eſtate came into the family of the Cliffords. Antony's eldeſt ſon, was Henry Clifford, Eſq; from whom deſcended the Cliffords of Borſcombe and King's Teignton; and by a female heir that eſtate is now come into the family of Bampfield. ——His ſecond ſon was William——and the third ſon, Thomas, mentioned in the laſt note, had the ſeat of Ugbrook, now enjoyed by the preſent Lord Clifford (4).

(3) Dugdale ſays it was Richard the ſon of Ponce, Baronage, Vol. I. p. 335; but I follow Ar. Collins, Peerage, Vol. III. p. 307.

[*D*] *In this Parliament he began to make a conſiderable figure.*] When he firſt appeared in the Houſe, he got one to recommend him to the Lord Clarendon's favour, but this Lord, who had many ſpies among the Prieſts, being informed of Clifford's being turned Roman Catholick, excuſed himſelf the beſt he could. So Clifford ſtruck in with his enemies; and tied himſelf particularly to Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington (5).

(4) See Dugdale's Baronage, edit. 1675, p. 334, &c. Peerage of Engl. &c. by Ar. Collins, Vol. III. p. 307, &c. and Britiſh Compend. in Clifford.

(5) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 225.

[*E*] *In all which they acted as the tools of France.*] They had all of them great preſents from France, beſides what was openly given them; for the French Embaſſador

of Creſlow in Buckinghamſhire (*t*). And the ſame year, he finiſhed a new chapel at Ugbrook, which was conſecrated, and dedicated to St Cyprian, by Anthony Biſhop of Exeter (*u*). Upon the death of Sir John Trevor, which was on the 28th of May 1672 (*w*), and in the abſence of Henry Earl of Arlington, Sir Thomas executed the office of Principal Secretary of State, 'till the return of the Lord Arlington from his embaſſy in Holland, and of Mr Henry Coventry from his embaſſy into Sweden (*x*). For his great ſervices to King Charles II, and his brother the Duke of York, he was on the 20th of April 1672, created by Patent Baron Clifford of Chudleigh in the county of Devon, to him, and his heirs male; and, in June following, his Majeſty gave him the manors of Cannington, and Rodway Fitz-payn in Somerſetſhire (*y*). Moreover, having adviſed King Charles to ſhut up the Exchequer [*F*], he was, for that important advice, rewarded, on the 28th of November, with the moſt profitable office of Lord High Treaſurer of England; which had been executed by Commiſſioners ever ſince the death of Thomas Earl of Southampton (*z*). But being heated with the deſign of bringing in Popery, even to enthuſiaſm (*a*), he was guilty of ſome indecencies, which occaſioned his loſing ſoon that place. For, in purſuance of his and the reſt of the Cabal's deſigns [*G*], King Charles having, for the ſervice of Popery, publiſhed March 15, 1671-2, a Declaration for Indulgence, or Liberty of Conſcience (*b*), wherein the execution of penal Laws againſt whatſoever ſort of Nonconformiſts or Recuſants, were ſuſpended; the Houſe of Commons, which began to perceive the King's deſigns, voted that Declaration to be againſt Law (*c*). In oppoſition to this vote, and two addreſſes to the King ſubſequent thereupon, the Lord Clifford reſolved to maintain, in the Houſe of Lords, the validity of that Declaration, with all the force, and all the arguments he could bring for it. He began the debate with rough words; calling the vote of the Commons a horrible monſter (*d*), and running on in a very high ſtrain. He ſaid, in ſhort, all that could be ſaid, with great heat, and many indecent expreſſions (*e*). Tho' this ſpeech was agreeable to the King, it raiſed ſuch a flame in the Parliament [*H*], that the Cabal durſt not purſue their projects; and the Earl of Shaftſbury deſerting them, the King was prevailed upon [*I*] to recall and cancel his Declaration (*f*).

Thereupon

(*t*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Ibid.

(*w*) Gazette.

(*x*) Wood, and Prince, ubi ſupra.

(*y*) Ibid. and Peerage of Engl. &c. by Ar. Collins, Eſq; ubi ſupra, p. 314.

(*z*) Echard, ubi ſupra, p. 288. Upon his being ſworn into that office, the Lord Chancellor Aſhley made him a very flattering Speech; which ſee in Rapin, Vol. II. edit. 1733, fol. p. 665.

(*a*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 346.

(*b*) Complete Hiſt. of England. Vol. III. by Biſhop Kennet, edit. 1719, p. 313.

(*c*) Votes of the Commons. See alſo Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 346.

(*d*) *Monſtrum horrendum ingens.*

(*e*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 348.

(*f*) Idem, p. 351. Echard, ubi ſup. Rapin, edit. 1733, fol. Vol. II. p. 669.

Embaſſador gave once each of them a picture of the King of France ſet in diamonds, to the value of 3000*l* (6). This conduct of theirs, in making our Court ſubſervient to the deſigns of France, and for that purpoſe rendring even King Charles dependent upon Lewis XIV, was agreeable to the ſentiments of the Lord Clifford in particular; who once ſaid inadvertently, 'That if the King [Charles II] muſt be 'in a dependance, it was better to pay it to a great and 'generous King [namely Lewis], than to five hundred 'of his own inſolent ſubjects (7).'

(6) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 308.

(7) Ibid. p. 614.

[*F*] *Having adviſed King Charles to ſhut up the Exchequer.*] The occaſion of that advice, was this: The King, under preſſing neceſſities, promiſed the White Staff to any one of his Miniſters, who could put him in a way to raiſe fifteen hundred thouſand pounds, without applying to his Parliament. The next day Lord Aſhley told Sir Thomas Clifford, That there was a way to do this; but it was dangerous, and might in its conſequences inflame both Parliament and people. Sir Thomas, impatient to know the ſecret, plied the Lord Aſhley with viſits, and having drunk him to a proper height, led him inſenſibly to the ſubject of the King's indigence; Lord Aſhley, warm and unguarded, dropt the important ſecret of ſhutting up the Exchequer. Sir Thomas took the hint, left Aſhley as ſoon as he could, went the ſame night to White-hall, and attending 'till the King roſe, demanded the White Staff. The King renewed his promiſe, if the money could be found; and then Sir Thomas diſcloſed the ſecret, and was accordingly made Lord Treaſurer (8). That affair was propoſed in Council January 2, 1671-2 (9).

(8) Sir Joſ. Tyley's MS. cited by Mr Echard, ubi ſupra, Vol. III. p. 288.

(9) Life of Sir W. Temple, p. 189, 8*vo*.

[*G*] *In purſuance of his, and the Cabal's deſigns.*] The Lord Clifford, a man of a daring and ambitious ſpirit, took the opportunity of the war with Holland the King was then engaged in, to propoſe the Declaration of Indulgence, that the Diſſenters of all ſorts, as well Proteſtants as Papiſts, might be at reſt, and ſo vaſt a number of people not be made deſperate at home, while the King was engaged with ſo potent an enemy abroad.——This Lord's notion was, That the King, if he would be firm to himſelf, might ſettle what religion he pleaſed, and carry the government to what height he would: for if men were aſſured in the liberty of their conſciences, and undiſturbed in their properties, able and upright Judges made in Weſtminſter hall to judge the cauſes of *Meum* and *Tuum*; and if, on the other hand, the fort of Tilbury was finiſhed to bridle the city, the fort of Plymouth to ſecure the Weſt, and arms for twenty-thouſand men in each of theſe, and in Hull for the northern parts; with ſome addition (which might be eaſily and undiſcernedly made) to the force, now on foot, there were none who had either will, opportunity, or power to reſiſt (10).

[*H*] *This ſpeech raiſed a great flame in the Parliament.*] Upon a diviſion, the Court had the majority. But againſt it about thirty of the moſt conſiderable of the Houſe of Lords proteſted. So the Court ſaw, they had gained nothing in carrying a vote, that drew after it ſuch a proteſtation. Thereupon, it was debated in the Cabinet, what the King ſhould do. Lord Clifford and Duke Lauderdale were for the King's ſtanding his ground. The Lord Clifford in particular ſaid to the King, his people did now ſee thro' all his deſigns: and therefore he muſt reſolve to make himſelf maſter at once, or be for ever ſubject to much jealouſy and contempt However, his Majeſty followed the advice of the Earls of Shaftſbury and Arlington, who preſſed him to give the Parliament full content. Whereupon he recalled his Declaration, as is related above (11).

(10) Letter from a Perſon of Quality, Lond. 1675. *4to*. See Complete Hiſtory of Engl. edit. 1719, Vol. III. p. 312, note.

(11) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 348, 349.

[*I*] *The King was prevailed upon*, &c.] At firſt, he was all in a fury to be forſaken by his Chancellor, the Earl of Shaftſbury: and told Lord Clifford, how well he was pleaſed with his ſpeech, and how highly he was offended with the other. But, the ſame afternoon in which that affair had been argued in the Houſe of Lords, the Earls of Shaftſtury and Arlington got all thoſe members of the Houſe of Commons on whom they had any influence (and who had money from the King, and were his ſpies, but had leave to vote with the party againſt the Court, for procuring them the more credit) to go privately to the King, and to tell him that upon Lord Clifford's ſpeech, the Houſe was in ſuch fury, that probably they would have gone to ſome high votes and impeachments: but the Lord Shaftſbury ſpeaking on the other ſide, reſtrained them. So they made the King apprehend, that the Lord Chancellor's ſpeech, with which he had been offended, was really a great ſervice done him. And they perſuaded him farther, that he might now ſave himſelf, and obtain an indemnity for his Miniſters, if he would part with the Declaration. This was ſo dextrouſly managed by Lord Arlington, who got thus a great number of the members to go one after another to the King, and by concert to ſpeak all the ſame language, that before night the King was quite changed, and ſaid to his brother, that Lord Clifford had undone himſelf, and had ſpoiled their buſineſs by his mad ſpeech; and that tho' Lord Shaftſbury had ſpoke like a rogue, yet that had

Thereupon, the Lord Clifford was disgraced [*K*], and resigning the White-Staff on the 19th of June 1673 (*g*), retired to his country-seat at Ugbrook: where, in September following, he died of the stone, being aged forty-three years, and about a month (*b*). He was buried in a vault under the chapel he had built, as is related above (*i*). This Lord's character is sufficiently evident from what is said of him in this article. But, besides that, Mr Prince informs us (*k*), That he was a gentleman, of a proper manly body, of a large and noble mind, of a sound head, and a stout heart. He not only had, but had the command of, most excellent parts, and knew how to employ them to his own best advantage. He had a voluble flowing tongue, a ready wit, a firm judgment, and an undaunted courage and resolution. He married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir to William Martin of Lindridge in Devonshire, Esq; by whom he had fifteen children; and was succeeded in honour and estate, by his eldest surviving son, Hugh: who departed this life October 12, 1730. And had for successor Hugh; who dying March 26, 1732, was succeeded by Hugh, the present Lord Clifford (*l*).

(*g*) Peerage, by Ar. Collins, ubi supra, p. 314.

(*b*) Prince, ubi supra, p. 223.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Ubi supra, p. 220.

(*l*) Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, ubi supra, p 314—316.

had stopt a fury which the other's indiscretion had kindled, to such a degree that he could serve him no longer. He gave him leave to let him know all this. Accordingly, the Duke told Lord Clifford what the King had said. The Lord Clifford, who was naturally a vehement man, went upon that to the King, who scarce knew how to look him in the face. Lord Clifford said, he knew how many enemies he must needs make to himself by his speech: but he hoped that in it he both served and pleased the King, and was therefore the less concerned in every thing else: but he was surprized to find by the Duke, that the King was now of another mind. The King was in some confusion: he owned that all he had said was right in itself: but he said, that he, who sat long in the House of Commons, should have considered better what they could bear, and what the necessity of his affairs required (12).

(12) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 349, 350.

[*K*] *Thereupon the Lord Clifford was disgraced.*] In his first heat he was inclined to have laid down his White Staff, and to have expostulated roundly with the King. But a cooler thought stopped him, he reckoned he must now retire: and therefore he had a mind to take some care of his family in the way of doing it: so he restrained himself, and said, he was sorry that his best-meant services were so ill understood. Soon after, he went to the Duke of Buckingham, who had contributed much to the procuring the White Staff to him; and told him, he brought him the first notice that he was to lose that place to which he had helped him, and that he would assist him to procure it to some of his friends. After they had talked round all that were in any sort capable of it, and had found great objections to every one of them, they at last pitched on Sir Thomas Osborn, created afterwards Duke of Leeds (13).

(13) Burnet, ibid. p. 350.

C

CODRINGTON (CHRISTOPHER) a brave soldier, and a man of great politeness and considerable learning, was born at Barbadoes in the year 1668. He had his first education in that island; but, as soon as he was of age to undergo the hardships of a voyage, he was sent to England; and, after some stay at a good private school at Enfield under the care of Dr Wedale, removed to Christ-Church in Oxford (*a*), where he was entered Gentleman Commoner, July 3, 1685 (*b*). Having taken there one degree in Arts, he was admitted Probationer-Fellow of All Souls-College in 1689 (*c*): wherein he so industriously improved, the fine opportunity he had of storing his understanding with all sorts of learning, that he became not only perfect in Logick, History, and the learned and modern languages, but also in Poetry, Physick, and Divinity. Nor was he less careful of those politer exercises and accomplishments, which might qualify him to appear in the world, and at the nicest Courts, with reputation and advantage: insomuch, that he soon acquired the deserved character of an accomplished well-bred Gentleman, and universal Scholar. Thus qualified, he betook himself to the army, but without quitting his Fellowship; and his merit and courage soon recommended him to his Prince's favour (*d*). For he was made Captain in the first regiment of foot-guards (*e*): and seems to have been instrumental in driving the French out of the island of St Christopher's, which they had seized at the breaking out of the war between France and England (*f*). But it is more certain that he was at the Siege of Namur in 1695 (*g*). Upon the conclusion of the peace of Reswick, he was made Captain-General, and Governor in Chief, of the Leeward Caribbee islands (*h*): in which station he had not the happiness of pleasing all, or escaping censure; a thing indeed very difficult, or rather next to impossible! For, in 1701, several articles were exhibited against him to the House of Commons in England [*A*]; to

(*a*) From the Sermon preached at his Funeral, April 8, 1710. in the church of St Michael in Barbadoes, by W. Gordon, M. A. Rector of St James's in Barbadoes; printed the same year in London, 4*to*.

(*b*) From the College books.

(*c*) Gordon, ib'd.

(*d*) Gordon, ubi supra.

(*e*) List, penes me.

(*f*) Complete Hist. of the most remarkable Transactions, &c. by J. Burchett, Esq; Lond. 1720, fol. p. 452, 453. *Q.* Whether it was not his father.

(*g*) Oratio D. Cotes, p. 11.

(*h*) Gordon, ubi supra.

[*A*] *Several Articles were exhibited against him to the House of Commons in England.*] They were XV in number, and tended to charge him with violence, and arbitrary proceedings. As for instance, That having, by the King's Commission and Instructions, power and authority with the Council of the respective Islands under his government, to hear and determine appeals brought before him and them, from the Courts of the said islands; and by the nature of such power and authority ought not to sit and preside in the Courts where such suits are depending; yet he, contrary to the nature of his said Commission and Instructions and the duty of his place, had sate on the Bench with the Chief Justice and other the Judges in the said Courts, and interested himself in private causes, wherein matters of freehold and titles of land were in controversy, arguing both with the Bench and the Bar in favour of one of the parties. That after an Appeal had been prayed and granted by the said Courts, which is in its nature a Supersedeas to the execution until such appeal heard; yet, by his order, immediate execution had been granted: and he had treated petitions about appeals as libels; and declared he would not hear them. That letters Patents and other deeds, relating to some persons titles, having been enrolled in the Secretaries Office of the island where the lands lie, according to law and usual custom; he had in passion torn the said Patents, deeds, and writings, out of the said register; and had thereupon encouraged persons pretending a title to those lands, forcibly to take possession of them. Moreover, that he had forcibly and arbitrarily seized a plantation, without any legal trial, but only upon a pretended conviction by the view of the Justices. That he had issued out his warrants under his hand, commanding and requiring persons under his government, to appear at their peril before him to answer matters

to which was publiſhed a diſtinct and particular anſwer. And at the end are ſubjoined two atteſtations from the Lieutenant-Governor, Members of the Council, and the Repreſentatives, of Nevis [*B*], very much in his favour. In the year 1703, he was at the attack upon Guadalupe, belonging to the French (*i*); in which he ſhowed great bravery, tho' that enterprize happened to be unſucceſsful. Some time after, he reſigned his government of the Leeward iſlands, and lived in a ſtudious and retired condition (*k*). He died, at his ſeat in Barbadoes, on Good-Friday, April 7, 1710; and was buried the day following, in the pariſh church of St Michael in that iſland; but his body was afterwards brought over to England, and interred, on the 19th of June 1716, in the chapel of All Souls-College in Oxford, where two Latin Orations to his memory were ſpoken by two Fellows of that college; the one by Digby Cotes, *M. A.* the Univerſity-Orator, at his interment; the other the next day by Edward Young, *L L. B.* at the laying of the foundation-ſtone of his library (*l*). Over his grave a black marble ſtone was, ſoon after, laid, whereon there is no other inſcription but, CODRINGTON (*m*). By his laſt Will, he bequeathed his two plantations in Barbadoes, and part of the iſland of Barbuda, to the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in foreign parts [*C*]: and alſo left a very handſome legacy

(*i*) Burchett, as above, p. 603.

(*k*) Gordon, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Theſe two Orations were printed together at Oxford, 1716, 8*vo*.

(*m*) See J. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, from 1650 to 1718, p. 281. He allowed only 20 *l* for a grave-ſtone for himſelf, but left 1500 *l*. for erecting a monument for his father in Weſtminſter-abbey. Boyer, as above.

matters of freehold and titles of land. That when he was petitioned for remedy againſt ſome irregular and unlawful acts and orders made by former Governors in chief of the ſaid iſlands; he had refuſed to grant any redreſs therein, declaring he would juſtify all they had done. That when he ſuſpected ſuch order would not be made, or rule given, by the Judges, as he deſired, he had riſen from the Bench, and in a publick manner declared, that he was ſorry he had given them their commiſſions. That when exceptions were taken at the commiſſion granted by him to the Judges of the Court of Niſi Prius, he had openly declared, he would juſtify it; and had ordered, that no copy ſhould be given of the ſame. That he did uſually in his diſcourſes abuſe and vilify his Majeſty's officers in the ſaid iſlands in the moſt groſs and abuſive language imaginable, ſlighting their authority and magnifying his own, daily affronting and diſcouraging them in the execution of their ſeveral offices, &c. That after ſeizure of ſhips, as trading to the Charibbee iſlands contrary to the Act of Navigation, and the acquittal of them by the Court of Admiralty; he had cauſed an appeal from that ſentence to be brought before himſelf alone, and had reverſed the ſaid ſentence of acquittal; out of a covetous deſire to get one third part of the full value of the ſeized ſhip, which by the ſaid Act is given to the Chief Governor of the ſaid iſlands. That whereas by his inſtructions he was required to tranſmit authentick copies, under the publick ſeal, of all laws and ordinances, made within the reſpective iſtands under his government, to his Majeſty and the Commiſſioners of Trade and foreign Plantations, within three months, or ſooner, after their being enacted; yet he had omitted or refuſed to tranſmit ſeveral Acts made by himſelf and the Aſſembly of the iſland of St Chriſtopher's, and notwithſtanding ſuch omiſſion, had put the ſaid laws, &c. in full execution there, even to the raiſing of money.——Theſe Articles were printed at London in 1702, 4*to*. with a diſtinct anſwer to each Article; (too long to be inſerted here) which anſwer concludes in theſe words. 'The gentleman who is 'accuſed of ſo many and high miſdemeanors, had in 'Europe a very fair and honourable character; and 'if the general teſtimony of Councils and Aſſemblies, 'and alſo of particular perſons who come or write from 'the Leeward iſlands, a few who are diſobliged ex-'cepted, may be relied on, he has increaſed it there; 'and by a ſpeedy and impartial diſtribution of Juſtice, 'has gained an univerſal eſteem: and were therefore 'the accuſations againſt him better ſupported than by 'the evidence of a perſon ſo highly prejudiced [Mr 'Mead] who is one of the petitioners, and concerned 'in point of intereſt in moſt of the matters complain-'ed of, it will be ſtill juſt and reaſonable that he 'ſhould firſt be allowed an opportunity of making his 'own defence, before any kind of cenſure paſs to the 'prejudice either of his intereſt or reputation; for it 'is very eaſy to dreſs up a ſpecious complaint againſt 'any man at a diſtance, which his friends who are 'ſtrangers to the matter may be intirely unable to give 'anſwer to; and it is certain that in the preſent caſe, 'had it not been for ſome very accidental notice and 'information in ſome of the matters complained of, 'this accuſation would have appeared much more to 'the diſadvantage of Col. Codrington than it is pre-'ſumed it now will, even in the light it is at preſent 'ſet, without the leaſt information or inſtruction from 'him.'

[*B*] *And at the end are ſubjoined two Atteſtations*, &c.] The firſt, which is from the Lieutenant-Governor, and Members of the King's Council, of Nevis, runs thus. 'Whereas his Majeſty has been 'graciouſly pleaſed to appoint Chriſtopher Codrington, 'Eſq; Captain-General and Commander in Chief over 'all his Majeſties Leeward iſlands, to the great ſatiſ-'faction of us his Majeſties ſubjects of this iſland, and 'that the ſaid Captain-General hath juſtly merited the 'thanks of this iſtand, and character of a good Gover-'nor, We the Lieutenant-Governor, and Members of 'his Majeſties Council of this iſland, do hereby teſtifie 'and declare, that his ſaid Excellency our Captain-'General and Chief Governor hath ever ſince his 'happy arrival to this government, and particularly to 'this iſtand, conſtantly employed himſelf for the pub-'lick good thereof, without regard to any private 'intereſt, that he hath cauſed good laws to be made, 'and the laws in general to be put in execution with-'out favour or affection, hatred or malice to any, and 'that he has in reference to the preſervation of theſe 'iſlands, in caſe of a war, uſed all means for their 'being put in a due poſture of defence, and for the 'more effectual performance of which in true zeal for 'his Majeſties ſervice, he hath been himſelf preſent at 'each iſland; wherefore his great Vertues, Honour, 'and Reputation, being highly advantagious to this 'government which is divided into ſeveral iſlands, and 'therefore has need in war of a moſt ſure conduct, 'we humbly hope and requeſt that no frivolous nor 'ſcandalous complaints may be heard againſt him, he 'having deſerved no ſuch treatment ſince his being 'with us. Dated in the Council-Chamber, in Charles 'Town, the 9th day of July 1701.'

The other atteſtation, or certificate, is from the Repreſentatives of Nevis; wherein they certified, That his Excellency Chriſtopher Codrington, Eſq; their Captain-General and Chief Governor, had all along ſince his arrival and being in his government, acted and behaved himſelf with great zeal and vigour for his Majeſty's ſervice, and for the real good of that iſland, by paſſing all ſuch wholſome and convenient laws as the Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Aſſembly had thought fit to prepare and offer, by adminiſtring true juſtice and right judgment, impartially without favour or affection, profit or gain, to all both rich and poor; ſo that he had moſt juſtly acquired a laudable and honourable reputation, and might without the leaſt flattery be ſtiled a good and careful General, an honeſt and prudent Governor, a true and upright Judge to them, &c.

[*C*] *By his laſt Will, he bequeathed his two plantations in Barbadoes, and part of the iſland of Barbuda, to the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in foreign parts.*] And deſired, That the plantations ſhould continue entire; and three hundred Negroes at leaſt be always kept thereon. The uſes he chiefly appropriated this great benefaction to, was, for building a college in Barbadoes; in which he appointed, that a convenient number of Profeſſors and Scholars ſhould be maintained: who are to be obliged to ſtudy and practiſe Phyſick and Chirurgery, as well as Divinity. That

legacy to All Souls-College, of which he had been Fellow [*D*]. He might be author of several things, but there is nothing, as far as we can find, publiſhed under his name, except verſes to Sir Samuel Garth, in praiſe of his excellent Poem the Diſpenſary [*E*]. We ſhall give his character in the note [*F*].

That by the apparent uſefulneſs of the former (as the Will ran) they might endear themſelves to the people, and have the better opportunities of doing good to men's ſouls, while they are taking care of their bodies (1). This gift is valued at two thouſand pounds a year, clear of all charges (2).

(1) Abſtract of the Will.

(2) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, Vol. II. B. v. p. 37.

[*D*] *And alſo left a very handſome legacy to All Souls-College, of which he had been Fellow.*] Namely, the ſum of *ten thouſand pounds:* as appears from the following clauſe of his Will. —— '*Imprimis*, I give 'my neareſt kinſman, Lieutenant-Colonel William Co-'drington, all my eſtate in and about Doddington, pro-'vided, and upon condition, that he pay to All Souls-'College in Oxford ten thouſand pounds ſterling, in 'manner following; *viz.* two thouſand pounds within 'one year after my deceaſe, and the ſum of two 'thouſand pounds yearly afterwards, until the ſum of 'ten thouſand pounds be paid. I do appoint that ſix 'thouſand pounds thereof be expended in the build-'ing of the library for the uſe of the ſaid College; and 'that the remaining four thouſand pounds be laid out 'in books to furniſh the ſame. *Item*, I give and be-'queath unto the ſaid College, my library now in the 'cuſtody of Mr John Caſwell in Oxford.' This library, we are informed (3), was valued at ſix thouſand pounds. —— With the ſaid ſix thouſand pounds there is built a magnificent library, in length, within the walls, two hundred feet; in breadth, thirty-two feet and a half; and in height, forty feet.

(3) Annual Liſt of the Deaths of eminent perſons; at the end of Boyer's Hiſtory of Queen Anne, edit. 1735, p. 54, fol.

[*E*] *There is nothing, as far as we can find, publiſhed under his name, except verſes to Sir Samuel Garth, in praiſe of his excellent Poem the Diſpenſary.*] They are intituled, 'To my friend the author, deſiring my 'opinion of his Poem.' And begin thus,

Aſk me not, friend, what I approve or blame,
Perhaps I know not why I like, or damn;
I can be pleaſed; and I dare own I am.

I read Thee over with a lover's eye,
Thou haſt no faults, or I no faults can ſpy;
Thou art all beauty, or all blindneſs I, *&c.*

We have obſerved, ſince the above was written, that he had a hand in *Auctio Daviſiana*, &c. printed in the *Muſæ Anglicanæ*, edit. Lond. 1741, 8*vo.* page 173, *&c.*

[*F*] *We ſhall give his character*, &c.] Being as follows: 'Nature had bleſſed him with vaſt capacious 'parts, exceedingly above the common level of man-'kind. He had a great ſoul, of a fiery genius, happily 'united to a body of a ſubtle and flexible compoſition, 'in which the blood and animal ſpirits moved with 'vigor and rapidity, and rendered it rather a ſpur, 'than an hindrance to the operations of his mind. 'He had a quick and piercing apprehenſion, a ſtrong, 'ſolid, diſtinguiſhing judgment, a retentive memory, 'a warm imagination, a fruitful ſagacious invention, 'a bold pregnant wit, a ſublime way of thinking, a 'methodical perſuaſive way of reaſoning; and a 'voluble diſtinct utterance, upon the moſt unexpected 'occaſions. After having reſigned his government, 'he led a very private retired life, and ſpent moſt of 'his time in contemplation and ſtudy. For a few 'years before his death, he chiefly applied himſelf to 'Church-Hiſtory and Metaphyſicks. If he excelled 'in any thing, it was in Metaphyſical learning, of 'which he was, perhaps, the greateſt maſter in the 'world. He was a great admirer of the Fathers, 'particularly of St Baſil, whom he ſeems not a little 'to have reſembled, in the univerſality of his genius, 'the warmth and activity of his temper, and affection 'for a monaſtick life; but chiefly in his eloquent 'ſublime way of ſpeaking and writing. He was parti-'cularly careful to form his ſtile upon the great models 'of Antiquity, ſome of whom he equalled, and moſt 'of them excelled. His ſtile was plain and eaſy, yet 'powerful and lofty; fluent but not turgid; florid, 'yet natural and unaffected; elegant, but not over-'wrought or forced. In his ſtudied and elaborate 'compoſures, there was an inimitable beauty and 'efficacy, whereby he would, at once, charm the 'affections, move the paſſions, and convince the un-'derſtanding, with ſuch ſurprizing turns, impetuous 'force, and ſolid reaſons, that, as was ſaid of his 'forementioned pattern, he ſpoke nothing but life, 'and breathed a ſoul in the dulleſt argument he treated 'of; and yet his care of his ſtile, did not at all 'cramp the exactneſs, or interrupt the chain of his 'moſt refined and abſtracted enquiries; for every 'thought was placed in the moſt advantagious light, 'as well as dreſſed in the gayeſt manner; and every 'period was juſt, and had a natural cadence: in the 'ſame diſcourſe, he would diſplay the Orator and 'the Philoſopher, to ſo great perfection, that it was 'hard to determine in which he moſt excelled, ſo 'much did he excel in both. In a word, he had, in 'his Weſt-India retirement, made ſo wonderful a 'progreſs in his ſtudies, that had he lived to have re-'turned to his beloved Univerſity, he would have 'been as much the object of their admiration, as he 'deſerved to be the object of their delight. He was 'ſo great a lover of learning, and learned men, 'that wherever he met with an ingenious perſon, he 'courted his acquaintance, and readily received him 'into his friendſhip (4).

(4) Gordon, as above, and D. Cotes, ubi ſupra.

C

COKE, or COOKE (John) Secretary of State in King Charles the Iſt's reign, was a younger brother of Sir Francis Cooke, and born at Truſley in Derbyſhire, of an ancient family there, allied to the beſt in that county (*a*). He was probably educated at Weſtminſter-ſchool; and on the 22d of April 1580, admitted Scholar of Trinity-college in Cambridge. After having taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was choſen Fellow of the ſame college, about the 4th of April 1584 (*b*). He continued long in the univerſity (*c*); and being taken notice of for his learning, was choſen publick Profeſſor of Rhetorick: in which employment he ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ingenious and critical Lectures, that Rhetorick ſeemed not to be ſo much an art to him, as his nature. Then he travelled beyond the ſeas for ſome time, in the company of a perſon of quality, and returned rich in languages, remarks, and experience: having avoided all the dangers incident to him on account of his religion, by this prudent declaration, That he came to learn and not to ſearch (*d*). Afterwards he retired into the country in the condition of a private gentleman, 'till after he was fifty years of age; when, upon ſome reputation he had for induſtry and diligence, he was called to ſome painful employment in the office of the Navy, which he diſcharged well, and was made Secretary thereof. Afterwards, partly through his own merit, and partly through the intereſt of Fulk Grevile, Lord Brook, to whom he was related, he was made Maſter of the Requeſts; and at laſt Secretary of State, about the year 1620, in the room of Sir Albert Moreton, deceaſed. He was alſo knighted (*e*). In the firſt and third Parliaments of King Charles I, he was one of the repreſentatives for the univerſity of Cambridge (*f*): and made ſeveral ſpeeches in Parliament

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies, edit. 1662, in Derbyſhire, p. 233.

By the time of his admiſſion at the Univerſity, he ſeems to have been born about the year 1562, or 1563.

(*b*) From Trinity-college Regiſter.

(*c*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, *&c.* edit. 1732, 8*vo*, P. i. p. 64.

(*d*) Fuller, as above; and D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 945.

(*e*) Lord Clarendon, Fuller, and D. Lloyd, as above.

(*f*) Notitia Parliamentaria, *&c.* by Brown Willis, Eſq; 2d edit. of Vol. I. 1730, p. 179.

Parliament [*A*]. He governed himſelf in the management of his places by the following rules; That no man ſhould let what is unjuſtifiable or dangerous appear under his hand; to give envy a ſteady aim at his place or perſon; Nor mingle intereſts with great men made deſperate by debts or Court-injuries, whoſe falls have been ruinous to their wiſeſt followers; Nor pry any farther into ſecrecy, than rather to ſecure than ſhew himſelf; Nor impart that to a friend which may impower him to be an enemy (*g*). He likewiſe kept himſelf ſtrictly to the law of the land [*B*]. But, notwithſtanding his great caution, on the eighth of November 1641, a Meſſenger of the Houſe of Commons was ſent to fetch him up out of Derbyſhire, to anſwer ſome complaints made againſt him, about ſome commitments in the year 1628 (*h*). He is alſo accuſed, though unjuſtly, of having put into the King's hands a paper from the Scots, inſtead of the genuine Articles of Pacification at York: and to have ſo far complied with the change of the times, as to have brought propoſitions from the Parliament to the King, as actively, as formerly he had carried meſſages from the King to the Parliament (*i*). However, after having continued Secretary of State about twenty years (*k*), he was removed to make room for Sir Henry Vane (*l*): and died the 8th of September 1644 (*m*). With regard to his character: we are informed that he was a grave and prudent man, in gate, apparel, and ſpeech; one that had his intellectuals very perfect in the diſpatch of buſineſs 'till he was eighty years old (*n*). He is alſo ſaid to have been a very zealous Proteſtant, and to have done all good offices for the advancement of true religion (*o*). But the Lord Clarendon, who ſeems to have had a prejudice againſt him, gives him a more unfavourable character. He was, ſays he (*p*), a man rather unadorned with any parts of vigour and quickneſs, and unendowed with any notable virtues, than notorious for any weakneſs or defect of underſtanding, or tranſported with any vitious inclinations; appetite to money only excepted. His cardinal perfection was induſtry, and his moſt eminent infirmity covetouſneſs. His long experience had informed him well of the ſtate and affairs in England; but of foreign tranſactions, or the common intereſt of Chriſtian Princes, he was entirely undiſcerning, and ignorant. But, another, to ſoften his character, ſays (*q*), He had an happy mixture of diſcretion and charity, whereby he could allow to things and perſons more than men of ſtreighter apprehenſions, or narrower affections were able to do. He had a brother named

(*g*) D. Lloyd, as above, p. 945, 946.

(*h*) Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament, in 1640 and 1641, Lond. 1641, 4to, p. 405.

(*i*) D. Lloyd, p. 947.

(*k*) Fuller, as above, p. 233.

(*l*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150.

(*m*) Fuller ibid.

(*n*) D. Lloyd, p. 945.

(*o*) Fuller, p. 233.

(*p*) Hiſtory, as above, P. i. p. 64.

(*q*) D. Lloyd, p. 947.

GEORGE, educated at Pembroke-hall in Cambridge; who was Rector of Bigrave in Hertfordſhire, and afterwards ſucceſſively Biſhop of Briſtol, and Hereford (*r*): A meek, grave, and quiet man, much beloved of thoſe who were ſubjected to his juriſdiction. He was involved in the ſame condemnation with the reſt of his brethren the Biſhops, for ſubſcribing the Proteſt in Parliament in preſervation of their privileges (*s*). He died in low circumſtances (*t*) on the 10th of December 1646; and was buried in Hereford Cathedral, where there is a long, obſcure, and almoſt unintelligible epitaph, to his memory (*u*).

(*r*) He was made Biſhop of Briſtol in 1632, and tranſlated to Hereford, June 18, 1636. Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. edit. 1727, p. 527.

(*s*) See Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. P. ii. of Vol. I. p. 351; and Walker's Attempt to recover the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 34. edit. 1714.

(*t*) Fuller, as above, in Derbyſhire, p. 233.

(*u*) Willis, as above.

[*A*] *And made ſeveral Speeches in Parliament.*] Several of his Speeches, and Meſſages from the King to the Parliament, are printed in *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*; or 'Faithful Regiſter of the Tranſactions in 'Parliament, in the third and fourth years of King 'Charles I (1).' In his firſt Speech, ſpeaking of the Papiſts, he hath theſe words. —— 'They have a Biſhop conſecrated by the Pope; this Biſhop hath his 'Subalternate Officers of all kinds, as Vicars-General, 'Archdeacons, Rural Deans, Apparitors, and ſuch 'like. Neither are thoſe nominal or titular offices 'alone, but they all execute their juriſdictions, and 'make their ordinary viſitations through the kingdom, 'keep Courts, and determine eccleſiaſtical cauſes—— 'Neither are the Seculars alone grown to this height, 'but the Regulars are more active and dangerous, and 'have taken deep root; they have already planted 'their Societies and Colleges of both ſexes, they have 'ſettled revenues, houſes, libraries, veſtments, and 'all other neceſſary proviſions to travel or ſtay at 'home; nay, even at this time, they intend to hold a 'concurrent aſſembly with this Parliament, — &c.'

(1) Lond. 1654, fol. p. 33, 47, 44, 138, 161, 167, 238, 239, 240, 242, 243, 246, 258.

[*B*] *He likewiſe kept himſelf ſtrictly to the law of the land.*] Inſomuch, that being ſent to command Biſhop Williams from Weſtminſter; and being aſked by the ſtout Biſhop, by what authority he commanded a man out of his houſe and his freehold, he was ſo tender of the point, that he never reſted 'till he had his pardon for it (2).

(2) D. Lloyd, as above, p. 945.

C

COKE (Sir EDWARD) Lord Chief Juſtice of England, and one of the moſt eminent Lawyers this kingdom has produced. His father was Robert Coke, Eſq; of Mileham in the county of Norfolk, himſelf a learned profeſſor of the Law, a Barriſter of great practice, and a Bencher of Lincoln's-Inn (*a*); his mother's name was Winifred, daughter and coheireſs of William Knightley, of Morgrave-Knightley in the county of Norfolk (*b*); ſo that in point of deſcent, he might be juſtly eſteemed of a good family, in a county, where there are as many good families, as in any other in the kingdom [*A*]. He was born at his

(*a*) Stowe's Survey of London, p. 429.

(*b*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 349.

[*A*] *Where there are as many good families, as in any other in the kingdom.*] It appears from a pedigree of this family drawn by the learned Camden, that William Coke was ſeated at Doddington in the county of Norfolk, in the 8th of King John, that is, in the year 1206 (1); from whom deſcended lineally, Sir Thomas Coke, Knt. who flouriſhed in the reign of King Edward III, and his eldeſt ſon Sir Thomas Coke the younger, Knight, who for his wiſdom was made Seneſchal of Gaſcoigne (2), and for his valour a Knight Banneret, but he died before his father. Robert Coke, the grandſon of Sir Thomas Coke the elder, married a lady of a conſiderable fortune, and by her had iſſue John, who was the father of Thomas Coke, who by his intermarriage with Alice, daughter of William Falcard Lord of Sparham and Stivekey-Hall (3), thoſe eſtates, or at leaſt the greateſt part of them, came to their ſon Robert Coke, who married Anne, daughter of Thomas Woodhouſe, Eſq; by whom he had two ſons and two daughters; and his eldeſt ſon Robert Coke, was the father of Sir Edward, of whom we are ſpeaking; who by the Lady mentioned in the text, had this only ſon and ſeven daughters, who all lived to be married (4). As for this Robert Coke, Eſq; he

(1) Fuller's Worthies, p. 250.

(2) Rot. Vaſc. 25 E. III. m. 26.

(3) From the Pedigree drawn by Camden, in the hands of the family.

(4) Stowe's Survey of London, p. 429.

his father's ſeat at Mileham in the year 1550, and had all the care taken of him in his infancy that could be beſtowed by a tender mother, for whoſe memory he had always the higheſt veneration. At the age of ten he was ſent to the free-ſchool at Norwich, then eſteemed one of the beſt in England, where, under the care of Mr Walter Hawe (*c*), and by his own ſingular diligence and application, he made a very great proficiency. His next remove was to Trinity-college in Cambridge, where, if a certain author might be relied on, he had Dr George Whitgift for his Tutor (*d*), but that ſeems to be improbable, for Dr Whitgift was Fellow of Peter-Houſe (*e*), and became Maſter of Trinity-college about the time that Mr Coke became a member of the univerſity (*f*), which is ſufficient to juſtify the fact for which he is mentioned as his Tutor, and of which we ſhall hereafter take notice. He remained in the univerſity about four years, and was then removed to Clifford's-Inn, the year after which he was entered a Student of the Inner-Temple. He had not been long there before he gave a very extraordinary proof of the quickneſs of his penetration and the ſolidity of his judgment; this was with regard to the Cook's caſe of the Temple, which had puzzled the whole Houſe, and which he ſtated ſo exactly that it was taken notice of and admired by the Bench (*g*). It is not at all improbable that this might promote his being early called to the Bar, as he was at ſix years ſtanding, which, in thoſe ſtrict times, was held very extraordinary (*h*). We are told by himſelf, that the firſt cauſe in which he appeared in the Court of Queen's Bench was in Trinity term 1578, and it was a very remarkable one (*i*) [*B*]. About this time he was appointed Reader of Lyon's-Inn, and ſo continued for three years, during which ſpace his Lectures were much reſorted to, his reputation increaſed, and with it his practice, ſo that when he had been at the bar a few years, he thought himſelf in a condition to form pretences to a Lady of one of the beſt families, and at the ſame time of the beſt fortune in the county of Norfolk (*k*). This Lady's name was Bridget, daughter and co-heireſs of John Paſton, Eſq; whom he ſoon married, and with whom he had firſt and laſt thirty thouſand pound (*l*) [*C*]. After this marriage, by which he became allied to ſome of the nobleſt

(*c*) Antiquitates Scholæ Regiæ Norwic. p. 37.

(*d*) Fuller's Worthies in Norfolk, p. 251.

(*e*) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, p. 9.

(*f*) Hiſtory of Cambridge.

(*g*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 823.

(*h*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 250.

(*i*) Coke's Reports, P. iv. fol. 12. b. 14. b.

(*k*) Lloyd's Worthies, p. 820.

(*l*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 250.

he died November 15, 1657, at his chambers in Lincoln's-Inn, while his ſon was at Norwich-School; who in honour of his memory, cauſed a fair monument to be erected many years after in the pariſh church of St Andrew's Holborn, with an inſcription, from which moſt of theſe particulars are taken.

[*B*] *In Trinity Term* 1578, *and it was a very remarkable one.*] Mr Edward Denny was Vicar of Northlinham in the County of Norfolk, and the then Lord Cromwell, who lived near him, procured two perſons to preach ſeveral ſermons in his church, in which they inveighed againſt the book of Common Prayer, ſtiling it ſuperſtitious and impious. For this reaſon, when one of them came next to preach, the Vicar knowing he had no licence would have hindered him; but being ſupported by Lord Cromwell, he proceeded and did preach. Upon this occaſion ſome warm words paſſed between Lord Cromwell and the Vicar; the former ſaying, *Thou art a falſe varlet, and I like not of thee*; to which the latter replied, *It is no marvel though you like not of me, for you like of theſe*, meaning the preachers, *that maintain ſedition againſt the Queen's proceedings*. Upon this Lord Cromwell brought his action, upon the ſtatute *de ſcandalis magnatum*. The defendant juſtified, upon which the plantiff demurred, and the bar was held inſufficient; but upon a motion in arreſt of judgment that the declaration was inſufficient, the Court gave judgment for the defendant. Upon this Lord Cromwell brought another action, and amended his declaration, and then the Court was moved that the words were not actionable, becauſe they might be taken in a milder ſenſe; but the Court delivered no opinion, but ſaid to the defendant's council, be well adviſed, and plead or demur at your pleaſure; whereupon they pleaded a ſpecial juſtification, and ſet it forth in the manner before recited; to which the plaintiff's council took exception, for two reaſons; Firſt, That the matter of juſtification was inſufficient, becauſe ſedition cannot be committed by words, but by publick and violent actions: Secondly, If the matter of juſtification was ſufficient, then the defendant was not guilty, and ought ſo to plead. The Court however held, that the juſtification was good, and that the defendant ſhould not be driven to the general iſſue. Afterwards the matter in diſpute was compromiſed between the parties. Our author's obſervations upon this, will ſhew the excellence of his method in reporting, which acquired him ſo high a reputation in his own time, and which has been deſervedly admired and applauded ever ſince (5). 'In this caſe, reader, you 'may obſerve an excellent point of learning in actions 'for ſlander, to obſerve the occaſion and cauſe of 'ſpeaking of them, and how it may be pleaded in 'the defendant's excuſe. 2. When the matter of fact 'will clearly ſerve for your client, although your opi-'nion is, that the plaintiff has no cauſe of action, 'yet take heed you do not hazard the matter upon a 'demurrer; in which upon the pleading and other-'wiſe, more perhaps will ariſe than you thought of; 'but firſt take advantage of the matters of fact, and 'leave matters in law, which always ariſe upon the 'matters in fact *ad ultimum*, and never at firſt demur 'in law; when after trial of the matters in fact, the 'matters in law (as in this caſe it was) will be ſaved 'to you.'

(5) Coke's Reports, P. iv. fol. 14. a.

[*C*] *With whom he had firſt and laſt thirty thouſand pounds.*] The Paſton's of Paſton in Norfolk, were a very ancient and honourable family, greatly diſtinguiſhed by their ſervices rendered to the Crown in almoſt all capacities; William Paſton was Serjeant at Law in the reign of Henry IV, a Judge and in high favour with King Henry VI; he left a vaſt eſtate to John Paſton, Eſq; his eldeſt ſon, and no ſmall one to William his ſecond ſon, who married Anne, daughter to William Duke of Somerſet (6); of the ſame line was Sir Clement Paſton, who it is ſaid King Henry VIII called his champion, the Duke of Somerſet his ſoldier, Queen Mary her ſeaman, and Queen Elizabeth her father (7). As for the father of this Lady, he was the third ſon of Sir William Paſton of Paſton, but was himſelf ſettled at Huntingfield-Hall in Suffolk (8). His ſiſter Eleanor married Thomas Earl of Rutland, by whom ſhe had Henry Earl of Rutland, Gertrude Counteſs of Shrewſbury, Anne Counteſs of Weſtmoreland, and Frances Lady Abergavenny; to all which noble families Mr Coke became allied, by this marriage (9). If therefore we conſider that he had a very large fortune left him by his father, that he had one way or other thirty thouſand pounds with this Lady, and that from his firſt coming to the bar he was in great buſineſs, to which we may add, that purchaſes were then made at very moderate rates, we need not at all wonder, that in a very few years he acquired a very large landed eſtate, more eſpecially as he was always frugal and a great œconomiſt, keeping very exact accounts both of the income of his eſtates, and of what he acquired by his profeſſion, as appears from ſeveral large books, moſtly in his own handwriting, that are ſtill carefully preſerved, as authentick monuments of his wonderful accuracy and induſtry (10); qualities, by which he was diſtinguiſhed in an age, when they were much more common than they are now. It does not very clearly appear, either when he married this Lady, or when ſhe died, but from ſeveral concurring

(6) Fuller's Worthies, p. 250.

(7) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 203.

(8) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 349.

(9) Obſervations on the Life of Sir Edward Coke.

(10) In the cuſtody of this now noble family.

noblest houses in the kingdom, he began to rise faster by much than was usual in those times, for the cities of Coventry and Norwich (*m*) chose him their Recorder, he was in all the great causes of Westminster-Hall, was in high credit with the Lord-Treasurer Burleigh (*n*), and was frequently consulted in the Queen's affairs. His large estate, and his great credit in his country as well as at Court, recommended him to the freeholders of his county, by whom he was chosen Knight of the shire, and in the Parliament held in the thiry-fifth of Elizabeth he was chosen Speaker (*o*), being at that time the Queen's Solicitor, which was bestowed upon him in 1592 (*p*), and very soon after he was advanced to the post of Attorney-General. Some time after this he lost his wife, by whom he had ten children, which gave him an opportunity of making his addresses to another Lady of great fortune and quality, *viz.* the Lady Hatton, relict of Sir William Hatton, and sister to Thomas Lord Burleigh afterwards Earl of Exeter, which marriage, as it was afterwards the source of many inconveniences and troubles to both parties, so the very celebration of it occasioned no small noise and disquiet, by a very unlucky accident that attended it. There had been the same year, which was 1598, so much notice taken of irregular marriages, that Archbishop Whitgift had signified to the Bishops of his province, that he expected they should be very diligent in causing all such persons to be prosecuted as were guilty of any irregularity in the celebration of marriage, in point of time, form, or place (*q*). But whether it was that Mr Coke looked upon his own and the Lady's quality, and their being married with the consent of the family, as setting them above such restrictions, or whether he did not advert to them, certain it is, that they were married in a private house without either banns or license, upon which Mr Coke and his new married Lady, Mr Henry Bothwel, Rector of Okeover in the county of Rutland, Thomas Lord Burleigh, and several other persons, were prosecuted in the Archbishop's court, but upon their submission by their proxies, were absolved from the greater excommunications and the consequent penalties which they had incurred, by over-looking the authority of the Church, because, says the record, they had offended, not out of contumacy, but through ignorance of the law in that point (*r*). It cannot be conceived that there was any thing either of extraordinary severity, or of personal prejudice, in the Archbishop, but rather the contrary, for upon Mr Coke's being made the Queen's Attorney-General, we are told that he sent him a fair Greek Testament with this message, *That he had studied the* Common Law *long enough, and that he should thereafter study the* Law *of* God (*s*); neither was it likely that Mr Coke meant any contempt of the Church, since it clearly appears, that he was upon all occasions a very fast friend both to it and to the Clergy, as is more especially evident from an extraordinary testimony given him in that respect, by the Chapter of the cathedral church of Norwich, to whom he had been very useful in his profession, and had saved part of their lands from being torn from them by foul practices, and under colour of concealments (*t*) [*D*]. His favour to the Clergy was also very discernible, in the freedom with which

(*m*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 350.

(*n*) Several of his Letters to that noble person are in the hands of James West, Esq;

(*o*) Prynne's Animadversions on the Fourth Part of the Institutes.

(*p*) Dug. Chron. Series in Orig. Juridic. p. 99.

(*q*) Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, p. 522.

(*r*) Regist. Whitgift, P. iii. fo. 108. *A.D.* 1598.

(*s*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

(*t*) See that Certificate in note [*D*].

concurring circumstances it seems pretty evident, that his first marriage was contracted about seven years after he was first called to the bar.

[*D*] *Under colour of concealments*] The services rendered by this worthy person to the church of Norwich, were of different sorts, upon very different motives, and done at many different times. What we aim at in this note, is to give the reader a general, and at the same time a clear notion, of the nature of these services, because they give a strong light into the temper and disposition of this Gentleman, with regard to the church and churchmen in general, and of the Clergy of his own county of Norfolk in particular. He was very instrumental in procuring an act to pass in the 35th of Elizabeth (11), when he was Speaker of the House of Commons, of the nature and effects of which, more will be said hereafter. This was with regard to the Church in general. Some years afterwards a fett of people procured, in consequence of letters patents of concealment, bearing date August 2, in the 27th of Queen Elizabeth, several estates to be taken from them by leases, and one particularly with the privity of Dr William Redmayne, then Bishop of Norwich; but Mr Attorney Coke foreseeing what this might produce, interposed so far as to prevail upon the Bishop to agree to the bringing in of a bill for establishing the Bishoprick and the revenues, which by his interest was passed into a law; which set the Cathedral of Norwich out of the reach of these devourers of churches, as this Gentleman very justly calls them (12). This did not hinder the same sort of folks from endeavouring, under the very same title, to seize the estate of the Deanery and Chapter of Norwich; but here again Mr Attorney Coke interposed, and with spirit and learning defended the Chapter, and preserved their estates, as the reader may see at large in his own excellent work (13). At the close of this report, he shews the great importance of the act mentioned at the beginning of this note, and the great security derived from thence to the Protestant Clergy.

(11) Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. p. 659.

(12) Coke's Institutes, Part iv. fo. 257.

(13) Coke's Reports, Part iii. fo. 73.

'Note reader, The great assurance and establishment, which is made by the good and strong act of Parliament, of the said most illustrious and most noble Queen Elizabeth, in the said thirty-fifth year of her reign, not only of all foundations of cathedral churches and colleges, in any manner founded or translated, or mentioned to be founded or translated by King Henry VIII, but also to all subjects who have any estate or interest, in any of the possessions of any Abbot, Prior, or any other such religious persons, notwithstanding they made not any surrender to King Henry VIII, or that their surrender was insufficient, or that the record thereof be now imbezzled or lost; and notwithstanding divers other such like defects, all which are remedied by the said most excellent act of Parliament, the fatal plea to all concealments as to these possessions. And although these resolutions properly concern the meridian of the cathedral church of Norwich, yet they will very well serve as well for many other cathedral churches, as for divers colleges in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford.'

The Dean and Chapter therefore might well grant under their common seal, an authentick testimony of the obligations they were under to so kind a friend, so learned an advocate, and so powerful a protector. This testimonial was conceived in the following terms (14).

(14) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

Edwardus Coke, Armiger, sæpius & in multis difficilimis negotiis ecclesiæ nostræ auxiliatus est, & nuper eandem contra templorum helluones, qui dominia maneria & hæreditamenta nostra devorare, sub titulo obscuro (concelatum dicunt) sponte suâ nobis insciis & sine mercede ullâ legitimè tutatus est, atque eandem suam nostri defensionem in perpetuam tantæ rei memoriam, quam posterorum (si opus fuerit) magna cum industria & scriptis redegit & sub sigil. nostræ ecclesiæ donavit.

[*E*] *With*

which he bestowed the many benefices that were in his own gift, and from his memorable saying on that head, as indeed many of his sayings were memorable on very different subjects, but in regard to this it was his constant maxim, *That he would have Church livings pass by* livery *and* seisin, *not* bargain *and* sale (*u*). As there was no reign in which great Lawyers were more considered than in that of Queen Elizabeth, which perhaps may be one reason why in few reigns there have been so many considerable Lawyers as in her's, so, amongst them, none towards the latter end of her government, was either more distinguished in his profession, or had greater respect paid him, than Mr Coke, whom the Ministers consulted in all points of difficulty, and who never failed to furnish them with legal colours for all their proceedings, which, though many of them were very extraordinary, yet being so guarded, were beheld by the people as just and honourable. But the affair of greatest moment, in which, as Attorney-General, he had a share in this reign, was the prosecution of that popular Nobleman Robert Earl of Essex, who, together with Henry Earl of Southampton, was brought to the bar before the Lords commissioned for his trial in Westminster-hall, Feb. 19, 1600 (*w*), the Earl of Buckhurst sitting as Lord High Steward. The charge against the Lords was opened by Serjeant Yelverton, in which, though he compared the Earl of Essex to Cataline, and expressed his wonder that the Lords did not blush to put themselves upon a trial, instead of confessing their guilt, which he said was in all mens judgment palpable, yet it does not appear that either of the prisoners were troubled at his discourse. But when Mr Attorney Coke laid open the nature of the treason, the many obligations the Earl of Essex was under to the Queen, and hinted at last, *That by the just judgment of God, he of his earldom should be* Robert the last, *that of a kingdom thought to be* Robert the First (*x*), Essex lost all patience, and on several other occasions in his trial, endeavoured to represent Mr Attorney as having a special hand in all the proceedings to his prejudice, and as if he was deep in the interests of Cobham, Cecil, and Ralegh, whom he alledged were his capital enemies, and insinuated that they, and particularly Sir Robert Cecil, were in the Spanish interest, and that the latter had gone so far as to declare, that none but the Infanta had a right to the crown of England. It does not however appear, that Mr Attorney Coke had any particular prejudice to that unfortunate Lord, but that, as his manner always was, he kept close to the point, and instead of running out, as others did, into parallels from the Greek and Roman Histories, he stuck to the facts, and shewed wherein the treasons consisted with which the Earls were charged (*y*) [*E*]. There is no doubt that in the latter part of that Queen's reign, Mr Attorney was upon the best terms possible with Sir Robert Cecil and the rest of her Ministers, and there is good reason to believe, that the Proclamation of King James, and other papers of State at that time, were drawn by him (*z*). Yet he was not so hasty as many much inferior to him in degree, in procuring admission to the King's person, but upon the twenty-second of May 1603, when the King feasted the principal persons of the kingdom, on account of his quiet accession, at Greenwich, he, together with Robert Lee, then Lord Mayor of London, and John Crooke, Esq; the Recorder, received the honour of knighthood (*a*). In the beginning of July following, that which was called Sir Walter Ralegh's plot was discovered, but though all who were concerned in it were immediately seized and sent to several prisons, yet they were not brought to their trial 'till the beginning of the month of November following, at Winchester, to which city the term was adjourned on account of the plague being at London (*b*). There, upon the seventeenth of November, Sir Walter Ralegh was tried before Commissioners appointed for that purpose,

(*u*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 822.

(*w*) Camdeni Annal. p. 847.

(*x*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 199.

(*y*) Camdeni Annal. p. 853. State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 205.

(*z*) See Stowe, Wilson, Saunderson, &c.

(*a*) Stowe's Annals, p. 824.

(*b*) Camden. Annal. Jacob. p. 11

[*E*] *With which the Earls were charged.*] We have a large account of the whole of this transaction in Camden, as well as in the printed trial by authority; and in the former, I think there are some things more clearly explained than in the latter; we are there told, 'That Southampton made a short and modest defence, 'and asked pardon for his crime, which was purely 'owing to his affection for the Earl of Essex; and after a declaration of his stedfast loyalty to the Queen, 'he answered, That some proposals of that kind 'were made indeed, but nothing resolved upon, the 'whole being referred to Essex. That what was acted, 'was a thing quite different from the matter of debate, 'viz. Their going into the city, which was with no 'other design than to facilitate Essex's access to the 'Queen, there to make a personal complaint of the 'wrongs that were done him: That his sword had not 'been drawn all that day. That he heard nothing of 'the proclamation, wherein they were declared rebels: 'That he hindered as much as in him lay, the firing 'of any shot from Essex's house. He then desired 'that the cause might be decided by rules of equity, 'not the niceties and quirks of the law. This the 'Queen's Attorney called a colourable evasion, and 'demanded, *Whether it were not treason to seize upon 'the Court-Gate, the Court, the Privy Chambers,* &c. '*hereby to get the* Queen *into their hands?* Southampton calmly asked him, *What he thought in his conscience they designed to do with the* Queen? *The same,* 'replied he, *that* Henry *of* Lancaster *did with* Richard II. *He went to the King and fell on his knees, 'pretending nothing but the removal of his evil counsellors: but when he had once got the King in his 'clutches, he robbed him of his crown and life* (15).' This seems to be a severer passage, and to have gone deeper in shewing the Earl's treason, than any in the trial; and yet there are many sharp things there too, insomuch that the Earl of Essex all along complains of being talked out of his life by Orators: and as for the Earl of Southampton (16), he went farther, making use of these words at the end of his defence, Mr Attorney, *you have urged the matter very far, and you wrong me therein. My blood be upon your head.* Yet it is evident enough that Mr Attorney Coke did not stretch the nature of that treason at all, nor does he seem to have changed his opinion some years afterwards, as appears by what he said to Sir Walter Ralegh upon this subject at his trial; 'Essex, said he, died the child 'of God, God honoured him at his death; thou wast 'by when he died: *Et lupus & vulpes instant morientibus ursæ.* He died indeed for his offence (17). The 'King himself spake these words, *He that shall say* Essex 'died not for treason, *is punishable.*' So that Coke not only kept his own notions, but prevailed on King James to change his, for we are told, he once considered Essex as his martyr.

(15) Camden. Annal. p. 851, 852.

(16) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 206.

(17) Ibid. p. 224.

[*F*] *As*

poſe, amongſt whom were Sir John Popham Chief Juſtice of England, and Sir Edmund Anderſon, Chief Juſtice of the common Pleas. The trial laſted from morning 'till ſix in the evening (*c*); there was no evidence offered againſt the priſoner, but ſeveral examinations of the Lord Cobham, and extracts of other examinations; for the Chief Juſtice told the priſoner, that the Statutes requiring two witneſſes were repealed, and that if there were proofs, either under hand, or by teſtimony of witneſſes, or by oaths, it was ſufficient, even if the examinations were not ſigned by thoſe from whom they were taken, if it did otherwiſe appear by evidence that they were taken (*d*). Sir Edward Coke managed this trial entirely with much eagerneſs againſt the priſoner, and with great indecency towards the Court, for upon Lord Cecil's interpoſing and deſiring him to be patient, or, as it is elſewhere ſaid with ſome ſhew of probability, upon that Lord's aſking him, *Whether he came thither to direct them (e)?* he ſat down in his chair and would not ſpeak again, until all the Commiſſioners joined their entreaties, upon which he roſe up, and recapitulating the circumſtances relating to the charge, Sir Walter was found guilty. This behaviour of Sir Edward Coke has been generally and juſtly cenſured, as carrying in it ſuch marks of heat, reſentment, and an over-bearing ſpirit, as much leſſened him in the world's opinion (*f*) [*F*]. Whatever credit this great man might loſe by his intemperate behaviour upon this occaſion, yet he ſoon recovered it again by the ſagacity and vigilance he ſhewed in unravelling all the dark ſcenes of the Powder Treaſon, and by his admirable management of the evidence againſt Sir Everard Digby, and the reſt of the conſpirators tried at Weſtminſter June 27, 1605 (*g*), and at the trial of Henry Garnet at Guild-Hall, the twenty-eighth of March following, on both which occaſions he gave the moſt convincing proofs of his extenſive capacity, quick penetration, and ſolidity of judgment, ſo that the Earl of Saliſbury had reaſon to ſay in his own ſpeech upon the laſt trial, *That the evidence had been ſo well diſtributed and opened by the* Attorney-General, *that he never heard ſuch a maſs of matter better contracted, or made more intelligible to a jury* (*h*). This appears ſo exactly conformable to truth, that many eſteem this laſt ſpeech eſpecially, Sir Edward Coke's maſter-piece at this day [*G*]. It was in reward for his ſervice upon this

(*c*) Stowe's Annals, p. 830.

(*d*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 218.

(*e*) Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 287.

(*f*) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 153, note [*C*].

(*g*) Hiſt. of the Powder Treaſon, p. 39.

(*h*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 266

[*F*] *As much leſſened him in the world's opinion.*] This appears clearly from a letter ſent to him by Sir Francis Bacon many years afterwards, containing a very extenſive view of all his faults and foibles, wherein are theſe expreſſions (18); 'As in your pleadings you 'were wont to inſult over miſery, and to inveigh 'bitterly at the perſons, which bred you many ene-'mies, whoſe poiſon yet ſwelleth, and the effects now 'appear, &c.' It has been believed, that Shakeſpear in his Comedy of the Twelfth Night (19), hints at this ſtrange behaviour of Sir Edward Coke at Ralegh's trial. Mr Oſborn ſays plainly, *that* Sir Walter Ralegh *was tired out of his life, by the bawling of the King's Council on one ſide, and the Bench inſiſting on a confeſſion extorted from the Lord* Cobham *out of fear, on the other.* Another Gentleman obſerves (20), 'that 'as to Coke's behaviour, there is but one way to ac-'count for it, which is this; that if Eſſex was known 'to have ever been in any wiſe a friend or patron to 'him, as it appears he was, in a private memorial of 'an honourable perſon, who was of the ſame college 'in Oxford with Ralegh, and almoſt of the ſame 'ſtanding, then Coke might perhaps think of retriev-'ing himſelf in the eye of the world, and making 'atonement for his ingratitude to the ſaid Earl alſo, at 'his trial, and to his memory after his death, by his 'inhumanity now to one of the contrary faction (21).' The reader may compare this with what is obſerved at the cloſe of the laſt note, from which it plainly appears, that though Sir Edward Coke commended Eſſex's death, yet he did not retract his opinion of his being a traitor, but urges as a confirmation of it, that the King was of his opinion alſo. He was as tenacious of his ſentiment with reſpect to Ralegh's treaſon, for we find him inſiſting upon it again and again, at the trial of the Powder Plotters (22). Yet whatever his opinion might be, it is no ſort of excuſe for his language, and therefore that worthy perſon who wrote the preface to the State Trials, deſcribes very juſtly ſuch petulant Orators in the following terms (23). 'Thoſe who with rude and boiſterous language, abuſe 'and revile the poor unfortunate priſoner; who ſtick 'not to take all advantages of him, however hard 'and unjuſt, which either his ignorance, or the ſtrict 'rigour of the law may give them; who by force or 'ſtratagem endeavour to diſable him from making his 'defence; who brow-beat his witneſſes as ſoon as they 'appear, though ever ſo willing to declare the whole 'truth; and do all they can to put them out of coun-'tenance, and confound them in delivering their evi-'dence, as if it were the duty of their place to con-'vict all who are brought to trial, right or wrong, 'guilty or not guilty; and as if they, above all others, 'had a peculiar diſpenſation from the obligations of 'truth and juſtice. Such methods as theſe ſhould be 'below men of honour, not to ſay men of conſcience; 'yet in the peruſal of this work, ſuch perſons will too 'often ariſe to view; and I could wiſh for the credit 'of the Law, that that great Oracle of it, the Lord 'Chief Juſtice Coke, had given leſs reaſon to be num-'bered among this ſort.'

(18) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 620.

(19) Theobald's edition of Shakeſpear, 1733. 8vo, Vol. II. p. 503.

(20) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 153.

(21) Oſborne's Works, Vol. II. p. 103.

(22) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 242, 243, 252, 253.

(23) Preface to the State Tryals, in ſix Volumes, p. 3.

[*G*] *Sir Edward Coke's maſter-piece at this day.*] In his ſpeech at the trial of Sir Everard Digby (24), he informs us, that three and twenty days had been ſpent in taking thoſe examinations, the ſubſtance of which he offered to the Court, he ſhews, that the ground-work of this treaſon was laid in the life-time of Queen Elizabeth; and that two of the conſpirators Cateſby and Treſham, had been in all the plots that had fallen under his inſpection; that of the unfortunate Earl of Eſſex, that of Watſon and Clark, that with which Sir Walter Ralegh was charged, and now this, which was originally contrived to have taken effect by the aſſiſtance of a Spaniſh army; but not being able to depend upon that, the conſpirators had recourſe to the horrid deſign of freeing themſelves from penal laws, by blowing up the King, the Royal Family, and the Parliament, with thirty-five barrels of gunpowder. There is not a ſtep or motion of theſe conſpirators in the management of their affairs, for ſo many years together, with ſo many different perſons, and in ſo many ſeveral places, that is, in Spain and Flanders as well as in England, but what he has traced out; nor were there any colours in which they meant to ſhade or conceal their treaſon, which he did not remove; ſetting the whole and every circumſtance of the tranſaction in ſo perſpicuous a light, that the priſoners themſelves acknowledged, that all their doings were fairly detected, recommending themſelves to the favour and interceſſion of the Court. At Garnet's trial (25) he carried his inquiries much higher, and traced the plots and conſpiracies of the Prieſts and Jeſuits through the greateſt part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, down to this very laſt; ſhewing that there was a conſtant ſeries of them, from which they were never to be diverted, either by ſevere laws and frequent puniſhments, or by repeated acts of lenity and mercy; that with reſpect to the King then reigning, they plotted againſt his title to the Crown before Queen Elizabeth's death, writ books on purpoſe to render it weak and dubious in the opinions

(24) Hiſt. of the Powder Plot, and the Proceedings againſt Sir Everard Digby and his Accomplices, p. 21.

(25) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 248.

this occaſion, that it was reſolved to promote him to the moſt beneficial place in the Law, in order to which he was called to the degree of a Serjeant, June 20, 1606 (*i*), and upon this promotion it was remarkable, that the motto he gave upon his rings came to be afterwards very applicable to his fortune, *viz.* Lex eſt tutiſſima caſſis, *The Law is the ſafeſt helmet* (*k*). On the laſt of the ſame month he was raiſed to be Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, and as this made way for Sir Henry Hobart to be Attorney-General, ſo it brought Sir Francis Bacon into the poſt of Sollicitor (*l*), not much to the ſatisfaction of the new Chief Juſtice, if we may confide in a letter written to him by Sir Francis Bacon on that occaſion, the contents of which are ſingular enough [*H*]. In this poſt, as Sir Edward Coke behaved with great probity as well as ſufficiency, ſo there ſeems to be little or no reaſon to doubt, that he was perfectly well ſatisfied with his ſtation, and would very willingly have remained there as long as he lived; but it ſeems there were other people who deſired to ſee him removed, and the method they took was, by ſuggeſting that his great abilities might be much better employed for the King's ſervice in another place, and by this ſlight he was, October 25, 1613, raiſed to be Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, or, as he ſtiled himſelf according to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, Chief Juſtice of England (*m*). By this he made room for Sir Henry Hobart to ſucceed him as Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, whereupon Sir Francis Bacon became Attorney-General, which it is proper to mention, becauſe the latter ſeems to own, that he had no ſmall hand in that intrigue by which all theſe changes were brought about (*n*), and this plainly ſhews that the old diſlike between them ſtill continued, and we ſhall meet with ſome other very remarkable inſtances before this article is concluded, that will ſhew how great injuries the publick receive from the private feuds and animoſities of great men, who ſtudy to gratify their particular inclinations, though it be at the expence of their Maſter's ſervice, and the good of his ſubjects (*o*). But notwithſtanding all this, and the Lord Chief Juſtice having in point of Proclamations, Prohibitions, and other matters, ſhewn himſelf no friend (*p*) to a boundleſs Prerogative, yet ſo much he retained of the King's favour, or at leaſt ſuch expectations were had of his future ſervices, that November 4, 1613, he was ſworn of the Privy Council (*q*). This was a mark only of the King's countenance, for Bacon had now his Majeſty's ear entirely, to whom he repreſented his antogoniſt in a very unfavourable light on many occaſions, but more eſpecially in a certain caſe of treaſon, where he undertook to obtain the opinions of the Judges of the Court of King's-Bench, and particularly that of the Chief Juſtice ſeparately and privately (*r*), in which he met with more difficulty than he imagined, for Sir Edward Coke was very unwilling to enter into any matter of this ſort in the manner Mr Attorney propoſed, becauſe it was directly contrary to his Lordſhip's ſound maxim, *That he was a Judge in a Court and not in a chamber.* It appears however, that Sir Francis Bacon valued himſelf very much on the art and ſkill he ſhewed in managing the

(*i*) Chronic. Jurid. p. 181.

(*k*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

(*l*) Stevens's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 15.

(*m*) Chronic. Jurid. p. 185.

(*n*) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 272.

(*o*) Memorable Events of the Reign of James I. MS.

(*p*) Coke's Reports, P. xii. p. 50, 74, 82, 85.

(*q*) Camden. Annal. Jacob. p. 9.

(*r*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 593.

of the people; that after his acceſſion, and before his coming into England, they entered into ſchemes to defeat his poſſeſſion; as a little more than a month after he came, they formed a deſign of ſurprizing his perſon; that notwithſtanding his lenity and clemency towards them in the firſt year of his reign, they were ſtill proſecuting the ſame wicked purpoſes by a variety of treaſons; and that by their abſolute dominion over the conſciences of their deluded followers, they had influenced ſome who were embarked in this treaſon, and who died before they could be brought to juſtice, to perjure themſelves in their laſt moments. To ſum up all in a word, whoever deſires to ſee a true picture of the art and ſubtilty of theſe ſort of men, and to find in a narrow compaſs, the hiſtory of their endeavours to ſubvert this conſtitution, and to throw all things into blood and confuſion, for the furtherance of their deſign, need only peruſe this ſpeech of Sir Edward Coke's, moſt of the capital facts in which, were acknowledged freely by Garnet himſelf in open Court after his conviction; ſo that as the penetration and ſagacity of this great man are plainly proved by ſo long and clear a deduction, the truth of what he delivered is freed from all doubts, by the evidence then produced, and the confeſſion before-mentioned.

[*H*] *The contents of which are ſingular enough.*] As we have occaſion to ſpeak often of the diſputes and animoſities between theſe two great men *Bacon* and *Coke*, it is requiſite to produce this ſhort letter from the former to the latter, which ſhews when and from whence it took riſe, *viz.* in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when Bacon by the aſſiſtance of his great friend the Earl of Eſſex (26), made the ſtrongeſt efforts to have obtained the poſt of Sollicitor-General about the year 1594; which miſſing then, and more than once afterwards, fixed in him that ſtrong deſire of mortifying his adverſary; for which as various opportunities offered, ſo it will be found that he neglected none, whenever they offered. There is no date to this letter, but the contents of it plainly ſhew, that it was written while Sir Edward Coke continued Attorney-General, and after it was reſolved that he ſhould be made Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas (27).

(26) See the article of BACON (Sir FRANCIS) in this Dictionary, Vol. I. p. 373.

(27) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 570.

'*Mr Attorney,*

'I Thought beſt once for all, to let you know in 'plainneſs what I find of you, and what you ſhall 'find of me; you take to yourſelf a liberty to diſ-'grace and diſable my law, my experience, my diſ-'cretion; what it pleaſeth you, I pray think of me; 'I am one that knows both mine own wants and other 'mens, and it may be perchance that mine mend, 'others ſtand at a ſtay. And ſurely I may not endure 'in publick place to be wronged, without repelling 'the ſame to my beſt advantage to right myſelf. You 'are great, and therefore have the more enviers, 'which would be glad to have you paid at another's 'coſt. Since the time I miſſed the Sollicitor's place '(the rather I think by your means) I cannot expect 'that you and I ſhall ever ſerve as Attorney and Sol-'licitor together; but either to ſerve with another 'upon your remove, or to ſtep into ſome other courſe; 'ſo as I am more free than ever I was, from any oc-'caſion of unworthy conforming myſelf to you, more 'than general good manners, or your particular good 'uſage ſhall provoke; and if you had not been ſhort-'ſighted in your own fortune (as I think) you might 'have had more uſe of me. But that ſide is paſſed. 'I write not this, to ſhew my friends what a brave 'letter I have written to Mr Attorney; I have none of 'thoſe humours, but that I have written is to a good 'end; that is, to the more decent carriage of my 'Maſter's ſervice, and to our particular better under-'ſtanding one of another. This letter, if it ſhall be 'anſwered by you in deed and not in word, I ſuppoſe 'it will not be worſe for us both: elſe it is but a few 'lines loſt; which for a much ſmaller matter I would 'have adventured. So this being to yourſelf, I for 'my part reſt.'

[*I*] *That*

the Chief Justice, though in spite of all his dexterity and address, he seems to confess that he was baffled in the end [I]. In the spring of the succeeding year, an occasion happened by which the Chief Justice might have recovered his Master's favour. Mr Oliver St John, upon a benevolence being set on foot, had declared his opinion publickly that it was against law, reason, and religion, for which he was brought into the Star Chamber, and April 25, 1615, was sentenced there to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, and to suffer imprisonment during the King's pleasure (s); upon this occasion, as Bacon told the King in a letter, the Chief Justice delivered the Law for the benevolence strongly, but adds, that this might do him no good, that he wished he had done it timely (t). Another case followed soon after in which Bacon also boasts of having sifted the Chief Justice, but owns that he found him exceeding clear in his opinion, and this too was a case of treason; for one Mr Owen of Godstowe in Oxfordshire, having asserted that Princes excommunicated by the Pope might be lawfully killed, he was thereupon indicted and convicted, May 17, 1615 (u). Some time after this there broke out a very extraordinary affair, which was the discovery of Sir Thomas Overbury's being murdered in the Tower, at the distance of about two years after the fact happened, for Overbury died September 16, 1613 (w), and the judicial proceedings against his murtherers did not commence 'till about September 1615. It has been much disputed whence this affair took rise, some ascribing it to Dr George Abbot, then Archbishop of Canterbury, who was supposed to have a great aversion to the Earl of Somerset; others to Sir Edward Coke (x), but the most probable opinion is, that Sir Ralph Winwood, who succeeded the Earl of Somerset as Secretary, had the first intelligence of it from one Mr Trumbal, the King's Agent in the Low-Countries, which produced some strong reports that reflected on Sir Gervase Ellways, Lieutenant of the Tower, and he, by endeavouring to vindicate his own character, brought the whole matter to light, as has been already mentioned in another place (y). In the detecting all the secret steps of this dark business, the Lord Chief Justice Coke was equally zealous and diligent, taking, as we are told from a very high authority, several hundred examinations (z). In consequence of these, the principal actors in this black affair were apprehended and brought to justice, notwithstanding all the arts and influence that were exerted to prevent it. Richard Weston, who had been Overbury's Keeper, was brought to his trial October 19, 1615, at Guild-Hall, and at first shewed a resolution of standing mute, to which he is said to have been prompted by the King's Sollicitor, who owed his promotion, and other favours, to the Earl of Somerset (a). The Chief Justice very judiciously avoided coming to extremities by adjourning the Court, and before it met again Weston was prevailed upon to plead, and was thereupon convicted and executed (b). Upon this, Sir John Hollis afterwards Earl of Clare, Sir John Wentworth, and Mr Lumsden, undertook

(s) Memorable Events of the Reign of King James, MS.

(t) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 602.

(u) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 12.

(w) Historical Narration of the first fourteen Years of Jac. I. p. 53.

(x) Coke's Detection, p. 49.

(y) Biographia Britannica, Vol. I. p. 388.

(z) See Sir Francis Bacon's Speech at the Earl of Somerset's Tryal.

(a) This is hinted by my Lord in his Speech in the Star Chamber against Mr Lumsden.

(b) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 14.

[I] *That he was baffled in the end.*] It is necessary in the first place, to shew what the nature of this business was; next, what the King desired; and lastly, how Sir Francis Bacon endeavoured to accomplish what the King committed to his charge. As to the first, the case was this; Mr Peacham was a Minister, and in a sermon found in his study, which was never preached, or intended to be published, there were several passages supposed to be treasonable (28). Now the thing the King desired, was to have the sentiments of the Judges as to these passages separately and privately, before the man was brought to his trial. This was the point Sir Francis Bacon was to manage, and of his management he gives this account to the King, in a letter dated January 27. 1614 (29).

(28) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James, MS.

(29) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 595.

'For the course your Majesty directeth and commandeth, for the feeling of the Judges of the King's-Bench their several opinions, by distributing ourselves and enjoining secrecy; we did first find an encounter in the opinion of my Lord Coke, who seemed to affirm, that such particular, and as he called it, auricular taking of opinions, was not according to the custom of this realm; and seemed to divine, that his brethren would never do it. But when I replied, that it was our duty to pursue your Majesty's directions, and it were not amiss for his Lordship to leave his brethren to their own answers; it was so concluded, and his Lordship did desire that I mought confer with himself; and Mr Serjeant Mountague was named to speak with Justice Crook, Mr Serjeant Crew with Justice Houghton, and Mr Sollicitor with Justice Dodderidge. This done, I took my fellows aside, and advised that they should presently speak with the three Judges, before I could speak with my Lord Coke for doubt of infusion; and that they should not in any case make any doubt to the Judges, as if they mistrusted they would not deliver any opinion apart, but speak resolutely to them, and only make their coming to be to know what time they would appoint to be attended with the papers. This forted not amiss, for Mr Sollicitor came to me this evening, and related to me, that he had found Judge Dodderidge very ready to give opinion in secret; and fell upon the same reason, which upon your Majesty's first letter I had used to my Lord Coke at the Council Table; which was, that every Judge was bound expressly by his oath, to give your Majesty council when he was called; and whether he should do it jointly or severally, that rested in your Majesty's good pleasure as you would require it. And though the ordinary course was to assemble them, yet there mought intervene cases wherein the other course was more convenient. The like answer made Justice Crook; Justice Houghton who is a soft man, seemed desirous first to confer; alledging, that the other three Judges had all served the Crown before they were Judges, but that he had not been much acquainted with business of this nature. We purpose therefore forthwith, they shall be made acquainted with the papers; and if that could be done as suddenly as this was, I should make small doubt of their opinions: and howsoever I hope, force of law and precedent, will bind them to the truth: neither am I wholly out of hope, that my Lord Coke himself, when I have in some dark manner put him in doubt that he shall be left alone, will not continue singular.'

In another letter dated the 31st of the same month, he acquaints the King at large, with the arguments he made use of to the Lord Chief Justice, and concludes with saying, that the Chief Justice desired the papers might be left with him (30); and notwithstanding, it appears by several letters, that Sir Francis Bacon gave him no rest, yet it was a fortnight before he could obtain his Lordship's answers; which were so little to his purpose, that he tells the King his Master, *He was glad to send them in the* Chief Justice's *hand-writing, for his own discharge* (31). Yet notwithstanding this, it seems Mr Peacham was tried and convicted of high treason.

(30) Ibid. p. 596.

(31) Ibid. p. 601.

[K] *May*

undertook to examine him at the gallows, in order to make the world believe, that this exemplary act of justice, was only the effect of a conspiracy against that Nobleman who has been so often mentioned, for which they were severely censured in the Star Chamber (*c*). It it certain, that from the very beginning, the Chief Justice was very apprehensive of the consequences of this affair, and therefore went to Royston to the King, and desired that others might be joined with him in commission, which was granted, and these Commissioners were, the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, the Duke of Lenox, Lord Steward, and the Lord Zouch, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and by their assistance this whole business was conducted (*d*). Sir Francis Bacon, in a Letter to the King himself, says, that this was the wisest action of Sir Edward's life, which seems to speak it voluntary, and so it is represented upon another solemn occasion (*e*). But there is notwithstanding a very different account of this matter, which, as it is supposed to have come from the mouth of one of his Lordship's sons, who was an eye and ear witness, may be worth the reader's notice (*f*) [*K*]. But however this matter might be, the Chief Justice, with the assistance of his fellow Commissioners, proceeded vigorously, tho' with great caution. On the seventh of November following, Mrs Anne Turner, who had been about the Countess of Somerset from her youth, was brought to her trial in the Court of King's-Bench, and upon very full evidence convicted and executed (*g*). On the sixteenth of the same month, Sir Gervase Ellways, who had been Lieutenant of the Tower, was convicted at Guild-Hall, and on the twentieth hanged at Tower-hill (*h*). Upon the twenty-seventh of the same month, James Franklin was tried and convicted in the King's-Bench, and a few days after executed. One would have imagined after all this, that no great blame could be laid at the Chief Justice's door, and yet we find a certain writer charging him, though in all appearance very falsely, with dealing hardly with the prisoner at this last trial, and making too much haste in the former (*i*) [*L*]. Sir Thomas Monson, who was a great favourite

(*c*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 333.

(*d*) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 14.

(*e*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 612.

(*f*) Coke's Detection, p. 49.

(*g*) Truth brought to Light by Time, p. 141.

(*h*) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 15.

(*i*) Court and Character of King James, p. 109.

[*K*] *May be worth the reader's notice.*] There is hardly any tranfaction, about which there has been more written, than as to this barbarous and inhuman murder of Sir Thomas Overbury; and yet it may be very truly affirmed, that hardly any of the relations we have, are (at least as they stand) of any great authority; because most of them are full of inconsistencies, contradictions, and palpable falshoods; notwithstanding which, we find them transcribed into our Histories, as if they contained indisputable facts. The following is a very proper specimen of this, as it pretends to great accuracy, as well as to the best authority (32). 'The 'King, *says this writer*, at this time, that is, when 'the murder was discovered, which he places in the 'middle of August, was at *Royston*, and *Somerset* with 'him; and when the King had been there about a 'week, next day he designed to proceed to *Newmarket*, 'and *Somerset* to return to *London*, when Sir *Ralph* '(*Winwood*) came to *Royston*, and acquainted the 'King with what he had discovered about Sir *Thomas* '*Overbury*'s murder; the King was so surprized here-'with, that he posted away a messenger to Sir *Edward* '*Coke*, to apprehend the Earl; I speak this with con-'fidence, because I had it from one of Sir *Edward*'s 'sons.

'Sir *Edward* lay then at the *Temple*, and measured 'out his time at regular hours, two whereof were to 'go to bed at nine o'clock, and in the morning to 'rise at three: at this time Sir *Edward*'s son and some 'others, were in Sir *Edward*'s lodging, but not in 'bed, when the messenger about one in the morning, 'knocked at the door, where the son met him and 'knew him: says he, *I come from the King, and must* '*immediately speak with your father. If you come from* '*ten Kings*, he answered, *you shall not, for I know my* '*father's disposition to be such, that if he be disturbed* '*in his sleep, he will not be fit for any business; but if* '*you will do as we do, you shall be welcome, and about* '*two hours hence my father will rise, and you then may* '*do as you please*, to which he assented.

'At three Sir *Edward* rung a little bell, to give no-'tice to his servant to come to him, and then the 'messenger went to him and gave him the King's let-'ter, and Sir *Edward* immediately made a warrant to 'apprehend *Somerset*, and sent to the King that he 'would wait upon him that day.

'The messenger went back post to *Royston*, and ar-'rived there about ten in the morning; the King had 'a loathsome way of lolling his arms about his fa-'vourites necks and kissing them, and in this posture 'the messenger found the King with *Somerset*, saying, '*When shall I see thee again? Somerset*' then design-'ing for *London*, when he was arrested by Sir *Edward*'s 'warrant: *Somerset* exclaimed that never such an af-'front was offered to a Peer of *England*, in the pre-'sence of the King: *Nay man*, said the King, *if* 'Coke *sends for me I must go*; and when he was gone, '*Now the Deel go with thee*, said the King, *for I will* '*never see thy face any more.*

'About three in the afternoon, the Chief Justice 'came to *Royston*, and so soon as he had seen the 'King, the King told him that he was acquainted 'with the most wicked murder by *Somerset* and his 'wife, that was ever perpetrated, upon Sir *Thomas* '*Overbury*; and that they had made him a pimp, to 'carry on their bawdry and murder; and therefore 'commanded the Chief Justice with all the scrutiny 'possible, to search into the bottom of the conspiracy, 'and to spare no man, how great soever; concluding, '*God's curse be upon you and yours, if you spare any of* '*them*; *and God's curse be upon me and mine, if I pardon* '*any one of them.*'

(32) Roger Coke's Detection of the Court and State of England, 1696, 8vo. p. 49.

In the first place it is observable, that there is not one single date, but from the manner in which this is delivered, one would imagine that all these facts passed in the month of August; but there is another circumstance which seems to point out the day, and that is the commitment of the Earl of Somerset, and yet this was upon the 18th of October (33). It is indeed true, as is said in the text, that Sir Edward went to Royston, and received the King's instructions, and this might be about the time, or perhaps before the Earl of Somerset was committed. It is certainly not true, that he was sent for from Royston, or arrested there by Sir Edward Coke's warrant, on the contrary, he was at full liberty when Weston was first taken up and examined, and came from Court to London, to outface the report that he was concerned in the murder (34). It is no less certain, that at this very time King James was not convinced of the Earl of Somerset's having a hand in the murder; but upon the application of the Lord Chief Justice, which seems to have been on the day the Earl was committed; and that was the day before Weston was arraigned, the enquiry was referred to Commissioners mentioned in the text (35), and not to the Judges; so that upon the whole, there are very few circumstances in all this account, that can with any shadow of probability be thought true; and this will still further appear, from the circumstances mentioned in the subsequent notes.

(33) Camden. Annal. Jacob. I. p. 14.

(34) Truth brought to Light by Time, p. 159.

(35) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 350.

[*L*] *Dealing hardly with the prisoner at this last trial, and making too much haste in the former.*] Sir Anthony Weldon, if he was the author of the book that goes under his name, pretends also to tell this story very circumstantially; sometimes from his own knowledge, and sometimes from the information of persons, who had the greatest opportunity of knowing the truth. His account is equally inconsistent with it-

self,

favourite with Lord Northampton, who appears to have been very deep in this affair, and to have made uſe of him as his agent, was arraigned on the fourth of December at Guild-Hall, as an acceſſary, before the fact, with Weſton and the reſt, in poiſoning Sir Thomas Overbury (*k*); yet he was never tried, for reaſons about which poſterity have been but darkly informed, and it is with much confidence reported, that the Lord Chief Juſtice, at his arraignment, let fall ſome very haſty and myſterious ſpeeches, which gave occaſion to the ſtopping the progreſs of his proſecution (*l*). Yet with reſpect to theſe ſpeeches, there is only inconſiſtent and ſuſpicious evidence, as the reader will ſee in the notes [*M*]. One might conjecture, from the laying together of circumſtances, that Sir

(*k*) Truth brought to Light by Time, p. 160.

(*l*) Court and Character of King James, p. 123.

ſelf, and with the former, and yet moſt of the ſame facts are in it.' He makes the King go from Whitehall to Royſton, and the ſame day when he was there, ſend for all the Judges and make a ſpeech to them, ending with the curſes mentioned in the former (36). The Chief Juſtice's ſon, if the account laſt mentioned came from him, makes the King ſend only for his father late at night (37). Sir Anthony Welden makes the Judges ſent for to Royſton in a body (38), without ſhewing any cauſe why the King did not ſend for them the day before, when he was at Whitehall. Yet Sir Francis Bacon in a letter to the King himſelf, ſays, that Sir Edward Coke went of his own accord, and ſhews us why he went (39). Sir Anthony Welden pretends to have been an eye-witneſs of the King's parting with Somerſet, and ſpeaks of his hanging upon his neck, and kiſſing him (40). The former account ſays, this was after the Chief Juſtice had ſent for him, and that by a warrant (41). Sir Anthony directly the contrary, and that he was not arreſted 'till his coming to London, which the King knew would happen, but Somerſet did not (42). Wilſon, from whom we have the ſame ſtory, ſays, that the Chief Juſtice ſent for him, and that the Earl complained to the King of his inſolence (43). After all it is certain, that he was not ſent for, that he came to London of his own motive, and to take meaſures for his own ſafety, as he affirmed himſelf (44) at his trial. But Sir Anthony Welden, though he makes the Earl of Somerſet as black as he can make him, inclines to make this a conſpiracy againſt him, into which he inſinuates Sir Edward Coke entered, on account of Sir George Villiers's brother being to marry his daughter, which was a thing not thought of for many years after. Having thus prejudiced the reader's opinion againſt the Chief Juſtice, he proceeds to blacken his conduct in the following manner (45). 'And now poor Mrs Turner and 'Franklyn began the tragedy; Mrs Turner's day of 'mourning, being better than the day of her birth; 'for ſhe died very penitently, and ſhewed much mo-'deſty in her laſt act, which is to be hoped was accept-'ed with God; after that died Weſton, and then was 'Franklyn arraigned, who confeſſed that Overbury 'was ſmothered to death, not poiſoned to death, 'though he had poiſon given him. Here was Coke 'glad how to caſt about to bring both ends together, 'Mrs Turner and Weſton being already hanged for 'killing Overbury with poiſon, but he being the very 'quinteſſence of the law, preſently informs the Jury, 'that if a man be done to death with piſtols, poinards, 'ſwords, halters, poiſon, &c. ſo he be done to death 'the indictment is good, if but indicted for any of 'thoſe ways; but the good Lawyers of thoſe times 'were not of that opinion, but did believe that 'Mrs Turner was directly murthered by my Lord 'Coke's law, as Overbury was without any law.' Some little truth there is in this paragraph, and but a little, for Weſton was executed long before Mrs Turner; and not only hanged before her, but before ſhe was arraigned. As for Sir Thomas Overbury's being ſmothered, that is a pure invention of his own; nor was Franklyn ever indicted for any ſuch thing, but for procuring the poiſons which Weſton adminiſtered to Sir Thomas; neither was Franklyn preſent at Overbury's death, nor was there ever the leaſt ſuſpicion but by himſelf, that Mrs Turner was murdered by my Lord Coke's law. In all probability, this poor Gentleman wrote after his ſenſes began to fail him; for after all, there was a kind of ground for this ſtrange ſtory that he has told, though not with regard to Franklyn, but to Weſton; of whom, as we ſaid before, there was a report that he did not confeſs the fact at his death; and the reaſon of this the Lord Chief Juſtice gave, in the ſpeech he made at the trial of Sir John Hollis in the Star-Chamber, from a dark remembrance, or a hearſay report, of which this wild tale was coined. What he ſaid, take in his own words (46). 'In this caſe of Weſton, he would never 'confeſs the indictment, becauſe the indictment was, 'that he poiſoned Sir Thomas Overbury with arſenick, 'roſeaker, and mercury ſublimate, when as indeed it 'was not known what poiſon killed him. Here the 'poor man conceived a ſcruple, that if he did not 'know with which of the poiſons Overbury was poi-'ſoned, he was not guilty of the offence laid in the 'indictment, and therefore ſaid he was not guilty of 'the offence. Now, *ut obſtruatur os iniqui*, that the 'mouth of the wicked man may be fully ſtopped, after 'that it was reſolved unto him, that the manner of 'killing laid in the indictment, was not the point of 'the indictment, but the matter of killing; as if the 'indictment be that a man was killed with a ſword, 'whereas indeed he was killed with a dagger, yet the 'party is guilty, becauſe the killing of a man is the 'point of the indictment; then he confeſſed the fact.'

[*M*] *As the reader will ſee in the notes.*] The firſt, and indeed the moſt credible author that relates any thing upon this head to the prejudice of the Chief Juſtice, delivers his ſtory thus (47). 'Sir Thomas 'Monſon, another of the Counteſs's agents in this poi-'ſoning contrivance, had paſt one day's tryal at Guild-'hall. But the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke in his rheto-'rical flouriſhes at his arraignment, vented ſome ex-'preſſions (which he either deduced from Northamp-'ton's aſſuring the Lieutenant of the Tower, that the 'making away of Sir Thomas Overbury would be ac-'ceptable to the King, or from ſome other ſecret hint 'received) as if he could diſcover more than the death 'of a private perſon; intimating, though not plainly, 'that Overbury's untimely remove had ſomething in 'it of retaliation, as if he had been guilty of the 'ſame crime againſt Prince Henry, bleſſing himſelf 'with admiration at the horror of ſuch actions. In 'which he flew ſo high a pitch, that he was taken 'down by a Court lure; Sir Thomas Monſon's tryal 'laid aſide, and he ſoon after ſet at liberty, and the 'Lord Chief Juſtice's wings were clipt for it ever 'after.

'And it was rumoured that the King (heightened to 'ſo much paſſion by this eruption of Sir Edward Coke's) 'went to the Council Table, and kneeling down there, 'deſired *God to lay a curſe upon him and his poſte-'rity for ever, if he were conſenting to Overbury's 'death.*' It is exceeding ſtrange, that if the Lord Chief Juſtice really dropt any ſuch expreſſions at this tryal, there ſhould not be a word of them mentioned in the minutes of that tryal; which were publiſhed not only at a time when any thing might have been freely ſaid in reſpect to this Monarch's memory, but when from the preface prefixed to them, it plainly appears the great end of publiſhing them, was to throw dirt upon him (48). It is alſo worth obſerving, that the ſtory of the curſe is entirely altered for the third time, but appears here with greater pobability, than in either of the other ſtories. Here comes in properly, what Sir Anthony Welden ſays, both with reſpect to the King's curſe, and the Chief Juſtice's ſpeech (49). 'It is verily believed, that when the King made thoſe 'terrible imprecations on himſelf, and deprecations of 'the Judges, it was intended the law ſhould run in it's 'proper channel, but was ſtopt and put out of courſe, 'by the folly of that great Clerk, Sir Edward Coke, 'though no wiſe man; who in a vain-glorious ſpeech 'to ſhew his vigilancy, enters into a rapture as he ſat 'on the bench, ſaying, *God knows what became of that 'ſweet babe Prince Henry, but I know ſomewhat*; and 'ſurely in ſearching the cabinets, he lighted on ſome 'papers that ſpake plain in that, which was ever whiſpered;

(36) Court and Character of King James, p. 99.

(37) Coke's Detection, p. 49.

(38) Court and Character of King James, p. 100.

(39) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 612.

(40) Court and Character of King James, p. 102, 103.

(41) Coke's Detection, p. 50.

(42) Court and Character of King James, p. 104.

(43) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 698.

(44) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 364.

(45) Court and Character of K. James, p. 99, 102, 109.

(46) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 337.

(47) Wilſon's Life and Reign of King James, p. 702.

(48) See that Preface ſigned *Mi. Scintilla*, before the book printed in 4*to*, *A. D.* 1651.

(49) Court and Character of King James, p. 122, 123.

Sir Thomas Monſon's tryal was poſtponed, in order to bring on thoſe of the Earl and Counteſs of Somerſet; for if the evidence had failed in convicting him, it might have given a new turn to things, at leaſt with reſpect to the Earl, and his conviction was now looked upon as a point of very great conſequence (*m*). Beſides, Sir Francis Bacon was now come into the principal management of things, who had not meddled in this matter before, but left the proſecution of the other offenders to the Queen's Attorney-General. For this reaſon we find the proceedings were now drawn into a greater length, and it is pretty evident, that in the courſe of them certain circumſtances appeared, by which a ſuſpicion was given, that beſides their privity to this murder, Northampton and Somerſet had been embarked in ſome ſtate intrigues of a dark and dangerous conſequence, and had been tampering with the Spaniards (*n*). Hence aroſe the neceſſity of new ſearches and freſh examinations, by which this matter received a delay of ſome months. In the mean time, there happened another affair that produced no ſmall diſturbance to the Chief Juſtice. This was a claſhing in point of juriſdiction, between the Court in which his Lordſhip ſat as Chief, and the High Court of Chancery (*o*). This made a very great noiſe then, and has been the ground of much controverſy ſince, notwithſtanding the matter was brought to ſome kind of termination a few months after (*p*). At this time, when the difference broke out, the Chief Juſtice was of ſo great uſe, that thoſe who were none of his friends, adviſed the King to diſſemble any knowledge he had of the ſhare he took in it, and what ſhare that was, or rather was ſuppoſed to be, will at the bottom of the page appear (*q*) [*N*]. By this means things were kept quiet a little, while matters were preparing

(*m*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 616.

(*n*) Hiſtorical Narration of the firſt fourteen Years of Jac. I. p. 59, 60.

(*o*) Compl. Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. II. p. 704.

(*p*) See the Act of Council in the Appendix to the firſt Volume of Chancery Reports.

(*q*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 611.

'whiſpered; which had he gone on in a gentle way, 'would have fallen in of themſelves, not to have been 'prevented; but this folly of his tongue, ſtopt the 'breath of that diſcovery, of that ſo foul a murder 'which I fear cries ſtill for vengeance.' There is yet another writer who ſpeaks of this matter, and it is very fit the reader ſhould ſee what he ſays (50). 'There was a general rumour, that the Chief Juſtice 'making a ſevere inſpection into Overbury's murder, 'found ſome papers about the poiſoning of Prince 'Henry; and Sir Anthony Welden, in his Hiſtory of 'the Reign of King James, ſays, That the Chief 'Juſtice had blabbed abroad ſo much: I am ſure there 'was never any ſuch acquaintance between the Chief 'Juſtice and him, that he ſhould blab it out to Wel'den; whether this was true or falſe I cannot tell, but 'ſure the diſplacing Sir Edward Coke the next year, 'gave reputation to theſe rumours?' Yet this very writer, notwithſtanding this inſinuation, very well knew what was the real cauſe of Sir Edward Coke's removal, and that from his family, which he afterwards gives in his work very fairly (51). What has been before ſaid of the printed tryals, is a full anſwer to both theſe writers, as well as to him who is firſt cited. But beſides all this, we have ſeveral letters of Sir Francis Bacon's to the King upon this ſubject, in which he is far enough from magnifying the Chief Juſtice's conduct, and yet not a word in them of theſe intemperate ſpeeches (52). If it ſhould be ſuggeſted, that Bacon could not mention theſe to his Maſter with decency, we have yet another letter of his to Sir Edward Coke after his fall, in which he inſiſts largely upon his errors in the management of this buſineſs; and there ſurely he would hardly have omitted a thing, at once ſo groſs and ſo notorious, if there had been any truth in it (53). On the whole thereſore, this ſeems to be a groundleſs rumour thrown out by thoſe, who hated both the King and the Chief Juſtice; and who were credulous enough to believe any thing, or at leaſt malicious enough to ſay any thing, that might fix an odium upon either. As to the credulity of Sir Anthony Welden, it appears clearly in this, that after all he has ſaid, he declares in his own opinion, that the Earl of Somerſet was innocent of the murder (54); and, which is ſtill more extraordinary, he ſeems to think Sir Gervaſe Ellways innocent (55) alſo; ſo that his notions and his evidence, ſeem to be of equal value; or, to ſpeak plainly, of any value at all.

(50) Coke's Detection, p. 50.

(51) Ibid. p. 54.

(52) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 616, 618, 620, 625.

(53) Ibid. p. 627.

(54) Court and Character of King James, p. 121.

(55) Ibid. p. 93.

[*N*] *Will at the bottom of the page appear.*] The cleareſt, moſt curious, and withal moſt conciſe account of this affair, is contained in a letter from Sir Francis Bacon then Attorney-General, to King James; and as he profeſſes therein, to write *ex officio*, for the true information of his Maſter's judgment, ſo it is very apparent, that he penned it with equal ſkill and ſincerity; and conſidered in that light, it is one of the fineſt papers that ever fell from his pen (56). 'It is neceſſary 'I let your Majeſty know, the ground of the difference 'between the two Courts, that your Majeſty may the 'better underſtand the narrative.

(56) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 611.

'There was a ſtatute made 27 Edw. III cap. 1. 'which no doubt, in the principal intention thereof, 'was ordained againſt thoſe that ſued to Rome; where'in there are words ſomewhat general againſt any that 'queſtioneth, or impeacheth any judgment given in 'the King's Courts, or in any other Courts. Upon 'theſe doubtful words, (other Courts) the controverſy 'groweth. For the founder interpretation taketh 'them to be meant of thoſe Courts, which though lo'cally they were not held at Rome, or where the 'Pope's chair was, but here within the realm, yet 'in their juriſdiction had their dependance upon the 'Court of Rome, as were the Court of the Legate 'here, and the Conrts of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, 'which were then but ſubordinate judgment-ſeats to 'that high tribunal of Rome. And for this con'ſtruction, the oppoſition of the words, if they be well 'obſerved, between the King's Courts and other 'Courts, maketh very much, for it importeth as if 'thoſe other Courts were not the King's Courts. Alſo 'the main ſcope of the ſtatute fortifieth the ſame. 'And laſtly, the practice of many ages. The other 'interpretation which cleaveth to the letter, expound'eth the King's Courts to be the Courts of Law only, 'and other Courts to be Courts of Equity, as the 'Chancery, Exchequer-chamber, Duchy, &c. Though 'this alſo flieth indeed from the letter, for that all theſe 'are the King's Courts.

'There is alſo another ſtatute, which is but a ſimple 'prohibition, and not with a penalty of a premunire, '(as the other is) that after judgments given in the 'King's Courts, the parties ſhall be in peace, except 'the judgment be undone by error or attaint, which 'is a legal form or reverſal. And of this alſo I hold 'the ſounder interpretation to be, to ſettle poſſeſſions 'againſt diſturbances, and not to take away remedy 'in equity, where thoſe judgments are obtained *ex ri'gore juris*, and againſt good conſcience.

'But upon theſe two ſtatutes, there hath been a late 'conceit in ſome, that if a judgment paſs at the com'mon law againſt any, that he may not after ſue for 'relief in Chancery; and if he doth, both he and his 'Counſel, and his Sollicitors, yea, and the Judge in Equi'ty himſelf, are within the danger of thoſe ſtatutes.

'Here your Majeſty hath the true ſtate of the que'ſtion, which I was neceſſarily to open to you, firſt be'cauſe your Majeſty calleth for this relation not as 'news, but as buſineſs. Now to the hiſtorical part.

'It is the courſe of the King's Bench, that they 'give in charge to a Grand-Jury offences of all na'tures, to be preſented within Middleſex where the 'ſaid Court is; and the manner is to enumerate them, 'as it were in articles. This was done by Juſtice 'Crook the Wedneſday before the term ended. And 'that article (If any man after a judgment given had 'drawn the ſaid judgment to a new examination in any 'other Court) was by him ſpecially given in charge, 'which had not uſed to be given in charge before. It 'is true it was not ſolemnly dwelt upon, but as it were 'thrown in amongſt the reſt.

'The

paring for the trials of the Earl and Counteſs of Somerſet, in which thoſe who were now entruſted with the King's ſecrets, were obliged to carry fair with him. Yet, as a variety of accidents retarded thoſe trials, the enemies of the Chief Juſtice contrived to bring him into a new difficulty in reſpect to the buſineſs of *Commendams*, where he behaved with great dignity and firmneſs, and in which, if he was guilty of any error, he offended in company with all his brethren, as will be ſhewn hereafter (*r*). This happened towards the latter end of April, and within a day or two after the Peers were ſummoned for the trial of the Earl and Counteſs of Somerſet. The latter was firſt tried on the twenty-fourth of May, and Lord Chancellor Elleſmere ſat as Lord High Steward; the King's inſtructions were produced to the Commiſſioners, by which they were directed to examine, firſt, Whether there were good grounds to believe the Lord and Lady guilty? and if there were not, then they were to enquire after the authors of the conſpiracy (*s*). To theſe inſtructions were ſubjoined heads of examination, and they were produced to the Lords as an evidence of the King's care and impartiality, as well as the Commiſſioners diligence in this buſineſs. The Counteſs gave them no trouble, for ſhe pleaded guilty (*t*). The next day, being the twenty-fifth of May, the Earl of Somerſet was tried, and the Lord Chief Juſtice gave a very full and fair account of his own conduct in the whole buſineſs, and the manner in which the Letters and other written evidence produced came into the hands of the Commiſſioners; ſo that after a trial which laſted twelve hours, the Earl was found guilty by his Peers (*u*). All the thanks which the Chief Juſtice received for his honeſt zeal and matchleſs vigilance in this buſineſs, was to be conſidered in a bad light at Court, where he was alike perſecuted by the friends of the old, and the creatures of the new, favourite. By the induſtry of theſe people, his conduct was not only miſrepreſented to the King but to the crowd; and Bacon, who certainly wrote as well as any man, untertook to make my Lord Coke himſelf ſenſible (*w*), that for all the pains and labour he had beſtowed, he met with no worſe treatment than he deſerved [*O*]. It was not long after, that he was attacked

(*r*) See the Letter ſigned by him-ſelf and the reſt of the Judges, in note [*P*].

(*s*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 350.

(*t*) Truth brought to Light by Time. p. 71.

(*u*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 365.

(*w*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 626.

'The laſt day of the term, and that which all men 'condemn the ſuppoſed laſt day of my Lord Chan-'cellor's life, there were two indictments preferred of 'premunire for ſuing in Chancery after judgment in 'Common Law; the one by Richard Granville, the 'other by William Allen; the former againſt Court-'ney the party in Chancery, Gibb the Chancellor, 'and Deurſt the Clerk; the latter againſt Alderman 'Bowles and Humphrey Smith, parties in Chancery; 'Serjeant More the Counſellor, Elias Wood Sollicitor 'in the cauſe, and Sir John Tindal Maſter in Chancery, 'and an Aſſeſſor to my Lord Chancellor.

'For the caſes themſelves it were too long to trou-'ble your Majeſty with them, but this I will ſay, if 'they were ſet on that preferred them, they were the 'worſt markſmen that ever were, that ſet them on. 'For there could not have been choſen two ſuch cauſes 'to the honour and advantage of the Chancery, for 'the juſtneſs of the decrees, and the foulneſs and ſcan-'dal both of fact and perſon, in thoſe that impeach 'the decreees.

'The Grand-Jury, conſiſting as it ſeemeth of 'very ſubſtantial and intelligent perſons, would not 'find the bills, notwithſtanding they were clamoured 'by the parties and twice ſent back by the 'Court; and, in concluſion, reſolutely ſeventeen of 'nineteen found an *ignoramus*, wherein for. that 'time I think, *Ignoramus* was wiſer than thoſe that 'knew too much.'

[*O*] *He met with no worſe treatment than he deſerved.*] It is very certain, that this letter of Sir Francis Bacon, as it is written with much ſpirit and freedom, ſo it is very far from being void of elegance or truth; and perhaps it had been a great happineſs for him, if, in his turn, he had met with ſuch a monitor. It is however to be regretted, that this letter has no date, though the very circumſtances of it plainly ſhew, that he was already under difficulties, though not abſolutely overthrown; and hence we may conjecture, that it might be penned in June 1616. At preſent, we will quote only what relates to theſe proſecutions (57).

(57) Ibid. p. 612, 613.

'In your laſt, which might have been your beſt piece 'of ſervice to the ſtate, you affected to follow that 'old rule, which giveth juſtice leaden heels and iron 'hands; you uſed too many delays, 'till the delin-'quents hands were looſed and your's bound: in that 'worke you ſeemed another Fabius, where the hu-'mour of Marcellus would have done better. What 'need you have ſought more evidences than enough? 'while you pretended the finding out of more (miſſing 'your aim) you diſcredited what you had found. This 'beſt judgments think; though you never uſed ſuch 'ſpeeches as are fathered upon you, yet you might 'well have done it, and but rightly: for this 'crime was ſecond to none but the Powder Plot: that 'would have blown up all at one blow, a merciful 'cruelty: this would have done the ſame by de-'grees, a lingering but a ſure way; one by one 'might have been culled out, 'till all oppoſers had 'been removed.

'Beſides, that other plot was ſcandalous to Rome, 'making Popery odious in the ſight of the whole 'world; this hath been ſcandalous to the whole Goſ-'pel, and ſince the firſt nullity to this inſtant, when 'juſtice hath her hands bound, the Devil could not 'have invented a more miſchievous practice to our 'State and Church than this hath been, is, and is like 'to be. God avert the evil!

'But herein you committed another fault; that as 'you were too open in your proceedings, and ſo 'taught them whereby to defend themſelves; ſo you 'gave them time to undermine juſtice, and to work 'upon all advantages, both of affections, and honour, 'and opportunity, and breach of friendſhip; which 'they have ſo well followed, ſparing neither pains nor 'coſts, that it almoſt ſeemeth an higher offence in you 'to have done ſo much indeed, than that you have 'done no more; you ſtopt the confeſſions and accuſa-'tions of ſome, who perhaps had they been ſuffered, 'would have ſpoken enough to have removed ſome 'ſtumbling-blocks out of your way; and you did not 'this in favour of any one, but of I know not what 'preſent unadviſed humours, ſuppoſing enough behind 'to diſcover all, which fell not out ſo. Howſoever, 'as the Apoſtle ſaith in another caſe, you went not 'rightly to the truth, and therefore though you were 'to be commended for what you did, yet you were to 'be reprehended for many circumſtances in the doing; 'and doubtleſs God hath an eye in this eroſs to your 'negligence, and the briars are left to be prieks in 'your ſides and thorns in your eyes.'

It is not a little ſtrange, that theſe reflections upon Sir Edward Coke's conduct have gone ſo long current, and are like to be tranſmitted without ſo much as a remark to poſterity, and yet ſure they deſerve a contrary uſage. The Lord Chief Juſtice at his ſetting out, acted with the ſpirit of Marcellus; which nobody knew better than the author of this letter, or he would not have ſaid ſo much in his fine ſpeech againſt Sir John Hollis in the Star-Chamber (58). But when there appeared ſuch a ſpirit in the city and country, as well as in the Court, of treating this matter not as a courſe of juſtice, but as a conſpiracy againſt the Earl of Somerſet, it very much imported Sir Edward Coke to act with caution. It was then he aſſumed the character of Fabius, and this very writer told the King thereupon

(58) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 335.

attacked in another manner, and with greater effect; first, with relation to the cause of *Commendams*, in which not only his behaviour, but that of the whole twelve Judges, was examined and censured in the Privy-Council, for doing what they took to be their duty, and following what they understood to be the meaning of an Act of Parliament, to which the rest submitted patiently, but Sir Edward Coke expostulated the matter with dignity and decency; so that notwithstanding he could not resist a superior power, for here he had both the Crown and the Church, or rather the Crown at the instigation of the Church, against him; yet he did not give way to it, or afford any sanction to the usage he met with, by a tame and pusillanimous submission (*x*) [*P*]. About this time the busines

(*x*) See the extract of the Act of Council in the note.

thereupon in one of his letters, it was the wisest part he ever acted (59); but what was right then, could it be wrong now? As to the trial of the great offenders, no man could be better acquainted with the reasons of the delay than the author of this letter; who ascribes them absolutely to the Chief Justice, though surely many of them lay out of his power. For first they could not be tried as accessaries before the fact, 'till the principals were convicted. Franklyn, who was the last of them, was tried on the 30th of November, and on the 9th of December following, the Countess of Somerset was brought to bed (60). This was another cause of delay, which the Chief Justice could not either foresee or prevent. But the Earl might have been tried in the mean time. He might so, if there had been evidence to convict him, which very probably there was not; since the evidence on which he was convicted, did not come to the Chief Justice's hands 'till the 21st of December, when by accident the trunk was discovered, in which the letters that affected him were hid (61). There was indeed a delay of four months after this, but that ought not to lie at the Chief Justice's door, as any who will peruse this Gentleman's letters to Sir George Villiers and the King will perceive. Others have accused Sir Edward Coke for his intemperate speeches, of which he is acquitted by Sir Francis Bacon; who by a very singular kind of logick, censures him for not using them, though himself advised and procured the King's command, that no harsh speeches should be used at the trials of the Earl and Countess (62). After all, what was done in the way of justice was done by Lord Coke; what was afterwards done in the way of mercy came through other hands. It is also no less certain, as the reader may see in another place, that Bacon was very jealous of Coke's becoming Chancellor; to prevent which, he insinuated some things to the King, that were not much to the advantage of Lawyers, or indeed of the Law itself (63). These are facts that occur in justification of this great man's memory, though I do not find they have ever been applied to that purpose, the reader must decide with what propriety they have been so applied here.

(59) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 612.

(60) Camd. Annal. Jac. I. p. 15.

(61) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 357.

(62) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 624, 625.

(63) Ibid. p. 607.

[*P*] *By a tame and pusillanimous submission*] The history of this affair, which is very curious, and has also a very close connection with the memoirs of this eminent person, we shall digest into the narrowest compass possible. The dispute arose thus, Dr Bilson Bishop of Winchester informed the King, that Serjeant Chiborne in arguing the cause against *Commendams* at the Common Pleas Bar, had maintained divers positions contrary to the King's prerogative, as that the translation of Bishops was against the Canon Law; and that the King had no power to grant *Commendams* but in cases of necessity; which necessity could never happen, because no man was bound to hospitality beyond his means (64). Upon this information, the King directed his Attorney-General Sir Francis Bacon, to signify his pleasure unto the Lord Chief Justice, that he held it necessary himself should be first consulted, before the Judges proceeded to argue it; and therefore the day appointed should be put off, 'till they might speak with his Majesty. This letter was dated April 25, 1616 (65). Sir Edward Coke upon receiving the letter, desired the other Judges might have the like, which they accordingly had; and upon their meeting together, they came unanimously to a resolution of doing in this case, what they took to be their duty; and when they had so done, they justified themselves by the following letter to the King. Mr Collier in his Ecclesiastical History, says, this letter was signed by ten Judges, of whom Coke and Hobart were two (66); but the reader will see (67), that it was signed by all the twelve, and runs thus.

(64) See the Act of Council, dated June 6, 1616.

(65) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 637.

(66) Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. p. 710.

(67) This Letter is transcribed from the Act of Council.

'*Most dread and most gracious Sovereign,*

'IT may please your most excellent Majesty to be advertised, That this letter here inclosed, was delivered unto me your Chief Justice on Thursday last in the afternoon, by a servant of your Majesty's Attorney-General; and letters of like effect were on the day following, sent from him by his servant to us, your Majesty's Justices of every of the Courts at Westminster; we are, and ever will be ready, with all faithful and true hearts, according to our bounden duties, to serve and obey your Majesty, and think ourselves most happy to spend our times and abilities to do your Majesty true and faithful service, in this present case mentioned in this letter; what information hath been made unto you, whereupon Mr Attorney doth ground his letter from the report of the Bishop of Winton, we know not; this we know, that the true substance of the cause, summarily is thus: It consisteth principally upon the construction of two Acts of Parliament, the one of the 25th year of King Edward III, and the other of the 25th of King Henry VIII; whereof your Majesty's Judges upon their oaths, and according to their best knowledge and learning, are bound to deliver their true understanding faithfully and uprightly; and the case between two for private interest and inheritance, earnestly called on for justice and expedition. We hold it our duty to inform your Majesty, that our oath is in these express words, That in case any letters come unto us contrary to Law, that we do nothing by such letters, but certify your Majesty thereof, and go forth to do the Law notwithstanding the same letters; we have advisedly considered of the said letter of Mr Attorney, and with one consent do hold the same to be contrary to Law, and such as we could not yield to by our oath; assuredly persuading ourselves, that your Majesty being truly informed that it standeth not with your royal and just pleasure to give way to them. And therefore knowing your Majesty's zeal to justice to be most renowned, therefore we have according to our oaths and duties, at the very day prefixed the last term, proceeded, and thereof certified your Majesty, and shall ever pray to the Almighty for your Majesty in all honour, health, and happiness, long to reign over us.

'Edw. Coke, Henry Hobarte, Laur.
'Tanfield, Pet. Warburton, Geo.
'Snigge, Ja. Altham, Ed. Bromley, John Croke, Humphry
'Winche, John Dodderidge, Augustine Nicholls, Rob. Houghton.'

'Serjeant's-Inn.

The King replied in a letter, that the alledging their oath for their non-compliance, was a weak and impertinent pretence: that 'twas very unreasonable to suppose his predecessors should be carried off their guard to such a degree, as to pass an act so very prejudicial to their prerogative: that their oath only reached to private cases between subject and subject, and was designed to prevent the Prince being sollicited by either of the parties. And in the close, commands them not to proceed in the cause, 'till his return to London. At his Majesty's coming to town, the Judges were all sent for to the Council Table. The King began with taking their letter in pieces, and shewing their misbehaviour with respect both to matter and manner. He reprimands them for their remissness, in permitting the Council to dispute his prerogative at the Bar; and tells them 'twas their duty to check those intemperate sallies, and not suffer such insolence upon the Crown. Then as to their own business he acquaints them, That deferring their resolution upon just and necessary reasons, is neither a denial nor delay of justice: 'tis rather

buſineſs of the Court of Chancery was alſo brought to an iſſue, in which it is generally thought that the Chief Juſtice, who was a man of high ſpirit, and naturally prone to rough meaſures, was in reality much in the wrong (*y*). But perhaps there is ſomewhat of miſtake in this matter, for though it ſhould be granted that there might be ſomething amiſs in the deciſion of the cauſe in the King's-Bench, which gave occaſion to this diſpute, and that conſequently it was reaſonable the party injured ſhould find relief elſewhere; yet as it was never ſuggeſted that the Chief Juſtice did any thing that was wrong, and as there appear only ſuſpicions of his having countenanced the meaſure taken to ſupport the juriſdiction of his Court, we ought not to be too haſty in concluding to his prejudice (*z*) [*Q*]. But a deſign there was of humbling him, and a multitude of great and powerful perſons were embarked in it, ſo that there is no great cauſe for amazement, if, notwithſtanding his ſteady courage, his great integrity, and his quick and admirable parts, he was brought into great difficulties, more eſpecially in the Royal Preſence, and before a new judicature, and where thoſe who ſat while he knelt, were, ſome of them at leaſt, the principal authors of his calamity, and the inventors of this new method of treating a Lord Chief Juſtice, conſidered by the nation

(*y*) Wilſon's Life and Reign of King James, in the Compleat Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. II. p. 704.

(*z*) Bacon's Works Vol. IV. p. 612.

ther a pauſe of neceſſary prudence: nothing being more proper and adviſeable, than to conſult the King where the Crown is concerned. He told them farther, That to ſay the point was a private conteſt between the ſubject, was wide of the caſe: for that a Biſhop, the defendant, pleaded for a *Commendam* only in virtue of the prerogative royal: and beſides, they could not prove either of the parties ſollicited for expedition. And laſtly, he let them know their letter was indecently couched, and failed in the form. Upon this all the Judges kneeled, owned their error, and craved pardon. But as to the matter, the Chief Juſtice Coke ſtood upon his defence, declared that his Majeſty's command for ſtopping the proceedings was a delay of juſtice, and by conſequence againſt Law and their oath: and that as they intended to manage the pleading, the King's prerogative ſhould not have been concerned. To this the King anſwered, that for them to pronounce whether his prerogative was concerned or not, without conſulting him, was prepoſterous management. And his Majeſty required the Lord Chancellor to deliver his opinion, whether he had commanded the Judges any thing againſt Law and their oath?

The Chancellor excuſing himſelf as to the point of Law, referred the Queſtion to the King's Counſel. Upon this the Attorney-General Bacon declared, That to put off the day was no delay of juſtice, nor any failure in their oaths: that the King's reaſons for this delay were only to ſecure his prerogative. And therefore puts the queſtion to the Judges, *Whether this refuſal of theirs to make a ſtay, was not nearer a breach of their oath?* For they were ſworn to counſel the King when they are called. But not to give his Majeſty counſel 'till the buſineſs is over, is in effect not to give counſel at all. The reſt of the King's Counſel concurred with the Attorney. The Chief Juſtice Coke argued the King's Counſel had exceeded their bounds: that 'twas their duty to plead before the Judges, but not againſt them. To this the Attorney Bacon replied, that the King's Counſel were obliged both by their oath and office, not only to plead, proceed, and declare againſt the greateſt ſubject, but alſo againſt any body of ſubjects, were they Judges, Courts, or Commons in Parliament: That the Judges had highly outraged their character by making this challenge. And in the cloſe the Attorney appealing to the King, the Chief Juſtice ſaid he would not diſpute it with his Majeſty. The Lord Chancellor gave his opinion for the King, and his Counſel learned in the Law. Upon this the queſtion was put by all the Lords of the Board, *Whether in a caſe where the King believed his prerogative or intereſt concerned, and requires the Judges to attend him for their advice; whether in ſuch a caſe they ought not to ſtay proceedings 'till his Majeſty has conſulted them?*

All the Judges ſubmitted to the affirmative ſide of the queſtion, excepting Coke Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, who ſaid, *That when the caſe happened, he would do his duty.* The Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas was more compliant in his anſwer, and declared that for his part, he would always truſt the juſtice of the King's command. The day drawing nigh for arguing the *Commendams* further, the King aſked the Judges if they intended to diſcuſs, whether the King had a general power for granting *Commendams* or not? They all agreed not to draw his Majeſty's power into queſtion, and promiſed to correct the preſumption of thoſe pleaders, who took the liberty to ſtate the perogative. And as to the preſent caſe, Judge Dodderidge gave his opinon for the King, that the Church was void and in his majeſty's gift; and that he might grant a *Commendam* to a Biſhop, before, or after conſecration, and that either during life, or for years. When the Judges were gone, it was reſolved by the privy-Council, that what the King required, was neither againſt Law, nor the Judge's oath. And this opinion was ſigned by all the Board (68).

(68) Franklyn's Annals of King James, p. 17; from the Council Book.

[*Q*] *We ought not to be too haſty in concluding to his prejudice.*] We are told by a certain Hiſtorian, that the caſe in the King's Bench about which all this trouble aroſe, was a very foul one; and ſo indeed it was, if he hath ſtated it fairly (69); which from certain authorities I have ſeen, I really conceive he has. The matter then was thus; the defendant in the cauſe while in the King's Bench, prevailed upon the plantiff's principal witneſs not to attend, or to give any evidence in the cauſe, provided he could be excuſed. One of the defendant's agents undertakes this, and carrying the witneſs to a tavern, called for a gallon of ſack in a pot, and bid the man drink. As ſoon as he laid his lips to the flaggon, the defendant's agent quitted the room. When the witneſs was called, the Court was informed that he was unable to come, to prove which this agent was produced, who depoſed, *that he left him in ſuch a condition, that if he continued in it but a quarter of an hour he was a dead man.* For want of this perſon's teſtimony the cauſe was loſt, and the verdict given for the defendant. Upon this a bill was brought in Chancery for relief, to which the defendants refuſed to anſwer, and were committed for their contempt; and they again in revenge for this, preferred bills at the cloſe of term, as has been before mentioned. The King having all this matter brought before him, and having had it ſolemnly argued by his Attorney and Sollicitor-General, and Counſel learned in the Law, cauſed the ſame to be ſettled by an order of Council (70). In this matter it cannot be denied, that the reſort of the plaintiffs to the Court of Chancery was very reaſonable; but then on the other hand, there is room to imagine, that ſome inconveniences were alſo diſcernable in the other practice, ſince we find that Sir Francis Bacon (71), upon his having the Seals, thought fit amongſt other things to declare himſelf largely upon this very head in the Court of Chancery, and this in terms, which ſhew plainly enough, that how much ſoever he aggravated the offence of the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke, in taking ſuch rough meaſures to ſupport the juriſdiction of his Court; yet he did not care in the place he then held, to be eſteemed the author of a ſentiment directly oppoſite, but choſe rather to qualify the power of the Court of Chancery, and thereby remove effectually thoſe inconveniences, that with great reaſon were apprehended, from the claſhing of theſe juriſdictions. Whoever deſires to ſee this whole matter, as it was diſcuſſed upon this memorable occaſion, may conſult the book cited in the margin, and receive full ſatisfaction (72). It may not be amiſs however to obſerve, that it will hereafter appear, that the Lord Chief Juſtice himſelf was content with this deciſion, and that he never complained of it afterwards; which is a proof, that the principal point he aimed at, was to obtain ſome kind of ſettlement, that was to be a univerſal benefit to the ſubjects of this kingdom; and for the ſake of which, his conduct might ſurely be excuſed, though not juſtified.

(69) Wilſon's Life and Death of King James, in the ſecond Vol. of the Compleat Hiſt. of England, P. 704.

(70) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(71) Bacon's Reſuſcitatio, p. 81.

(72) Reports in Chancery, &c. 1715, Vol. I. in the Appendix.

(a) Compl. Hist. of Engl. Vol. II. p. 705.

nation as the head of the Law, in a manner as extraordinary as it was mortifying (a) [R]. The

[R] *In a manner as extraordinary as it was mortifying.*] The first proceedings by way of Censure on the Chief Justice, were before the Privy-Council July 26, 1616, and were thus reported to the King (73).

(73) From the MS. Collections of the late Rev. Mr Thomas Baker of St John's.

'*It may please your Majesty,*

'THE Lord Chief Justice presenting himself on his knees at the Board, your Sollicitor signified 'that he was by your commandment to charge him for 'certain acts and speeches, wherein your Majesty was 'much unsatisfied, which were in number three. 'I. An act done. II. Speeches of high contempt, 'uttered in the seat of Justice. III. Uncomely and 'undutiful carriage in the presence of your Majesty, 'the Privy Council, and Judges. Concerning the first, 'which was the act, it was done when he was in a 'place of trust, and concealed a statute of 12,000 *l.* 'taken of Sir Christopher Hatton to the use of Sir Ed'ward Coke, when he was your Majesty's Attorney-'General, not to pay a debt of good value due unto 'your Majesty, nor to accept of a discharge for the 'same. And for the better strengthening of the sta'tute, there was likewise a bond taken of 6000 *l.* 'with sureties to the same effect. So that Sir Christo'pher Hatton lay charged under the penalty of 18,000 *l.* 'not to pay the debt, nor agree to any surrender, dis'charge or release, nor any ways to assent thereunto. 'That this offence was aggravated by the denial and 'protestation made of late by the Lord Chief Justice, 'that he was not privy to the condition of the defeaz'ance, whereas the statute was taken to himself by 'indenture, whereof Sir Christopher Hatton's part 'was found, but the other was not found. That he 'was privy to the penning of it, inserted words with 'his own hands, and that Mr Walter and Mr Bridg'man his own Counsel, were witnesses thereunto. The '*second*, words spoken in the King's Bench the last 'day of Hillary Term last, at a case of Glanvill and 'Allen, whereof the Sollicitor made a narrative rela'tion, and charged the Lord Chief Justice to have 'given too much heart and encouragement to that 'cause; and that he had too constantly directed the 'Jury, turning them thrice from the Bar, that if they 'set their hand to a bill after judgement, he would fore'close them the Court. And further in another cause 'the same day, said that the Common Law of Eng'land would be overthrown, and that the light of the 'Law would be obscured. And that all this was con'firmed by good witnesses. The *third* and last point, 'was his undecent behaviour before your Majesty, 'your Council, and your Judges. And that consisted 'of two points. First, the exception that he took at 'your learned Counsel in your presence, for speaking 'at your comandment. The second, that your Ma'jesty having opened yourself in the case of *Commen'dams*, and satisfied the Judges that your Majesty's 'sending to them, had no intent to delay justice; and 'the question being put to the rest of the Judges, 'whether they did not hold it for a delay of Justice 'that your Majesty had sent in the case, or if your 'Majesty should send hereafter in a like case, wherein 'your Majesty's progenitors were interested? The rest 'of the Judges submitting themselves, he only dis'sented from all the rest. This being the effect of 'your Sollicitor's charge, your Lord Chief Justice 'made answer, that he would by their Lordships fa'vour begin with the last. And said, for the part of 'challenge and taking exception at your Majesty's 'Counsel learned, speaking in the case by your Ma'jesty's commandment, he acknowledged it for an 'error, and submitted himself. To the part, that 'upon the question asked the Judges, touching stay of 'proceedings, he denied when all the rest did yield, 'his answer was, That the question yielded many par'ticulars, which suddenly occurred to his mind, and 'caused him to make his answer; that when the time 'should be, he would do that which should become 'an honest and just Judge. For the bond he said, 'that that assurance was in hammering a year and a 'half, they were *Elephanti libelli*; and now twelve 'years being past, it was no great marvel if his me'mory were short. Especially since about that time 'he was employed, first, in the great service of the 'Priest treason and Cobham, and in the next year in 'the Powder treason. And that if any things had 'slipped in the multitude of business, that these ser'vices blot out his errors. Secondly, *ab impossibili*, 'which was, that the debt remaining at the time, was '33,000 *l.* and that young Mr Hatton's means were 'very mean, and not above 100 marks a year. And 'as soon as it came to the possibility, when he first 'heard of Sir Robert Rich's offer, he then submitted 'it before such time as he remembered the statute or 'defeazance. Thirdly, *Cui bono?* He said he had 'never any profit by it, but the presentation to a be'nefice, and all the rest was his wife's. Fourthly, 'that the Crown was content with the establishment, 'and he did but take bond to continue it. And 'throughout all this, he did submit himself to your 'Majesty and the Board, saying, *Actus non facit reum, 'nisi mens sit rea.* For his speech in the King's Bench, '*&c.* he said, that first, whatsoever was done, was 'by the common consent. And for those speeches, 'many of them were spoken, and he knew by whom 'they were spoken, but not by himself. And then 'offered four considerations. I. That the Court, un'to which nevertheless he did accept, was *ad infor'mandum non ad convincendum.* II. They were wit'nesses but on one side. III. That the interrogatories 'might be drawn too short. IV. That it was con'cerning words spoken four months ago, which being 'spoken amongst many, may be diversly reported. 'And thereupon produced a paper written by himself, 'containing, as he said, the true passage of the day '(which paper we present unto your Majesty here 'withal) being as he said, set down by himself the 'day after, *sedato animo.* And touching these words, 'that the Common Law would be overthrown, and 'the Judges would have but little to do at the Assizes, 'because the light of the Law would be obscured, he 'confesseth the words, but said, they were not spok'en the same day, but at another time, in a case of 'Sir Anthony Mildmay's. And added, that he would 'not maintain a difference between the two Courts, 'nor bring it into question; yet if it were an error, he 'may say, *Erravimus cum patribus.* And thereupon 'alledged the examples. First, the article against 'Cardinal Wolsey, 20 Hen. VIII, wherein the same 'words are used, *viz.* that such proceedings in the 'Chancery, tended to the subversion of the Common 'Law, art. 20. Secondly, the book intituled the '*Doctor and Student.* Thirdly, an opinion of the 'Judges in Throgmorton's case, in Queen Elizabeth's 'time. And added also further, that for the time to 'come, no man should ever make any oppofition. So 'that the Judges having received your Majesty's com'mandment by the Attorney General, that no bill of 'that nature should be hereafter received, he and his 'brethren have caused the same to be entered as an 'order in the same Court, which shall be observed; 'which being the effect of his answer, we have 'thought to add withal, that before us, as well in 'speech as in action, he behaved himself modestly and 'submissively.'

On the 30th of June following, the Chief Justice presented himself again at the Council Table (74) upon his knees, when Secretary Winwood informed him, that report had been made to his Majesty of what had passed there on the Wednesday before, together with the answer he had given, and that too in the most favourable manner, but that his Majesty was no way satisfied in respect to any of the heads; but that notwithstanding his Majesty, as well out of his own clemency, as in regard to the former services of his Lordship, was pleased not to deal heavily with him, and therefore had decreed, I. That he be sequestred from the Council Table, until his Majesty's pleasure be further known. II. That he forbear to ride his summer-circuit as Justice of Assize. III. That during this vacation, while he had time to live privately and dispose himself at home, he take into his consideration and review his books of Reports; wherein as his Majesty is informed, be many extravagant and exorbitant opinions set down and published, for positive and good Law. And if in reviewing and reading thereof, he find any thing fit to be altered and amended, the correction

(74) From a MS. Collect. belonging formerly to Dr Moore, late Bishop of Ely, and now to the university of Cambridge by the gift of his late Majesty, George I.

The iſſue of this ſtrange buſineſs was, that on the thirtieth of June 1616, Sir Edward Coke was ſuſpended from the execution of his office, and Sir Randolph Crew appointed to go the circuit in his ſtead (*b*); things ſtood thus 'till the 15th of November, when Sir Henry Mountague was made Chief Juſtice, and at the time of his being ſworn into his office it was intimated, that the cauſe of his predeceſſor's removal was his too great popularity (*c*). We are however to conſider this merely as a colour, ſince it is in a manner certain, that he loſt his office for not complying with the will of the favourite, then Lord Viſcount Villiers (*d*), afterwards Duke of Buckingham; and as this aſſertion would be an inexcuſable injury to King James's adminiſtration if it was not well founded, ſo it will be ſhewn in the notes, that it is not a piece of ſecret Hiſtory drawn from the libels of thoſe times, or from weak and ſuſpected authorities, but ſupported by plain, poſitive and inconteſtible evidence (*e*) [*S*]. Thus was this great man removed from that high ſeat of Juſtice, in which he had been regarded as the oracle of the Law; and be it ſpoken to his honour, that he was removed by the power of his enemies, and did not fall through any fault of his own. Not that Sir Edward Coke was free from imperfections, either as a man or as a Judge; but thoſe imperfections were not of a nature to require, or to juſtify, ſuch a proceeding towards him; and this is apparent from hence, that he might have been reſtored if he would but have taken, not the right but the ready, road to it, which he diſdained, for his anſwer upon ſuch a motion was (*f*), *That as a Judge ought not to* take, *ſo neither ought he to* give, *a bribe*. We are told that his Maſter ſaid of him, *That whichever way he was thrown he would fall upon his feet*, but perhaps it might be more truly ſaid, that in ſpite of all the art and power of his adverſaries, he ſtill ſtood upon them (*g*), and made good his motto, when advanced

(*b*) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 19.

(*c*) Sir Francis Moor's Reports, p. 826.

(*d*) Stephens's Introduction prefixed to Bacon's Letters. p. 37.

(*e*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 657.

(*f*) Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, P. ii. p. 120.

(*g*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 8. 6.

reſtion is left to his diſcretion. Amongſt other things, the King was not well pleaſed with the title of thoſe books, wherein he ſtiled himſelf Lord Chief Juſtice of England, whereas he could challenge no more, but Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench. And having corrected, what in his diſcretion he found meet, in theſe Reports, his Majeſty's pleaſure was, he ſhould bring the ſame privately to himſelf, that he might conſider thereof, as in his princely judgment ſhould be found expedient. Hereunto Mr Secretary adviſed him to conform himſelf in all duty and obedience, as he ought, whereby he might hope that his Majeſty in time, would receive him again to his gracious and princely favour. Thereunto the Lord Chief Juſtice made anſwer, That he did in all humility proſtrate himſelf to his Majeſty's good pleaſure; that he acknowledged that decree to be juſt, and proceeded rather from his Majeſty's exceeding mercy, than from his juſtice; gave humble thanks to their Lordſhips for their favours and goodneſs towards him; and hoped that his behaviour for the future time, ſhall be ſuch as ſhould deſerve their Lordſhips favours. The Lords having thus far proceeded, The Lord Treaſurer told him, that he had one thing more to let him know, which belonged to the Earl marſhal to take notice of, which was, that his coachman uſed to ride bear-headed before him, which was more than any ways he could aſſume or challenge to himſelf, and required him to forbear it for the future. To which the Lord Chief Juſtice anſwered, That his coachman did it only for his own eaſe, and not by his commandment. And ſo, with the like ſubmiſſion and acknowledgment of favour, departed.

[*S*] *But ſupported by plain, poſitive, and inconteſtible evidence.*] A certain writer, who ſays that he had his information from one of his Lordſhip's ſons, gives us the hiſtory of his removal, pretty truly in the main (75); though he makes a ſtrange miſtake in the name, and lets ſlip, a very material paſſage, if indeed his author out of regard to his father's memory, did not conceal it from him. We will relate the whole ſtory, let the blame fall where it will. In the time of the Earl of Somerſet's proſperity, Sir Edward Coke had given his conſent to an agreement, that upon Sir John Roper's reſigning the office of Chief Clerk for inrolling of Pleas in the King's Bench, which at that time was worth four thouſand pounds a year, he would admit two perſons that ſhould hold that office in truſt for the favourite (76). Upon the fall of the Earl of Somerſet, and the riſe of Sir George Villiers, an overture was made to the Chief Juſtice by Sir Francis Bacon, that he ſhould admit two truſtees for the new favourite (77). To this the Chief Juſtice gave no other anſwer, than that *he was old and could not ſtruggle*, which very probably was taken for a mark of compliance. But when Sir John Roper actually ſurrendered his office, in conſideration of which, July 9, 1616, he was created Lord Teynham (78), the Chief Juſtice ſhewed himſelf of another opinion; and ſuggeſted, that as the ſalary of the Judges in his Court were very ſmall, it would be an eaſy matter to augment them, by making a proper uſe of this place, which was abſolutely in his diſpoſal (79). This was Sir Edward's great crime, for a reſolution was immediatetly taken to remove him, and to prefer another perſon, who ſhould do what the favourite, now Lord Viſcount Villiers, expected. It ſeems that Lord Teynham was deſirous of having one of the lives, and leaving the other to the Viſcount, and to this the Lord Treaſurer Suffolk was inclined to give way, but the Attorney-General interpoſed warmly, and fecured both lives for his friend. He went farther ſtill, for he took declarations in truſt from Mr Shute and Mr Heath, afterwards Sollicitor-General, who were to be the Viſcount's deputies and truſtees, ſo as to ſecure him the entire benefit of that office for their lives, that he might diſpoſe of it by will in caſe he died before them (80) His caution ſtretched beyond this, for Sir Henry Mountague, then Recorder of London, being the perſon fixed upon to ſucceed Sir Edward Coke, he took a tye of him (not a *toy*, as it is falſly printed in Bacon's Works) that is, an obligation that he would keep his promiſe (81); for having miſtaken one Chief Juſtice's ſenſe, he was reſolved not to truſt another. Accordingly he was no ſooner poſſeſſed of his office, than Lord Villiers's deputies were admitted. All theſe circumſtances are collected, as the reader ſees, from Bacon's own letters; and if it be requiſite to ſhew, that this was the true and abſolute reaſon of Sir Edward Coke's removal, we have their teſtimony for that too, for thus Sir Francis Bacon writes to the Viſcount (82). 'I did caſt 'with myſelf, ſays he, that if your Lordſhip's depu- 'ties had come in by Sir Edward Coke, who was tied '(that is, under an agreement with Somerſet) it would 'have been ſubject to ſome clamour from Somerſet; 'and ſome queſtion what was forfeited by Somerſet's 'attainder, being but a felony to the King; but now 'they coming in from a new Chief Juſtice, all is with- 'out queſtion or ſcruple.' Thus the reader ſees plainly, what was meant by the ſeveral gradations of Sir Edward Coke's puniſhment, and why he was ſuſpended before he was removed as well as the means made uſe of to intereſt the new favourite in both. It is a very ſtrange thing and deſerved to be ſet in a clear light, that the great may ſee there is a time, when the darkeſt intrigues are diſcovered and the cloſeſt and moſt ſubtle practices are brought to light. The miſtake committed by the author firſt mentioned, is this, he ſets down Sir Nicholas Tufton inſtead of Sir John Roper; and ſays he was created Earl of Thanet, inſtead of Lord Teynham, which was the natural conſequence of his firſt miſtake; his omiſſion is, that he takes no notice of Sir Edward Coke's agreement with the Earl of Somerſet, from whence the new demand aroſe; and as it is probable he had his account from Sir Robert Coke, it is not at all unlikely that he might conceal that circumſtance, out of tenderneſs to his father's memory.

(79) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 657.

(80) Ibid.

(81) Letters of Sir Francis Bacon, publiſhed by Stephens, 4to, 1702, p. 187.

(82) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 658.

(75) Coke's Detection, p. 54.

(76) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 37.

(77) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 605.

(78) Coke's Detection, p. 54.

[*T*] *For*

advanced to the degree of a Serjeant, *The Law is the beſt helmet*; for it was not long before a new turn happened in his affairs, and that ſome even of thoſe who were moſt buſy in bringing him into difficulties, found it for their intereſt, and therefore were as ready, to bring him out of them again, and to ſmooth the way for his return to ſome degree, at leaſt, of the King his Maſter's favour. But the firſt ſtep to his being reſtored to credit, was a difference that fell out between the Lord Keeper Bacon, and Secretary Winwood; for upon the King's going to Scotland about the middle of March 1617, the chief direction of affairs was confided to the former, who carrying it ſomwhat haughtily to the Secretary, he is ſaid to have refuſed ever to ſit afterwards with him in Council, during the King's abſence (*b*). Sir Edward Coke having buſineſs with Secretary Winwood, who was his old friend, and knowing his intereſt with the favourite, now become Earl of Buckingham, propoſed to him a match between the Earl's elder brother Sir John Villiers, and his own youngeſt daughter by the Lady Hatton (*i*). An account of this being written to Buckingham in Scotland, the propoſal was readily accepted, but it very quickly appeared, that notwithſtanding the great perſonages intereſted therein, it was not like to proceed ſo quietly as might have been expected, and, in proceſs of time, this little family buſineſs ripened into an affair of State (*k*). On the one hand, the Lady Hatton reſenting her huſband's attempt to diſpoſe of her daughter without aſking her leave, carried away the young Lady, and lodged her at Sir Edmund Withipole's houſe near Oatlands (*l*). Upon this Sir Edward wrote immediately to the Earl of Buckingham, to procure a warrant from the Privy-Council to reſtore his daughter to him, but before he received an anſwer, he had intelligence where ſhe was, and thereupon, without waiting for any authority, he went with his ſons to Sir Edmund Withipole's houſe, and took her away by force, which produced a complaint of the Lady Hatton to the Privy-Council (*m*). On the other hand, the Lord Keeper Bacon, ſuſpecting that he ſhould loſe the favourite, and in conſequence of that the King, oppoſed this match to the utmoſt, and thereby drew upon himſelf immediately that, of which he had only a diſtant apprehenſion. For Buckingham, who was not of a nature to bear any contradiction, reſented his proceeding highly; and his mother, the Lady Compton, loſt all patience, and treated the Lord Keeper with extraordinary freedom (*n*). His Lordſhip, however, was ſo ſet upon carrying this point, that he countenanced the Attorney-General, Sir Henry Yelverton, (the ſame perſon who had adviſed Weſton to ſtand mute at his trial) in filing an information in the Star-Chamber againſt Sir Edward Coke, for the ſteps he had taken to recover his daughter (*o*). In the mean time the two Ladies, Compton and Hatton, came to a good underſtanding, and ſoon after the latter was, in appearance at leaſt, reconciled to Sir Edward Coke, upon which the Star-Chamber ſuit was ſuſpended. On the King's return from Scotland, which was on the fifteenth of September, Sir Edward Coke was reſtored to his favour, and reinſtated in his place (*p*), as a Privy-Conſellor, for which however he paid pretty dearly [T]. The King's affairs in general were at this time in much diſorder on every ſide,

(*b*) Court and Character of King James, p. 231.

(*i*) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 42.

(*k*) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(*l*) Several Letters, in which this whole tranſaction is largely ſet forth, are ſtill preſerved in the valuable Collection of James Weſt, Eſq;

(*m*) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(*n*) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 43.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 26.

(*p*) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 44. Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 26.

[T] *For which however he paid pretty dearly.*] To ſuch a degree was King James under the direction and dominion of his favourite, that upon his coming to London, he ſignified his ſatisfaction in their conduct to ſuch of his Miniſters as had promoted this match, and made thoſe who had oppoſed it thoroughly ſenſible of his diſpleaſure, particularly Bacon and Yelverton; the former by a very deep ſubmiſſion to Buckingham, ſoon recovered the King's good graces (83); but the latter ſtood upon his integrity, and never made any ſubmiſſions, which coſt him afterwards the loſs of a great part of his fortune, and a ſevere impriſonment; and yet his courage and conſtant friendſhip to his old maſter Somerſet, wrought ſo much with Buckingham, that he ſued for his friendſhip, and made him a Judge of the Common pleas unaſked, in which ſtation he died (84). The very ſame day the King arrived, Sir Edward Coke was admitted to his preſence and to the Council Table, and on Michaelmas-day following, Sir John Villiers was married to Mrs Frances Coke at Hamton-Court, with all the ſplendour imaginable (85). It was this wedding, that as it reſtored Sir Edward to credit at Court, went ſo deep in his fortune. For beſides 10,000 *l.* paid in money at two payments, Sir Edward and his ſon Sir Robert, did upon the 2d of November, purſuant to articles and directions from the Lords of the Council, aſſure to Sir John Villiers a rent charge of 2000 marks *per annum*, during Sir Edward's life; and of 900 *l.* a year during the Lady Hatton's, if ſhe ſurvived her huſband. And after both their deaths, the manor of Stoke, *&c.* in Buckinghamſhire, of the value of 900 *l. per annum* (being the moiety of the lands intended to his two daughters by the lady Hatton) to Sir John Villiers and his Lady, and to the heirs of her body. And that the ſame were ſettled by good conveyances carefully drawn, upon the 27th of January, 1617, was certified to his Majeſty, under the hands of Sir Ranulph Crewe, Sir Robert Hicham, and Sir Henry Yelverton, the King's Serjeants and Attorney (86). It is not abſolutely certain what ſettlements were made by the Lady Hatton upon this marriage, but without queſtion they were very conſiderable; for ſince her marriage with Sir Edward Coke, ſhe had purchaſed the iſland and caſtle of Purbeck, and ſeveral other eſtates in different counties; and by her liberality upon this occaſion, ſhe procured her liberty ſoon after; for at the time of the marriage ſhe was confined, upon the complaint of her huſband (87). On the 2d of November ſhe was ſet at large, and on the 18th of the ſame month, ſhe entertained (88) the King, the Duke of Buckingham, and the whole Court without inviting her huſband. In the month of June 1619, Sir John Villiers was raiſed to the dignity of Baron Stoke in the County of Buckingham, and Viſcount Purbeck in the County of Dorſet (89); and it was currently reported, that the Lady Hatton might have been raiſed to the dignity of Viſcounteſs Weſtmoreland at the ſame time, but that ſhe refuſed to come up to the price (90). All this time the quarel between her and her huſband ſubſiſted, and many letters are ſtill preſerved, which ſhew a great deal of heat and reſentment in both parties; and what is moſt extraordinary, is to find that ſeveral perſons of the firſt quality in the Kingdom, intereſted themſelves deeply on both ſides in this quarrel, inſomuch that the Lord Houghton (formerly Sir John Hollis) was committed, for having, in conjunction with Lady Hatton, framed ſome ſcandalous libels againſt Sir Edward Coke (91). This marriage of the Lord Purbeck and his Lady, as it began with ſo much trouble and diſturbance, became productive of much more; the Lady being accuſed of two great familiarity with Sir Robert Howard, which ſerved to exerciſe the tongues of the multitude for many years (92). The Lord Viſcount Purbeck

(83) See his humble Letter upon that occaſion, in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 674.

(84) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 15.

(85) Camd. Annal. Jac. p. 26.

(86) Stephens's Introduct. to Bacon's Letter, p. 36.

(87) This appears from ſeveral Letters of both parties, which are ſtill preſerved.

(88) Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 27.

(89) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 432.

(90) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James. Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 45.

(91) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James. Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 46.

(92) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 390, 426, 434.

ſide, but more eſpecially in reſpect to his treaſure, which, through his own liberality on one ſide, and the frauds of thoſe who had been entruſted with the management of it on the other, was in a great meaſure exhauſted, and, which was ſtill worſe, it was found a thing equally difficult, to procure ſupplies, or to work a reformation (*q*). The Favourite was by no means inclined to a Parliament, the only method by which the firſt could be obtained; and therefore the latter was looked upon as the only remedy, in reſpect to which the counſels of Sir Edward Coke were very much regarded. The Lord Chancellor Bacon ſeeing him in this road, and aiming, as he apprehended, at the poſt of Lord Treaſurer, dropped his animoſity, and from this time forward we find Sir Edward Coke's abilities repreſented in a very favourable light both to Buckingham and the King his maſter (*r*). It would draw this article into too great a length, if we ſhould enter particularly into the ſervices he performed of this kind during his continuance in favour, and therefore it ſhall ſuffice to give the reader a ſuccinct account of them in the note [*U*]. The enemies of this great man have repreſented him as one of an impatient ſpirit, and yet apt to retain the impreſſion of injuries, and to follow them at a great diſtance of time with extraordinary reſentment (*s*). If this was really a part of his character, he had undoubtedly as many favourable opportunities, during the ſhort ſpace in which he enjoyed this ſecond poſſeſſion of power from the recovery of his maſter's favour, as ever any man had, to gratify them, ſince, except thoſe of his enemies who had reconciled themſelves to him, there was hardly one that did not fall under the weight of his hand, a few inſtances of which make not only proper, but indeed neceſſary parts of his perſonal Hiſtory. In the year 1691, the chief of the Dutch merchants in England fell under a proſecution for exporting bullion contrary to Law, in the bringing which cauſe to a hearing, Sir Edward Coke was almoſt alone, the Chancellor Bacon being ſuſpicious of the event from a change in the Attorney-General's conduct, who, though warm in the beginning of the proſecution, grew faint before the trial; but Sir Edward, well knowing the grounds upon which he went, kept his own pace, and would not be either drawn off, or taken down in the management of this buſineſs, which he brought to it's intended iſſue, and the ſeveral offenders were fined in the Star-Chamber to the

(*q*) See this largely ſet forth in Bacon's Letters. Wilſon's Life and Death of King James. Sanderſon's Hiſt.

(*r*) See Bacon's Letters, in the years 1618, 1619, 1620.

(*s*) Wilſon's Life and Death of King James, p. 705. Sir Anthony Welden's Court and Character of King James. Sanderſon's Hiſt.

Purbeck went abroad in the latter end of May 1620, under colour of drinking the waters at the Spaw, but in fact, as Camden tells us, to hide from the world his being run mad with pride (93). To this man, and to him only of all Buckingham's family, Sir Anthony Welden gives a good character, and inſinuates, that his wife was ſupported in her bad behaviour, 'till ſhe drove him mad (94); which is a little improbable, conſidering the proſecutions ſet on foot againſt her for her bad behaviour. Many years after this, Viſcount Purbeck married privately after her demiſe, the daughter of Sir William Slingſby of Yorkſhire, by whom he had a ſon, who married the daughter of Sir John Danvers, one of the King's Judges, and obtained a patent from the Protector Cromwell, to change his name from Villiers to Danvers, but he died without iſſue (95).

(93) Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 58.

(94) Court and Character of King James, p. 137.

(95) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 432.

[*U*] *A ſuccinct account of them in the note*] We can only give the reader here, an account from the records of thoſe weighty and important affairs, in which Sir Edward Coke as a Privy-Counſellor was employed. He was commiſſioned 23 June 1618, 16 Jac. I. (96), with other Privy-Counſellors, to put in force the Act of Parliament made in Queen Elizabeth's reign, againſt Jeſuits, Seminary Prieſts and others; and to baniſh them out of England and Ireland, and all other the King's dominions. The ſame year he was alſo commiſſioned with others, in confidence of their approved wiſdoms, fidelities, and circumſpections, from time to time, to call before them all officers, or Miniſter's Clerks and other Perſons, that ſince the firſt of May, in the 10th year of the reign of the King, had any charge, directly or indirectly, in or about the receipt or diſburſement of any of his treaſure; or had any office in or about the receipt or diſburſement of his treaſure; as alſo to view Privy-Councils, and other warrants, orders, tallies, books, &c. to the ſame belonging, in order to diſcover frauds committed by the Miniſtry, in diſpoſing of the public money.

(96) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. p. 93.

The year after, the King ſignifies to Sir Edward Coke, Knt. one of his Privy-council, and others, 2 July 1619 (97), That whereas by a late commiſſion dated the 19th of April laſt paſt, he impowered them, or ſome of them, to make inventories and ſchedules of all ſuch jewels, precious ſtones, ornaments, houſhold ſtuff, and implements, &c. as did belong to his late dear conſort Queen Anne, in her life time, with their names, faſhions, qualities, and values, and the ſame to ſign, which they had performed. And foraſmuch as he appointed the choiceſt of them to be ſent to the ſecret Jewel-houſe in the Tower of London, there to be preſerved for the honour of the Crown; others to be preſerved for preſents for Ambaſſadors, and others to the cuſtody of Sir Henry Knight, Maſter and Treaſurer of his jewels and plate; and others to be kept at Denmark-Houſe for ornament there, or otherwiſe to be diſpoſed of at pleaſure; and the reſt, being of ſmall value, to be diſpoſed of to the beſt advantage, and a book or inventory being made of the ſame, with their names, faſhions, and quantities, amounting to the ſum of 20,000*l.* or thereabouts. Therefore confiding in their approved fidelities, wiſdoms, and circumſpections, he commiſſions them to ſell and diſpoſe of the ſame, at ſuch rates and prices, as the ſame ſtand therein valued, or to the moſt benefit and advantage; and the monies ariſing thereby, to deliver into the receipt of Exchequer, &c.

(97) Ibid. p. 97.

He was alſo commiſſioned, 16 July 1619, 17 Jac. I (98), to conſer with the Deputies of the States General, touching the differences between the Dutch Eaſt-India Company and the Engliſh merchants trading to the Eaſt Indies. And by another commiſſion dated at Weſtminſter the twenty-ninth of April, 1620, 18 Jac. I (99), he was empowered to put in force certain laws, relating to matters eccleſiaſtick. Alſo by commiſſion dated at Weſtminſter the 22d of June, 1620 (100), 18 Jac. I. he and others were to inquire into the abuſes touching fines payable to his Majeſty, as well by copyholders as freeholders, on ſurrenders, alienations, and the herriots, reliefs, eſcheats, perquiſites and profits of courts, waifs, eſtrays, goods and chattels of felons, growing due to his ſaid Majeſty; and being within the ſurvey of the court of Exchequer. And in another commiſſion dated at Weſtminſter, 15 July 1620 (101), 18 Jac. I. he was empowered, with others of the Privy-Council, to demiſe the royalties of the Crown, caſualties and caſual profits, and to ſuppreſs the ſuperfluous number of officers, and for reducing the unneceſſary charge of them. The ſame year, the King on December the twelfth, ſignifies to Sir Edward Coke, Knt, and others, the great offences committed by tranſporting to foreign parts great quantities of brazen and iron ordinance for their private lucre and gain, contrary to Law; and therefore appoints them commiſſioners, to examine witneſſes, on or without oath; and to ſearch into ſuch books or writings, as to them ſhall ſeem convenient, for the diſcovery of all ſuch matters, ſince the beginning of his reign. Such were the ſervices, in which Sir Edward Coke was employed during his ſecond return to royal favour.

(98) Ibid. p. 166,

(99) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 722. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. p. 201.

(100) Annals of the Reign of King James. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. p. 224.

(101) See Bacon's Letters in that year. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. p. 240.

the amount of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, which as they were very able to pay, this might have been a ſeaſonable relief to his Maſter, if Buckingham, at the requeſt of the States-General, had not interfered and procured a mitigation (*t*). The year following the Lord High-Treaſurer Suffolk and his Lady fell into diſgrace, and under a ſevere proſecution for corruption; the reader has been told how that Lord ſtepped once a little out of his way to reflect upon Sir Edward Coke when upon his knees, upon his coachman's driving bare-headed, but Sir Edward now ſat on the Bench when he came to receive his ſentence in the Star-Chamber, Nov. 15, 1619, and led the way in a long and learned ſpeech, where, after ſhewing how often Treaſurers had pillaged both King and people, he concluded with proving, that by the Earl and his Counteſs the King had loſt fifty thouſand pounds, for which he fined them double that ſum, and impriſonment in the Tower 'till it was paid; but the Lord Chief Juſtice Hobart thinking that too much, propoſed thirty thouſand, and with him the major part of the Court agreed, but the Earl and Counteſs were committed to the Tower, and their inſtrument, Sir John Bingley, to the Fleet (*u*). In 1620, the Attorney-General Yelverton, who, when he was Sollicitor, had been ſo active againſt the Lord Chief Juſtice, fell under a like proſecution, for having put ſome clauſes into a charter for the City of London for which he had no warrant, and tho' his cauſe was drawn to a great length, yet on the eighth of November it came to a hearing, when Sir Edward Coke, whoſe place it was to begin, concluded his long and bitter ſpeech, as a certain author calls it, with a fine of ſix thouſand pounds and loſs of his place, which the reſt of the Court moderated to four thouſand pounds, diſcharging him of his place by way of opinion, but ſubmitting the ſame to the King, during whoſe pleaſure they alſo ſentenced him to impriſonment in the Tower (*w*). It appeared clearly towards the end of this year, that the King's affairs abſolutely required the calling of a Parliament, which was chiefly adviſed by Chancellor Bacon, now become Lord Verulam and Viſcount St Albans, who undertook to prepare things for it's meeting, and in this conſulted with, and had all the aſſiſtance that Sir Edward Coke (*x*) could give him, notwithſtanding which, it was very far from anſwering thoſe purpoſes for which it was called. Sir Edward Coke was a member, and his age, experience, and dignity, gave him a great weight there, but it very ſoon appeared that he was reſolved to act a different part from what the Court, and more eſpecially the great favourite Buckingham, expected. On the ſixth of February 1620-21, there was a great debate in the Houſe of Commons on ſeveral points of importance, ſuch as liberty of ſpeech, the increaſe of Popery, and other grievances, upon which Sir Edward Coke ſpoke very warmly, and alſo took occaſion to ſhew, that Proclamations againſt the tenor of Acts of Parliament were void, for which he is highly commended by Camden (*y*). On the fifteenth of March, complaints were made to the Houſe of Commons againſt the Lord Viſcount St Albans, Chancellor of England, in which Sir Edward Coke was of the Committee for preparing the charge, and proceeded mildly (*z*). On the fifth of May following, Clement Coke Eſq; youngeſt ſon to Sir Edward, was committed to the Tower for ſome raſh expreſſions that had eſcaped him (*a*). In the month of July Sir Edward Coke and his wife, the Lady Hatton, were reconciled by the King (*b*). The Houſes being adjouned by the King's command on the fourth of June, met again in November, and, upon their meeting, the Houſe of Commons fell into great heats on account of the commitment of Sir Edwin Sands ſoon after the adjournment, which had ſuch unfortunate conſequences, that on the one hand the Commons proteſted, December 18, 1621, againſt the invaſion of their privileges, upon which the King prorogued the Parliament on the 21ſt (*c*), and on the 27th Sir Edward Coke was committed to the Tower, and his chambers in the Temple being broke open, his papers were delivered to Sir Robert Cotton and Mr Wilſon to examine (*d*). On the thirtieth of December the King ſent for the Journal of the Houſe of Commons, and tore out the Proteſt with his own hand, as appears by an Act of Council (*e*) drawn up by his order upon that occaſion. On the ſixth of January the Parliament was diſſolved, and the ſame day Sir Edward Coke was charged before the Council with having concealed ſome true examinations, in the great cauſe of the Earl of Somerſet, and obtruding falſe ones (*f*); notwithſtanding which he was ſoon after releaſed, but not without receiving ſome very high marks of the King's reſentment, for he was a ſecond time turned out of the Privy-Council, and the King gave him this character, *That he was the fitteſt inſtrument for a tyrant that ever was in England*, which might very probably be, on account of his having called the King's prerogative in Parliament *a great monſter* (*g*). Some have repreſented him as very inconſiſtent in this, but we want ſufficient lights to judge of this queſtion, and where we find them in others, it never appears that Sir Edward Coke did not know what he was ſaying, or was ever at a loſs to defend what he had done. Notwithſtanding all this we find, that towards the cloſe of the year 1623, the King iſſued a commiſſion to him with ſeveral others, in which very large powers were given them in the kingdom of Ireland, but it might be very much queſtioned, whether this was a mark of favour and confidence, or a ſtigma of baniſhment and diſgrace; but it is very apparent that Sir Edward himſelf underſtood it in the latter ſenſe, and yet he was willing to have gone (*h*) [*W*]. It may be the willingneſs he ſhewed prevented his going, though other

(*t*) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 46. Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(*u*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 696. Wilſon's Life and Death of King James, 706.

(*w*) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 17.

(*x*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 704.

(*y*) Annal. Jac. p. 67.

(*z*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 375.

(*a*) Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 71.

(*b*) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(*c*) Franklyn's Annals of King James.

(*d*) Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 76.

(*e*) See that Act in Franklyn's Annals of King James.

(*f*) Camden. Annal. p. 77.

(*g*) Wilſon's Life and Death of King James, in the ſecond Vol. of Compleat Hiſt. of England, p. 748, 749.

(*h*) See this clearly explained in the note.

[*W*] *And yet he was very willing to have gone.*] Among other arts that were practiſed at this time, to remove out of the way ſuch perſons, as were obnoxious to the great favourite Buckingham; one was, to put ſuch

other gentlemen who were in his ſentiments actually went. He remained firm in his opinions, nor does there appear any traces of his ſeeking to be again reconciled to the Court; ſo that he was abſolutely out of favour at the death of King James. In the beginning of the next reign, when it was found neceſſary to call a ſecond Parliament, he was pricked for Sheriff of the county of Buckingham in 1625, to prevent his being choſe (*i*). He laboured all he could to avoid it, in order to which he took exceptions againſt the oath, which he tranſmitted to the Attorney-General, who, by order of the Council, attended the Judges, who found only one objection out of four to be reaſonable, and that was as to the proſecution of Lollards (*k*), in reſpect to which the oath was amended, but Sir Edward was obliged to ſerve the office, and to attend the Judges at the aſſizes, who had been Chief Juſtice of England himſelf (*l*). This did not hinder his being elected Knight of the ſhire for the county of Bucks, in that Parliament which was held in the year 1628 (*m*), in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf more than any man in the Houſe of Commons, ſpoke warmly for the redreſs of grievances, argued boldly in defence of the liberty of the ſubject, and ſtrenuouſly ſupported the privileges of the Houſe of Commons (*n*). In this Parliament he did the higheſt ſervice to his country, not only in regard to his perſonal endeavours, but perhaps the higheſt that was ever done by a private man; for he it was, that, laying hold of a meſſage from the King, propoſed and framed the PETITION of RIGHTS (*o*). He alſo, on the fifth of June 1628, vindicated the right of the Houſe of Commons to proceed againſt any ſubject how high ſoever, who mis-led his Sovereign to the prejudice of his ſubjects, by naming the Duke of Buckingham as the cauſe of all the miſeries of the kingdom [*X*]. We are indeed told by the noble Hiſtorian, that, not long before this, Sir Edward

(*i*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 12.

(*k*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 822.

(*l*) Franklyn's Annals of the Reign of King Charles.

(*m*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. I. p. 79.

(*n*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 505, 509, 512, 513.

(*o*) Id. ibid. p. 558, 559.

ſuch perſons into commiſſions, for the kingdom of Ireland (102), with great expreſſions of royal kindneſs and confidence in them, but with a real deſign to prevent their being troubleſome, by ſending them out of the realm. The truth of the firſt part of this account, will ſufficiently appear, by giving the heads of that commiſſion, in which the name of Sir Edward Coke was inſerted, and his own explanation of the matter five years after, will make good the latter part of the aſſertion. On the twenty-ninth of December 1623 (103), the King ſignifies to Sir Edward Coke, Knt, and others, That whereas he granted his commiſſion to his Deputy of Ireland and others, dated at Weſtminſter the twentieth of March, in the nineteenth year of his reign, out of his princely care and deſire to advance the flouriſhing ſtate of Ireland, by the increaſe of trade, ſettling of plantations, &c. he now commiſſions Henry Viſcount Falkland, Deputy of Ireland, Sir Edward Coke, Knt, Sir William Jones, Knt, Sir Edwin Sandys, Knt, John Lloyd and Francis Philips, to inquire what, and how, many pariſhes and churches be in Ireland; alſo how many preſentations, and which are appropriate, and how thoſe churches are ſerved, &c. and to conſider what churches are fit to be repaired or new built, &c. and generally to inquire into all matters tending to the decay of religion in that kingdom; as alſo into the trade and commerce of that nation, &c. Thus far the commiſſion, let us come next to the explication.

(102) Wilſon's Life and Death of King James, in the ſecond Vol. of Compl. Hiſt. of England.

(103) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVII. p. 531.

In the third parliament, called in the reign of King Charles the firſt, *viz.* April the ſecond 1628. amongſt other grievances, this of ſending men abroad againſt their will, and thereby into a kind of involuntary baniſhment, was canvaſſed in the Houſe of Commons (104); when Mr Selden, Sir Thomas Hobby, Sir Peter Hayman, Mr Hakvil, and others, delivered their ſentiments; amongſt the reſt, Sir Edward Coke ſpoke to the folowing effect (105): 'No reſtraint, be it ever ſo 'little, but is impriſonment, and foreign imploy-'ment is a kind of honourable baniſhment: I myſelf 'was deſigned to go to Ireland, I was willing to go, 'and hoped if I had gone, to have found ſome '*Mompeſſons* there; there is difference when the party 'is the King's ſervant, and when not, 46 E. III. 'This was the time, when the law was in it's height; 'Sir Richard Pembridge was a Baron, and the King's 'ſervant, and at that time Warden of the Cinque-Ports, 'he was commanded to go to Ireland, and to ſerve 'as Deputy there, which he refuſed; he was not com-'mitted, but the King was highly offended, and having 'offices, and fees, and lands, *pro ſervitio ſuo impenſo*, the 'King ſeized his lands and offices. I went to the parliament roll, 47 E. III, where I found another prece-'dent for foreign imployment; they that have offices '*pro conſilio* or *ſervitio impenſo*, if they refuſe, thoſe 'lands and offices ſo given are ſeized, but no commit-'ment.'

(104) Franklyn's Annals of King Charles I. p. 244.

(105) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 523. Franklyn's Annals, p. 257.

[*X*] *By naming the Duke of Buckingham as the cauſe of all the miſeries of the kingdom.*] On the fifth of June 1628, Sir John Finch, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, delivered a meſſage to the Houſe from the King, importing, that his Majeſty had fixed a day for putting an end to their ſeſſion, and therefore required that they ſhould not enter into new buſineſs, or lay any aſperſion on the Government, or Miniſters thereof. This produced a warm debate, in which Sir John Elliot, advancing ſomewhat that looked as if he meant to touch the Duke of Buckingham; the Speaker roſe up, and ſaid, *There is a command upon me, that I muſt command you not to proceed* (106). Upon this a deep ſilence enſued, and then the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, to conſider what was fit to be done; and ordered that no man ſhould go out, on pain of going to the Tower. The Speaker however deſiring to withdraw, had leave ſo to do; and Mr Whitby being in the chair, Sir Edward Coke ſpoke to the following effect (107): 'We have dealt 'with that duty and moderation, that never was the 'like, *rebus ſic ſtantibus*, after ſuch a violation of the 'liberties of the ſubjects; let us take this to heart. 'In 30 E. III. were they then in doubt in par-'liament to name men that miſled the King? they 'accuſed John de Gaunt, the King's ſon, and Lord La-'timer, and Lord Nevil for miſadviſing the King; and 'they went to the Tower for it. Now when there is ſuch 'a downfal of the State, ſhall we hold our tongues? 'How ſhall we anſwer our duties to God and men? '7 Hen. IV. parl rot. No. 31, 32, and 11 Hen. IV. 'No. 13, there the Council are complained of and are 'removed from the King; they mewed up the 'King, and diſſwaded him from the common good; and 'why are we now retired from that way we were in? 'why may we not name thoſe, that are the cauſe of all 'our evils? In 4 Hen. III, and 27 E. III, and 13 'R. II, the parliament moderateth the King's pre-'rogative; and nothing grows to abuſe, but this Houſe 'hath power to treat of it; what ſhall we do? let us 'palliate no longer; if we do, God will not proſper us. I 'think the Duke of *Buckingham* is the cauſe of all 'our miſeries; and 'till the King be informed thereof, 'we ſhall never go out with honour, or ſit with honour 'here; that no man is the grievance of grievances; let us 'ſet down the cauſes of all our diſaſters, and all will 'reflect upon him.' It ſeems, that the Patriots of thoſe times were either much more in earneſt, or much better diſſemblers, than in others; for we are aſſured, that the Speaker wept very much, while he delivered his diſagreeable meſſage to the Houſe; that many of the members followed his example, during the ſilence occaſioned thereby; and that Sir Edward Coke himſelf ſat down, after he began ſpeaking, to wipe away his tears (108). His ſpeech was ſeconded by Mr Selden, and at length it was agreed to frame a remonſtrance to the King, and therein to name the Duke of Buckingham as the great author of their grievances. But while this was in agitation, the Speaker, who went privately to the King, returned, and in his Majeſty's name deſired them to adjourn to the next day, which

(106) Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 10.

(107) Franklyn's Annals of King Charles I. p. 325.

(108) See Mr Allured's Letter in Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 609.

ward Coke had blamſphemouſly ſtiled the ſame Duke *our Saviour* (*p*). It is not eaſy to excuſe him upon this head, but perhaps if we had the whole of that ſpeech the taſk might not be ſo difficult. In all probability this might be in the laſt Parliament of King James, when the Duke of Buckingham took great pains to ſhew, that he brought the Prince back from Spain, and was the breaker of the match, as moſt undoubtedly he was, and for that reaſon grew into as great favour with the people, as he had been, with either of his Royal Maſters. At this time, if, in the high-flown eloquence of that age, Sir Edward Coke did ſtile him Saviour of the nation, it might deſerve pardon, though it could not be juſtified. But the noble Hiſtorian himſelf, in the very place where he ſays this, confeſſes that the Duke had been the cauſe of diſſolving two Parliaments, and of ſome violent counſels that had attended theſe diſſolutions, by which, whatever he might intend, he certainly frees Sir Edward Coke from inconſiſtency, ſince the Duke's ſaving the nation by bringing home the Prince and breaking the Spaniſh match, gave him no title to proceed ſo far as he afterwards did, towards the ruin of the King and kingdom; and all that can be inferred from hence in reference to the perſon of whom we are ſpeaking, is no more than this, that he was a very open and frank Orator upon all occaſions, for there is nothing appears to ſhew that he was not alike ſincere in both his declarations. We may add to this, that whatever he might deſign with regard to the Duke, he could not by that high commendation ſeek to flatter King James, with whom the Favourite then ſtood upon doubtful terms; and in the laſt caſe he did what he took to be his duty, without fear of incurring the hatred of the Favourite, or the diſpleaſure of his Maſter. After the diſſolution of this Parliament, which happened March 28, 1628-9, he retired to his houſe at Stoke-Pogey's (*q*) in Buckinghamſhire, where he ſpent the remainder of his days in a quiet retirement, univerſally reſpected and eſteemed; his behaviour in the latter part of his life having cancelled all the prejudices that had been formed againſt him in the earlier part of it, and there, September 3, 1634, he breathed his laſt, in the eighty-ſixth year of his life, expiring with theſe words in his mouth, *Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done* (*r*). It is ſaid that he was perſecuted by the reſentment of his potent enemies even in his very lateſt moments, Sir Francis Windebanke entering his houſe, in virtue of an order of Council for ſeizing certain ſeditious papers, when he took away his Commentary upon Littleton, and the Hiſtory of that Judge's Life in his own hand writing; his Commentary upon *Magna Charta*, &c. the Pleas of the Crown, and Juriſdiction of Courts, and fifty-one other manuſcripts, together with his laſt Will and Teſtament, in which he had diſpoſed of his very large fortune in the way he judged moſt convenient, amongſt his numerous poſterity. About ſeven years afterwards, upon a motion made by one of his ſons in the Houſe of Commons, the King was deſired to order all the papers taken by Sir Francis Windebanke out of Sir Edward's houſe, to be delivered to Sir Robert Coke his heir, with which his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to comply, and ſuch of them as could be found, were accordingly ſo delivered; but as to his Will it was never heard of, to the no ſmall prejudice of his family (*s*). We have now compleated the memoirs of this great man, but there ſtill remains a duty incumbent upon us, to ſay ſomewhat of his publick and private character, as well as of his valuable writings. To begin then with his perſon, which was every way well proportioned, his features regular, his countenance always grave and compoſed, and his air and manner of ſpeaking full of dignity (*t*). He was neat, but not nice, in his dreſs; and his common ſaying was, *That the* cleanneſs *of a man's* cloaths, *ought to put him in mind of keeping all* clean *within* (*u*). He had great quickneſs of parts, deep penetration, a faithful memory, and a ſolid judgment. He was wont to ſay, *That matter lay in a little room*, and in his pleadings he was conciſe, but in ſet ſpeeches, and in his writings, rather too diffuſe; but whether this was owing to an affectation of learning, to the activity of his fancy, and the ſtrength of his memory, which furniſhed not only a copiouſneſs but a redundancy of matter; or to the error of the times, when this manner of ſpeaking and writing was much in faſhion, is not eaſy to determine (*w*). He was indubitably a great maſter of his profeſſion, as even his enemies allow; had ſtudied it regularly, and was perfectly acquainted with all the old authors in which the true principles of our laws are found, and with the records which contain the laws themſelves. It was by his ſingular and comprehenſive knowledge in theſe, that he gained ſo high an eſteem in Weſtminſter-hall, and came to enjoy ſo large a ſhare in the great Lord Burlegh's favour, who never loved ſuperficial men, or raiſed any that were not maſters of the ſcience they profeſſed (*x*). He valued himſelf, and not without reaſon, upon this, that he obtained all his preferments without employing either *prayers* or *pence*; and that he became the Queen's Sollicitor, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Attorney-General, Chief Juſtice of both Benches, High-Steward of Cambridge, and a member of the Privy-Council, without either begging or bribing. As he derived his fortune, his credit, and his greatneſs, from the Law, ſo he loved it with the moſt ſincere affection (*y*), ſome think to a degree of intemperance; but however that might

(*p*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 12.

(*q*) Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. B. XIV. p. 15.

(*r*) This fact is inſcribed on his monument.

(*s*) Coke's Detection, p. 107.

(*t*) Ful'er's Worthies, p. 251.

(*u*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 823.

(*w*) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(*x*) This appears from his preferring him to Bacon, and from many Letters of Sir Edward Coke's, which are ſtill preſerved.

(*y*) See his Preface before the ſecond Part of his Reports.

which was agreed (109). But in conſequence of this debate, a remonſtance was drawn up full of duty and reſpect to the King, as well as zeal and fidelity to the publick, in which the Duke of Buckingham, and the Biſhops Neale and Laud, are expreſsly named, as the authors of thoſe calamities which the nation felt at that time (110); and the concern he had in this, was the very laſt publick ſervice that Sir Edward Coke rendered to his country.

(109) Coke's Detection, p. 69.

(110) Franklyn's Annals of the Reign of Charles I. p. 330.

[*Y*] *They*

might be, as he maintained the character of a learned and upright Judge upon the Bench, to which he was raiſed by his abilities at the bar; ſo he had no deſire to hide his talent in a napkin, or to conceal the lights he had acquired by his indefatigable reading and extenſive practice. On the contrary, he committed every thing to writing with an induſtry beyond example, and ſuperior to imitation; neither were his writings confined to his cloſet, but ſent abroad into the world, to the great credit of their author, and, if the beſt judges may be believed, no leſs to the benefit of the publick (z): more he had publiſhed if he had not been hindered by his troubles; and more correct thoſe writings had certainly been that have ſince come abroad, if they had paſſed the preſs in his life-time. As it is, a certain author ſays (a), *His learned and laborious works on the Laws will be admired by judicious poſterity, while Fame has a trumpet left her, and any breath to blow therein.* This is the character of his writings in general, and with reſpect to particulars they belong properly to the notes [Y]. His whole life, from the time he became a man, was ſpent in labouring to

(z) Camd. Britan. in Icen.

(a) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

[Y] *They belong properly to the notes.*] In ſpeaking of the writings of this great man, the moſt natural method ſeems to be, to begin with thoſe publiſhed in his life-time, and conſequently with his Reports; the title of the firſt part of which runs thus:

The firſt Part of the Reports of Sir Edward Coke, *Knt. Her Majeſty's Attorney-General, of divers Reſolutions and Judgments given with great Deliberation by the reverend* Judges *and* Sages *of the* Law, *of Caſes and Matters in Law, which were never reſolved, or adjudged before. And the Reaſons and Cauſes of the ſaid Reſolutions and Judgments during the moſt happy Reign of the moſt illuſtrious and renowned Queen* Elizabeth, *the Fountain of all Juſtice, and the Life of the Law.*

It appears from the preface, that theſe were publiſhed about the year 1600, and in the ſame preface, there is an account of the principle reaſons, which induced him to publiſh them; which take in his own words. 'I 'have ſince the twenty-ſecond year of her Majeſty's 'reign, which is now twenty years compleat, obſerved 'the true reaſons, as near as I could, of ſuch matters in 'Law, (wherin I was of counſel and acquainted with 'the ſtate of the queſtion,) as have been adjudged upon 'great and mature deliberation; and as I never meant, as 'many have found, to keep them ſo ſecret for my own 'private uſe, as to deny the requeſt of any friend, to 'have either view or copy of any of them; ſo, 'till of 'late, I never could be perſwaded (as many can wit-'neſs) to make them ſo publick, as by any entreaty to 'commit them to print. But when I conſidered, how by 'her Majeſty's princely care and choice, her ſeats of 'Juſtice have been ever for the due execution of her 'Laws furniſhed with Judges of ſuch excellent know-'ledge and wiſdom, (whereunto they have attained in 'this fruitful ſpring-time of her bleſſed reign) as I 'fear, that ſucceeding ages ſhall not afford ſucceſſors e-'qual unto them. I have adventured to publiſh certain of 'their reſolutions, (in ſuch ſort as my little leiſure would 'permit) for the help of their memory, who heard 'them and perfectly knew them; for the inſtruction of 'others, who knew them not, but imperfectly heard 'of them; and laſtly for the common good, (for that 'is my chief purpoſe) in quieting and eſtabliſhing of the 'poſſeſſions of many in theſe general caſes, wherein 'there hath been ſuch variety of opinions.'

The ſecond and third part of his Reports were publiſhed in the ſame reign; in the preface to the former, he ſpeaks largely of the excellency of the Common Law, the uprightneſs of the Judges, and of the integrity of it's profeſſors. In the preface to the third part, he ſhews that at the time of his writing, there were no more than fifteen volumes of Reports, *viz.* The nine Year Books, the Commentaries of Mr Edward Plowden, and the Reports of Sir James Dyer, Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, with his own three parts of his Reports. He publiſhed his fourth Reports in the firſt year of King James when he was Attorney-General, and ſo alſo the fifth part of his Reports which begins with *Caudrey's* Caſe, from whence he takes occaſion to enter into a full and large diſcourſe *of the King's Eccleſiaſtical Law*, in anſwer to which, there was written a famous piece by Robert Perſons, the Jeſuit, under the following title:

An anſwer to the fifth *part of Reports, lately ſet forth by* Sir Edward Coke, Knt. *the King's* Attorney-General, *concerning the ancient and modern municipal Laws of* England, *which do appertain to* Spiritual Power *and* Juriſdiction. *By occaſion whereof, and of the principal queſtion ſet down in the ſecond page, there is laid forth an evident, plain, and perſpicuous Demonſtration of the* Continuance *of* Catholick Religion, *from our firſt Kings chriſtened unto theſe Days; by a* Catholick Divine, 1606, *4to.*

Of this book, we have a very high character given by Biſhop Nicholſon (111), but for what reaſon is not eaſy to find out; ſince the whole of it is penned in a high-flown declamatory ſtile, in defence of papal power and of popiſh Religion; for which reaſon Sir Edward Coke, in the ſixth part of his Report, ſays very juſtly, that it was impoſſible for him to write any anſwer, becauſe as his own was a book of Law and facts, ſo that of his adverſary was a rhapſody of Divinity, Hiſtory, Canon Law, &c. How competent a Critick the Prelate before mentioned was, appears from his cenſuring Camden (112), for calling Sir John Popham, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, and aſſerting he never was ſo, contrary to the concurring authorities of Records, Law, and Hiſtory. The ſixth part of Sir Edward Coke's Reports followed ſoon after. In the title of the ſeventh Report, he ſtiles himſelf *Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas*, and it was publiſhed in the ſixth year of King James; and as it appears by the preface *Calvin's* Caſe, which is that of the *poſt-nati*, was reported by Order. The eighth part of the Reports was publiſhed in the ninth year of King James, and the year following, the ninth part, in which the author takes the ſame title. In the tenth Report, publiſhed in the eleventh year of King James, our author ſtiles himſelf *Lord Chief Juſtice of England*, which is thus qualified in the next part of his Reports, which was publiſhed anno 1615: that is, in the thirteenth of King James, *viz. The eleventh Part of* the Reports *of Sir* Edward Coke, *Knt.* Chief Juſtice *of* England, (*of Pleas aſſigned to be holden before the* King *himſelf*) and *one of the* Privy-Council *of State*. Theſe were all the Reports publiſhed by himſelf. The twelfth part of his Reports hath a certificate printed before it, dated February the ſecond 1655, and ſubſcribed *E. Bulſtrod*, ſignifying that he conceives it to be the genuine work of Sir Edward Coke. The title of the thirteenth part is *Select Caſes in Law, reported by Sir* Edward Coke, and theſe are aſſerted to be his in a preface, ſigned with the initial letters, J. G.

(111) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 238.

(112) Annal. Eliz. abethæ, p. 654. Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 239.

There was publiſhed in the year 1607, *A Speech and Charge at Norwich Aſſizes*; intended to paſs for Sir Edward Coke's, but he clearly diſclaims it (113); not but that he did make a ſpeech at that time, and in ſome meaſure to this purpoſe; but theſe notes of it were gathered and publiſhed without his knowledge in a very incorrect and miſerable manner, ſo that there was not ſo much as a ſingle ſentence that was not corrupted and maimed in ſuch a manner, as made it apparent to all the world, that it could not be the ſpeech of this grave and learned Judge; but publiſhed with a deſign to prejudice and expoſe him: in which however the authors of that deſign were by no means ſucceſsful, the blunders in the book rendering the forgery ridiculous.

(113) See Coke's Preface to the ſeventh Part of his Reports.

A Book *of Entries, containing perfect and approved* Precedents *of* Counts, Declarations, Informations, Plaints, Indictments, Bars, Replications, Rejoinders, Pleadings, Proceſſes, Continuances, Eſſoigns, Iſſues, Defaults, Departure in deſpight of the Court, Demurrers, Trials, Judgments, Executions, *and all other matters and proceedings* (*in effect*) *concerning the practick part of the* Laws *of* England, *in actions* real, perſonal, *and* mixt, *and in* Appeals; *being very neceſſary to be known, and of excellent uſe for the modern practice of the* Law, *many of them containing matters in* Law, *and points of great learning*; collected *and* publiſhed *for the common good and benefit of all the ſtudious and learned profeſſors of the* Laws of England. fol. 1614.

to understand, and in endeavouring to support, the Constitution. It is already shewn that he was a friend to the Church and to the Clergy, and to this it must be added, that after he had lost his publick employments, and a great Peer was inclined to question the rights of the cathedral church of Norwich, he hindered it, by telling him plainly, *That if he proceeded, he would put on his cap and gown, and follow the cause through Westminster-hall again (b)*. He was a zealous and faithful servant of the Crown in all capacities; asserted the prerogative considered in a right light, and opposed it when either mistaken or misapplied.

(b) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 825.

He

As this was a very labourious, so, at the time it was composed, it was a most useful undertaking, compiled with accuracy and judgment, and serving in some measure as a supplement to his Reports. It is true, that, notwithstanding there have been but two editions of this very large collection, it is very far from being scarce, and further still from being dear; but this ought not to diminish the credit of the work, or of it's author, with men of impartial judgments; since this has partly happened from the subsequent alterations of the Law, with respect to practice, and partly from many lesser volumes that have been stolen out of it, and have been accommodated to vulgar use; but when Sir Edward Coke published his book, Entries were more scarce, and he actually laid the foundation thereby of another capital pillar for supporting the great edifice of the Law (114).

(114) See the Prefaces to latter books under the same title.

We come now to speak of his Institutes, which are divided into *four* parts. The *first* is his Translation and Comment upon the Tenures of Sir Thomas Littleton, one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas, in the reign of Ed. IV, it was published in the life-time of the author in 1628, but that edition was very incorrect; there was a second in 1629, said to be revised by the author, and in which the work is much amended, yet very probably that manuscript copy, that was seized amongst his papers at the time of his decease, was still more correct, and if it had been printed, there might perhaps have been less room for the censure of a certain prelate, who was more inclined to remark other peoples mistakes than to correct his own (115). The second part of the Institutes gives us *Magna Charta*, and several other select statutes in the original languages in which they were first enacted, and much more correct than they were to be had any where else. He adds to these a continued Commentary full of excellent learning, wherein he shews how the Common-Law stood before those statutes were made, how far they are introductory of new Law, and how far declaratory of the old; what were the causes of making them, to what ends they were made, and in what degree, at the time he wrote, they were either altered or repealed. The *third* part of the Institutes contains the *Criminal Laws* or *Pleas of the Crown*; and therein the author proposes the same end as in his former work, comparing the Statute with the Common Law, shewing where acts are only declaratory, and where introductory of new matter. After explaining the nature of crimes, and ascertaining the punishments inflicted on them by Law, he concludes with the nature of pardons and restitutions, shewing, how far the King may proceed in such matters by his prerogative, and where the assistance of Parliament is necessary. The *fourth* part of the Institutes comprehends the jurisdiction of all the courts in this kingdom, from the high Court of Parliament, down to the Court-Baron. In his proem to this part of his work, he modestly observes, that having collected some materials towards the raising this great building, and fearing they would be of little use after his decease, being very short, and not easy of others to be understood, he in his declining years had done what in him lay to advance and perfect his performance. But this not being published 'till after his decease, there are, as might be expected, many inaccuracies, and some greater faults which gave occasion to the following work.

(115) Nicholson's English Historical Library, p. 238.

Brief Animadversions on, Amendments of, and additional explanatory Records to, the fourth part of the Institutes of the Laws of England, concerning the Jurisdiction *of* Courts; *compiled by the late famous Lawyer* Sir Edward Coke, *Knight*, Chief Justice of both Benches, *in his life-time; but published and reprinted with some disadvantage since his death.* By *William Prynne*, Esq; London, 1669. Fol.

We have besides of the Chief Justice Coke's writing,

A Treatise of Bail *and* Mainprize, *London*, 1637 4*to*.

Reading on the State of *Fines* 27 Ed. I. French, *London* 1662, 4to.

Compleat Copyholder, London, 1640, 4to. There was added in another edition of this book in 1650, 4*to*. Calthorpe's *Reading between a Lord of a Manner and a Copyholder his Tenant*, &c. And in the editions in 12*mo*, 1668 and 1673, there is a Supplement.

When we consider not only the quantity, but the quality of his writings, how they contribute to illustrate, as well the origin as the body and substance of our Laws, explain their nature, vindicate their justice, and demonstrate the benefit of them; how they take in the whole circle of this extensive science, in reference both to it's grounds and practice, and how methodically and accurately every thing touched by his pen is treated, we cannot but stand amazed at his wisdom, his diligence, and his publick spirit. His wisdom appears in his being able to examine, acquire, and digest, such a prodigious fund of knowledge, and apply it with such distinctness, perspicuity, and propriety, as he did, to every point; and tho' much of what he has written, may thro' time become of little use in regard to practice; yet the utility of it, in respect to the understanding of our Law will remain as long as it subsists on it's present basis; and that I hope will be as long as we shall continue a people. Viewing things only in this light, it is impossible for any impartial reader to avoid paying the highest reverence to his memory. But when we consider also, his wonderful diligence in collecting, framing, and disposing, so many, so laborious, and such different kinds of writing, our wonder must increase. And when we reflect on the strange returns made him, for the vast services done the Commonwealth in this respect, and his continuing to the very last to prosecute the same services, in spite of this ill usage, merely from a principle of publick spirit, and the sincere love of his country and it's Laws, it must raise our admiration still higher. Besides there are some circumstances yet untouched, that ought to have equal weight with any thing that has been already said upon this subject. For he took all this pains for posterity in the midst of a life occupied with continual cares for the service of that age in which he lived, when in the full possession of the greatest practice at the Bar, when called to the highest offices of his profession, when involved in the perplexity of publick imployments, as well as when out of them and more at leisure. We may add to all this, that from the account we have of the manuscripts seized at his death, there is a very great probability that the world has been deprived of a considerable part of his writings, notwithstanding those we enjoy make so great a figure, and place him in a sphere so much superior to any of those who have laboured to serve their country in the same way. Permit me to add to these remarks, which proceed purely from sincerity of heart, and a real concern for truth and justice, that, to his care we owe the reducing the knowledge of our Laws into a system, and the putting it in the power of others, to prosecute and improve his plan; for if we compare the Law, as he found it, with the condition in which he left it, and the benefits that have since arisen from his industry and example, we shall see his merit in it's true point of light, and have a just notion of the reasons which induced that and the succeeding age to stile him the Oracle of the Law, as he realy was, and will be, what ever may be the fate of his writings in succeeding times; since from him were originally borrowed those lights that have lead all succeeding Lawyers, who, if they had wanted this great guide, would never have been able to have traversed those paths which led them to knowledge and credit. We live in times, when it is fashionable to decry, or at least to depreciate, the abilities of those who went before us; and therefore it is the duty of all such as are embarked in works of this nature, to make a stand in favour of antiquity, and to vindicate the memories of those great men whose actions they record, and in doing which, as they faithfully discharge their trust, so they may hope for a favourable reception from posterity for themselves.

[Z] *Posterity*

He was a uſeful member of the Privy-Council, while he continued in it; and very ſerviceable to Queen Anne, to whom he was of Counſel, and Chief Juſtice in Eyre of her foreſts, as long as ſhe lived (*c*). In the Star-Chamber he is reputed to have been not only ſtrict and active, but even bitter and ſevere; by which he created himſelf many enemies who gave him trouble enough, and who no doubt would have brought his conduct under publick cenſure, if any colourable imputations could have been fixed upon it (*d*). In his behaviour as a Senator, he ſhewed a laudable zeal for correcting abuſes, an inflexible integrity in purſuing them, and a ſpirit not to be quelled either by the arts or threats of a Court (*e*). He met with many changes of fortune, was ſometimes in power, ſometimes in diſgrace; and it muſt be allowed, that he made a better figure in adverſity than in proſperity; for, as King James ſaid, *he fell always upon his feet*, and whatever credit he loſt at Court, he found it made up to him in the country, where he was equally reverenced and eſteemed (*f*). In the earlier part of his life, he repreſented the county of Norfolk in Parliament; and more than forty years after, he was Knight of the Shire for the county of Bucks, and in that quality ſat in the laſt Parliament he lived to ſee (*g*). With all theſe great endowments, he was certainly not free from failings, nor are we ignorant what thoſe were reputed to be; for as his character was eminent, ſo it has been drawn by pens very differently affected, and by comparing what has fallen from them, poſterity may come at leaſt pretty near the truth [*Z*]. His private reſembled his publick life, that is, it was chequered

(*c*) As appears by the inſcription upon his tomb.

(*d*) See Mr Stephens's Preface to the Lord Bacon's Letters.

(*e*) Coke's Detection, p. 79.

(*f*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

(*g*) Willis's Not. Parl. p. 79.

[Z] *Poſterity may come at leaſt pretty near the truth.*] In order to obtain the ſentiments of the contemporaries of Sir Edward Coke, concerning his character, we ought to conſider, not ſo much what was ſaid of him in power, for then envy might work and paſſion prevail, but what was thought of him in diſgrace, and publiſhed when he was no longer in a condition, either to hurt ſuch as ſpoke ill, or to reward thoſe who ſpoke well of him. When he was firſt in diſgrace, the Lord Keeper Bacon ſtirred up the buſineſs of his Reports, and deſired that two more Judges might be added to the committee appointed to examine them; upon this, Sir Edward Coke deſired two things, firſt, That his books might be reviſed by the whole twelve Judges; and ſecondly, That they might report not only his defects, but what he had publiſhed for his Majeſty's prerogative, the benefit of the Church, the quieting mens inheritances, and the general good of the commonwealth; upon this the affair dropped; the enemies of Sir Edward Coke did not chuſe to truſt him with ſuch a jury as the twelve Judges (116). When he fell under his ſecond diſgrace, and was ſent to the Tower, all methods poſſible were contrived as well to diſtreſs as to blacken him; his papers were ſeized, and amongſt them ſecurities for money: ways and means were conſulted to exclude him from the benefit of a general pardon, and a proſecution ſet on foot for the old debt of Sir William Hatton; but no imputations could be fixed upon him, notwithſtanding the induſtry of Sir Henry Yelverton his old antogoniſt, and when a brief was given in the cauſe of Sir John Walter, he laid it aſide with this memorable ſentence, *Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, when ever I open it againſt Sir* Edward Coke. Yet he who ſaid this, was the Prince's Attorney-General; the cauſe however was tryed, and a verdict given for the defendant (117). This, and his care in preſerving Sutton-Hoſpital, or the Charter-Houſe, are ſtrong proofs of his uprightneſs and integrity. The learned Camden, beſides many other occaſional commendations, drew his character at large in theſe words, which follow his mentioning a ſmall rivulet in Norfolk (118). "'The river is anonymous, riſing 'not far from Godwicke, a lucky name, where is a 'ſmall ſeat, but made great by the ornament it receives 'from the famous Sir Edward Coke Knt. a perſon of 'admirable parts, than whom, as no one ever applied himſelf cloſer to the ſtudy of the Common-Law, 'ſo never any underſtood it better; whereof he convinced England by his diſcreet management for many 'years together whilſt Attorney-General, and ſtill 'does by executing the office of Lord Chief Juſtice of 'the Common-Pleas with the greateſt prudence; nor 'has he given leſs proof of his abilities in his Com'mentaries upon our Laws, whereby he has highly 'obliged both his own age and poſterity.' We will next quote his old adverſary, Sir Francis Bacon, who in a famous piece of his addreſſed to King James, ſpeaks thus of our author's writings. 'To give every man 'his due; had it not been for Sir Edward Coke's Re'ports, which, tho' they may have errors, and ſome 'peremptory and extrajudicial reſolutions, more than 'are warranted, yet they contain infinite good deciſions, 'and rulings over of caſes; the Law by this time had 'been almoſt like a ſhip without ballaſt; for that the caſes 'of modern experience are fled from thoſe that are ad'judged and ruled in former time.' If we ſhould cite all the commendations beſtowed upon him by his learned ſucceſſors in the profeſſion, we might fill a ſmall volume, and therefore it may be ſufficient to produce the character entered of him by Sir George Crook, one of the Judges of the King's Bench, in his Reports, which runs thus (119). 'Memorandum, in the Vacation, *viz.* in 'Auguſt 1634, William Noy, Attorney-General, died 'at his houſe at Brainford, in the county of Middleſex: 'and Sir Edward Coke, (who was Attorney-General to 'Queen Elizabeth, and to King James, and afterwards 'Chief Juſtice of the Common Bench, and then Chief 'Juſtice of the King's Bench, and in 14 Jacobi diſcharged of that place) died at his houſe, in Stoke in the 'county of Bucks, in September 1634, being a pru'dent, grave, and learned man in the common Laws of 'this realm, and of a pious and virtuous life.' We will now produce a mixt character of him by an author very little inclined to flatter, ſpeaking of him he ſays (120), 'Truly he was a man of excellent parts, but 'not without his frailties: For as he was a ſtorehouſe, 'and magazine of the Common-Law for the preſent 'times, and laid ſuch a foundation for the future, that 'poſterity may ever build on; ſo his paſſion and 'pride were ſo predominant, that, boiling over he loſt '(by them) much of his own fullneſs, which extin'guiſhed not only the valuation, but reſpect to his merit; 'ſo often is a heat, that gives life to noble parts by a 'circular motion, the ruin of them.' Sir Henry Spelman, whoſe learning was ſo great, and his character ſo fair, that his commendation of any man might paſs without diſpute, in citing the opinion of our author, makes uſe of this extraordinary circumlocution, *That ever honourable Judge and Oracle of Law my Lord* Coke *himſelf* (121), which ſufficiently ſhews his ſentiments of him. After ſuch writers as theſe, to cite, as might be eaſily done, many of leſſer note, would be ſo far from adding to, that they might ſeem rather to diminiſh his reputation. But there were writers that ſpoke of him in a different manner. It is very true, and the reader ſhall hear who and what they were. The famous Perſons, the Jeſuit, was one of the fierceſt and the loudeſt (122), he charged him with murdering Father Campion and his companions, to gain credit with the Earl of Eſſex, in Queen Elizabeth's time; and ſerving Father Garnet, and his friends, in the ſame manner, in the days of her ſucceſſor; but it is well known that theſe men died by the hand of the hangman for high-treaſon, and Sir Edward Coke only ſtated the proofs againſt them. Sir Anthony Welden (123) has beſtowed his dirt pretty plentifully upon his character, which I hope has been already ſo well wiped off, as to leave little or no ſtain. The famous Mr William Prynne (124), tho' he qualifies what he delivers with many ſtrange compliments and forced civilities, yet bears hard enough upon him in many circumſtances, tho' he knew very well, that the true reaſon of the imperfections of the book he criticized, was the death of the author before it's publication, and either the ignorance or want of care in thoſe who ſent it to the preſs. The renowned philoſopher

(116) Bacon's Letters, publiſhed by Stephens, p. 205.

(117) Coke's Detection, p. 80.

(118) Camden. Britan. Iceni.

(119) Crook's Reports, Vol. III. p. 273.

(120) Wilſon's Life and Death of King James, in the Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 705.

(121) Spelman's Poſthumous Works, p. 14.

(122) In his Preface to his Anſwer to the fifth Part of Coke's Reports.

(123) Court and Character of King James.

(124) In his Animadverſions on the fourth Inſtitute.

checquered with good and evil. He was unhappy in his ſecond marriage more ways than one, and as the inconveniences ariſing from it began early, ſo they ſtuck to him to his laſt breath (*b*); yet he left behind him a numerous poſterity, as well as a vaſt fortune. By his firſt lady he had ſeven ſons and three daughters. Of the latter, Elizabeth died young; Anne became the wife of Ralph Sadler, Eſq; ſon and heir of Sir Thomas Sadler; and Bridget was married to William Skinner, Eſq; ſon and heir of Sir Vincent Skinner (*i*). Of his ſeven ſons, Edward, the eldeſt, died an infant; Robert, his ſecond ſon, was knighted, and married Theophila, daughter to Thomas Lord Berkely, by whom he left no iſſue, dying July 19, 1653, aged ſixty-ſeven (*k*). Arthur, the third ſon, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir George Walgrave, by whom he had four daughters. John, the fourth ſon, was ſeated at Holkham, and married Meriel, the daughter of Anthony Wheatly, Eſq; by whom he had ſeven ſons and as many daughters; but the inheritance deſcending to John, the youngeſt of them, and he dying unmarried, the eſtate came to the heirs of Henry Coke (*l*). This Henry, the fifth ſon, was ſeated at Thurrington in Suffolk, and having eſpouſed Margaret, daughter and heireſs of Edward Lovelace, Eſq; left iſſue Richard Coke, Eſq; who, by Mary, daughter of Sir John Rous, Bart. left Robert Coke, Eſq; who by the death of John Coke of Holkham beforementioned, became poſſeſſed of that ſeat, and the greateſt part of the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke's eſtate (*m*). This Robert Coke, Eſq; married the Lady Anne Oſborne, daughter of Thomas Duke of Leeds, by whom he had an only ſon, Edward Coke, Eſq; and dying January 16, 1679, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, was interred in the church of Tittleſhall in Norfolk, where an elegant monument, with a ſuitable inſcription, was erected to his memory, by his widow, the Lady Anne Coke. The ſaid Edward Coke his only ſon, married Carey, daughter of Sir John Newton, in the county of Glouceſter, Bart. He died on the thirteenth of April 1707, and ſhe ſurvived him but a ſhort time, deceaſing on the fourth of Auguſt following, and were both buried at Tittleſhall in Norfolk. They had iſſue three ſons and two daughters. THOMAS; Edward Coke of Longford in the county of Derby, Eſq; who dying at his ſeat at Longford in Auguſt 1733, unmarried, left his eſtate to his youngeſt brother, Robert Coke, who was Vice-Chamberlain to the late Queen Caroline, and in June 1733 married the Lady Jane, eldeſt ſiſter and coheir of Philip, late Duke of Wharton, and relict of John Holt of Redgrave in Suffolk, Eſq; The two daughters were, Carey, wife of Sir Marmaduke Wyvill, of Conſtable-Burton in the county of York, Bart. and Anne, married to Philip Roberts, Eſq; Major of the ſecond troop of horſe-guards. Thomas Coke, Eſq; the eldeſt ſon and heir of the family, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of his country, by his conſtant attendance in Parliament and otherwiſe, was, on the twenty-ſeventh of May 1725, upon the revival of the Order of the Bath, appointed by his late Majeſty King George I, one of the Knight's Companions, and ſo inſtalled at Weſtminſter, after which his preſent Majeſty, in the firſt year of his reign, *viz.* on the twenty-eighth of May 1728, was graciouſly pleaſed, in conſideration of the merits of Sir Thomas Coke, and of the ſervices rendered by himſelf and his family to the Crown, to raiſe him to the dignity of a Peer of this realm, by the ſtile and title of Baron Lovell, of Minſter Lovell in the county of Oxford. In 1733, his Lordſhip was coſtituted Poſt-Maſter-General of Great Britain and Ireland, jointly with the Honourable Edward Carteret, Eſq; which employment he afterwards held with Sir John Eyles, Bart. and now enjoys with Sir Everard Fawkner, Knt (*n*). In 1747, his Majeſty, as a farther mark of his royal favour, was pleaſed to raiſe his Lordſhip to the ſuperior title of Viſcount Coke and Earl of Leiceſter. His Lordſhip married, July 2, 1718, Lady Margaret Tufton, one of the daughters and coheireſſes of Thomas Earl of Thanet, to whom his Majeſty has confirmed the right ſhe had by decent to the antient barony of Clifford, by whom he has an only ſon Edward, Lord Viſcount Coke, married to Lady Mary Campbell, daughter of the late Field-Marſhal Duke of Argyle. Clement Coke, Eſq; youngeſt ſurviving ſon of the Chief Juſtice, married Sarah, daughter of Alexander Rediſh, Eſq; of an antient family in Lancaſhire, by whom he had two ſons and two daughters (*o*), but his poſterity became extinct in 1727. Thomas, the ſeventh ſon of Sir Edward Coke, died in his infancy. By his ſecond wife, Lady Elizabeth, daughter to Thomas Earl of Exeter, Sir Edward Coke had two daughters (*p*): Elizabeth, who died unmarried; and Frances, the wife of John, Viſcount Purbeck, by whom ſhe had no iſſue.

(*b*) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 265.

(*i*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 355.

(*k*) See his monumental inſcription in Epſom church in the county of Surrey.

(*l*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 355.

(*m*) See his monumental inſcription in Tittleſhall church in Norfolk.

(*n*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 356.

(*o*) See his monumental inſcription in the Temple church.

(*p*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 355.

(125) A Dialogue between a Philoſopher and a Student of the Common Laws of England, p. 56, 66, 96, 105.

(126) Coke's Reports, Vol. III. p. 125.

pher of Malmeſbury to Mr Thomas Hobbes (125), was a great adverſary to my Lord Coke, whom he corrects for his errors in Law, with the ſame air of ſuperiority and ſufficiency, that he did the Archbiſhop of Armagh in Divinity, and Dr Wallis in Geometry, as being alike knowing, or to ſpeak plainly alike conceited in all things. As for any more cenſurers, I profeſs I cannot tell where to find them, unleſs I mention one Mr Jeffs (126), who in the fifth year of King Charles I, delivered a paper to his Majeſty, in which he complained of a Judgment given by Sir Edward Coke, in the caſe of Magdalen College, which he affirmed to be treaſon, and ſtiled him therein a traytor and a perjured Judge; for which he was convicted in the King's Bench, and was ſet on the pillory at Weſtminſter and Cheapſide; obliged to make ſubmiſſion in all the Courts, fined a thouſand pounds to the King, and to find ſureties for his good behaviour during life. Such were the friends and admirers, ſuch the adverſaries and cenſurers, of Sir Edward Coke; and which do him moſt honour, being unable to decide, I leave to the judgment of the reader.

E

COLE (HENRY) a perſon of conſiderable learning in the XVIth Century, was born at Godſhill in the Iſle of Wight, and educated in Wykeham's ſchool near Wincheſter (*a*). From thence he was choſen into New-College Oxon, of which he became perpetual Fellow in 1523, and there ſtudying the Civil Law, took the degree of Bachelor in that faculty, March 3, 1529-30 (*b*). Then he travelled into Italy, and improved himſelf in his ſtudies at Padua; being a zealous Roman Catholick. Notwithſtanding which, upon his return to England, he acknowledged King Henry VIII, to be ſupreme Head of the Church of England (*c*). In 1540, he took the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law (*d*), and the ſame year reſigned his Fellowſhip, being then ſettled in London, and Advocate in the Court of Arches, Prebendary of Yatminſter Secunda in the church of Sarum, and about the ſame time made Archdeacon of Ely (*e*). On the 11th of Sepember 1540, he was admitted to the Rectory of Chelmsford in Eſſex; and October the 5th following, collated to the Prebend of Holbourn, which he reſigned April 19, 1541, and was the ſame day collated to that of Sneating; which he voiding by ceſſion on or before March 22d next enſuing, was on that very day collated to the Prebend of Wenlakeſbarne (*f*). In 1542, October the 4th, he was elected Warden of New-College; and in 1545, made Rector of Newton Longville in Buckinghamſhire (*g*). Soon after, when King Edward VI came to the Crown, Dr Cole outwardly embraced, and preached up the Reformation; frequented the Proteſtants ſervice, and communicated with them. However, altering his mind, or being diſguſted at ſome of the proceedings then taken, he reſigned his Rectory of Chelmsford in 1547; and in 1551, his Wardenſhip of New-College; and the year following his Rectory of Newton Longville (*h*). After Queen Mary's acceſſion to the Crown, he became again a zealous Roman Catholick; and in 1554, was made Provoſt of Eaton-College, of which he had been Fellow (*i*). The ſame year, June 20, he had the degree of Doctor in Divinity conferred on him (*k*); and was one of the Divines that diſputed publickly at Oxford with Archbiſhop Cranmer, and Biſhop Ridley (*l*). He alſo preached the funeral ſermon before Archbiſhop Cranmer's execution (*m*). Moreover, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners to viſit the Univerſity of Cambridge; was elected Dean of St Paul's the 11th of December 1556; made (Auguſt 8, 1557) Vicar-General of the Spiritualities under Cardinal Pole Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and the 1ſt of October following, Official of the Arches, and Dean of the Peculiars; and in November enſuing Judge of the Court of Audience. In 1558, he was appointed one of the Overſeers of that Cardinal's Will (*n*). In the firſt year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, he was one of the eight Catholick Divines who diſputed publickly at Weſtminſter with ſo many Proteſtants [*A*], when that Queen was about to ſettle a Reformation in the Church of England (*o*). He diſtinguiſhed himſelf then, and afterwards by his writings in favour of Popery [*B*]. But that diſputation, wherein Dr Cole was Spokeſman, coming to nothing, he was deprived of his Deanery (*p*), fined five hundred marks, and impriſoned (*q*). He died in, or near, Woodſtreet Compter in London, in December 1579 (*r*). The famous Leland hath eternized his memory among other learned men of our nation (*s*). He is elſewhere called, 'A perſon more earneſt than wiſe (*t*).' But R. Aſcham highly commends him (*u*), for his learning and humanity [*C*].

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 196; and Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 132.

(*b*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 46.

(*c*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra; and Repertorium Eccleſiaſtic. &c. by Ric. Newcourt, Vol. I. Lond. 1708, fol. p. 49.

(*d*) Faſti, Vol. I. col. 64.

(*e*) Wood, Ath. and Newcourt, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Newcourt, Vol. I. p. 158, 211, 222.

(*g*) Newcourt, and Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 49, and col. 196.

(*h*) Newcourt, ib. and Wood, col. 197.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. col. 197

(*k*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 81.

(*l*) Fox, Acts and Monuments, &c. edit. 1583, Vol. II. p. 1428, &c.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 1885, 1886. It was on the 21ſt of March 1555-6.

(*n*) Newcourt, ubi ſupra, p. 49.

(*o*) Annals of the Reformation, &c. by J. Strype, Vol. I. 2d edit. 1725, p. 87.

(*p*) Wood, and Newcourt, ubi ſupra.

(*q*) Strype's Annals, ubi ſupra, p. 95.

(*r*) Wood, Ath. col. 197.

(*s*) In his Principum ac illuſtrium, &c. in Anglia virorum Encomia, &c. Lond. 1589, p. 79.

(*t*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 144.

(*u*) Epiſtol. l. iii. epiſt. 17.

[*A*] *He was one of the eight Catholick Divines, who diſputed publickly at Weſtminſter with ſo many Proteſtants.*] Thoſe eight Roman Catholick Divines, were, White, Watſon, Baine, and Scot, Biſhops of Wincheſter, Lincoln, Coventry and Lichfield, and Cheſter; and the Doctors Cole, Dean of St Paul's, Langdale, Harpsfield and Chedſey, Archdeacons of Lewis, Canterbury and Middleſex. The Proteſtant Divines, were, John Scory late Biſhop of Chicheſter, David Whitehead, John Jewell, John Aylmer, Richard Cox, Edmund Grindal, Robert Horne, and Edmund Gueſt (1). The points then diſputed upon, were, 1. Prayers in an unknown tongue. 2. The Church's authority to appoint, change, and take away Ceremonies. 3. Whether in the Maſs there was a propitiatory ſacrifice (2).

(1) Annals of the Reformat. &c. by J. Strype, Vol. I. as above, p. 87.

(2) Ibid. p. 89, 91, &c. Fox, Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. ii. B. iii.

[*B*] *He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his writings in favour of Popery.*] They were I. Diſputation with Archbiſhop Cranmer, and Biſhop Ridley at Oxford, in 1554. II. Funeral Sermon, at the burning of Dr Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury (3). III. Letters to John Jewell Biſhop of Saliſbury, upon occaſion of a Sermon that the ſaid Biſhop preached before the Queen's Majeſty and her honourable Council, *an.* 1560. Lond. 1560. in a thick 8*vo*, printed afterwards among Biſhop Jewell's works. IV. Letters to Biſhop Jewell, upon occaſion of a Sermon of his preached at Paul's-Croſs on the ſecond Sunday before Eaſter in 1560. V. Anſwer to the firſt Propoſition of the Proteſtants, at the Diſputation before the Lords at Weſtminſter (4).

(3) Both printed in Fox's Acts and Monuments, as above.

(4) Printed in the Collection of Records, at the end of Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. ii. Biii. No. 43; and in Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. edit. 1714, p. 414, &c.

[*C*] *But R. Aſcham highly commends him, for his learning and humanity.*] In the following words. *Tantum ego & communi omnium voci de tua eruditione, & frequenti Moryſini ſermone, de tua humanitate ſemper tribui, doctiſſime humaniſſimeque Cole, ut imperitus ipſe ſi te non colerem, & inhumanus ſi non amarem, merito videri poſſim* (5), i. e. 'I have heard ſo much by 'common fame of your learning, and by Mr Moryſin 'of your humanity, that I muſt renounce all pretenſions to learning if I did not eſteem you, and be altogether inhuman if I did not love you.'

(5) Epiſtol. R. Aſchami, lib. iii. Epiſtola D. Cole.

COLES (ELISHA) author of the Dictionary, was born in Northamptonſhire about the year 1640 (*a*). Towards the end of the year 1658, he was entered into Magdalen-College in Oxford; but left it without taking a degree; and retiring to London, taught Latin there to youths, and Engliſh to foreigners about 1663. Afterwards he continued that employment with good ſucceſs in Ruſſel-ſtreet near Covent-Garden: and at length became one of the Uſhers of Merchant-Taylors School. But being there guilty of a very great fault (*b*), he was forced to withdraw into Ireland, from whence he never returned. He was a curious and critical perſon in the Engliſh and Latin tongues, did much

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 680.

(*b*) What it was, is not expreſsly mentioned any where.

good in his profeſſion, and wrote ſeveral uſeful and neceſſary books for the inſtruction of beginners: the titles of them are as follow. I. 'The Compleat Engliſh Schoolmaſter: 'or, the moſt natural and eaſy method of ſpelling and reading Engliſh according to the 'preſent proper pronunciation of the language in Oxford and London, &c.' *Lond.* 1674, 8*vo*. II. 'The neweſt, plaineſt, and ſhorteſt Short-hand, containing, firſt, A brief Ac-'count of the Short-hand already extant, with their Alphabets and fundamental Rules. 'Secondly, A plain and eaſy Method for Beginners, leſs burdenſome to the Memory 'than any other. Thirdly, A new Invention for contracting Words, with ſpecial Rules 'for contracting Sentences, and other ingenious Fancies, &c.' *Lond.* 1674, 8*vo*. III. '*Nolens Volens*: or, you ſhall make Latin whether you will or no, containing the 'plaineſt Directions that have been yet given upon that Subject.' *Lond.* 1675, 8*vo*. with it is printed, IV. 'The Youths viſible Bible, being an Alphabetical Collection (from the 'whole Bible) of ſuch general Heads as were judged moſt capable of Hieroglyphicks; 'illuſtrated with twenty-four copper-plates, &c.' V. 'An Engliſh Dictionary, ex-'plaining the difficult Terms that are uſed in Divinity, Huſbandry, Phyſick, Philoſophy, 'Law, Navigation, Mathematicks, and other Arts and Sciences. Containing many thouſands 'of hard Words (and proper Names of Places) more than are in any other Engliſh Dictionary 'or Expoſitor: Together with the Etymological Derivation of them from their proper 'fountains, whether Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, or any other language.' *Lond.* 1676, 8*vo*. reprinted ſeveral times ſince. VI. 'A Dictionary, Engliſh-Latin, and Latin-Eng-'liſh [*A*]; containing all things neceſſary for the tranſlating of either Language into the 'other. To which end many Things that were erroneous are rectified, many Superflui-'ties retrenched, and very many Defects ſupplied. And all ſuited to the meaneſt Capaci-'ties, in a plainer Method than heretofore: Being for eaſe reduced into an Alphabetical 'Order, and explained in the Mother tongue. And towards the compleating the Engliſh 'part (which hath been long deſired) here are added a thouſand of Words, Phraſes, 'Proverbs, proper Names, and many other uſeful things mentioned in the Preface to this 'work.' *Lond.* 1677, 4*to*. reprinted ſeveral times in 8*vo*. the 12th edition was in 1730. VII. 'The moſt natural and eaſy Method of learning Latin by comparing it with Engliſh: 'Together with the holy Hiſtory of Scripture-War, or the Sacred Art Military, &c.' *Lond.* 1677, 8*vo*. VIII. 'The Harmony of the Four Evangeliſts in a metrical Paraphraſe 'on the Hiſtory of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.' *Lond.* 1679, 8*vo*. reprinted afterwards. IX. 'The Young Scholar's beſt Companion: or, an exact Guide or Di-'rectory for Children and Youth, from the A, B, C, to the Latin Grammar, compre-'hending the whole Body of the Engliſh Learning, &c.' *Lond.* 12*mo* (*c*).

(*c*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 680, 681.

[*A*] *A Dictionary Engliſh-Latin and Latin-Engliſh.*] Mr Robert Ainſworth (1) gives the following character of that book. 'He [the auther] hath indeed con-'ſiderably enlarged the Engliſh-Latin part, which 'containeth many more Engliſh words and phraſes than 'any Latin Dictionary publiſhed before his time. 'But not a few of thoſe words are now entirely ob-'ſolete, many of them interpreted in a wrong ſenſe, 'and worſe tranſlated into Latin. And the Latin-'Engliſh part is very defective both with regard to the 'ſeveral ſenſes of the Latin words, and, the citation of 'the Roman writers proper to fix their authority.'

(1) Preface to his *Theſaurus Linguæ Latinæ Compendiarius.*

C

COLET (JOHN) a very learned Divine, and founder of St Paul's-School, London, was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Henry Colet, Knt [*A*], twice Lord Mayor of London, by Chriſtian his wife, a gentlewoman of good birth, probably of the family of Knevet (*a*). He was born in the pariſh of St Anthonine's, now better known by the name of St Antholin's, within the city of London, in the year 1466 (*b*). 'Tis taken for granted, that he had his firſt education at St Anthony's-School; then the moſt eminent in London, but now utterly decayed (*c*). In 1483, he was ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford, and in all probability to Magdalen-College, where there were at that time one or more of his ſurname (*d*). After having ſpent ſeven years in the ſtudy of Logick and Philoſophy, he took his degrees in Arts; being then throughly acquainted with M. T. Cicero's works, which he had moſt carefully peruſed; and alſo no ſtranger to Plato and Plotinus, which he not only read, but compared, making the one ſerve as a commentary to the other [*B*]. He was moreover ſkilled in every branch of the Mathematicks (*e*). Having thus laid a good

(*a*) The Life of Dr John Colet, by Sam. Knight, D.D. edit. Lond. 1724, 8vo, p. 1, 8.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 8. See Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. edit. 1720, Vol. I. B. iii. p. 15, 16.

(*c*) Knight, ibid. p. 8. Stow and Strype, ubi ſupra, B. ii. thonine, and the Stow. ubi ſupra, p. 120. 121. Dr Knight is miſtaken when he ſays, 'That this ſchool bare the name of his own pariſh,' p. 8, for the one was St Another St Anthony. This St Anthony's ſchool was in Threadneedle-ſtreet, near the place where the French church now ſtands. B. i. p. 163. (*d*) Wood. Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 11. (*e*) Wood, ibid. Eraſmi epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ, Id. Jun. 1521.

[*A*] *Was the ſon of Sir Henry Colet, Knt.*] Sir Henry Colet was a younger ſon of Robert Colet of Wendover in Buckinghamſhire, Eſq; and born in that county at the manor of Hale. He was bred a Mercer in London, where he got very conſiderable riches (1). In the year 1477, he was the elder of the two Sheriffs of London; and in part of the years 1486, and 1487, Lord Mayor of that city: as he was again, a ſecond time, in part of the years 1495, and 1496 (2). By his wife Chriſtian, he had two and twenty children, eleven ſons, and eleven daughters (3). He died in 1510, and was buried at Stepney: but his widow lived to bury her only ſon the Dean, being then above ninety years of age (4). Sir Henry was a great benefactor to his pariſh Church of St Anthonine's; and, in Mr Stow's time, the pictures of him, and his wife, ten ſons, and ten daughters, were in the glaſs-window on the north-ſide of that Church (5). John who is the ſubject of this article, was the firſt-born; and within a few years beeame the only ſurviving comfort to his parents (6).

(1) Life of Dr J. Colet, by S. Knight, as above, p. 1, 2.

(2) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. edit. 1720, Vol. II. B. v. p. 124, 125, 126.

(3) Polydore Virg. Hiſt. Ang. l. xxvi. Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ.

(4) Ibid. and Knight, p. 7.

(5) Survey of London, &c. as above, B. iii. p. 16.

(6) Knight, p. 8, 10.

[*B*] *He was no ſtranger to Plato and Plotinus, which he not only read, but compared*, &c.] But he was forced to read them only in their Latin tranſlations (7). See below note [*D*].

(7) Idem, p. 14.

[C] *When*

good foundation of learning at home, he went and travelled abroad, for his further improvement; first to France, and then to Italy: and seems to have continued in those two countries from the year 1493 to 1497 (*f*). But, before his departure, and indeed when he was but two years standing at the university, but nineteen years of age, and only in the order of an Acolythe, namely, on the 6th of August 1485, he was instituted to the Rectory of Denington in Suffolk [*C*], to which he was presented by Sir William Knevit, Knt. and his Lady, and kept it to his dying day (*g*). He was also presented by his own father, on September 30, to the Rectory of Thyrning in Huntingdonshire, to which he had institution, October 2, 1490 (*h*), but he resigned it before the latter end of the year 1493 (*i*), probably before he set out on his travels. Being come to Paris, he improved himself there by the conversation of learned men; particularly of Robert Gaguin the Historian, who raised in him an earnest desire of being acquainted with Erasmus, the honour of his age: he became also acquainted with the celebrated Budæus; and Mr Deloine, who procured him what he wished, by recommending him to Erasmus (*k*). In Italy, he contracted a friendship with several eminent persons; especially with his own countrymen, William Grocin, Thomas Linacre, William Lilly, and William Latimer, who were learning the Greek tongue (then but little known in England) under those great masters, Demetrius, Ang. Politianus, Hermolaus Barbarus, and Pomponius Sabinus (*l*). As he knew, himself, very little of it when he left Oxford (*m*), he undoubtedly embraced the opportunity of perfecting himself in that language [*D*]. And, having devoted himself to the study of Divinity, he read, whilst abroad, the best of the ancient Fathers, particularly Dionysius, Origen, Cyprian, Ambrose, and Jerome (*n*). But he very much despised St Augustin; which showed his good sense and judgment (*o*). In the course of his studies both at home and abroad, he sometimes looked into D. Scotus, and T. Aquinas, and other school Divines. He also studied both the Civil and Canon Law. Moreover, there was not one book relating to the History and Constitution of Church and State, which he did not carefully peruse. And, in order to polish and improve his stile, and qualify himself for an elegant preacher, he frequently read such English Poets as were then extant (*p*). During his travels, he was presented to the Prebend of Botevant in the cathedral church of York, into which he was installed by proxy, March 5, 1493-4 (*q*). He was also made Canon of St Martin's Le Grand, London, and Prebendary of Good-Easter in the same church (*r*). Upon his return to England in 1496, or 1497, he was ordained Deacon, December 17, and Priest the 26th of July following (*s*). He had indeed, before he entered into Orders, great temptations both from his natural disposition, and otherwise, to lay his studies aside, and give himself up to all the gaieties of the Court [*E*]: but he

(*f*) Knight, p. 23.

(*g*) Ex Registro Jac. Goldwell, E. i. Norvicen. l. xii. fol. xvi. ap. Knight. p. 20.

(*h*) Reg. Russel Epi. Lincoln. a-pud eundem, p. 21.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 23, 24.

(*l*) Knight, p. 24.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 14.

(*n*) Erasmi Epistola Jodoco Jonæ, ubi supra.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Ibid. See also Dr Knight, p. 12.

(*q*) Wood, ubi supra, col. 12. Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Lond. 1727, 4to, p. 123.

(*r*) Dr Knight, ubi supra, p. 22. Notes, p. 9.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 22.

[*C*] *When he was but nineteen years of age, and only in the order of an Acolythe——he was instituted to the Rectory of Denington*, &c.] This practice of taking livings, while thus under age, has generally prevailed in the Church of Rome, and was one of those many abuses, which have been removed by the Reformation. But if Mr Colet did enter upon a cure of souls before he could sufficiently consider the weighty charge belonging to it, he atoned for it, by his extraordinary care, when be came to a more mature age (8). The order of an Acolythe is one of the seven orders in the Church of Rome as may be seen in all the the rituals.

(8) Knight, p. 21.

[*D*] *As he knew very little Greek, when he left Oxford, he undoubtedly embraced the opportunity of perfecting himself in that language.*] For, at school he had no opportunity of learning the Greek tongue, nor scarce in the University, at his first coming thither. Such was the infelicity of those times of ignorance, that the Greek language was not taught in any of our grammar-schools; nor was there imagined to be any great need of it in the two Universities, by the generality of Scholars. Even to love or encourage the study of it, was looked upon as heresy. Hence the proverb (9), *Cave a Græcis, ne fias Hæreticus. Fuge literas Hebræas, ne fias Judæorum similis*, i. e. 'Take care 'of Greek, lest you become a heretick. Avoid He-'brew, that you may not become like the Jews.' And for this reason those very few that understood Greek were afraid to teach it, lest they should be thought to propagate heresy (10). As for Oxford, nothing was known there but Latin, and that in the most depraved stile of the schoolmen. Cornelius Vitellius, an Italian, was the first who taught Greek in that University; and from him the famous Grocin learned the first elements thereof. In Cambridge, Erasmus was the first who taught the Greek grammar. And so very low was the state of learning in that University, that in 1485, nothing was taught there, but Alexander's *Parva Logicalia*, the old axioms of Aristotle, and the questions of Scotus, all in Latin; 'till in process of time, the Mathematicks were brought in, and Aristole in Greek, with several authors, whose names had not been heard of before (11). Linacre and Grocin were the only two Englishmen then able to teach Greek. Soon after Bernard André a native of Tbolouse opened a school for that language in London. But the first Englishman, who in any publick school taught Greek as well as Latin, was William Lilly in St Paul's-school; the founder whereof, Dean Colet, seeing the necessity of having a tolerable knowledge of the Greek tongue, in order to proceed the better in his Theological studies, did shun no pains, nor thought himself too old to learn it, or at least to improve himself therein (12).

(9) Erasmi Adagia.

(10) See Knight, p. 15.

(11) Erasmi Epist. Henrico Bovillo, Cal. Sept. 1516.

[*E*] *He had——great temptations——to lay his studies aside, and give himself up to all the gaieties of the Court.*] And, indeed, he was indued with some natural propensities, that seemed fitter for a publick life at large, than for the confinement of a college, or a gown. For he had naturally a spirit exceeding high, and impatient of the least injury and affront. He was too much addicted to love and luxury, and sleep, and mightily disposed to an air of freedom and jocoseness, and had a tincture of avarice in him. But he conquered himself, and brought his high spirit to be subject to reason; so that he could bear a reproof even from his own servant. His disposition to love, sleep, and luxury, he restrained by a continual abstinence from suppers, a strict sobriety, a close application to his studies, and by a serious and religious conversation. So that by his Philosophy, his sacred studies, his watchings, and fastings, and devotions, he preserved himself every step of his whole life from the pollutions of the world. And yet whenever opportunities offered themselves, either of jesting with facetious persons, or talking familiarly with the female-sex, or of appearing at feasts and entertainments, there nature would break forth. For which reason, he very much forbore acquaintance with laymen, and especially all publick entertainments: where, if necessity brought him, he picked out some learned friend, and talked Latin with him, to avoid the prophane discourse of the

(12) Coleti Epist. Erasmo, edit. Bas. 1521, p. 91. See Dr Knight, ubi supra, p. 14—19.

he curbed thoſe idle inclinations (*t*); and, after having ſtayed a few months with his father and mother at London and Stepney (*u*), he retired to Oxford (*w*). Here, he did not ſpend his time in idleneſs, but undertook to read publick Lectures, without any ſtipend or reward, on St Paul's Epiſtles [*F*], which were crowded with hearers, and much admired (*x*). And, in this place, he had the pleaſure of contracting an acquaintance with the immortal Eraſmus (who came to Oxford about the end of the year 1497) which ended in the ſtricteſt intimacy imaginable, and continued to the end of their lives (*y*). The time when Mr Colet expounded St Paul's Epiſtles, was in the years 1497, 1498, 1499, &c (*z*). In the year 1501, he was admitted to proceed in Divinity, or to the reading of the ſentences (*a*). In 1502, he became Prebendary of Durnesford in the church of Sarum: And on the 20th of January 1503-4, he reſigned his Prebend of Good-Eaſter (*b*). In 1504, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*c*). And, May 5, 1505, was inſtituted to the Prebend of Mora, in the cathedral church of St Paul (*d*). The ſame year and month, he was made Dean of that church (*e*), without the leaſt application of his own (*f*); at which time he reſigned the Vicarage of Stepney, the date of whoſe admiſſion to which doth not appear (*g*). Being raiſed to this ſtation, he reformed the decayed diſcipline of his cathedral church, and brought in a new practice there, the *preaching* himſelf upon Sundays, and all ſolemn Feſtivals. In which courſe of preaching, he did not take a deſultory text out of the Goſpel or Epiſtle for the day, but choſe a larger ſubject; as St Matthew's Goſpel, the Creed, or the like, and made ſucceſſive ſermons upon them, 'till he he had gone through the whole. That his church might be conſtantly ſupplied, he called in to his aſſiſtance other learned and able perſons; particularly William Grocin, and John Sowle, who read Divinity-Lectures. And at laſt he procured a ſettlement for ever, for ſuch a lecture to be conſtantly read in St Paul's cathedral, three days in every week, by the Chancellor of the church, or his ſufficient Deputy (*h*). Theſe Divinity-Lectures raiſed in the nation an enquiry after the Holy Scriptures, which were in a manner laid aſide for the School-Divinity, and ſo prepared a way for the Reformation. And what helped to promote it, was the contempt which Dean Colet expreſſed for the religious houſes, the abuſes he ſhewed were in them, and the danger of impoſing celibacy on the clergy (*i*). This way of thinking, and the Dean's free manner of communicating his thoughts, which were then looked upon as heretical and impious, expoſed him to the hatred of the Clergy, and to a perſecution from Dr Fitz-james [*G*], Biſhop of London (*k*). For, preaching frequently at St Paul's, and before the King, and in other populous aſſemblies, he would not refrain from ſpeaking, with ſome freedom and boldneſs, againſt the vulgar ſuperſtitions and prevailing corruptions in the Church; whereby he incurred the indignation of the Biſhop, who was a rigid and ſuperſtitious man, and had for a long while looked upon him with an evil eye (*l*). But the Dean's troubles and perſecutions ſeemed only to have rendred him more devout, and charitable, and weaned him from the world. Having therefore a plentiful eſtate, without any very near relations; and having already diſpenſed the yearly produce of it in the occaſional demands of piety and charity: he reſolved, in the midſt of his life and health, to conſecrate the whole property of it to ſome ſtanding and perpetual benefaction (*m*). And this he performed, by founding St Paul's-School in London [*H*], which hath produced ſeveral learned and ingenious men (*n*). For

(*t*) Ibid. p. 27.
(*u*) Ibid. p. 25.
(*w*) Idem, p. 29.
(*x*) Ibid and p. 50; and Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ.
(*y*) Knight, ubi ſupra, p. 31, 37.
(*z*) Wood, ubi ſupra.
(*a*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 4.
(*b*) Knight, ubi ſupra, p. 21.
(*c*) Wood, Faſti. Vol. I. col. 7.
(*d*) Newcourt's Repert. Eccleſ. &c. Vol. I. Lond. 1708, p. 180.
(*e*) Ibid. p. 46. Wharton. Hiſt. de Epiſc. & Decan. Londin. &c. p. 233, edit. Lond. 1695, 8*vo*.
(*f*) Knight, p. 62.
(*g*) Newcourt, ubi ſupra, p. 46.
(*h*) Eraſmi Epiſt. and Dr Knight, ubi ſupra, p. 66, 69, 70.
(*i*) Knight, p. 71, 72.
(*k*) Ibid. p. 86, 87, 88, 89, &c.
(*l*) Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ.
(*m*) Knight, p. 97.
(*n*) Ib. p. 102. &c. Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ. See alſo Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. Vol. I. edit. 1720, B. i. p. 163, &c.

the table. And in the mean time he would eat but of one diſh, and take but one or two draughts of beer, refraining commonly from wine: which yet he reliſhed, if very good. There never was a more flowing wit; and, for that reaſon, he delighted in the like ſociety: but even then, he choſe rather to divert to ſuch diſcourſes as favoured moſt of religion. He was a great lover of little children; admiring their pretty innocence and ſimplicity (13).

(13) Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ.

[*F*] *He undertook to read publick Lectures, without any ſtipend or reward, on St Paul's Epiſtles.*] And though he had neither taken nor deſired any degree in Divinity, there was not a Doctor in Divinity, or Law, no Abbot, nor any other dignitary, but came gladly to hear him, and took notes of his Lectures (14). For, at this time, it was a new thing to have any reading upon the Scriptures (15).

(14) Ibid.

(15) See Knight, p. 50, &c.

[*G*] *The Dean's free manner of communicating his thoughts——expoſed him to——a perſecution from Dr Fitz-james.*] His Lectures and Sermons being chiefly employed in opening the ſenſe of the Scriptures, then called New Learning; he came to be counted a perverſe heretick, at leaſt to be ſuſpected of the crime of heretical pravity. The Biſhop, upon this ſcore, accuſed him to Archbiſhop Warham, as a dangerous man; and calling in the aſſiſtance of two other Biſhops, of equal bigotry, and no leſs virulence, he began to create Dean Colet a great deal of trouble and vexation; uſing no other weapon but that of the charge of hereſy, then reckoned the moſt fatal engine for the deſtruction of an enemy. So the Biſhop drew up the following Articles againſt him. I. That the ſaid Dr Colet had taught, that images were not to be worſhipped. II. That he had preached againſt the temporal poſſeſſions, of the Biſhops, by denying that the repeated exhortation of Chriſt to Peter, *to feed his ſheep*, could be at all meant of hoſpitality, but of an exemplary life, and good doctrine; becauſe the Apoſtles were then poor, and not able to be hoſpitable. III. That he had preached againſt mens reading their ſermons in a cold unaffected manner; whereby he muſt needs mean to reflect upon the Biſhop himſelf, who, by reaſon of his old age, had taken up that way of preaching. But Archbiſhop Warham, who knew the integrity and worth of Dr Colet, diſmiſſed him, without given him the trouble of putting in any formal anſwer. However, the Biſhop not ſatisfied with that fruitleſs attempt, endeavoured afterwards to ſtir up the King, and the whole Court, againſt Dean Colet (16). Nay, we are told, that he was not only in trouble, but ſhould have been burnt, if God had not turned the King's heart to the contrary (17). And that, ſome years after his deceaſe, his body had like to be taken up, and burnt (18).

(16) Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ.

(17) Biſhop Latymer's Sermons, edit. 1595, 4*to*, p. 174.

(18) J. Bale, Image of both Churches, C. XI. and Script. Brit. Cent. VIII. n. 63.

[*H*] *And this he performed, by founding St Paul's-ſchool in London.*] This ſchool was founded between the years 1508, and 1512; ſome years being taken up in purchaſing the ſite, removing the encumbrances, erecting the new pile of buildings, providing ſuitable maſters, and ſettling the endowments in truſt for ever (19). This is the reaſon why our Hiſtorians vary ſo much about the exact year of it's foundation: for ſome (20) place it under the year 1508; others in 1509 (21); others in 1510 (22); and, finally, others in 1512.

(19) Knight, p. 102.

(20) Polyd. Verg. Hiſt. Angl. lxxvi. Alex. Nevil, Annal. ad finem, Nordovici.

(21) Geo. L. lii. Chronic. ſub anno 1509.

(22) Cooper's Chronic. and Holliſhed's Chron. under the year 1510.

For the uſe of this School, he drew up ſome rudiments of grammar, with an abridgment of the Principles of Religion; of which we ſhall give an account below among the reſt of his works (*o*). Beſides his dignities and preferments already mentioned, he was Rector of the Fraternity or Gild of Jeſus in St Paul's Church (*p*), for which he procured new Statutes; and alſo Chaplain, and Preacher in Ordinary to King Henry VIII, and (if Eraſmus is not miſtaken) one of his Privy-Council (*q*). When he came to about the fiftieth year of his age, he grew ſo weary of the world, that he fully purpoſed to throw himſelf into ſome monaſtery, and there end his days in quiet and ſolitude (*r*). In purſuance of this reſolution, he built a convenient and handſome houſe within the precinct of the Charter-houſe near Richmond-palace in Surry, where he intended to retire in his old age, when broken with infirmities, and unable to diſcharge the duties of his function (*s*). But death prevented him: for having been ſeized by the ſweating ſickneſs at two ſeveral times before; and relapſing into it a third time, he fell into a conſumption that carried him off on the 16th of September 1519, in the fifty-third year of his age (*t*). He was buried on the ſouth ſide of the choir of St Paul's, with an humble monument prepared by him ſeveral years before, and having no other inſcription but his bare name (*u*). But afterwards a handſomer monument was ſet up for him [*I*], by the company of Mercers (*w*). He writ ſeveral things, of which there is an account in the note [*K*]. As to his perſon

(*o*) Knight, ubi ſupra, p. 123, 124.

(*p*) Idem, p. 83.

(*q*) Eraſmi Epiſt. Dat. Baſil. 7 Cal. Aug. 1518, and Lovanii 1519. Knight, p. 211.

(*r*) Knight, p. 222.

(*s*) Idem, p. 224, 254, ex Eraſmo, & Elogiis Virorum aliquot in Britannia, per Geo. Lilium, 1559, 8*vo*.

(*t*) Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ. — & Virorum aliquot in Britannia Elogia, per Geo. Lillium, 1559, 8*vo*.

(*u*) Eraſmi Epiſt. J. Jonæ.

(*w*) Knight, p. 225, 260. Dugdale's Hiſt. of St Paul's.

1512 (23). The worthy founder dedicated it to the honour *of Chriſt Jeſus in his childhood*: and ordained, That there ſhould be in it, an High Maſter; a Surmaſter; and a Chaplain; who ſhould teach gratis one hundred and fifty three children, divided into eight claſſes. He endowed it with one meſſuage, and two ſhops in Sopers lain; ſix tenements in St George's pariſh in Pudding-lain; two meſſuages in Bridge-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St Magnus; four ſhops; ſome tenements without Aldgate, and all their appurtenances: manors, lands, and tenements in Buckinghamſhire; the manor of Vach in Barton, and that of Berwicke; lands in Colcheſter; ſeveral fields and tenements, the places where they lie not expreſſed, only the occupiers names; a barn; four acres of land the backſide of White-hart-ſtreet; eight acres in London-field; nine acres, and gardens, near it, with ſeveral tenements, amounting then in all to 122*l*.—4*s*—7*d*. ½ a year, but now much improved. The Company of Mercers were appointed Truſtees (24). The High Maſters of this School, from the firſt to this time, have been theſe: (1.) William Lilly, appointed by the founder in 1512. (2.) John Rightwyſe, choſen in 1522. (3) Richard Jones—in 1532. (4) Thomas Freeman—in 1549. (5.) John Cook, *M. A.*—in 1559. (6.) William Malin, or Malim—in 1573. (7.) John Harriſon, *M. A.*—in 1581. (8.) Richard Mulcaſter—in 1596. (9) Alexander Gill, ſenior—in 1608. (10.) Alexander Gill, jun—in 1635. (11) John Langley—in 1640. (12.) Samuel Cromleholme—in 1657. (13.) Thomas Gale, *D. D.*—in 1672. (14.) John Poſtlethwayte, *M. A.*—in 1697. (15.) Philip Aſcough, *M. A.*—in 1713. (16.) Benjamin Morland, *F. R. S.*—in 1721. (17.) Timothy Crumpe, *M. A.*—in 1733. (18.) Mr Charles—in 1736-7 (25).

(23) Wood, Ath Vol. I. col. 12.

(24) Knight, Appendix to Dr Colet's Life, p. 335, &c. 367, &c.

(25) Ib. p. 370—388. Stowe's Surveyof London, edit. 1720, Vol. I. B. i. p. 167, &c.

[*I*] *But afterwards a handſomer monument was ſet up for him.*] By the Company of Mercers. It was deſtroyed, with St Paul's cathedral, in the general conflagation in 1666. But the repreſentation of it is preſerved in Mr William [afterwards Sir William] Dugdale's Hiſtory of St Paul's; and in Dr S. Knight's Life of Dr John Colet (26). On the two ſides of the buſt was this inſcription. 'John Colet, Doctor of 'Divinity, Dean of Pauls, and the only founder 'of Pauls-ſchool, departed this life *anno* 1519, the 'ſon of Sir Henry Colet, Knt. twiſe Lord Mayor of 'the cyty of London, and free of the Company and 'Miſtery of Mercers.' Lower, there were other inſcriptions in Latin. About the year 1680, when the church was taking down, in order to be rebuilt, his leaden coffin was found incloſed in the wall, about two foot and a half above the floor. At the top of it was a leaden plate faſtened, whereon was ingraved the Dean's name, his dignity, benefactions, &c (27).

(26) Page 261.

(27) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col 13.

[*K*] *He writ ſeveral things*, &c.] Thoſe which he publiſhed himſelf, or that have been put out ſince his deceaſe, are as follow. I. *Oratio habita a Doctore Joanne Colet, Decano Sancti Pauli, ad Clerum in Convocatione*, anno 1511. Printed the ſame year by Richard Pyuſon, in three ſheets, 4*to*. This is very ſcarce, being hardly to be met with, except in the Bodleian library, Oxon, among Archbiſhop Laud's MSS. It is reprinted by Dr S. Knight, in his Appendix to the Life of Dr John Colet (28). In the ſame book is alſo printed, an old Engliſh tranſlation of it, intituled, 'The Sermon of Doctor Colete, made to the 'Convocation at Paulis.' Printed firſt by Thomas Berthelet, and ſuppoſed by Dr Knight (29) to be done by the author himſelf. It was reprinted in 1661, 12*mo*. by Thomas Smith of Chriſt's-College, with notes: under this title, 'A Sermon of Conforming 'and Reforming made to the Convocation at St Paul's 'Church in London, by John Colet, &c.' Reprinted again, in the Phoenix, Vol. I. 8*vo*. and lately in a collection of 'Select Sermons, fol.' II. *Rudimenta Grammatices a Johanne Coleto, Decano Eccleſiæ ſancti Pauli London. in uſum Scholæ ab ipſo inſtitutæ* (30); commonly called *Paul's Accidence*. Lond. 1539 8*vo*. III. The conſtruction of the eight parts of ſpeech, intituled, *Abſolutiſſimus de octo Orationis partium conſtructione Libellus*; which, with ſome alterations, and great additions, makes up the ſyntax in Lilly's grammar. *Antverp.* 1530, 8*vo*. IV. 'Daily Devotions: or the 'Chriſtian's Morning and Evening Sacrifice, &c.' Printed at London ſeveral times in 12*mo* and 16*mo*. This is ſaid not to be *all* of his compoſition (31). V. 'Monition to a godly Life.' Lond. 1534, 1563, &c. This Mr Wood ſuppoſes (32) to be the ſame with, 'A right fruitful Admonition concerning the 'Order of a good Chriſtian's Man's Life, &c.' Lond. 1577, 8*vo*. VI. *Epiſtolæ ad Eraſmum*. Many of them are printed among *Eraſmi Epiſtolæ*; and ſome at the end of Dr S. Knight's Life of Dean Colet.—— The following pieces remain in manuſcript. VII. *Commentarii in Epiſtolas D. Pauli ad Romanos & Corinthios*: i. e. Commentaries on St Paul's Epiſtles to the Romans and Corinthians. Given to the publick library at Cambridge by Archbiſhop Parker. In the ſame volume are ſeveral pieces of Dean Colet *viz.* VIII. *De Angelis cæleſtique hierarchia*, being a commentary *in Eccleſiaſticam D. Dionyſii Hierarchiam*. And IX. *Epiſtola Abbati Winchincombenſi*, printed by Dr Knight, at the end of the Dean's Life. The Commentaries upon the Epiſtles to the Corinthians, are alſo in manuſcript in Emmanuel-College library, given thereto by Dr Anthony Tuckeny. And in that of Bennet-College; the gift of Archbiſhop Parker. At the end of this laſt, there is *the Beginning of a Commentary on Geneſis*, no where elſe to be met with. X. One of the Dean's own manuſcripts, being *an Analytical Commentary on the Apoſtolical Epiſtles*, and a Summary of his larger Comments, is in the poſſeſſion of Roger Gale, Eſq; it is the faireſt, and indeed the only one manuſcript of Dr Colet's, of that kind, extant (33). Bale and Pits mention alſo theſe books of his. 1. *Commentaria in Proverbia Salomonis*. 2. *In Evengelium S. Matthæ*. 3. *In Precationem Dominicam*; tranſlated, as Mr Wood tells us (34), into Engliſh. 4. *In Symbolum fidei*. 5. *Breviloquium dictorum Chriſti*. 6. *Reſponſio ad argumenta Eraſmiana de tædio & pavore Chriſti* (35); called by Bale and Pits, *Ad argumenta Eraſmi*; And, *De reformidatione Chriſti*; and made two different books. 7. *Conciones ordinariæ, & extraordinariæ*. Among which were two ſermons on war, preached before King Henry VIII. 8. *Vita hominis Chriſtiani*. 9. *Excerptiones*

(28) This is falſly called by Mr Wood *Orationes duæ ad Clerum in Convocatione*, ann. 1511, &c. Lond. 8*vo*. Ath. Vol. I. col. 11.

(29) Life, p. 197. Dr Knight ſuppoſes, that Dean Colet was Prolocutor of this Convocation, p. 199.

(30) MS. in the Publick Library at Cambr. inter MS. reg.

(31) Knight, p. 197, note (*t*).

(32) Ath. Vol. I. col. 13.

(33) Dr Knight, Life of Dr J. Colet, p. 197; and Introduction to it, p. vii. viii. ix.

(34) Ath. Vol. I. col. 13.

(35) See Dr Knight's Life of Colet, p. 41, &c.

perſon and character, they are thus deſcribed. He was tall, comely, and very graceful: there was ſomething in his mien and carriage extremely becoming; as was every thing he ſaid or did (*x*). His learning and piety were above the pitch of the times he lived in; but what made him moſt renowned, was his publick ſpirit (*y*). In his writings, his ſtyle was plain and unaffected, but it had always ſomething weighty and pungent. And this, which ſome might call careleſſneſs, did not proceed from a want of what goes under the name of Rhetorick; but from a profeſſed contempt of it, as an art only of amuſing (*z*). He could not bear, that the ſtandard of a good ſtyle ſhould be taken from the exact rules of grammar: which, he often ſaid, did rather obſtruct the purity of the language; not to be obtained but by reading the beſt and pureſt authors. This contempt of grammar-rules made him ſometimes fall under the cenſure of the Criticks (*a*). He was, however, a great maſter of ſtyle and languge; ſo that tho' his preaching was popular, and adapted to vulgar capacities, yet withal it was agreeable to the better judgment of men of wit and learning, and was much admired by the great Sir Thomas More (*b*). Likewiſe, he was a great lover and encourager of the Greek tongue. With regard to *ſome of his notions*, he was a very eminent fore-runner of the Reformation. And he, and Eraſmus, jointly promoted it; not only, by pulling down thoſe ſtrong holds of ignorance and corruption the Scholaſtical Divinity, and routing entirely both the Scotiſts and Thomiſts, who had divided the Chriſtian world between them (*c*); but alſo by diſcovering the ſhameful abuſes of Monaſteries, and the dangers of impoſing celibacy on the Clergy: to which places, Colet gave little or nothing while he lived, and left not a farthing when he died; not ſo much out of hatred to their ſeveral orders, as becauſe he found, few or none of them lived up to their vows and profeſſions (*d*). He thought ſimple fornication in a Prieſt more excuſable, than pride and avarice. And was with no ſort of men more angry, than with thoſe Biſhops, who, inſtead of Shepherds, acted the part of ſo many wolves: he thought none more execrable than they, becauſe under the pretence of devotions, ceremonies, benedictions, and indulgences, they recommended themſelves to the veneration of the people, while in their own hearts they were ſlaves to the world, that is, to glory and gain (*e*). He condemned Auricular Confeſſion: and was content to ſay maſs only upon Sundays and great Feſtivals, or at leaſt upon a very few days beſides. He had gathered up ſeveral authorities from the ancient Fathers againſt the current tenets and cuſtoms of the Church: and tho' he did not care to fly in the face of the Governors, yet he could not but favour thoſe who diſliked the way of worſhipping images (*f*). As to his other qualifications: he was a man of exemplary temperance, and all other virtues. The Dean's table, which, under the name of hoſpitality, had before ſerved to luxery, he contracted to a more frugal way of entertaining. And it having been his cuſtom, for many years, to eat but one meal, that of dinner, he had always the evening to himſelf. As he dined late, he had but few gueſts; and the fewer, becauſe his proviſion was frugal, tho' neat. The ſittings were ſhort, and the diſcourſes ſuch as pleaſed only the learned and the good. As ſoon as grace before meat was ſaid, a boy read, with a loud voice, and diſtinctly, a chapter out of one of St Paul's Epiſtles, or the Proverbs of Solomon. When it was finiſhed, the Dean raiſed, from ſome particular part of it, a ſubject matter of diſcourſe. He was ſo impatient of whatſoever was foul or undecent, that he could not bear with an improper way of ſpeaking. He loved to be neat and clean in his goods, furniture, entertainments, apparel, and books, and whatever belonged to him; but he deſpiſed all ſtate and magnificence (*g*), there being in his demeanour the moſt unaffected ſimplicity imaginable (*b*).

(*x*) Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ, et Geor. Lilius, ubi ſupra.

(*y*) Knight, p. 264, 265.

(*z*) Idem, p. 179.

(*a*) Idem, p. 198. Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ.

(*b*) Knight, as above, p. 180, 156, &c.

(*c*) Scotiſtas, ſtupidos omnino, ac ſine ingenio homines judicabat: Thomiſtas, lymphatico ſpiritu arrogantes, *i. e. He counted the Scotiſts ſtupid ſenſeleſs fellows; and the Thomiſts, mad.* Baleï Script. Britanniæ Centuria VIII. n. 63. p. 648. He abhorred the Scotiſts becauſe they would be Divines without ſo much as reading the Scriptures: Eraſmus J. Jonæ.

(*d*) Knight, as above, p. 60, 61, 72.

(*e*) Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Eraſmus, ib.

(*b*) Knight, p. 266.

(36) Baleus, ubi ſupra, p. 648, 649. Pits, de Illuſtr. Angliæ Scriptor. Ætas xvi. ann. 1510, n. 916.

(37) Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ.

(38) Bale, ubi ſup.

ceptiones doctorum. 10. *Epiſtolæ ad Taylerum.* 11. *Ortolanus.* 12. *De moribus componendis.* 13. *De puerili inſtitutione.* Theſe two laſt ſeem to be the ſame, as his *Rudimenta Grammatices* (36). As the Dean had an inaccuracy and uncorrectneſs in his way of writing (37), that was like to expoſe him to the cenſures of the Criticks; and beſides was no perfect maſter of the Greek tongue, without which he thought a man was nothing, that is, no ſcholar (38); it is therefore probable he had no intention of publiſhing any thing. The pieces mentioned above, were found, after his death, in a private corner of his ſtudy; as if he had deſigned they ſhould lie buried in oblivion (39). Beſides they were written in ſuch a manner, as if he intended no body ſhould underſtand them but himſelf (40). With regard to ſermons, he wrote but few; for he generally preached without notes (41).

(39) Ibid.

(40) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 12.

(41) Knight, p. 181, note (*i*).

C

COLLIER (JEREMY) ſon of Jeremy Collier, was born at Stow Qui, or Quire, in Cambridgſhire, September 23, 1650. His father was a Divine and conſiderable Linguiſt, and ſome time Maſter of the free-ſchool at Ipſwick in the county of Suffolk. His grandfather likewiſe was a Clergyman, ſettled at Bradford in Yorkſhire, where he lived in eſteem for his function. He was born at Yeadon near Bradford, and deſcended from a gentleman's family of that name, ſeated at Thruſk in the ſame county, in the reign of Henry VIII. His mother was Elizabeth Smith of Qui in Cambridgeſhire, where her family were poſſeſſed of a conſiderable intereſt, and related to the Sternes of that town, being by her mother deſcended from the Keys or Cays of Yorkſhire and Lincolnſhire. He was educated under his father at Ipſwick, from whence he was ſent to Cambridge, and admitted a poor Scholar of Caius-college, under the tuition of Mr John Ellys. His admiſſion bears date April 10, 1669, in the eighteenth year of his age. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the year 1672-3, and that of Maſter of Arts in 1676, being ordained Deacon on the twenty-fourth of September the ſame year, by Dr Peter Gunning Biſhop of Ely, and Prieſt Feb. 24, 1677, by Dr Henry Compton Biſhop of London. Having

Having entered into Priests orders, he officiated some time at the Countess Dowager of Dorset's, at Knowle in Kent, from whence he removed to a small rectory at Ampton, near St Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, to which he was presented by James Calthorpe, Esq; and instituted by Dr Anthony Sparrow, Bishop of Norwich, September 25, 1679. After he had held this benefice six years, he resigned it, and came to reside in London in 1685, and was some little time after made Lecturer at Gray's-Inn. But the Revolution coming on, the publick exercise of his function became impracticable (*a*). He did not however think it compatible with his principles, at that critical conjuncture, to sit down contentedly and say nothing, but finding, in that confusion which arose upon King James's going to France, that the Convention was in a great measure influenced by the papers written by a Clergyman who came over with the Prince of Orange, he thought the same liberty might be taken by a Clergyman who conceived differently from him, and accordingly broke the ice, and published the first pamphlet that appeared in defence of the cause which he espoused (*b*), and a very sharp piece it was [*A*]. When the government was settled, by placing King William and Queen Mary upon the throne, Mr Collier remained firm to the principles he had embraced, and continued not only to abstain from taking the oaths which the new legislature had imposed, but laboured all that in him lay to prevent others, more especially such as were zealous members of the Church of England, from owning, or so much as complying with them. It was to this end that he wrote several warm and bitter pieces, which in those days had their effect, and consequently procured their author, in the opinion at least of those who were of his own party, the character both of a solid and shining writer [*B*]. There is no doubt but this conduct of his occasioned an eye to be kept over his proceedings, nor could it be supposed that any government would forbear the first opportunity that occurred of giving some check, to so active, so industrious, and so dangerous a man. It was not long before such an occasion offered itself: information was given to the Earl of Nottingham, at that time Secretary of State, that Mr Collier, with

(*a*) Thus far this article was (except some dates) drawn up by Mr Collier himself.

(*b*) From the information of a gentleman, who was intimately acquainted with Mr Collier.

[*A*] *And a very sharp piece it was.*] As this article cannot be rendered perspicuous, indeed hardly intelligible, without explaining the political, and literary controversies, in which this writer was engaged, we shall endeavour to give as clear and concise an account of them as possible. In the month of December 1688, the famous Dr Gilbert Burnet afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, sent abroad a very succinct, and well written pamphlet, under the title of *An Enquiry into the present state of affairs, and in particular whether we owe Allegiance to the* King *in these circumstances, and whether we are bound to treat with him, and call him* back again, *or not? Published by authority* (1). In this piece, the Doctor gives his sentiments very freely, as to the behaviour of King James, and the conduct that was to be observed towards him, as the reader will see from the following short quotation. 'In all that I have said concerning his desertion, I limit my reflections to his first leaving of Whitehall, for the accident at Feversham, and what followed after that, cannot be called a return to his people; and since the seals never appeared, and the King never spake of a parliament, nor altered his measures in any thing, but still prosecuted his first design by his second escape, his deserting is still to be dated from his first going from Whitehall; and he having given that just advantage against himself, which came after all that series of injustice and violence, that had gone before it, no man can think, that it was not very fitting to carry it as far as it would go; and not to treat with him any more upon the foot of acknowledging him King (2).' It was in answer to this treatise, and particularly to the argument insisted upon in this passage, that Mr Collier wrote the piece mentioned in the text, and which was intituled,

(1) See the Collection of Tracts written by Dr Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

(2) Enquiry into the present State of Affairs, p. 9.

I. *The* Desertion discussed *in a letter to a country Gentleman. Lond.* 1688, *4to.* He labours in this short pamphlet to shew, that the King, before his withdrawing had sufficient grounds to be apprehensive of danger; that his leaving any representative behind him was impracticable at that juncture, and that there were no grounds, either from the laws of the realm, or of nature, to pronounce the throne void from such a retreat. To this pamphlet of Mr Collier's, an answer was written by Edmund Bohun, Esq; in which, he gives him the following character (3). 'The author of it is my acquaintance, and a 'person for whom I have a great esteem, both on the 'account of his profession, and of his personal worth, 'learning, and sobriety; so that I cannot believe he 'had any ill design, either in the writing, or the publishing of it; his zeal for the Church of England's 'loyalty, and the difficulty, and the unusualness of the 'present case, having been the occasions, if not the 'causes, of his mistake; and therefore I will endeavour 'to shew him, and the world, his error, with as much 'candour and sweetness, as he himself can wish; because 'I have the same design for the main, that he had; 'viz. the honour of the Church of England, and the 'safety of government, and especially our Monarchy.' But this was not the only answer Mr Collier received, for his performance gave such offence, that after the government was settled, he was seized and committed to Newgate, where he continued a close prisoner for some months, but was at length discharged without being brought to a tryal. He afterwards wrote the following pieces, *viz.*

(3) State Tracts in the Reign of King William, Vol. I. p. 116.

II. *A Translation of the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th books of* Sleidan's *Commentaries, Lond.* 1689, *4to.*

III. Vindiciæ Juris Regii, *or Remarks upon a paper intituled,* An Enquiry into the measures of submission to the supream authority, *Lond.* 1689, *4to.* The author of this *Enquiry*, was also Dr Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

IV. Animadversions *upon the modern explanation of* 11 *Hen.* VII. *cap* 1. *or a King* de Facto, 1689, *4to.*

[*B*] *The character both of a solid, and shining writer.*] As Mr Collier was now embarked in an avowed opposition to the government, he laboured as much as in him lay to enlarge the strength of the party which he had joined; and with this view he continued to write, as the reader will see in the following catalogue of his works, during the space of less then two years.

V. *A Caution against* Inconsistency, *or the connection between* praying *and* swearing *in relation to the* civil powers, 1690, *4to.* This Discourse is a dissuasive from joining in publick assemblies.

VI. A Dialogue *concerning the* Times, *between* Philobelgus *and* Sempronius, 1690, *4to.* There was another dialogue with much the same title, printed in 1692, and called *a second part*, but it was not Mr Collier's, being a narrative of the *Revolution*, whereas Mr Collier's relates chiefly to the authority of the *Convention.*

VII. *To the Right Honourable the* Lords *and to the* Gentlemen *convened at Westminster*, October 1690, half sheet; it is a petition for an enquiry into the birth of the Prince of Wales.

VIII. *Dr* Sherlock's *Case of* Allegiance *considered with some remarks upon his* Vindication, *Lond.* 1691, *4to.*

IX. *A Brief* Essay *concerning* the Independency *of* Church Power, 1692, *4to.* The design of this essay is to prove the publick assemblies guilty of schism, upon account of their being held under such Bishops, as had assumed, or owned such, as had assumed the sees of those, that were deprived for not complying with the government, *&c.*

with one Mr Newton, another Nonjuring Clergyman, was gone down to Romney-Marſh, which was enough to fix a ſuſpicion, that they were either endeavouring to ſend intelligence to, or were labouring to receive it from, the other ſide of the water. Upon this, about the latter end of the year 1692, Meſſengers were ſent down into Kent to apprehend them, which they accordingly did, and brought them to London, where, after a ſhort examination before the Earl of Nottingham, who charged them with being in a deſign againſt the government, they were committed to the Gate-Houſe (*c*). But, as no evidence of their being in any ſuch deſign could be found, they were admitted to bail. So ſtrict, however, were Mr Collier's principles, that he had not been long at liberty, before he began to queſtion the conſiſtency of his own conduct in giving bail, upon which he went before the Lord Chief Juſtice Holt, ſurrendered in their diſcharge, and was committed to the King's Bench priſon; but upon the application of ſome of his friends to that moſt upright and impartial Judge, he was diſcharged in a week or ten days (*d*). Yet even this did not content him, as appears by ſeveral pieces of his written upon this ſubject [*C*]. In the ſpace of ſome years following, there happened nothing that ſo far engaged this gentleman's attention, as to induce him to write againſt the tranſactions of the State, which was, generally ſpeaking, the ſubject that employed his pen. But upon the breaking out of that which was called the Aſſaſſination Plot, and the conviction of Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins, an incident happened which made a very great noiſe, and deeply affected Mr Collier his whole life after. The fact was this: Mr Collier, with Mr Cook and Mr Snatt, both Clergymen of his own opinion, atttended thoſe unhappy perſons at the place of execution, where Mr Collier ſolemnly abſolved the former, as Mr Cook did the latter, and all three joined in the impoſition of hands upon them both (*e*). This, as might be very well expected, made a very great noiſe, and was looked upon as a very high inſult on the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical government, for which reaſon they fell under a ſevere proſecution on one ſide, in conſequence of which Mr Cook and Mr Snatt were ſent to Newgate, but afterwards were releaſed without being brought to a trial, and Mr Collier having ſtill his old ſcruple about putting in bail, abſconded, and was outlawed, under which incapacity he remained as long as he lived (*f*). On the other hand, both the Archbiſhops, and ten of their ſuffragans, *viz.* the Biſhops of London, Durham, Wincheſter, Coventry and Lichfield, Rocheſter, Hereford, Norwich, Peterborough, Glouceſter, Chicheſter, and St Aſaph, publiſhed a very ſtrong Declaration of their ſenſe of this ſcandalous and irregular proceeding (*g*). To this our author wrote an anſwer with his uſual vigour, and after that ſeveral other pieces, in ſupport of his own and his brethren's conduct in this affair [*D*]. After this ſtorm was a little over, Mr Collier employed himſelf in reviewing and

(*c*) As appears from the Contents of the Papers afterwards mentioned.

(*d*) As may be collected from the dates of ſeveral papers mentioned in the note.

(*e*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 719. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 143.

(*f*) From the Information before mentioned.

(*g*) This Declaration is to be found at large in the Appendix to the third Vol. of the State Tracts in the time of King William.

[*C*] *As appears by ſeveral pieces of his written upon this ſubject*] It ſeems that Mr Collier had occaſionaly read Law, and this it was that induced him to make a ſcruple of remaining upon bail, becauſe he apprehended that the very recognizance, by which bail was taken, carried in it an acknowledgment of the juriſdiction of the Court, in which the bail was taken, and by conſequence of the power from whence the authority of that court was derived. In ſupport of theſe principles, and in juſtification of his own conduct, he wrote the following pieces, of which it is ſaid, there were only five copies printed.

X. *The caſe of* giving bail *to a pretended* authority *examined, dated from the* King's Bench. *November* 23 1692, *with a* preface *dated December* 1692, *and a letter to Sir* John Holt, *dated November* 30 1692. *And alſo a reply to ſome* remarks *upon the* caſe *of* giving bail, *&c. dated* April 1693. He wrote, ſoon after this,

XI *A* Perſwaſive *to Conſideration tendered to the Royaliſts, particularly thoſe of the Church of England.* Lond. 1693, 4*to.* It was afterwards reprinted in 8*vo.* together with his vindication of it, againſt a piece entituled *The Layman's Apology*, &c. written in confutation of that part of the Perſwaſive, which relates to the controverſy about the frequenting the publick aſſemblies.

XII. *Remarks upon the* London Gazette, *relating to the Straits Fleet, and to the battle of* Landen *in Flanders* 1693, 4*to.*

[*D*] *In ſupport of his own and his brethren's conduct in this affair.*] In order to form ſome notion of this tranſaction, it will be requiſite to ſee that part of the Prelates Declaration which relates to the conduct of theſe Clergymen, and in which they ſhew, that their proceeding was not to be juſtified by the doctrines or practice of the Church of England. There words are theſe (4):

(4) State Tracts in the Reign of King William, Vol. III. in the Appendix.

'For thoſe Clergymen that took upon them to abſolve theſe criminals at the place of execution, by laying all three together their hands upon their heads, and publickly pronouncing a form of abſolution; as their manner of doing this was extremely inſolent, and without precedent either in our Church, or any other that we know of; ſo the thing itſelf was altogether irregular.—The rubrick in our Office of the Viſitation of the Sick, from whence they took the words they then uſed, and upon which, if upon any thing in our Liturgy, they muſt ground this their proceeding, gave them no authority nor pretence for the abſolving theſe perſons; nay, as they managed the affair, they acted, in this abſolution, far otherwiſe than is there directed. That rubrick is concerning ſick perſons, and it is there required, Firſt, *That the ſick perſon ſhall be moved to make a ſpecial confeſſion of his ſins, if he feel his conſcience troubled with any weighty matter, and then, after ſuch confeſſion, the Prieſt ſhall abſolve him, if he humbly and heartly deſire it.* But here they abſolved, and that publickly, perſons condemned by law for execrable crimes, without ſo much as once moving them, at that time, to make a ſpecial confeſſion of their ſins, at leaſt of thoſe ſins for which they were condemned. And on the other ſide, here were perſons abſolved that did not humbly deſire abſolution, as feeling any ſuch weighty matter to trouble their conſcience, but on the contrary, in Sir John Friend's paper it is declared, that he had a great deal of *ſatisfaction in ſuffering* for that cauſe, which he firmly believed to be *the cauſe of God and true religion.* If theſe Miniſters knew not the ſtate of theſe mens ſouls before they gave them abſolution, as it is manifeſt two of them, Mr Snatt and Mr Cook, did not as to Sir William Perkins, (they having ſince declared that they had not ſpoke with Sir William, 'till they were at the place of execution) how could they, without manifeſt tranſgreſſion of the Church's order, as well as the profane abuſe of the power Chriſt hath left with his Miniſters, abſolve them from all their ſins? If they were acquainted with theſe mens ſentiments declared in their papers, then they muſt look upon them either as hardened impenitents or as martyrs. We are ſo charitable to believe, that they would not abſolve them under the former notion, for that had been in effect ſealing them to damnation; but if they held theſe men to be martyrs, then their abſolving them

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and retouching ſeveral miſcellaneous pieces of his, to which he added ſome others and publiſhed them in a volume, and theſe were ſo well received, that about ſeven years afterwards he publiſhed another, and ſeveral years after that a third. Theſe pieces of his were written upon religious, moral, and entertaining ſubjects, with ſuch a mixture of learning and wit, and in a ſtile ſo eaſy and flowing, that notwithſtanding the prejudice of party which could not but be ſtrong againſt him, they were generally well received, and have run through many editions ſince. One muſt indeed allow, that very few books bid fairer for univerſal approbation, in an age, which, if not ſtrictly virtuous, was at leaſt highly decent, and when every body affected a concern for promoting, whatever had a tendency to make men wiſer, better, or more polite, all which ends were proſecuted with great effect in this collection of Eſſays *(h)* [*E*]. The very next year after the publication of the firſt volume

(*b*) See the particular ſubjects upon which they were written in the note.

' in that manner was a juſtification of thoſe grievous ' crimes for which theſe men ſuffered, and an open ' affront to the laws both of Church and State. Upon ' the conſideration of theſe things, and for the doing ' of right to our Church, which may otherwiſe ſuffer ' amongſt ſuch as are ſtrangers to our conſtitution, by ' the evil principles and practices, both of the aforeſaid ' criminals, and the three Clergymen that aſſiſted them, ' who all pretended to be members of the Church of ' England: we do declare, that we diſown and deteſt ' all ſuch principles and practices, looking upon them ' as highly ſchiſmatical and ſeditious, dangerous both ' to the Church and State, and contrary to the true ' doctrine and ſpirit of the Chriſtian religion. And ' we alſo take this occaſion to warn and exhort all the ' people committed to our charge, to beware of ſuch ' ſeducers, and to avoid them, leſt, as the Apoſtle ' St Peter ſpeaks, *They be led away with the error of* ' *the wicked*, and fall from their ſtedfaſt adherence to ' the principles of the true Church of England, as it ' was eſtabliſhed at the bleſſed Reformation of religion, ' and as, by God's eſpecial Providence, it continues to ' this day.' What was farther done in this matter, will beſt appear from Biſhop Kennet's account, which runs thus (5): ' On April the 27th, the Lord Chief ' Juſtice (Holt) of the King's Bench, did likewiſe re- ' preſent to the grand Jury, the ſhameful and perni- ' cious practice of thoſe three abſolving Prieſts. Where- ' upon the Jury made a preſentment to the Court, that ' Collier, Cook, and Snatt, Clerks, did take upon ' them to pronounce and give abſolution to Sir Wil- ' liam Perkins, and Sir John Friend, at the time of ' their execution at Tyburn, immediately before they ' had ſeverally delivered a paper to the Sheriff of Mid- ' dleſex, wherein they had ſeverally endeavoured to ' juſtify the treaſons for which they were juſtly con- ' demned and executed. And that they, the ſaid ' Collier, Cook, and Snatt, had thereby countenanced ' the ſame treaſons, to the great encouragement of ' other perſons to commit the like treaſons, and to the ' ſcandal of the Church of England eſtabliſhed by Law, ' and to the diſturbance of the peace of the kingdom. ' Upon which the court ordered an indictment to be ' preferred againſt them, and on May the 8th, Mr ' Cook and Mr Snatt were committed to Newgate, for ' ſuſpicion of high-treaſon and treaſonable practices. ' But ſuch was the lenity of the government, that no ' manner of puniſhment was inflicted on them, and ' Mr Collier, with great aſſurance, publiſhed ſeveral ' papers to juſtify his practice.' The writings to which this Prelate referred were theſe:

(5) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 719. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 174.

XIII. *A Defence of the* Abſolution *given to Sir* William Perkins *at the place of execution, April 3d, with a farther Vindication thereof, occaſioned by a paper entitled*, A Declaration of the Senſe of the Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, *&c. The firſt dated April the* 9th, 1696, *the other* April the 21ſt, 1696. *To which is added a Poſtſcript in relation to a paper called an* Anſwer to his Defence, *&c.* dated April 25. *Alſo a Reply to the* Abſolution of a Penitent, according to the Directions of the Church of England, *&c. dated* May 20, 1696; and *An Anſwer to the Animadverſions on two Pamphlets lately publiſhed by Mr Collier*, &c. *dated* July 1, 1696, 4*to*.

[*E*] *All which ends were proſecuted with great effect, in this collection of Eſſays.*] We have in the text, ſpoken in general of the ſeveral volumes of this collection, as if it had been compoſed in the ſame manner with other books of that kind, whereas, inſtead of being made up of detached diſcourſes, it is rather compoſed of a variety of ſmall pieces on different topics which fell from the author's pen at a great diſtance of time, and after wandering moſt of them ſingly through the world, were at laſt drawn thus into a body to prevent their being loſt. The title given them in their laſt edition is,

XIV. *ESSAYS upon ſeveral Moral Subjects, by* Jeremy Collier, M. A. *in three volumes*, 8*vo*. In order to give the reader a clear account of the contents of theſe volumes, which are not commonly underſtood to comprehend ſo large a part of their author's works as they really do, it is neceſſary to enter a little into particulars. The firſt volume is divided into *two* parts, which were publiſhed ſeparately. The *firſt* part conſiſts of ſix Eſſays, *viz.* upon Pride, Cloaths, Duelling, General Kindneſs, the Office of a Chaplain, and the Weakneſs of Human Reaſon. The four firſt are written in the way of dialogue, and with great ſpirit and vivacity; the two laſt are continued diſcourſes. That on the Office of a Chaplain is particularly laboured, and has been looked upon as the author's maſter-piece, the reaſon being more cloſe, the language more exact, and the thread of the argument better preſerved, than in many of the reſt. His Eſſay on the Weakneſs of Human Underſtanding is in ſome meaſure a declamation, but it ends with a moral reflection of great importance, and which perhaps this gentleman did not keep always in his mind (6). ' We may plainly perceive, ſays he, ' that the prejudices of education have a great ſtroke ' in many of our reaſonings, and that the ſentiments of ' men diſcover the colour of their original tinctures. ' And as there are ſome inbred principles impregnable ' againſt cuſtom, ſo there are ſome cuſtoms which ' nature finds very difficult to deal with.'

(6) Collier's Miſcellanies, Vol. I. p. 240.

The *ſecond* part contains ſeventeen diſcourſes upon Fame, Muſick, The Value of Life, The Spleen, Eagerneſs of Deſire, Friendſhip, Popularity, The Immateriality of the Soul, The Entertainment of books, Confidence, Envy, The Aſpects of Men, Deſpair, Covetouſneſs, Liberty, Old Age, and Pleaſure; ſeveral of theſe are written in dialogue, but moſt of them are ſet diſcourſes; and are all of them calculated to inform the underſtanding, reform the manners, and to give a right turn to the thoughts of the reader.

The ſecond volume contains the *third* part, in which the author diſcourſes of Pain, Revenge, Authors, Infancy and Youth, Riches and Poverty, Debauchery, Drunkneſs, Uſury, The Character of an Apoſtle, and of Solitude. Then follows a Tranſlation of St Gregory's Oration, in commendation of the Maccabees, Of the Unreaſonableneſs of ill-timed Diverſions, St Cyprian's Diſcourſe upon the Plague, his Deſcription of the manners of the Age, in which he lived, and his Diſcourſe on Patience: it is cloſed by the author's Eſſay upon Diſcontent, written in dialogue: there is uſually annext to this volume, (tho' it was printed ſeparately) An Eſſay upon Gaming, in a dialogue, which is at once an uſeful, entertaining, and moſt inſtructive performance. The third volume, and the fourth part conſiſts moſtly of religious ſubjects, and was written after he had publiſhed the firſt volume of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory: in this he treats of Goodneſs, Honeſty, Religious Temper, Lying, Fortitude, Flattery, Theft, Peace, and the Reſurrection; all theſe topicks are treated with very great plainneſs and freedom; many of the thoughts are new and ſingular, ſuch as are written in dialogue, are well ſuſtained, and if we abate the flowerineſs of the language, which was the faſhion, I will not ſay the fault of that time, it will be difficult to find any eſſays more capable of affording a rational pleaſure, than thoſe of our author.

volume of these Miscellaneous Discourses, Mr Collier made an attempt to reform the Stage, which involved him in a very brisk controversy with several of the greatest wits, and ablest writers of the age, in which he acquitted himself with so much force and vivacity, that the most considerable of his antagonists were obliged, not only to quit the field of battle, but confess that they were vanquished; and though some of them did not do this with the best grace, yet as their failing in point of manners ought to be attributed to the smart of their wounds, it is very far from reflecting upon the merit of our author, whose animadversions actually produced both repentance and amendment (*i*), and was the original cause of that decorum, which has been, for the most part, observed by the modern writers of dramatick poetry. The titles of his pieces upon this occasion will be found in the notes [*F*]. His abilities and industry were next exercised in a much larger work than any he had hitherto undertaken, which was that of making Moreri's performance useful

(*i*) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 192.

[*F*] *Will be found in the notes.*] It was certainly a very bold thing in Mr Collier, to attack at once the Wits and the Witlings of those times; among the first, were Mr Dryden, Mr Congreve, and Mr Vanbrugh; amongst the latter, was Tom. Durfey and many more; but he is certainly to be commended for forming so good a design, as that of reducing the stage to order, and thereby preventing the morals of mankind from being corrupted, where they ought to be amended: the first he published with this design, had the following title.

XV. *A short view of the* immorality *and* profaneness *of the* English Stage *together with the sense of* Antiquity *upon this argument*, Lond. 1698, 8*vo*. It is a very methodical and learned work: he begins with shewing the immodesty and indecency of the stage, and the ill consequences that attend it; he proves next, that the Roman and Greek theatres were much more inoffensive than the English, and then produces the authorities of Ben Johnson, Beaumount and Fletcher, and the French Poet Corneile, against the modern Stage. He proceeds to open the indictment by a charge of profaneness, which he supports by instances from several pieces of Mr Dryden, Mr Otway, Mr Congreve, and Vanbrugh. His second charge is the abuse of the Clergy; his third relates to immorality encouraged by the Stage; he then descends to some remarks upon Amphitrion, exposes the horrid profaneness of the comical History of Don Quixote; then criticizes the Relapse, or Virtue in Danger; he concludes with producing the opinions of the Heathen Philosophers, Orators, and Historians, the restraints imposed upon the Stage by the laws in several countries, and the sentiments of the Fathers of the Church.

In answer to this, Mr Congreve published a little piece, intitled, *Amendments of Mr Collier's false and imperfect citations from the old Batchelor, the Double Dealer*, &c. It must be allowed, that in this piece, the ingenious author is very hard put to it, and struggles with infinite difficulty to give a fair gloss to passages, that, in the natural sense of the words, convey a very different meaning; and besides this, there is an air of anger and resentment runs through the whole piece, which plainly shews how much the author felt the weight of that censure he endeavours to ridicule, and would be thought to despise. Mr Vanbrugh, afterwards Sir John Vanbrugh, likewise published a small piece in support of his own performances, under the title of, *A short Vindication of the Relapse, and the Provok'd Wife*; but this was very far from dejecting, or silencing our author, he thought he had a good cause; and that he was able to manage it with as much sense and spirit as any of his adversaries; and he found by experience too, that he was as well heard as they by the publick; all which encouraged him to return to the charge, and to defend what he had written, not only against these, but against several other authors, who thought fit to enter the lists on the side of the Poets, against the Priest. These pieces of his were,

XVI. *A* Defence *of the* Short View *&c. being a Reply to Mr Congreve's Amendments*, &c. *And to the Vindication of the author of the Relapse*, Lond. 1699, 8*vo*.

XVII. *A* Second Defence *of the Short View*, &c. *Being a Reply to a Book intitled*, The Ancient and Modern Stages surveyed, *&c. Lond* 1700, 8*vo*. The Book here replyed to, was written by Dr Drake.

XVIII *Mr* Collier's *Dissuasive from the Play House; in a letter to a Person of Quality, occasioned by the late calamity of the* Tempest, *Lond.* 1703, 8*vo*.

XIX. *A* farther Vindication *of the Short View*, &c. *in which the Objections of a late Book, intitled*, A Defence of Plays, *are considered, Lond.* 1708, 8*vo*.

The Defence of Plays, has Dr Filmer for it's author.

We have shewn in the text, what the event was of this long dispute, in support of which, I shall produce what Mr Dryden says upon this subject (7). 'I shall say 'the less of Mr Collier, because in many things he has 'taxed me justly, and I have pleaded guilty to all 'thoughts and expressions of mine, which can be truly 'arraigned of obscenity, profaneness, or immorality, and 'retract them. If he be my enemy, let him triumph: 'if he be my friend, as I have given him no personal 'occasion to be otherwise, he will be glad of my repentance. It becomes me not to draw my pen in the defence of a bad cause, when I have so often drawn it 'for a good one: yet it were not difficult to prove, 'that in many places he has perverted my meaning by 'his glosses, and interpreted my words into blasphemy 'and bawdry, of which they were not guilty; besides 'that, he is too much given to horse-play in his raillery 'and comes to battle like a Dictator from the plough: 'I will not say the zeal of God's house has eaten him 'up; but I am sure, it has devoured some part of his 'good manners and civility; it might also be doubted, 'whether it were altogether zeal, which prompted him 'to this rough manner of proceeding, perhaps it became not one of his function, to rake into the rubbish 'of ancient and modern plays; a Divine might have 'employed his pains to better purpose, than in the 'nastiness of Plautus and Aristophanes, whose examples, as they excuse not me, so it might possibly be 'supposed, that be read them not without some pleasure. They, who have written commentaries on 'those poets, or on Horace, Juvenal, and Martial, 'have explained some vices, which, without their interpretation, had been unknown to modern times; 'neither has he judged impartially between the former 'age and us. There is more bawdry in one Play of 'Fletcher's, called, The Custom of the Country, than 'in all ours together, yet this has been often acted on the 'stage in my remembrance: are the times so much 'more reformed now, than they were five and twenty 'years ago? if they are, I congratulate the amendment 'of our morals; but I am not to prejudice the cause 'of my Fellow-Poets, tho' I abandon my own defence. 'They have some of them answered for themselves, and 'neither they nor I can think Mr Collier so formidable 'an enemy, that we would shun him. He has lost 'ground at the latter end of the day, by pursuing his 'point too far, like the Prince of Condé at the battle of 'Seneff. From immoral plays to no plays; *ab abusu 'ad usum non valet consequentia.* But being a party I 'am not to erect myself into a judge.'

(7) Preface to his Fables.

The first part of Mr Dryden's apology is so very decent, and withal so very just, that one cannot help being sorry he did not rest it there; but as to what follows, it is mighty little to the purpose, he has owned, that Mr Collier has shewn him his faults, and yet he is out of humour that they were shewn. Was it in his power to prove his charge against the stage any other way than he has done? did not the quibbling and prevarications of his antagonists, compel him to explain things so broadly? and might not any criminal at the bar charge the Attorney-General, with being a traytor in his heart, for setting forth, and insisting upon his own treasons with the same force of argument, that is used in retorting upon Mr Collier? The truth is, that men offend with gaiety of heart, but repent with bitterness of soul; which is the reason, that tho' they cannot help owning the physick has done them good, yet they cannot avoid bearing ill will to the doctor.

[*G*] *Or*

uſeful to the Engliſh nation, in which he laboured for many years with great ſucceſs, taking all the precautions poſſible to be well informed as to the new articles he publiſhed; and ſo well were his endeavours in this kind received by the publick, notwithſtanding ſome exceptions that were taken to them, that few books have met with a better fate, or longer maintained their credit [G]. After the acceſſion of Queen Anne to the throne, great endeavours were uſed to recover Mr Collier to the Church, by inducing him to comply with the terms preſcribed by the State. All efforts of this kind, though ſupported not only with general promiſes of preferment, but with more particular aſſurances, were ineffectual, and Mr Collier remained among the Nonjuring Clergy, as ſeeing no reaſon to alter his ſentiments from any change that had happened, and being incapable of diſſembling an alteration for the ſake of temporal views (*k*). About the ſame time that he publiſhed the firſt volume of his Dictionary, he likewiſe obliged the world with a very elegant tranſlation from the Greek, of that famous book of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, which has done more credit to his memory than even his excellent adminiſtration of publick affairs during a reign which does honour to the Roman Hiſtory (*l*). This tranſlation was univerſally well received on it's firſt appearance, and continues to be read with all the applauſe, that ſo well written, and ſo uſeful a treatiſe of Moral Philoſophy deſerves [H]. The ſituation of thoſe times, and the many worthy and generous patrons of whatever regarded the honour of this kingdom who then flouriſhed, encouraged Mr Collier to hope, that an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Great Britain, which, in the extent he intended it, had never been attempted by any Proteſtant writer before, might meet with general acceptation. Accordingly, propoſals were publiſhed for ſending abroad ſuch a work, and the offer very well received, and ſuch encouragements given, as induced him to proſecute with diligence the great deſign he had formed, and at length finiſhed a copious Hiſtory of Church Affairs, from the firſt entrance of Chriſtianity into this Iſland, to the cloſe of the reign of Henry VII. This all parties allowed to be a work of great labour and learning, methodically and elegantly written; but in other reſpects they differed, as might well be ſuppoſed, in their judgments concerning it's merit [I]. After the pains this book had coſt him,

(*k*) From the information beforementioned.

(*l*) See the Life of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, tranſlated from the French of M. Dacier, prefixed to that work.

[G] *Or longer maintained their credit.*] We ſhall in this note give an account of the different times, in which the ſeveral parts of this Dictionary were publiſhed, and other circumſtances relating to them, that may be worth the reader's knowing.

XX. *The Great Hiſtorical, Geographical, Geneological, and Poetical Dictionary*, &c. four volumes Fol.

The two firſt volumes were printed in the year 1701, and the author gave notice in his preface, that ſuch of the Articles as were of a later date than the year 1688, were compoſed by another hand. The third volume was publiſhed, under the title of *A Supplement*, &c. in 1705, and was reprinted in 1727. It is in the preface to this, that he anſwers the objections made to his conduct; and to prevent thoſe articles being taken for his, which in this volume alſo, were written by another hand, they are placed under another alphabet. The fourth and laſt volume, which in the title page is called *An Appendix*, as in reality it is to the other three, was printed in 1721. The whole is certainly a great treaſure of Hiſtorical, Geographical, and Poetical Learning; and is not ooly very uſeful and entertaining to young ſcholars, who may by the help of it acquire much knowledge, and enter thoroughly into the meaning of the books they read in any of theſe kinds of learning; but even to perſons of the greateſt abilities, and moſt comprehenſive ſcience, who have but ſmall libraries, and live at a diſtance from London, and the two Univerſities; yet this work is certainly capable of great improvements, and theſe might be made without enlarging the bulk, for it might be reduced under one alphabet; whereas at preſent there are four or five, and as by this means a multitude of repetions, alterations, and correctioos, might be thrown out, ſo this would make room for new articles, which might be eaſily found in the laſt edition of Moreri's Dictionary, now enlarged to ſeven volumes. The learned reader will eaſily diſcern, that this is no reflection either upon Mr Collier's memory or his performance, ſince he did all that was poſſible to be done at the time he wrote, and the inconveniences beforementioned were unavoidable from his manner of publication, as that too, with reſpect to him, was a matter not of choice but of neceſſity.

[H] *That ſo well written, and ſo uſeful a treatiſe of Moral Philoſophy deſerves.*] This work of Mr Collier's has ſince borne three impreſſions, all of them under the following title:

XXI. *The Emperor* Marcus Antoninus *his converſation with himſelf. Together with the preliminary Diſcourſe of the learned* Gataker, *&c. to which is added the Mythological Picture of* Cebes *the* Theban, *&c. Tranſlated into Engliſh from the reſpective originals*, Lond. 1701, 8*vo*.

This is one of the beſt collections we have in the Engliſh tongue of the Morals of the Antients; and, in conjunction with the works of Plutarch, Epictetus, and Seneca, will make an admirable library of that kind. The pieces of which it is compoſed are very well choſen, illuſtrate each other perfectly, ſo as to render all the paſſages in them clear and intelligible; and yet it is of a very moderate ſize, and has nothing in it redundant, or foreign to the purpoſe.

[I] *Concerning it's merit.*] As this great work was publiſhed in two volumes at different times, it is requiſite to ſpeak of them ſeparately. The firſt bore the following title:

XXII. *An* Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory *of* Great Britain, *chiefly of* England, *from the firſt planting of* Chriſtianity, *to the end of the Reign of King Charles* II. *With a brief Account of the Affairs of Religion in* Ireland. *Collected from the beſt antient Hiſtorians, Councils, and Records*, fol. 1702, Vol. I. *which comes down to the Reign of Henry* VII.

As the ſcheme of this work was in itſelf of large extent, it required a great knowledge in Divinity, Hiſtory and Antiquity, and a very aſſiduous application to the peruſal of Records and manuſcripts, as well as a vaſt variety of antient and modern authors; ſo the performance itſelf demonſtrates very great care to have been taken in all theſe reſpects. The method in which this Hiſtory is written is very clear and exact, his authorities are conſtantly cited by the autbor, his remarks are ſhort and pertinent, and, with reſpect to the diſſertations that are occaſionly inſerted, they are ſuch as tend to illuſtrate and explaio thoſe perplexed points of which they treat, and contribute thereby to the clearer underſtanding of the narration. The ſtile is very uniform and grave, which is the more remarkable, becauſe the author, in other writings, has ſhewn as lively a fancy, and as much quickneſs of wit, as any writer of his own time; but he knew this would be improper here; and therefore it is with great judgment avoided. He ſpeaks modeſtly and reſpectfully of moſt of the Hiſtorians who went before him, and if he is any where ſevere, he takes care that his reaſon ſhall go along with his cenſure. His own peculiar ſentiments with reſpect to religion and government may be in ſome places diſcerned, but taking the whole together, it will be found as judicious and impartial a work, as the world, in doing juſtice to his talents, could have expected it:

yet

him, our author thought a ſeaſon of repoſe neceſſary, or, as himſelf expreſſes it, judged it convenient *to breathe a little after a folio* (*m*); yet without dropping, or ſo much as diſcontinuing his former deſign, but knowing that it required not only aſſiduity and vigilance, but the utmoſt prudence and circumſpection likewiſe, he choſe to act cautiouſly and rather to apologize to the publick for his delay, than to precipitate matters in order to hurry his work through the preſs. In the year 1713 he was conſecrated a Biſhop by Dr George Hickes, who was himſelf conſecrated Suffragan of Thetford by the deprived Biſhops of Norwich, Ely, and Peterborough (*n*), Feb. 23, 1694. In the ſucceeding year came abroad the ſecond volume of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which met with a different reception from perſons of different ſentiments, applauded by ſome and cenſured by others. Of the latter there were thoſe who made a conſiderable figure in the learned world, againſt whoſe objections the author thought it incumbent upon him to write [*K*]. As he grew in years, that great ſhare of health which he had enjoyed was interrupted by frequent attacks of the ſtone, to which there is no doubt that his ſedentary life might much contribute, ſo that from this time we hear of nothing that he publiſhed farther, except a collection of Sermons, of which, together with ſome ſmaller pieces prefixed to other mens works, an account will be given at the bottom of the page [*L*]. He lived however ſeveral years in an indifferent ſtate of health, ſometimes tolerably free, and at others grievouſly afflicted by his old diſtemper, which brought him to his grave April 26, 1726, and three days after his body was interred in the church-yard of St Pancras. He was in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, and preſerved the free uſe of his ſenſes to the very laſt. As to his character, we have already given it in the impartial hiſtory of his works, and ſhall therefore only add, that his morals were unexceptionable, and that, as his conduct had in it all the regularity becoming a Clergyman, ſo his behaviour had nothing ſtiff or pedantick, but all that life, ſpirit, and innocent freedom, which conſtitutes the good breeding of a gentleman. His reputation as a man of letters extended beyond the bounds of his own country, for the learned and ingenious Father Courbeville, who tranſlated into French the Hero of Balthazar Gracian, in the Preface of that work, ſpeaks in the higheſt terms of praiſe of our author's Miſcellaneous Works which he ſays ſet him on a level with Montaigne, St Evremond, La Bruyere, *&c.* The ſame reverend and learned perſon tranſlated into French Mr Collier's *Short View of the Engliſh Stage*, and from thence takes occaſion to ſpeak of him again, with all the marks of admiration and eſteem poſſible.

(*m*) See the Preface to the third Vol. of his Miſcellanies.

(*n*) From the information before-mentioned.

yet, as we have hinted in the text, it was far enough from eſcaping the cenſure of the Criticks, but was ſtill much happier in that reſpect than the ſecond volume, in ſpeaking of which we ſhall ſhew who theſe Criticks were, as well as the titles of the pieces written by our author in his own defence, and in juſtification of his Hiſtory.

[*K*] *Thought it incumbent upon him to write.*] As the ſecond volume of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory took in the entire account of the Reformation, and the ſtruggles with the Puritans from their firſt appearance, to the overturning of our conſtitution in Church and State; ſo it muſt be naturally ſuppoſed, that a man of Mr Collier's principles could never treat theſe delicate ſubjects, without affording ſome room, for ſuch as were deſirous of criticizing him to take offence. Dr Nicholſon, Biſhop of Derry, has treated him with great ſeverity, not to ſay more, in the character he has given of his works. Biſhop Burnet and Biſhop Kennet, who were infinitely better judges as well as writers, have corrected him with great decency. Mr Collier defended himſelf againſt them all, in the pieces of which we ſhall preſently ſpeak, but before we come to them, it may not be amiſs to remark a ſingle, and a ſhining, inſtance of his impartiality, and that is, in diſculpating the Preſbyterians from the falſe and ſcandalous imputations that had been thrown upon them, as if they conſented to, or at leaſt temporized in, the murder of King Charles I. from which he has vindicated them with equal perſpicuity and juſtice, and has fully ſhewn, that as they only had it in their power to oppoſe, ſo to the utmoſt extent of that power they did oppoſe, and proteſt againſt that bloody fact, both before and after it was committed (8). The pieces written by him in defence of his Hiſtory are theſe:

(8) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 859, 860.

XXIII. *An Anſwer to ſome exceptions in Biſhop* Burnet's *third part of the* Hiſtory *of the* Reformation, *&c. againſt Mr* Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; *together with a* Reply *to ſome* Remarks *in Biſhop* Nicholſon's *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, &c. upon the ſame ſubject*, fol. Lond. 1715.

XXIV. *Some Remarks on Dr* Kennet's *ſecond and third Letters, wherein his miſrepreſentations of Mr Collier's* Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory *are laid open, and his calumnies diſproved*, Lond. 1717, fol. and 8*vo*. But in the octavo it is called *Some Conſiderations*, &c.

[*L*] *Will be given at the bottom of the page.*] The collection of Sermons mentioned in the text, came abroad under this title.

XXV. *Several* Diſcourſes *upon Practical Subjects*, Lond. 1725, 8*vo*. The laſt diſcourſe of this collection had been printed ſeparately, in 1723, with the following title. *The compariſon between giving and receiving, with the reaſons for preference; ſtated in a Sermon preached at Whitehall*, April 19th, 1687, 4to.

XXVI. *God not the Origin of* Evil, *being an additional Sermon to a collection of Mr* Collier's *Diſcourſes*, &c. Lond. 1726, 8*vo*.

He publiſhed alſo *An Advertiſement againſt Biſhop* Burnet's Hiſtory of his own time, which was printed on a ſlip of paper, and diſperſed in all the Coffee-houſes in 1724, and is to be ſeen in the Evening Poſt, No. 2254. Beſides this, he wrote ſeveral Prefaces, &c. As (1.) *An Advertiſement concerning the Author, and the tranſlation of* Maxims and Reflections upon Plays, in anſwer to a Diſcourſe of *the lawfulneſs and unlawfulneſs of Plays*, printed before a late Play intitled, *Beauty in Diſtreſs, written in* French, *by the Biſhop of* Meaux, Lond. 1669. (2.) *A Recommendatory Preface to* Tully's *five Books* de Finibus, *&c. Done into Engliſh by S. P.* (Sam. Parker) *Gent. Together with an Apology for the philoſophical writings of* Cicero, *in a letter to the Tranſlator; by* Mr Henry Dodwell, Lond. 1702. (3.) *A Recommendatory Preface to* human Souls naturally immortal, *tranſlated from a Latin MS. by S. E.* Lond. 1707. Of this Preface Mr Norris makes honourable mention in his letter to Mr Dodwell, concerning the immortality of the Soul of Man, and ſays that Mr Collier's ſingle remark againſt Mr Locke, is, in his opinion, worth all the book beſides (9). It is alſo upon good grounds believed, that he was concerned, amongſt others, in collecting the paſſages referred to by Dr Henry Sacheverell, in his anſwer to the articles of his impeachment.

(9) Mr Norris's Letter to Mr Dodwell, p. 107.

COLLINS (ANTHONY), an eminent Writer of the preſent Century, was ſon of Henry Collins, Eſq; a gentleman of a conſiderable eſtate; and was born at Heſton near Hounſlow in Middleſex, June 21, 1676 (*a*). He was educated in grammar learning at Eaton-College near Windſor, and from thence was removed to King's College in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr Francis Hare (*b*). Upon his leaving college, he was entered a Student in the Temple: but diſreliſhing the ſtudy of the Law, he ſoon abandoned it. In 1698, he married Martha, the daughter of Sir Francis Child, Alderman of London (*c*), and by her had two ſons, Henry and Anthony [*A*], and two daughters, Elizabeth and Martha (*d*). In 1700, our author publiſhed a tract, intituled, *Several of the London Caſes conſidered* (*e*). In 1703, and 1704, he held an epiſtolary correſpondence with the great Mr Locke, who expreſſed an high regard and friendſhip for our author [*B*]. In 1707, he publiſhed his *Eſſay concerning the Uſe of Reaſon* (*f*) [*C*]. The ſame year, our author engaged in the controverſy, then on foot between Mr Dodwell and Dr Samuel Clarke, concerning the *Natural Immortality of the Soul* [*D*]. In December 1709, came out a pamphlet (*g*), intituled, *Prieſtcraft in Perfection* [*E*]; and, in February the year following, another intituled, *Reflexions on a late Pamphlet, intituled*, Prieſtcraft in Perfection; both written by our author. The ſame year, he publiſhed his *Vindication of the Divine Attributes, in ſome Remarks on the Archbiſhop of Dublin's Sermon* (*h*). In March 1711, Mr Collins went over to Holland, where he became acquainted with Mr Le Clerc, and other learned men, and returned to London in November following. In 1713, he publiſhed his *Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking* [*F*]; and ſoon after made a ſecond trip to Holland,

(*a*) See his epitaph in remark [*P*].

(*b*) Afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter, and ſince dead.

(*c*) Sir Francis was Lord Mayor the year following.

(*d*) See epitaph.

(*e*) Catalogue of Mr Collins's Library, written with his own hand.

(*f*) A ſecond edition of it was publiſhed in 1709.

(*g*) See Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, for Dec. 1709, p. 753.

(*h*) Intituled, Divine Predeſtination and Foreknowledge conſiſting with the Freedom of Man's Will, Lond. 1710.

[*A*] *He had—two ſons, Henry and Anthony.*] Henry, the elder, died in his infancy. Anthony the younger, a youth of great hopes, and educated at Bennet-College in Cambridge, died in the 22d year of his age, lamented by all that knew him (1).

(1) See the epitaph in the remark [*P*].

[*B*] *Mr Locke expreſſed an high regard and friendſhip for our author.*] This appears from Mr Locke's letters to Mr Collins (2). In that dated from Oates in Eſſex, October 29, 1703, he writes as follows. 'If I 'were now ſetting out in the world, I ſhould think it my 'great happineſs to have ſuch a companion as you, who 'had a true reliſh of truth, would in earneſt ſeek it with 'me, from whom I might receive it undiſguiſed, and 'to whom I might communicate what I thought true, 'freely. Believe it, my good friend, to love truth for 'truth's ſake, is the principal part of human per'fection in this world, and the ſeed-plot of all other 'virtues; and, if I miſtake not, you have as much of 'it, as ever I met with in any body. What then is 'there wanting to make you equal to the beſt, a friend 'for any one to be proud of?' In another, dated from Oates, September 11th, 1704, he writes thus: *He that has any thing to do with you, muſt own that friendſhip is the natural product of your conſtitution; and your ſoul, a noble ſoil, is enriched with the two moſt valuable qualities of human nature, truth and friendſhip. What a treaſure have I then in ſuch a friend, with whom I can converſe, and be enlightened about the higheſt ſpeculations?* Theſe extracts evince, that, at that time, Mr Collins appeared to Mr Locke in the light of an impartial, diſintereſted, enquirer after truth. How far that great man, who was undoubtedly a friend to Revelation, would, probably, have altered his opinion of our author, had he lived (3) to ſee his works (of which he had publiſhed none but his *London Caſes conſidered*) the readers of Mr Collins's works will judge.

(2) Publiſhed by M. Des Maizeaux in his Collection of ſeveral pieces of Mr John Locke, &c. Lond. 1720. See Page 271, &c.

(3) M. Locke died the 28th of October, 1704.

[*C*] *His Eſſay concerning the uſe of Reaſon.*] The title at length is: *An Eſſay concerning the uſe of Reaſon in Propoſition, the evidence whereof depends upon human teſtimony.* Dr Francis Gaſtrell, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter, being animadverted upon in this eſſay, with relation to ſome paſſages in his *Conſiderations concerning the Trinity, and the way of managing that controverſy*, printed at London in 1702, he ſubjoined to the third edition of it, in 1707, a *Vindication* of it in anſwer to Mr Collins's Eſſay.

[*D*] *He engaged in the Controverſy—concerning the natural Immortality of the Soul.*] Upon this ſubject Mr Collins publiſhed the following pieces. I. *A Letter to Mr Dodwell, containing ſome remarks on a (pretended) Demonſtration of the immateriality and natural immortality of the ſoul, in* Mr Clarke's *Anſwer to a late* Epiſtolary Diſcourſe. London, 1707 and 1709, in 8vo. II. *A Defence of the Argument made uſe of in a Letter to* Mr Dodwell. London, 1707 in 8*vo*. III. *A Reply to* Mr Clarke's Defence *of his* letter to Mr Dodwell: *with a poſtſcript to Mr* Milles's Anſwer to Mr Dodwell's Epiſtolary Diſcourſe. London, 1707, in 8*vo*. A ſecond edition of this piece, corrected, was publiſhed in 1709, in 8*vo*. IV. *Reflections on Mr* Clarke's ſecond Defence *of his* Letter to Mr Dodwell. London, 1707, in 8*vo*. There was a ſecond edition in 1711, in 8*vo*. V. *An anſwer to Mr* Clarke's third Defence *of his* Letter to Mr Dodwell. London, 1708, in 8vo. There was a ſecond edition, corrected, London, 1711, in 8vo.

[*E*] *A pamphlet intituled* Prieſtcraft in Perfection.] The title at length is: *Prieſtcraft in perfection, or, a Detection of the fraud of inſerting, and continuing that clauſe* [The church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and authority in Controverſies of Faith] *in the twentieth article of the Articles of the Church of England.* The authority of this clauſe had been called in queſtion, in a book intituled; *The Peril of being zealouſly affected, but not well; or Reflections on Dr Sacheverell's Sermon preached at St Paul's* Nov. 5, 1709 (4). And it being now again profeſſedly attacked by Mr Collins, ſeveral Pamphlets, Sermons, and Books were publiſhed upon the ſubject. Among which the moſt remarkable were the two following. I. *A Vindication of the Church of England from the aſperſions of a late libel intituled*, Prieſtcraft in Perfection: *wherein the controverted clauſe of the Church's power in the 20th Article is ſhewn to be of equal authority with all the reſt of the Articles, and the fraud and forgery, charged upon the Clergy, upon the account of that clauſe, is retorted upon the accuſers. With a Preface containing ſome Remarks upon the Reflections on that Pamphlet. By a Prieſt of the Church of England*, London, 1710, in 8*vo*. II. *An Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles of Religion, agreed on in* 1562, *and reviſed in* 1571, &c. *By Thomas Bennet*, D. D. In anſwer to theſe two Books, Mr Collins publiſhed his *Hiſtorical and Critical Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles* &c. (5). The ſecond and third editions of his *Prieſtcraft in Perfection* were printed, with corrections, at London, in 1710, in 8vo; and at the end of the third is ſubjoined the following advertiſement. 'Whereas in 'the two former impreſſions of *Prieſtcraft*, &c. A 'letter from *Oxford* is cited, giving an account of an 'Engliſh edition of the Articles being cut ont from a 'volume of Miſcellanies in the *Bodleian* Library; I 'have omitted that paſſage in this edition, upon the 'ſight of a letter from *Oxford*, which aſſures the gen'tleman, to whom it was wrote, that my friend was 'miſtaken. I do not know at preſent in what part of 'England he is, and therefore I cannot as yet give 'the reader or myſelf that ſatisfaction in the matter, 'which I hope to do when I hear of his return to '*Oxford*.'

(4) See Page 20, 21.

(5) See the remark [*K*].

[*F*] *His* Diſcourſe of Free-thinking.] The title at length is: *A Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking, occaſioned by the riſe and growth of a Sect called Free-Thinkers.* It was reprinted at the Hague, with ſome additions and corrections, in 1713, in 12*mo*; tho', in the title page, it is ſaid to be printed at London. In this edition, the tranſlations in ſeveral places are corrected from

Holland [G], and from thence to Flanders; where he received great civilities from the Prieſts, Jeſuits, and others. He intended to have viſited Paris; but the death of a near relation (i) obliged him to return to London, where he arrived the 18th of October 1713. In 1715, he retired into the county of Eſſex, and acted as a Juſtice of the Peace, and Deputy Lieutenant of that county, as he had done before in the county of Middleſex, and liberty of Weſtminſter. The ſame year, he publiſhed, at London, *A Philoſophical Enquiry concerning human Liberty* (k) [H]. In 1718, he was choſen Treaſurer for the county of Eſſex [I]. In 1724, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Walter Wrotteſly, Bart (l); by whom he had no children. The ſame year, he publiſhed his *Hiſtorical and Critical Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles of the Church of England* [K]; alſo his *Diſcourſe of the Grounds*

(i) Mr Trolope.

(k) Reprinted with corections in 1717.

(l) See epitaph.

Dr Bentley's *Remarks*, and ſome references are made to thoſe *Remarks*, and to Dr Hare's *Clergyman's Thanks*. And whereas, in the former edition, the Diſcourſe ended with theſe words; 'For I think it 'virtue enough to endeavour to do good, only within 'the bounds of doing your ſelf no harm;' in the Hague edition, after the words *virtue enough*, is inſerted this parentheſis; *in a country ſo ignorant, ſtupid, ſuperſtitious, and deſtitute of all private and publick virtue as ours.* The *Diſcourſe* was attacked in ſeveral pieces, particularly the following, I. *Reflections on an Anonymous Phamphlet, intituled*, A Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking. *By* William Whiſton, A. M. Lond, 1713. There have been three editions of this pamphlet. Mr Whiſton obſerves (6), that, 'tho' the *Diſcourſe* is 'commonly ſo worded, as to ſeem rather meant againſt 'the Heathen Idolatry, Popiſh Superſtition, Real 'Prieſtcraft, and Tyranny over conſcience, than a-'gainſt Chriſtianity itſelf, with it's ſacred books,' yet that the author's real deſign muſt appear from 'the ill characters given of the Clergy or Chriſtian 'Prieſthood in general; the oblique reproaches caſt 'upon Revealed Religion; the viſible ſlight put upon 'the whole Jewiſh nation and the Moſaick law; the 'plain diſregard of the great foundation of religion, 'the immortality of the ſoul; and the many inſinua-'tions viſibly tending to render the ſacred books, both 'Jewiſh and Chriſtian, contemptible and uncertain.' II. An anonymous pamphlet, intituled, *Free Thoughts upon the* Diſcourſe of Free-thinking, London, 1713, in 8*vo*. III. *Queries recommended to the authors of the late* Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking. *By* Mr Benjamin Hoadly, now (*) Biſhop of Wincheſter (7). This ingenious writer declares (8), 'that, tho' ſome of the 'particulars, mentioned in his *Queries*, as deſigned 'plainly againſt the belief of Chriſtianity, are produced 'in the *Treatiſe of Free-thinking* under the ſpecious 'pretence of their being good reaſons and occaſions 'for a *free and impartial examination*, and not ex-'preſsly declared to be intended againſt the Goſpel, in 'the ſame paſſages, in which the authors of that trea-'tiſe produce them; yet he verily believes, that theſe 'authors themſelves would inwardly laugh at any, 'who ſhould ſuppoſe them to have had any other view 'in that performance.' And having placed ſeveral particulars from the *Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking* in one view, he concludes with theſe words (9): *After this let any one doubt, if he can, what ſort of Free-thinking all that is produced in the firſt part of this treatiſe is deſigned to promote; or ſuppoſe it poſſible, that the chief view of theſe authors could be any other than the promoting that Free-Thinking, which they themſelves contend to be* Atheiſm *and* Infidelity. IV. *Remarks upon a late* Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking; *in a Letter to* F. H. D. D. *By* Phileleutherus Lipſienſis. Lond. 1713, in 8*vo*. The author of this ingenious performance was the truly learned Dr Richard Bentley; and the perſon to whom it is addreſſed, Dr Francis Hare, afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter. It expoſes the weakneſs and fallacy of the *Diſcourſe*, with great ſtrength of argument and ſprightlineſs of wit. A *Second* part, and a ſheet or two of a *Third*, were printed the ſame year at Cambridge: but the learned author proceeded no farther. The firſt part of theſe *Remarks* gave birth to a pamphlet, ſaid to be written by Dr Hare, intituled, *The Clergyman's Thanks to Phileleutherus, for his* Remarks *on the late* Diſcourſe of Free Thinking. *In a Letter to Dr Bentley*. Lond. 1713, in 8*vo*. The author concludes this piece with remarking, that 'If we 'have gained by Dr Bentley's *Remarks* in one reſpect, 'we are, on the other hand, in danger of loſing no 'leſs than an edition of all *Tully*, and, what is of more 'conſequence, a *New Goſpel*; with both which, for 'the advancement of learning and religion (*their* learning and *their* religion) The Free-Thinking Club were 'preparing to oblige the world. And the laſt of theſe '(ſays he) was, I am told, quite finiſhed, and ready 'to be publiſhed, when your *Remarks* unluckily came 'out to ſhew, that they are neither *Chriſtians* nor '*Scholars*. And this has ſuppreſſed at leaſt for ſome 'time, if not totally ſunk, both theſe undertakings.'

(6) Page 3, 4.

(*) 1748.

(7) It is extant in his Collection of Tracts, in 8*vo*, Lond. 1715.

(8) Page 28.

(9) Page 31.

[G] *He made a ſecond trip to Holland.*] This was aſcribed to the general alarm cauſed by the *Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking*, and the author's being diſcovered by his Printer Mr John Darby. Whereupon Dr Hare having obſerved, that *the leaſt appearence of danger is able in a moment to damp all the zeal of the Free-Thinkers*, tells us (10), 'that a bare enquiry after the Printer of 'their wicked book has frightened them, and obliged 'the reputed author to take a *ſecond* trip to Holland; 'ſo great is his courage to defend, upon the leaſt ap-'pearance of an oppoſition. And are not theſe (*adds 'the Doctor*) rare champions for *Free-Thinking?* And 'is not their book a demonſtration, that we are in 'poſſeſſion of the liberty they pretend to plead for, 'which otherwiſe they durſt never have writ? and 'that they would have been as mute as fiſhes, had 'they not thought they could have opened with im-'punity?'

(10) Clergyman's Thanks, p. 18.

[H] *His* Philoſophical Enquiry concerning Human Liberty.] Dr Samuel Clarke wrote *Remarks* upon this *Enquiry* (11). But Mr Collins did not publiſh any Reply to Dr Clarke upon this ſubject; becauſe, we are told (12), though he did not think the Doctor had the advantage over him in the diſpute, yet, as he had repreſented Mr Collins's opinions as dangerous in their conſequences, and improper to be inſiſted upon, our author, after ſuch an inſinuation, found he could not proceed in the diſpute upon equal terms. The *Enquiry* was tranſlated into French by the Reverend Mr D****, and printed in the firſt volume of *Recueil de diverſes Pieces ſur la Philoſophie, la Religion Naturelle, l'Hiſtorie, les Mathematiques, &c. par Meſſieurs Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, et autres auteurs celebres*; publiſhed by M. Des Maizeaux at Amſterdam, 1720, in two volumes, 12*mo*.

(11) They are extant in the Collection of papers between Mr Leibnitz and Dr Clarke, &c. Lond. 1717, in 8*vo*.

(12) Des Maizeaux's Preface to the *Recueil de diverſes Pieces*, &c. p. 10.

[I] *He was choſen Treaſurer for the county of Eſſex.*] In the diſcharge of this office Mr Collins highly merited the thanks of ſeveral tradeſmen and others, who had large ſums of money due to them from the ſaid county, but could not get it paid them, it having been ſpent and embezzled by their former Treaſurer. The pooreſt of them, we are informed, he ſupported with his own private caſh, and others he promiſed intereſt for their money 'till it could be raiſed to pay them. In 1722, the debts were all diſcharged, and by his care and management the county's debts were, from that time, diſcharged every three months, and with little more than half the money, which had been annually raiſed for upwards of twenty years before.

[K] *His* Hiſtorical and Critical Eſſay upon the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England.] The title at length is: *An Hiſtorical and Critical Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles of the Church of England; wherein it is demonſtrated, that this clauſe*, The Church has power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith, *inſerted in the Twentieth Article, is not a part of the Articles, as they were eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament in the* 13*th of Eliz. or agreed on by the Convocations of* 1562 *and* 1571. This we have already ſaid (13), was deſigned as an Anſwer to the *Vindication of the Church of England*, &c. and Dr Bennet's *Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles*, both publiſhed againſt his *Prieſtcraft in perfection*. In the Preface he tells us, 'he was engaged in writing this work

(13) In the remark [E].

Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion [L], which was immediately attacked by a great *number of writers* [M]. The same year likewise appeared his *Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered* [N], which had several Answerers [O]. It is remarkable of Mr Collins,

work by a *worthy Minister of the Gospel*, who knew that he had made some enquiries into the *modern Ecclesiastical History of England*; and that he was preparing *An History of the variations of the Church of England and it's Clergy from the Reformation down to this time, with an Answer to the Cavils of the Papists made on occasion of the said Variations*. But nothing of this kind from our author's hand was ever printed. As to the *Essay* in question, he concludes it with drawing up in brief the Demonstration, promised in the title page, and given in the book; and which is as follows. *The* Articles of the Church of England *are supposed to have their* Convocational Authority *from the Convocation of* 1562, *which first agreed on them; and from the Convocation of* 1571, *which, after having revised, and made alterations in, and additions to, them, agreed on them again. The way of passing* Acts *of* Convocation *is by the Subscription of the majority of the members of each house by themselves. The MS. Articles, which passed the Convocation in* 1562, *and were subscribed by the majority of both Houses, are extant; as are the MS. Articles of* 1571, *with the subscription of the Upper House. And both these Manuscripts are without the clause. The Parliament in* 1571 *did, by a statute, intitled,* An Act for the Ministers of the Church to be of sound Religion, *confirm Articles of Religion, comprized in an imprinted English book intitled,* Articles *&c.* put forth by the Queen's authority. *All the English printed books of the* Articles *extant before* 1571, *and while the Parliament were making this Statute, bore the title recited in the Statute, and were without the clause. Wherefore it follows, that the clause has neither the authority of the Convocation nor Parliament.* The reader may see the whole state of this Controversy, and a full vindication of the Church of England from the charge of forgery in respect to the above-mentioned clause, in Mr Collier's *Ecclesiastical History* (14), where particular notice is taken of our author.

(14) Part ii. P. iv. p. 486—491.

[L] *His Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion.*] The title at length is: *A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion, in two parts: The first containing some Considerations on the Quotations made from the Old in the New Testament, and particularly on the Prophecies, cited from the former, and said to be fulfilled in the latter: The second containing an Examination of the scheme advanced by Mr Whiston in his* Essay towards restoring the true text of the Old Testament, and for vindicating the citations thence made in the New Testament. *To which is prefixed, An Apology for free Debate and Liberty of writing.* The drift of this Discourse is to shew, that *Christianity* is founded on *Judaism*, or the *New Testament* on the *Old:* that the *Apostles* prove Christianity from the Old Testament: that if the proofs fetched from thence are valid, Christianity is firmly established on it's *true foundation*; but if invalid, Christianity is false: and that those proofs are *typical* or *allegorical.*

[M] *It was attacked by a great number of writers.*] I shall mention only the most remarkable. I. *A List of Suppositions or Assertions in the late* Discourse of the Grounds *&c. which are not therein supported by any real or authentick Evidence; for which some such evidence is expected to be produced. By* William Whiston, A. M. *8vo.* 1724. This piece is subjoined to the author's *Proposals for printing by subscription, Authentick Records concerning the Jewish and Christian Religion,* dated Jan. 17, 1724, and given away to all the Members of Parliament. In this piece, Mr Whiston treats Mr Collins, together with Mr Toland, in very severe terms, as guilty of impious *frauds* and *lay-craft.* II. *The Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies, being a full answer to a late* Discourse of the Grounds, *&c. By* William Whiston, A. M. *8vo.* 1724. III. *A Defence of Christianity, from the Prophecies of the Old Testament, wherein are considered all the Objections against this kind of proof, advanced in a late* Discourse of the Grounds, *&c. By the Right Reverend Father in God* Edward (Chandler), *Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry* (15) *8vo.* 1725. This is a very learned and elaborate performance, and has passed thro' several editions. IV. *A Discourse of the Connection of the Prophecies in the Old Testament, and Application of them to Christ. By* Samuel Clarke, D. D. *Rector of St James's Westminster, 8vo.* 1725. This was not intended for a direct answer to Mr Collins's book, but as a Supplement (occasioned thereby) to a proposition in Dr Clake's *Demonstration of the Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion*; with which it has since been constantly printed. V. *The Reasoning of Christ and his Apostles, in their defence of Christianity, considered, in Seven Sermons preached at Hackney in Middlesex,* 1724. *To which is prefixed a Preface, taking notice of the false representations of Christianity, and of the Apostles reasonings in defence of it, in a Book, intitled,* The Grounds, &c. *By* Thomas Bullock, *A. M. published at the request of the gentlemen of Hackney, 8vo.* 1725. VI. *An Essay upon the truth of the Christian Religion, wherein it's real foundation upon the old Testament is shewn, occasioned by the* Discourse of the Grounds, &c. *By* Arthur Ashley Sykes, A. M. *Rector of Rayleigh in Essex, 8vo,* 1725. Mr Collins gives it as his opinion, that, 'of 'all the writers against the *Grounds, &c.* Mr Sykes 'alone has advanced a consistent scheme of things, 'which he has proposed with great clearness, politeness, and moderation (16).' VII. *The Use and Intent of Prophecy, in the several Ages of the Church. In six Discourses delivered at the Temple Church,* 1724, *published at the desire of the Masters of the Bench of the two Honourable Societies. By* Thomas Sherlock, D. D. Dean of Chichester, and Master of the Temple (17), *8vo.* 1725: This was not designed as an answer to the *Grounds*, &c. but only to throw in light upon the argument from Prophecy, attacked by our author. VIII. *A Vindication of the Christian Religion, in two parts. The first, a Discourse of the nature and Use of Miracles. The second, An answer to a late book intitled,* A Discourse of the Grounds, *&c. By* Samuel Chandler, *8vo,* 1725. IX. *A Supplement to the* Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies, *containing Observations on* Dr Clarke's, *and* Bishop Chandler's *late Discourses of the prophecies of the Old Testament; by* William Whiston, A. M. *8vo.* 1725. X. *Letters to the author of the* Discourse of the Grounds, *&c. shewing that Christianity is supported by facts well attested: that the words of Isaiah, chap.* vii. 14. Behold a Virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son, *in their literal and only sense, are a prophecy of the Conception and Birth of the Messias, fulfilled in Jesus; and that the Gospel application of several other passages in the Old Testament is just; By* John Greene, *8vo.* 1726. XI. *A Brief Defence of the Christian Religion: or, the Testimony of God to the truth of the Christian Religion; By* Theophilus Lobb, M. D. *8vo.* 1726. The reader will find an entire catalogue of all the pieces, written against the *Discourse of the Grounds*, &c. amounting in number to *thirty-five*, among which are *Sermons, London Journals,* Woolston's Moderator, *&c.* at the end of the *Preface* to the *Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered.*

(16) Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered, p. 12.

(17) Now (1748) Bishop of Salisbury.

[N] *His* Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered.] The title at length is; *The Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered; in a view of the Controversy occasioned by a late book, intitled,* A Discourse of the Grounds, *&c.* It was printed at the Hague by Thomas Johnson, in 1726, in two volumes 12mo, and reprinted at London with corrections; in 1727, in *8vo.* It is dated at London November 13, 1725, and addressed to the Right Honourable * * * * *. In this piece (18) Mr Collins mentions a *Dissertation* he had written, but never published, against Mr Whiston's *Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles*; in which he endeavours to shew, that those oracles were forged by the Primitive Christians, who were thence called Sibyllists by the Pagans. He also mentions a manuscript *Discourse* of his *upon the miracles recorded in the Old and New Testament.*

(18) Ch. ii. p. 61, edit. 1726.

[O] *It had several Answerers.*] The principal are: I. *The Necessity of Divine Revelation, and the Truth of the Christian Religion asserted, in eight Sermons, to which is prefixed a Preface, with some Remarks on a late book intitled,* The Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered, *&c. By* John Rogers, D. D. London, 1727. *8vo.* in answer to which, Mr Collins wrote *A Letter to the Reverend Dr Rogers, on occasion of his eight sermons concerning the necessity of Divine Revelation, and the Preface prefixed to them. To which is added,* A Letter

(14) Now (1748) Bishop of Durham.

Collins, that his pieces were all anonymous. His health declined some years before his death, which fell out, December 13, 1729, occasioned by a violent fit of the stone. He was interred in Oxford-Chapel, where is a monument, with a Latin inscription on it [*P*], erected to his memory by his widow. We shall say something of this remarkable gentleman's character below [*Q*].

A letter *printed in the* London Journal, *April* 1, 1727, *with an answer to the same.* London 1727, 8*vo.* II. *A letter to the author of the* London Journal, Saturday April 1, 1727; it was written by Dr Sykes, Dean of Burien, and is that answered by Mr Collins, at the end of his *Letter to Dr* Rogers. Dr Sykes wrote a *second letter* in defence of his former, dated June 24, 1727, and printed in a pamphlet intitled, *The true Grounds of the expectation of the Messiah, in two letters. The one printed in the London Journal, April* 1, 1727. *The other in vindication of it; being a reply to the* Answer *published at the end of* A Letter *to* Dr Rogers; *By* Philalethes, London, 1727, 8vo. III. *A Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies, and their application to Jesus Christ, in answer to the Objections of the author of the Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered: By* Samuel Chandler, London, 1727, 8*vo.* IV. *A Vindication of the* Defence of Christianity, from the Prophecies of the Old Testament, *In Answer to the* Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered; *By the Right Reverend Father in God,* Edward, *Lord Bishop of* Coventry *and* Lichfield: *in two volumes. With a* Letter *from the Reverend Mr* Masson, *concerning the Religion of* Macrobius, *and his testimony touching the slaughter of the Infants at Bethlem, with a Postcript upon Virgil's 4th Eclogue.* London 1728, 8*vo.* V. *The Reasoning of Christ and his Apostles vindicated: in two parts, The first being a Defence of the* Augument from Miracles, *proving the* Argument from Prophecy, *not necessary to a rational defence of our Religion. The second being a Defence of the* Argument from Prophecy *proving the Christian Scheme to have a rational foundation upon the* Prophecies *of the* Old Testament; *By* Thomas Bullock, A. M. *Rector of North-Creak in Norfolk,* London, 1728, 8*vo.*

[*P*] *His epitaph.*] It is as follows:

H. S. E.
ANTONIUS COLLINS, Armiger;
Egregiis animi dotibus ornatus,
Præstanti Ingenio,
Acri Judicio,
Tenaci Memoria:
A Puero usque mirifica virtutis indole præditus:
Spectatissimum semper vitæ morumque exemplar:
Veritatis Amicus et Indagator Sedulus;
Quam neque ex sententiis hominum pendere,
Neque Magistratus gladio vindicandam esse existimavit:
In libris (quorum opulenta ei copia) evolvendis
Assiduus et Indefessus,
Quantum inde profecerit,
Ex Scriptis ipsius editis judicet Lector idoneus.
Erga Reges optimos, utrumque Georgium,
Libertatis utpote Civilis et Ecclesiasticæ
Tutores et Patronos,
Fide (si quis alius) constans.
Gratam sui
Erga Conjuges Amoris,
Erga Liberos Charitatis,
Erga Servos Lenitatis,
Erga omnes Benevolentiæ,
Memoriam reliquit.
Calculorum valetudine diu conflictatus,
Demum fractus, obiit XIII Dec. M.DCCXXIX.
Amicorum nuper Deliciæ, nunc, eheu! Desiderium.

Natus est XXI Junii M.DCLXXVI.
Henrico Patre Armigero.
In Matrimonio habuit
Martham Francisci Chiln Equitis filiam;
Atque, ea defuncta,
Elizabetham, Gualteri Wrottesly Baronetti.
Ex altera quatuor liberos suscepit;
Quorum
Duos filios, Henricum infantem,
Antonium vero ad virilem ætatem jam provectum,
Extulerat:
Duas itidem filias, Elizabetham et Martham,
Innuptas reliquit.
Altera charissimo viro,
Quocum conjunctissime vixerat,
Monumentum hoc mœrens posuit.

[*Q*] *Something of his character.*] We are told (19), that 'the corruption among Christians, and the persecuting spirit of the Clergy, had given him a prejudice against the Christian religion, and at last induced him to think, that upon it's present footing it is pernicious to mankind: and that, as he had a great fund of humanity, sweetness of temper, and moderation, he saw with grief, that these virtues were banished from society, and that religion was made use of as a cloak to authorize all kinds of violence and injustice.' Mr Whiston, in his *List of Suppositions and Assertions*, &c (20), treating our author, together with Mr Toland, as guilty of *impious frauds* and *Lay-craft*, expresses himself, with regard to the former, in these terms: 'A second instance must be Mr Anthony Collins, a gentleman, who has many years taken superabundant care not to be suspected of believing so much as the Apostles Creed, or the books of the Old or New Testament, or indeed any Divine Providence at all. Yet does he claim a right to be admitted to take an oath upon the Bible, and to receive the Holy Communion itself; and he is at this day admitted to do both, and in virtue thereof is in the commission of the peace, as a good Church-man: i. e. notwithstanding his open and professed infidelity, he ventures, in the most publick and solemn manner, to declare his unfeigned acknowledgment of the Divine Providence, of the truth of the Christian religion, and of the books of the Holy Scripture, that is possible to be done among men. It is with great regret I add this example of an old friend, and one whom I still love better than he loves himself; but it is too flagrant to be omitted. This I call *gross immorality, impious fraud,* and *Lay-craft*.' Mr Armand de la Chapelle, having translated this passage into French (21), observes, that the expressions are *a little too cholerick*, and that Mr Collins would have reason to triumph upon this instance of passion in his antagonist. This occasioned the sending a letter to Mr de la Chapelle (22), in which the writer observes, that 'Mr Whiston having accused Mr Collins of irreligion, but being sensible that this accusation, being destitute of proof, was ridiculous, he has artfully pretended, that the latter had been his friend, insinuating thereby that Mr Collins had discloséd to him his most secret sentiments. And yet (*adds the writer*) I have been assured by persons who are very well informed, that Mr Collins never had any intercourse of friendship with him; that he never spoke to him above eight or ten times in his life, in a coffee-house or elsewhere, and always in other company, and that he has not seen him for above five years. Is this sufficient for Mr Whiston to claim the character of a friend?' Mr Whiston, in another place (23), speaks thus of Mr Collins. *The reputed author of* Freethinking *is, for all I have ever heard, a* sober man; *thanks to his natural aversion to intemperance; and that is more than can be said of some others of the club: but as for any other virtue, he has told us* (*) *it is such as he intends* shall never hurt him. *And it can't be thought uncharitable, if I say it rises from no higher origin than fear; for he has himself disclaimed all nobler principles.* But, of all writers, the author of the *Guardian* (24) has treated our author's character with the greatest severity in the following passages: 'He that should burn a house, and justify the action by asserting he is a free agent, would be far more excusable than this author in uttering what he has from the right of a Free-Thinker.'

(19) Bibliotheque Raisonnée, &c. T. IV. Par. i. p. 235.

(20) Page 15. See remark [*M*] init.

(21) In his *Bibl. Angloise*, T. II. P. i. p. 282, &c.

(22) Ibid. T. XII. P. i. p. 244, &c.

(23) Reflections on an Anonymous Pamphlet, &c. p. 28.

(*) In his Discourse of Freethinking, p. 178, edit. 1713.

(24) Vol. I. No. 3.

Again:

Again; *This gentleman may be assured he has not a taste for what he pretends to decry, and the poor man is certainly more a blockhead than an Atheist.* Again; 'When such writers as this, who have no spirit but 'that of malice, pretend to inform the age, Mohocks 'and Cut-throats may well set up for wits and men of 'pleasure.' Lastly; *If ever any man deserved to be denied the common benefits of air and water, it is the author of a* Discourse of Free-thinking. But, notwithstanding the reproaches cast upon Mr Collins as an enemy to ALL religion, impartiality obliges us to remark, what is said, and generally believed to be true, that upon his death bed, he declared, 'That, as he 'had always endeavoured, to the best of his abilities, 'to serve his God, his King, and his country, so he 'was persuaded he was going to that place, which 'God had designed for them that love him:' to which he added, that *The Catholick religion is to love God and to love man*; and he advised such as were about him to have a constant regard to these principles. His library, which was a very large and curious one, was open to all men of letters, to whom he readily communicated all the lights and assistance in his power, and (we are told) even furnished his antagonists with books to confute himself, and directed them how to give their arguments all the force of which they were capable. We shall only add, that he carefully avoided all the indecencies of conversation, and discouraged every the least tendency towards obscenity of discourse.

T

COLSTON) (EDWARD) a person ever memorable for his great and extensive charities, in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth Century; was the eldest son of William Colston, Esq [*A*]; by Sarah his wife, and born in Temple parish in the city of Bristol, November 2, 1636 (*a*). He was brought up to trade, probably under his father (who was a most eminent Spanish Merchant); and resided some time in Spain: as did also his brothers, two of whom were inhumanly murdered there by assassins [*B*]. Through a very laudable industry, and in the course of a long and happy life, he acquired very great riches [*C*]; of which he expended a considerable part in works of beneficence and charity. In the year 1691, he built upon his own ground, at his own charge, St Michael's-hill Alms-house, in Bristol [*D*]. The same year, he gave houses and lands, without Temple-gate in that city, to the Society of Merchants for ever, towards the maintenance of six poor old decayed Sailors, to the yearly value of twenty-four pounds. In 1696, he purchased a piece of ground in Temple-street in the same city, and built at his own charge a school and dwelling-house for a Master, to instruct forty boys, in Writing, Arithmetick, and the Church-Catechism [*E*]. In 1702, he gave five hundred pounds, towards rebuilding Queen Elizabeth's Hospital on the College-Green in Bristol; and for the maintenance, cloathing, and education of six boys there, and putting them out apprentices, he appropriated an estate, out of which is paid to the Master the yearly sum of sixty pounds exclusive of all taxes and charges, besides ten pounds for placing out the boys apprentices. In the year 1708, he settled his great benefaction, of the Hospital in St Augustine's back, in the city aforesaid, consisting of a Master, two Ushers, and one hundred

(*a*) From Mr Colston's monument, in All-Saints church in Bristol; and from an account sent by the Rev. Mr Tucker.

[*A*] *Was the eldest son of* William Colston, *Esq*;] Who was a very eminent Spanish Merchant, as is said above. He was usually stiled *Deputy* Colston, because generally *deputed* by the corporation of the city to officiate for the Mayor elect, when he went to London to take the oaths; which the Mayors of Bristol always did before the new charter granted to that city by Queen Anne. This circumstance is a strong proof, both of his station in life, and of his character for integrity and virtue. Sarah, his wife, was a Counsellor's daughter (1). Their son, Mr Edward Colston, erected a monument to their memory, in the church of All-Saints in Bristol; the inscription on which is as follows: 'To the dear memory of his father William 'Colston, Esq; and of his mother Sarah Colston, interred near this place in the sepulchre of his ancestors; as also their four sons, William, Thomas, 'Robert, and William, and their two daughters, 'Martha and Martha, who were all natives and inhabitants of this city. William his father died 21st 'Nov. 1681, aged 73 years; and Sarah his mother 'the 23. Dec: 1701. aged 93 years.

'Edward Colston, their eldest son, born likwise in 'this city, but an inhabitant of London, had dedicated 'this monument.'

(1) From the same account as above.

[*B*] *Two of whom were inhumanly murdered by assassins.*] There is a tradition, that when Mr Colston and his two brothers were in Spain, in their dispntes with the Papists it was often objected to them, 'That 'Reformed religion, produced no examples of great 'and charitable benefactions;' to which they were wont to reply, That if it pleased God to bring them safe home, they would wipe off that aspersion. Upon which, two of them were poisoned, to prevent their return: but their elder brother, Mr Edward Colston, escaped. Such is the tradition, but it is more certain, that one or both of them, were assassinated by banditti's or bravoes; very common in Spain and Portugal.

[*C*] *He acquired very great riches.*] The visible means whereby he acquired his riches, were as follow: 1. Being the eldest son, he received a handsome fortune from his parents. 2. Surviving all, if not most of, his brothers and sisters, he received theirs likewise: and the brothers had made very great additions to theirs by trade. 3. The Colston family had at that time the two most valuable branches of trade, in that part of the kingdom, almost entirely to themselves, *viz.* the fruit, and the oil, trade; Mr Colston having two ships always employed in that business: and oil was much more in use formerly than at present. Mr Colston not only supplied all, but purchased it abroad at a very great advantage, by advancing money to those necessitous people, the Spaniards and Portuguese, before their vintage, and being allowed a discount. 4. He never insured a ship, saving that expence, and yet he never lost one (2).

(2) From the account as above.

[*D*] *In the year* 1691, *he built upon his own ground, at his own charge, St Michael's-hill alms house in Bristol.*] The front and two sides are faced with free-stone. It contains a chapel neatly adorned; twenty-four apartments; and other conveniences, for twelve men and twelve women. The elder brother receives six shillings; and each of the others three shillings, weekly; besides an allowance for coal, *&c.* To a Clergyman is paid the sum of ten pounds yearly. He is to read the Common-Prayer, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, twice every day, except when prayers are read in St Michael's church; at which every member of this alms-house is to attend. The endowment, or estate given for this charity, arises chiefly from fee-farm rents, and amounts yearly to two hundred and eighty-two ponnds, three shillings, and four pence. The over-plus of this estate is paid towards the maintenance of the six Sailors in the merchants alms-house in King-street. The charge of building and finishing this house amounted to about two thousand five hundred pounds.

[*E*] *To instruct forty boys, in Writing, Arithmetick, and the Church-Catechism.*] The boys are likewise to be cloathed. The estate given for this charity is an annuity of fourscore pounds yearly, clear of all charges.

hundred boys [*F*]. He alſo gave ſix pounds *per Ann.* to the Miniſter of All Saints in Briſtol, for reading prayers every Monday and Tueſday morning throughout the year; and one pound a year to the Clerk and Sexton. Likewiſe, ſix pounds yearly for ever, for a monthly ſermon and prayers to the priſoners in Newgate there: and twenty pounds to be paid yearly for ever to the Clergy beneficed in that city, for preaching fourteen ſermons in the time of Lent [*G*]. Beſides many occaſional charities, and benefactions, to ſeveral Churches and Charity-Schools, in the ſame city of Briſtol [*H*].—Moreover, he built an Alms-houſe for ſix poor people at Shene in Surrey. He gave ſix thouſand pounds, for the augmentation of ſixty ſmall livings [*I*]. To St Bartholomew's Hoſpital London, he gave two thouſand pounds; wherewith was purchaſed an eſtate of one hundred pounds a year, which is ſettled on that Hoſpital: and he left to the ſame, by Will, five hundred pounds more. To Chriſt's Hoſpital, at ſeveral times, he gave a thouſand pounds; and bequeathed thereto the like ſum afterwards. As alſo to St Thomas's Hoſpital, and to Bethlem, five hundred pounds a piece. To the Work-houſe without Biſhopſgate, two hundred pounds. To the Society for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts, three hundred pounds. He left, moreover, very handſome legacies to Mortlake in Surrey, where he died [*K*]. And gave the ſum of one hundred pounds *per Ann.* to be continued for twelve years after his death, and to be diſtributed by the direction of his Executors; either to place out every year ten boys apprentices, or to be given towards the ſetting up ten young tradeſmen, to each ten pounds: in the whole twelve hundred pounds. He gave likewiſe to eighteen Charity-Schools in ſeveral parts of England, and to be continued to them for twelve years after his deceaſe, to each ſchool yearly five pounds; or in all, each year, ninety pounds [*L*]. Finally, he gave towards building a church at Mancheſter in Lancaſhire, twenty pounds: and towards the building of a church at Tiverton in Devonſhire, fifty pounds. Beſides theſe known and publick benefactions, he gave away every year large ſums in private charities, which was his practice for the courſe of many years: and there is reaſon to believe, that theſe were not much ſhort of his publick charities (*b*). His uſual method was, never to give any thing to common beggars; but he always ordered,

(*b*) From Mr Colſton's Funeral Sermon by Dr Harcourt, preached in the church of All-Saints in Briſtol, Oct. 29, 1721, and printed at London, the ſame year.

[*F*] *In*—1708, *he ſettled his great benefactions, of the hoſpital in St Auguſtine's Back, in the city aforeſaid, &c.*] For the maintenance, cloathing, and education of theſe boys, and for placing them apprentices, he gave an eſtate, moſtly ariſing by fee-farm rents, to the yearly value of thirteen hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen ſhillings, and ſix-pence farthing. And the charge of firſt fitting up the hoſpital, and making it convenient for the purpoſe, amounted to about eleven thouſand pounds. Out of that eſtate is to be paid yearly, ten pounds to a clergyman of the Church of England, for explaining and inſtructing the children in the Church Catechiſm: and in caſe the eſtate given for this charity, be not ſufficient to anſwer the charges upon it, the executors are impowered to ſupply any deficiencies which have been, and to prevent them for the future.

[*G*] *And twenty pounds to be paid yearly for ever to the Clergy beneficed in that city, for preaching fourteen ſermons in the time of Lent.*] The ſubjects on which he himſelf appointed they ſhould be preached, are theſe: The Lent-faſt; againſt Atheiſm and Infidelity; the Catholick Church; the Excellence of the Church of England; the Powers of the Church; Baptiſm; Confirmation; Confeſſion and Abſolution; the Errors of the Church of Rome; Enthuſiaſm or Superſtition; Reſtitution; Frequentiug the Divine Service; Frequent Communion; the Paſſion of our Bleſſed Saviour.

[*H*] *Beſides many occaſional charities and benefactions to ſeveral churches and charity-ſchools in Briſtol.*] Particularly——to the cathedral, towards beautifying the choir, the marble about the communion-table, and organ, *&c.* at ſeveral times, two hundred and ſixty pounds.——Towards rebuilding the Tower, and the repair and beautifying the chancel of All-Saints church, at three ſeveral times, two hundred and fifty pounds.—Towards the building of a new iſle in Clifton-church, near Briſtol, fifty pounds.——Towards the building of a gallery, and erecting an organ in St James's church, fifty pounds.——Towards an organ to be erected in St Mary Redcliff, a hundred pounds.——Towards the repair of St Michael's church, fifty pounds.——Towards the repair of St Stephen's church fifty pounds.——Towards the altar piece, cieling, and portal, in the Temple-church, one hundred and ſixty pounds.——Towards the repair of St Thomas's church, fifty pounds.——For an altar piece, in the church of St Werburgh, one hunded and ſixty pounds. In 1702, he gave to the Mint work-houſe, for employing the poor, two hundred pounds. And for placing out poor boys and girls apprentices, two hundred pounds more. He gave yearly ſixty pounds, to the charity-ſchools in the pariſhes of St Philip and St Jacob, St Thomas and Redeliff, St James's and to ſeveral erected in other places. And left by will, to the charity-ſchools erected in the pariſhes of St Philip and Jacob, ten pounds; of St Thomas and Redeliff, ten pounds; of St Auguſtine and St Michael, ten pounds; of St James, ten pounds. And to each of theſe ten pounds yealy, to be continued for twelve years after his death. All this in Briſtol.

[*I*] *He gave ſix thouſand pounds, for the augmentation of ſixty ſmall livings.*] This gift at firſt was four thouſand pounds, to which he afterwards added the other two thouſand pounds. No more than a hundred pounds was to be given to one living. The diſtribution was to be after this manner: any living that was intitled to Queen Anne's bounty might have this too, on condition, that every pariſh, which did receive this, ſhould be obliged to raiſe one hundred pounds, to be added to the hundred pounds allowed by Mr Colſton. Many livings have had the grant of this bounty from Mr Colſton (3).

(3) See Ecton's *Liber Valorum*, &c. edit. 1728, in the beginning.

[*K*] *He left moreover very handſome legacies to Mortlake in Surrey, where he died.*] He bequeathed for the educatiou and cloathing of twelve boys and twelve girls, in that place; to be continued for twelve years after his death, yearly forty-five pounds; amounting in the whole to five hundred and forty pounds. Moreover, he gave eighty-five pounds (as many as he was years old) to be diſtributed to eighty-five poor men and women there, to each twenty ſhillings, at the time of his deceaſe.

[*L*] *He gave likewiſe to eighteen charity-ſchools in ſeveral parts of England, and to be continued to them for twelve years after his deceaſe, to each ſchool yearly, five pounds, &c.*] Thoſe eighteen charity-ſchools were:——In Berkſhire; at Longcottin, in the pariſh of Sbrevenham: at Shrevenham: at Farrington: and at Stanford.——In Devonſhire; at Plymouth: and at Barnſtable——In Dorſetſhire; to one at Doreheſter fct up by Madam Strangeways.——In Hamſhire; to one at Alton.——In Kent, at Stroud near Rocheſter: and at Chiſlehurſt near Bromley.——In Middleſex; at Highgate: and at Brentford.——In Northamptonſhire; to one at Kettering.——In Oxfordſhire; to one at Bradwell, if the inhabitants thereof can maintain twenty-five boys.——In Someſetſhire; at Chewſtoke: at Froom: at Farmborough.——In Wiltſhire; to one at Box near Bath (4).

(4) See Dr Harcourt's Sermon, as above.

[*M*] *Where*

ordered, that poor houſe-keepers, ſick, and decayed perſons, ſhould be ſought out as the fitteſt objects for his charity. In building his hoſpitals and alms-houſes, he ſhowed, that his judgment could not be impoſed upon by the workmen, as to the goodneſs of the materials, or the value of their work. For, as he underſtood thoſe things very well, he drove what they would call a hard bargain; and paid all the workmen, himſelf, if preſent, or elſe ordered them to be paid, every Saturday night. If they worked longer than their cuſtomary hours, he paid them proportionably; if otherwiſe, he deducted; but never allowed any thing for drink. It is obſervable, that all the Colſton-family were animated with a ſpirit of charity and piety. Several of Mr Edward Colſton's publick benefactions were deſigned, and ſome actually begun, by his brothers; which he afterwards confirmed and enlarged (*c*). Some years before his deceaſe he retired from buſineſs, and came and lived at London, and at Mortlake where he had a country-ſeat. At this laſt place he died October 11, 1721, aged eighty-four years, eleven months, and nine days: and was buried the 29th of the ſame month, in the church of All Saints in Briſtol, where there is a monument erected to his memory [*M*]. His charity was his moſt ſhining virtue [*N*], as is abundantly manifeſt from thoſe many inſtances of it mentioned above. As for the reſt of his character; he was a conſtant communicant with the Church of England, a moſt zealous advocate for her doctrines, worſhip, and diſcipline, in oppoſition to Popery as well as Fanaticiſm, and a moſt lively and exemplary ſon of it (*d*). He was, likewiſe, a perſon of great temperance, meekneſs, evenneſs of temper, patience, and mortification. He always looked chearful and pleaſant, ſcarce ever in the leaſt diſcompoſed: and was naturally of a very peaceable and quiet diſpoſition. He was remarkably circumſpect in all his actions; always obſerved the ſame regularity in keeping his accounts, as when he began the world, and was a very good maſter of book-keeping (*e*). His ſtrength continued vigorous, his underſtanding clear, his apprehenſion quick, and his judgment ſound, long beyond the age of man, even to reach almoſt to the end of his eighty-fifth year, without decay in his underſtanding, without labour or ſorrow (*f*).

(*c*) From the information, as above.

(*d*) Dr Harcourt, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) From the information as above.

(*f*) Dr Harcourt, ubi ſupra.

[*M*] *Where there is a monument erected to his memory.*] The inſcription theron, contains an enumeration of his publick charities, already mentioned in this article. Then on the pedeſtal, or baſe, is added as follows:

'Edward, the ſon of William Colſton, Eſq; and 'Sarah his wife, was born in this city Nov. 2, 1636, 'died at Mortlake in Surrey Octob. 11, 1721, and 'lies buried near this monument.'

[*N*] *His charity was his moſt ſhining virtue.*] And ſo extenſive was it, that, as Dr Harcourt obſerves (5), 'To do juſtice to his character, would oblige one to 'enumerate almoſt every kind of charity, whereby we 'can promote the glory of God, or relieve the neceſſities of our fellow-creatures. Scarcely any ſort of 'temporal calamity eſcaped his charitable aſſiſtance; 'nor is there ſcarcely one ſpiritual want, towards the 'removing of which he did not piouſly and freely afford his contribution. In ſhort, the charities which 'have taken either their foundation or improvement 'from his open hand, are ſo numerous, that the variety 'will appear ſo great as to ſurprize; and the immenſeneſs of the ſums expended in them will be judged exceedingly large, when it ſhall be conſidered, that they 'are the charity of one private perſon. From his 'bountiful benefactions, the ignorance of the young, 'the miſeries of the infirm, and the helpleſs neceſſities 'of the old, are removed, eaſed, and relieved.' C

(5) Sermon, as above.

COMBER, or CUMBER (THOMAS) a conſiderable Divine in the XVIIth Century [*A*], was born in Weſtram in Kent, in the year 1645 (*a*), being the ſon of James Cumber of that pariſh. He was educated in grammar learning in his native place, by Thomas Walter, and William Holland Vicars of Weſtram. At fourteen years of age, on the 18th of April 1659, he was admitted into Sidney-Suſſex-College in Cambridge, under the tuition of Edmund Matthews, *B. D.* The 16th of January 1662-3, he was elected Scholar of that houſe; and the next day had his grace in college for the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*): which he accordingly took and compleated in the univerſity (*c*). On the 26th of May 1666, he had likewiſe his grace for the degree of Maſter of Arts (*d*). It moreover appears, that he was created Doctor in Divinity between the years 1676 and 1679; but as his name doth not occur in any of our univerſity-regiſters, it is therefore probable, that he had that degree conferred upon him at Lambeth. On the 5th of July 1677, he was collated by Archbiſhop Sterne to the Prebend of Holme in the cathedral church of York (*e*); which he quitted, the 19th of July 1681, for the Prebend of Fenton in the ſame church (*f*). The 19th of January 1683-4, he was alſo collated to the Præcentorſhip (*g*). Upon the deprivation of Dr Dennis Granville, he was nominated April 23, 1691, to ſucceed him in the Deanery of Durham; whereupon he reſigned his Præcentorſhip of York (*h*). He was Chaplain to Anne Princeſs of Denmark, and to King William and Queen Mary. He died November 25, 1699, in the fifty-fifth year of

(*a*) This appears from his age at the time of his death. See his epitaph below.

(*b*) All this is taken from a Memorandum entered into Sydney-college books.

(*c*) From the Univerſity Regiſter, communicated by Dr W. Richardſon.

(*d*) Dr W. Richardſon could not find that he ſubſcribed; and therefore queſtions whether he compleated this degree in the univerſity.

(*e*) Survey of the cathedral of York, &c, by Brown Willis, Eſq; Lond. 1727, 4to, p. 143.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 134.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 77.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 256. 77; and J. Le Neve's Faſti, &c. p. 352.

[*A*] *A conſiderable Divine in the* XVIIth *century.*] His ſurname, as printed in his works, is *Comber*; but it is written *Cumber*, in the admiſſion-book of Sidney-college. He muſt not be confounded with another Dr Thomas Comber, who lived in the ſame century, and was of Trinity-college in Cambridge. This laſt was born in Suſſex, Jan. 1, 1575; admitted Scholar of Trinity-college, May 11, 1593; Fellow of the ſame, October 2, 1597; Junior Dean, Octob. 2, 1608; Preacher, Octob. 16, 1609; Greek Examiner, Octob. 2, 1611; Chief Reader, Octob. 2, 1612; Senior Dean, Octob. 2, 1618, 1619, and 1625; Senior Treaſurer, Dec. 13, 1620, and Dec. 20, 1621; appointed Dean of Carliſle, Aug. 28, 1630; and ſworn in Maſter of Trinity-college, Octob. 12, 1631 (1). He writ 'An Hiſtorical Vindication of the Divine Rights of Tithes, &c.' againſt Mr Selden's Hiſtory of Tithes, 4to. In 1642, he was impriſoned, plundered, and deprived of all his preferments. He died Feb. 28, 1653, at Cambridge, and was buried March 3, in St Botolph's church in that town (2).

(1) From the College Regiſtry.

(2) Br. Willis, as above, amongſt the Deans of Carliſle. For a fuller account of him, ſee D. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 447. and Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 9.

[*B*] *There*

(2) From his epitaph.

of his age (*i*); and was buried at Stonegrave in Yorkshire, of which it seems he was Rector. There is a tombstone on his grave, with an inscription [*B*]. He was author of several works, chiefly on the Common-Prayer; in which he shows great piety, and very extensive learning: being well read in sacred and prophane authors, both antient and modern. Those works of his, are, I. 'A Scholastical History of the Primitive and 'general Use of Liturgies in the Christian Church; together with an Answer to Mr 'David Clarkson's late Discourse concerning Liturgies.' Lond. 1690; dedicated to King William and Queen Mary. II. 'A Companion to the Temple: or, a Help to Devo-'tion in the Use of the Common-Prayer.' Part I. On Morning and Evening Prayer, Part II. On the Litany, with the occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings [*C*]. III. 'A 'Companion to the Altar, or, an Help to the worthy Receiving of the Lord's Supper; 'by Discourses and Meditations upon the whole Communion-Office [*D*].' IV. 'A brief 'Discourse upon the Offices of Baptism, Catechism, and Confirmation [*E*].' Printed at the end of the Companion to the Altar. V. 'A Discourse on the occasional Offices in 'the Common-Prayer, *viz.* Matrimony, Visitation of the Sick, Burial of the Dead, 'Churching of Women, and the Commination [*F*].' VI. 'A Discourse upon the Man-'ner and Form of making Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.' Lond. 1699, 8*vo.* dedicated to Archbishop Tenison. VII. 'Short Discourses upon the whole Common-Prayer, 'designed to inform the Judgment and excite the Devotion of such as daily use the same.' Chiefly by way of paraphrase [*G*]. Lond. 1684, 8*vo.* dedicated to Anne Princess of Denmark, to whom the author was Chaplain. VIII. 'Roman Forgeries in the Councils 'during the first Four Centuries. Together with an Appendix concerning the Forgeries 'and Errors in the Annals of Baronius [*H*].' Lond. 1689, 4*to.* He is said, in his epitaph

[*B*] *There is a tomb-stone on his grave, with an inscription.*] Which is as follows: *M. S. Siste, viator, gradum, mora non erit dispendium scire, quanti Viri venerandos premis Cineres, Exuvias mortales (perenni Felicitati maturas) heic de poni voluit* Thomas Comber, S. T. P. *grande Nomen, pluribus haud opus. Vir Pietate, Eruditione, Ingenio, Judicio, ceterisq; Animi dotibus clarus; majore vero (fingentem non audis panegyrin ob Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ causam) quoad Doctrinam, Cultum, Disciplinam, contra Novatores omnes Scriptis feliciter defensor, dignus haud Simplici Marmore. Gulielmo & Mariæ Principibus illustrissimis à Sacris, Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis per decennium, breve nimis, Decanus; ad maxima quæque capessenda idoneus, adque altiora munera promovendus, nisi publicis votis obstitisset Mors invida. ——— Plura, licet meritis debita, non capiet Marmor: probis omnibus Luctum & sui desiderium relinquens, decessit 25 die Novembris,* 1699 *Ann. Salutis, Ætatis* 55. *Provectiore Senio, modo visum Deo, dignus* (3).

(3) Br. Willis. among the Deans of Durham, p. 256, 257.

[*C*] *With the occasioned Prayers and Thanksgiving.*] Printed in two volumes 8*vo.* 1679. His general method in this work, is, to give, *first*, an analysis of each part: *secondly*, an explanation of it: *thirdly*, a paraphrase; and, *lastly*, a meditation upon it.

[*D*] *A Companion to the Altar*, &c.] It is dedicated by the author to his patron Richard Archbishop of York———To whom, as he observes, he was obliged to make this tender by his condition and his duty, by gratitude and affection; ——having first received the Holy Order of Priesthood, and the power of dispensing the Sacrament of the Lord's Snpper from his Grace's hands.——He observes, in the same place, that 'There is nothing more useful to the friends of 'this Church, nor more convincing to the dissenters 'from it, than to present her pure and primitive order 'of worship in it's natural and lovely splendor.'——— The *Imprimatur* bears date January 21, 1673-4. It was so well received, that a fourth edition came out in 1685, within the space of eleven years. The whole is divided into four parts, containing learned observations, and then paraphrases, and meditations upon each branch of the Communion-Office.

[*E*] *A Discourse upon the Offices of Baptism, Catechism, and Confirmation.*] The author dedicates it to Dr Tillotson, then Dean of Canterbury: and says, 'it will contribute to the reputation of these tracts, to 'be ushered in with so worthy a name, and add to 'their author's character, to be reckoned among the 'number of your friends.'

[*F*] *A Discourse on the occasional Offices*, &c.] First printed in 1676, 8*vo.* These four last pieces, were re-printed together in one volume, fol. 1701, divided into four parts. They are dedicated to King William.

[*G*] *Short Discourses upon the whole Common-Prayer*, &c.] He tells us in his Dedication, that the importunity of his friends had engaged him to write these shorter Discourses, for the use of those who wanted time to consider the larger work, *i. e.* his Companion to the Temple and Altar. As for the method and design of it, First, the Original and Antiquity of every part of Common-Prayer is therein declared. Secondly, the method of each several piece is cleared. Thirdly, the sense of all is opened by divers plain and natural observations on the matter of these offices, to help all to perform them with a devotion suitable to their great worth. And it is designed, 1. To instruct those who did not understand, or rather not observe, these excellencies to be in the Common-Prayer. 2. To furnish the devout sons of the Church with profitable meditations, to enlarge upon in their minds in the use of these prayers, and to put them into a right frame for saying them affectionately, and with a holy importunity. 3. It is designed to convince the mistaken Dissenters if they will hear reason; if not, to discover to others the injustice and malice of their clamours against it (4).

(4) This is the account given of it by the author, in the Preface.

[*H*] *Roman forgeries in the Councils*, &c.] In the introduction he observes, that in the allowed Romish editions of the Councils (those of Binius, *Colon.* 1618, and of Labbé and Cossart, *Paris*, 1671) 'there is 'such adding and expunging, such altering and dis-'guising things in the body of the Councils, and such 'excusing, falsifying, and shuffling in the notes, that 'a judicious reader will soon perceive, those venerable 'records truly set down and explained, do not favour 'them. But these corruptions are carried on with such 'confidence and cunning, that an *unexperienced and 'unwary student*, may be imposed on by this specious 'shew of venerable antiquity: for their sakes therefore 'he thought it necessary to take a short view of that 'fraud and policy which is so commonly made use of 'in those editions of the Councils which pass through 'the Roman mint.'——Then he says he hopes 'this 'undertaking will be many ways useful: First, It will tend 'to the ease of those who intend to read over the tomes 'of the *Councils*, or the Annals of Baronius, and save 'them much time and pains by presenting the principal 'errors of those great volumes at one view, which they 'would spend a long time in searching after, if they 'were to gather them up as they lie dispersed. Se-'condly, It may be very useful to those who desire 'to be rightly informed in the controversies between us 'and the Roman Church, because it will give them a 'clear prospect of what Councils and other antiquities 'are authentick, and may be allowed for evidence in 'this dispute; wherein our adversaries have so little 'regard to their own honour, that generally one half 'of their evidence is such as they have either forged or 'corrupted. Thirdly, It will be necessary (by way of 'antidote) to prepare those, who by reading books so 'full of infection, may by these plausible falsifications 'be

epitaph, to have been a perſon eminent for piety, learning, ingenuity, judgment, and other excellent qualities: and a ſtrenuous defender of the doctrine, worſhip, and diſcipline of the Church of England.

' be in danger to be ſeduced into a great eſteem of the ' opinions and practices of the Roman Church; when ' they find ſo many ſeemingly ancient tracts and Coun- ' cils brought in to juſtify her in all things, and ſee (by ' this falſe light) all Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory and Records ' ſo modelled, as to perſuade their readers, that in the ' pureſt Chriſtian times, all things were believed and ' done in the Catholick Church juſt as they are now at ' Rome. But when it ſhall appear, that all this is a ' continued ſeries and train of impoſtures, it will ren- ' der their notions and practices, not only ſuſpected, ' but odious, as needing ſuch vile and baſe artifices, ' to make them ſeem agreeable to true Antiquity.

C

COMPTON (WILLIAM) anceſtor of the preſent noble Earls of Northampton and Wilmington, was the ſon of Edmund de Compton [*A*], and born in the year 1481 (*a*). The firſt foundation of his ſucceeding honours and riches, was, his being made, in the eleventh year of his age (*b*), one of the Pages to Henry Duke of York, afterwards King by the title of Henry VIII: who, as ſoon as he came to the Crown, made him Groom of his Bed-chamber (*c*); and, before the expiration of that year, chief Gentleman of his Bed-chamber (*d*). He grew ſo much in favour with that King, that he was appointed by him, in the ſecond year of his reign 1510, Groom of the Stole (*e*); and, ſoon after, Conſtable of Sudley-caſtle in Glouceſterſhire (*f*); as he was alſo of Glouceſter-caſtle, in 1511 (*g*). In conſideration of his good and faithful ſervices, he obtained, in 1512, November the 7th, a ſpecial grant, to himſelf and his heirs, of an honourable augmentation to his Arms (*h*), out of the King's own royal enſigns and devices [*B*]: and, on the 4th of February next enſuing, the King conferred on him the office of Uſher of the Black Rod, with an allowance of twelve pence a day for that ſervice (*i*). He had likewiſe, the ſame year, by his Majeſty's favour, a large grant, to himſelf and the heirs of his body lawfully begotton (*k*), of ſeveral Lands and Manors [*C*]. In 1513, being a Knight, he had a commiſſion, to retain men in any of thoſe Lordſhips belonging to the Monaſteries whereof he was then Steward, for the ſervice of the King in his wars (*l*): and, in the expedition to Terouenne and Tournay the ſame year, led the rere-guard of the King's army (*m*). Shortly after, he was made one of the Knights for the King's body (*n*); as alſo Chancellor of Ireland, with liberty to execute that office by a ſufficient Deputy (*o*). But he did not hold it long; for, two years after, namely, in 1515, it was given to the Archbiſhop of Dublin (*p*). In 1514, and 1517, he had a grant to himſelf and his wife, and to the heirs of their two bodies lawfully begotten (*q*), of ſeveral manors and eſtates [*D*]. The ſame year, namely, 1517, he was appointed Conſtable of Hanley-caſtle in Worceſterſhire (*r*): And in 1518, was ordered to provide fifty archers for the King's ſervice in his wars (*s*). In 1519, he obtained licence to make a park at his manor of Compton Vineyatys, or Vineyard, in Warwickſhire; and, for an addition to the ſame, to incloſe two thouſand acres more, thereto adjoining (*t*). Upon the attainder of Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham, in 1521, he obtained a grant of the manor, caſtle, and park of Maxſtoke in Warwickſhire, as alſo of the manors of Scotton and Brereton in Yorkſhire, in reverſion, after the death, or ſurrender, of Simon Coniers (*u*). In 1523, he was employed with the Earl

(*a*) Dugda'e's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 401. That he was born in 1481, is evident from hence, becauſe he was eleven years old in 1492, ibid.

(*b*) Eſch. 9 Hen. VII. in Warr.

(*c*) Pat. 1 Hen. VIII. p. 2. m. 13.

(*d*) Life of King Henry VIH. by Lord Herbert, in Complete Hiſt. of Engl. edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 4.

(*e*) Pat. 2 Hen. VIII. p. 3.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 2, m. 10.

(*g*) Pat. 3 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*h*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Pat 4 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Pat. 5 Hen. VIII. p. 1. in dorſo.

(*m*) Life of King Henry VIII. by Lord Herbert; as above, p. 16.

(*n*) Pat. 5 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*o*) Ibid. m. 29. Ar. Collins ſays, that office was given him for life; Peerage of Engl. edit. 1735, 8vo, Vol. II. P. i. p. 109— But what follows ſhews the contrary.

(*p*) Pat. 7 Hen. VIII. p. 3.

(*q*) Pat. 6 Hen. VIII. p. 2; and 9 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(*r*) Pat. 9 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*s*) Cotton. Libr. Otho E. 11.

(*t*) Pat. 11. Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(*u*) Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 3, b.

[*A*] *Was the ſon of* Edmund *de* Compton.] This noble family derive their deſcent from *Turchill* the ſon of Alwin; who, in the time of Edward the Confeſſor, reſided at Warwick, of which county he was Earl. At the time of the Norman conqueſt, not joining with Harold, he continued in the poſſeſſion of his own lands, among which was the Lordſhip of Compton, and forty ſeven manors in divers counties. By Leverunia his ſecond wife he had Oſbert, who wrote himſelf *of Compton*, and was anceſtor of the preſent noble family. His ſecond ſon was *Philip*; to whom ſucceeded his ſon and heir *Thomas*, that lived in the reign of Henry the third; and whoſe eldeſt ſon was *Philip*; father of *Robert* de Compton, who was knighted before the 31ſt of Edward the ſecond; and was ſucceeded by *Robert*, father of *Thomas* de Compton. He was one of the Coroners for Warwickſhire, in the 23d of Edward the third, an office of great account in thoſe days. It was enjoyed after him by his ſon and heir *Edmund*, who died in the reign of Henry IV. He had iſſue ſix ſons, whereof *William* the eldeſt, dying about the year 1431, left iſſue *Robert* his ſon and heir, who died in 1480. His ſon, and ſucceſſor was *Edmund*, who dying in 1492, left iſſue by Joan his wife, daughter and heir of Walter Aylworth, Eſq; *William*, who is the ſubject of this article (1).

(1) See The Antiquities of Warwickſhire illuſtrated by Sir Will. Dugdale, ſecond edit. 1730, Vol. I. p. 547, &c. and Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, Vol. II. P. i. edit. 1735, p. 107, &c.

[*B*] *Out of the King's own royal enſigns and devices.*] Namely, ' a Lyon paſſant gardant, or.' And for the creſt, ' a demi-dragon crazed, gules, within a coronet ' of gold, upon a toſe argent and vert:' as by a ſpecial inſtrument under the King's own ſign manual, bearing date Novem. 7, 1512, appeareth (2).

(2) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *Of ſeveral Lands and Manors.*] Of which theſe are the names. The manor of Wyke in Middleſex, formerly belonging to George Duke of Clarence: Lovel's Inn in Pater-Noſter Row, London; with divers tenements pertaining therto: The manor of Aldwike, or Holand's, with Baro-Shanke wood, in Northamptonſhire; twenty four acres of meadow in Brantfy; twenty four in Swillingholm; all in Aldwincle, (or Aldwike) in the ſame county: alſo the manor of Deyncourt in Buckinghamſhire, part of the poſſeſſions of Francis Lord Lovel; with the manors of Rocholds, Cobham, and Riſhams, part of the lands of Sir Richard Charlton, Knt (3).

(3) Ibid.

[*D*] *In* 1514, *and* 1517, *he had a grant—of ſeveral manors and eſtates.*] Namely, in 1514, the manors of Elcombe, and Uſcote, in Wiltſhire; and the manor of Pole-place in Berkſhire, part of the poſſeſſions of Francis Viſcount Lovel. In 1517, the manors of Salthrope, Chilton, and Blagrave, in Wiltſhire; two hundred acres of paſture, called Blagrove, with their appurtenances in Blagrove and Wroughton, in the ſame county. Likewiſe the manor of Wythynden, or Myhunden in the pariſhes of Wroughton, and Lidiard-Tregoze, in the ſame county; the manor of Elcomb, with the park; the manors of Watleſcote, and Weſtcote; one hundred acres of land, and ſixty acres of paſture, in Wigleſte, and Wroughton: The manor of Uffecote, two meſſuages, a thouſand acres of land, a thouſand acres of paſture, three hundered acres of meadow, and three hundered acres of wood in Broad-Hinton, all in the ſame county. And eight pounds yearly rent iſſuing out of the manor of Denford, in Berkſhire, late Francis Viſcount Lovel's attainted (4).

(4) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 402.

Earl of Surrey, and the Marquis of Dorſet, &c. to make incurſions into Scotland. This ungrateful office was put upon him by the contrivance of Cardinal Wolſey; who obſerving, how much Sir William was in the King's favour, and fearing he ſhould diminiſh his authority, procured him to be thus ſent into the wars againſt the Scots. For, Sir William could not bear the Cardinal's preſumption, in taking ſo much upon him to the derogation of the King's prerogative; therefore the Cardinal thought, in his abſence, to have work'd him out of favour. But he could not, for the King recalled him ſoon after to Court (*w*): and, in 1525, conſtituted him Keeper of his money and jewels (*x*), which is the ſame we now call the Privy Purſe (*y*). Sir William built a very noble houſe at his manor of Compton [*E*]: and, in the chapel, erected a beautiful window towards the eaſt; in the painted glaſs of which, moſt curiouſly done, was repreſented the paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt. And in the lower part, Sir William himſelf and his Lady, kneeling, in their ſurcoats of Arms (*z*). He died of the ſweating ſickneſs, in the year 1528, May 31, aged forty-ſeven (*a*); being at that time of the Privy-Chamber to the King, who was then alſo in great danger (*b*). His body was buried at Compton; as he had deſired in his Will, bearing date March 8, 1522; in which he alſo deſired, that his Lady ſhould be interred in the ſame place: and, that a tomb of alabaſter ſhould be made, by the direction of his Executors, for his father, and ſet over his grave, with his Arms cut thereon. Likewiſe, that his mother's body ſhould be taken up from the place where ſhe lay burried, and depoſited by his father. Moreover, he appointed that his Executors ſhould found in his name two chantries at Compton; and that every Prieſt therein ſhould have a yearly ſalary of ten marks (*c*) [*F*]. He married Werburge, daughter and heir of Sir John Brereton, Knt, and widow of Sir Francis Cheney, Knt. by whom he had iſſue

PETER; who being under age at the time of his father's deceaſe, was put under the Wardſhip of Cardinal Wolſey (*d*). He married Anne daughter of George Earl of Shrewſbury; but dying before he came of age, on the 30th of January 1543, he left only one ſon, forty-nine weeks and five days old (*e*); named

HENRY, who was knighted February 10, 1566, by the Earl of Leiceſter; and, on the 8th of May 1572, *ſummoned by writ to the Houſe of Lords*, by the title of Baron Compton of Compton. In 1586, he was one of the Peers for the trial of Mary Queen of Scots (*f*). He is ſuppoſed to have died in the year 1589 (*g*). By his firſt Lady, Frances daughter to Francis Haſtings Earl of Huntingdon, he had, among other children [*G*]

WILLIAM, his eldeſt ſon and heir, who was ſummoned to Parliament in the thirty-fifth of Queen Elizabeth, and was one of the Privy-Council to that Queen. On the 5th of January 1604, he was made Knight of the Bath at the creation of Charles Duke of York, afterwards King by the title of Charles I (*h*); and was conſtituted, ſome years after, Preſident of the Council for the Marches of Wales (*i*), and Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Worceſter, Hereford, Salop, and Warwick (*k*). On the 2d of Auguſt 1618, he was advanced to the title of Earl of Northampton (*l*); and on the 21ſt of April 1629, inſtalled a Knight of the Garter. He died June 24, 1630: leaving iſſue, by Elizabeth his Lady, ſole daughter and heir of Sir John Spencer Alderman of London, Spencer, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the next article.

(*w*) Polydore Vergil. in Hen. VIII. Hollinſhed's Chr. edit. 1587, Vol. III. p. 878,

(*x*) Pat. 17 Hen. VIII. p. 1. m. 2.

(*y*) In Latin *Burſifer Regis*.

(*z*) Leland. Itin. Vol. IV. fol. 166, MS. Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 402.

(*a*) Peerage of England, &c. by Ar. Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 109. Hollinſhed, as above, p. 906.

(*b*) Hollinſhed, ibid. and Lord Herbert, p. 99.

(*c*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Pat. 20 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(*e*) Eſch. 37 Hen. VIII.

(*f*) See Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1586, and the Life of Mary Queen of Scots, edit. 1725, 8vo, p. 295.

(*g*) See Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 403.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) Pat. 15 Jac. p. 3.

(*k*) Collins's Peerage, as above, p. 110.

(*l*) Pat. 16 Jac. p. 11.

[*E*] *Sir* William *built a very noble houſe at his manor of Compton.*] The greateſt part of the brick uſed in the building of it, was brought from Fulbrook in the ſame county (of Warwick) where there ſtood a ruinous caſtle, of which the King had granted him the cuſtody. This caſtle he pulled down, making uſe of the materials for that building (5).

(5) Leland, and Dugdale, ubi ſup.

[*F*] *And that every prieſt therein ſhould have a yearly ſalary of ten marks.*] For the proving of this Will, Cardinal Wolſey (who, under the colour of his Legantine authority, had wreſted the probate of wills from the Prerogative court of Canterbury,) exacted no leſs than a thouſand marks; as was publickly declared by Sir Henry Guilford, one of the executors. And this extortion was the cauſe of making the ſtatute 21 Hen. VIII. ch. v. wherein the fees to be taken for the Probate of teſtaments, were ſettled and limited (6).

(6) Lord Herbert, as above, p. 138.

[*G*] *Among other children.*] His children by the Lady *Frances Haſtings* beſides William here mentioned, were, *Margaret*, married to Henry Lord Mordaunt; and *Thomas*, who on the 4th of March, 1606-7, was knighted; he married Mary, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, ſecond ſon of William Beaumont of Cole-Overton in Leiceſterſhire; which Mary was by King James I. created Counteſs of Buckingham, July 1, 1618, being the mother of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the great favourite of King James, and King Charles I. ——The ſecond wife of Henry Lord Compton, was *Anne* daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe in Northamptonſhire, Knt. by whom he had, Sir *Henry* Compton of Bramble-Teigh in Suſſex Knight of the Bath; Cecily; Mary; and Margaret (7).

(7) The Britiſh Compendium, edit. 1731, Vol. I. P. i. p. 312.

C

COMPTON (SPENCER) only ſon of the former [*A*], and ſecond Earl of Northampton, deſerves to be particularly remembred. He was made Knight of the Bath, on the 3d of November 1616, at the time when Charles Duke of York (afterwards King Charles I.) was created Prince of Wales; with whom he became a great favourite. In 1622, he accompanied him into Spain, waiting on him in quality of Maſter of his Robes and Wardrobe, and had the honour to deliver all his preſents, amounting, as was computed, to ſixty-four thouſand pounds. At the Coronation of that Prince, he attended as

[*A*] SPENCER *only ſon of the former.*] Beſides him, William Lord Compton had two daughters: *Elizabeth*, married to Robert Maxwell Earl of Nithiſdale in Scotland; and *Anne* to Ulick Bourk, Lord Dunkellin, ſon and heir to Richard Earl of Clanrickard in Ireland, and Earl of St Albans in England (1).

(1) Ibid. p. 313.

[*B*] *Though*

as Master of the Robes; and, in 1639, waited on his Majesty in his expedition against the Scots. He was likewise among those Noblemen, who, on the 4th of May 1641, took the Protestation to defend the true Protestant Religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England, and his Majesty's Royal person, honour, and estate; as also the power and privilege of Parliaments, and the lawful rights and liberties of the subject (*a*). In 1642, he waited upon his Majesty at York; and was one of the Lords who subscribed, the 15th of June the same year, a Declaration at that place, wherein they professed before God, and testified to all the world, that they were fully persuaded, that his Majesty had no intention to make war upon his Parliament: but that all his endeavours tended to the firm and constant settlement of the true Protestant Religion; the just privileges of Parliament, the liberty of the subject, and the law, peace, and prosperity of the kingdom (*b*). Having, after that, often endeavoured to compose the unhappy jealousies in the nation; but finding his endeavours ineffectual, and that the Parliament were raising forces to distress such as came not into it's measures, he thought it more for his Majesty's service to retire to his native country; where he soon got together such a number of Gentlemen and Soldiers, as awed the country into the King's allegiance, drove the Lord Brook out of Warwickshire, who endeavoured to secure that county for the Parliament; and in twelve skirmishes put a great stop to the Earl of Essex's rendezvous at Northampton (*c*). After King Charles I. had set up his standard at Nottingham, he raised, one of the first, at his own charge, a troop of horse, and a regiment of foot (*d*): and, at the battle between Keinton and Edge-hill, brought two thousand of the best disciplined men in the whole army. When that battle (which happened on the 23d of October 1642) was over, the King's army having taken Banbury, a garrison was placed therein under the command of the Earl of Northampton (*e*): who, by his vigilance and conduct, performed many successful services, and was the life of his Majesty's cause in those parts. He secured most of the arms, ammunition, and garrisons in Warwickshire, Staffordshire, and Northamptonshire; and settling an Association, made the country from garrison to garrison one line of communication (*f*). Afterwards, with a strong party of horse, and dragoons, from his garrison at Banbury, he relieved the town of Stafford, that was besieged by Sir John Gell; and putting himself into that town, beat up a quarter of the enemies, in which he took and killed above an hundred of their horse. But Sir John Gell having joined Sir William Brereton, and they being near three thousand foot and horse, with a good train of artillery, moved back towards Stafford; imagining the Earl of Northampton would meet them without the walls. And it happened according to their expectation: for, on Sunday the 19th of March 1642-3, as soon as he heard they were advancing towards the town, he marched out with his party, consisting in all of near one thousand horse, dragoons, and foot, to encounter them. He found the enemy in very good order, expecting him, on a plain called Cranock-green, Salt-heath, or Hopton-heath (*g*), about two or three miles from Stafford. Though their number was more than double that of his Lordship's [*B*], yet the Heath seeming very fair, the breadth of it being more than musquet-shot from the enclosure on each side, and the number of his horse at least equal to theirs, he resolved to charge them: and accordingly did, with so good success, that he totally routed one part of their horse. Rallying again his men, he charged the other part of their horse, which stood more in shelter of their foot, and so totally dispersed them, that the enemy had scarce a horse left upon the field. He took likewise from them eight pieces of cannon [*C*]. In this second charge, his Lordship being engaged in the execution, very near, or among, their foot, had his horse killed under him [*D*]: so that his own body of horse, pursuing the chase with too much fury, he was left encompassed by the enemy. After he was on his feet, he killed with his own hand the Colonel of foot, who first came near him; And, after his head-piece was struck off with the but-end of a musquet, they offered him quarter; which he refused, answering, 'That he scorned to 'take

(*a*) British Compendium, by Fr. Nicholls; ubi supra.

(*b*) Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, &c. edit. 1731. 8*vo*, Vol. I. Part. ii. p. 656.

(*c*) British Compendium, as above.

(*d*) Lord Clarendon, as above, Vol. II. Part i. P. 152.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 58.

(*f*) British Compendium, as above, p. 314.

(*g*) It is called by all those names in our Historians. See Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. V. p. 152. Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150; and J. Vicars's Parliamentary Chron. edit. 1644, 4*to*, p. 287.

(2) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150. The Hist. of the Commons War of England, Lond. 1662, 8*vo*, p. 29.

(3) Vicars's Parliamentary Chronicle, as above, p. 287; and The History of the Parliament of England, by Tho. May, Lond. 1647, fol. B. iii. p. 86. He copies Vicars in this and many other facts.

(4) Memorials of the English Affairs, &c. edit. 1732, p. 69.

(*) Memorable Occurrences in 1642, at the end of *Mercurius Rusticus*, edit. 1646, 8*vo*.

[*B*] *Though their number was more than double that of his Lordship's.*] We are assured, that the number of their men, was 'near three thousand foot and horse, 'with a good train of artillery (2).' Some of the Parliament-Historians (3) affirm indeed, that Sir John Gell's army consisted but of about fifteen hundred, horse and foot; and the Earl's of about twelve hundred: tho' they mention afterwards the coming of Sir William Brereton to Gell's assistance, before the fight was ended. But they do not express the *number* of the forces he brought; in which point, their silence seems to be culpable, as being designed to mislead the reader. Such instances are very frequent in Vicars's Chronicle; which indeed is only a heap of falsehood and misrepresentations, as well as of most shocking hypocrisy, and canting nonsense. Honest Mr Whitelock tells us plainly, and without disguise (4), that Sir John Gell and Sir William Brereton came with three thousand horse and foot.

[*C*] *And so totally dispersed them, that the enemy had scarce a horse left upon the field, &c.*] This is the Lord Clarendon's account. And Dr Ryves more particularly informs us (*) that in this fight above three hundred of the rebels were taken and killed; at the least, two hundred more wounded; above three hundred of their horse taken, with four pieces of cannon, and a case of Drakes. And on the King's side, some few slain. On the other hand Vicars affirms (5), that the Parliament-forces repulsed the Earl's horse, ——and at least an hundred and forty Cavaliers were slain with him; with the loss of eight or ten only of the Parliamentarians. And 'by the timely coming in of Sir Willi-'am Brereton, before the fight was ended, Sir John Gell 'obtained a glorious victory, and drove his enemies 'quite out of the field.' Such are the frequent contradictions between Historians of different parties. But, on which side the victory inclined, we may judge by the consequence. And that it was in the King, is evident by the Earl of Northampton's forces recovering Lichfield soon after; which the others would never have permitted them to do, had they been victorious.

(5) Ubi supra, p. 287, 288.

[*D*] *Had his horse killed under him.*] One Historian tells us that, 'being unhappily fallen from his horse 'among coney-burrows, he was barbarously murthe-'red (6).'

(6) A Short View of the Troubles in England, &c. by Sir Will. Dugdale, Oxf. 1681, fol. p. 118.

[*E*] *Sir*

'take quarter from such base rogues and rebels, as they were.' Upon which, he was slain by a blow with a halbert on the hinder part of his head, receiving, at the same time, another deep wound in his face (*b*). He was then in the forty-second year of his age (*i*). The enemy refused to deliver the body to the young Earl of Northampton, and would not even permit his Surgeons to come and embalm it, unless he would deliver, in exchange for it, all the ammunition, prisoners, and cannon he had taken in the late battle (*k*). However, it was delivered up at last, and buried in All-hallows Church in Derby, in the same vault with his relation the old Countess of Shrewsbury (*l*). As to this noble Lord's character, ; we are informed, that he was a person of great courage, honour, and fidelity, and not well known 'till his evening; having, in the ease, plenty, and luxury, antecedent to our unhappy dissensions, indulged himself in that licence which was then thought necessary to great fortunes. But, from the beginning of the civil wars, as if he had been awakened out of a lethargy, he never proceeded with a lukewarm temper. From the time he submitted himself to the profession of a soldier, no man was more punctual upon command, no man more active and vigilant in duty. All distresses he bore like a common man, and all wants and hardships, as if he had never known plenty or ease; most prodigal of his person to danger; and would often say, That if he out-lived these wars, he was certain never to have so noble a death (*m*). His Lordship married Mary daughter of Sir Francis Beaumont, Knt. by whom he had two daughters, and six sons. The daughters were, *Anne* married to Sir Hugh Cholmondely of Whitby in Yorkshire, Bart. and *Penelope* to Sir John Nicholas, Knight of the Bath, eldest son of Sir Edward Nicholas, one of the Secretaries of State to King Charles I, and King Charles II (*n*). Of the sons, who were all highly esteemed for their eminent abilities, and all inherited their father's courage, loyalty, and virtue; five of them received the honour of Knighthood, namely, *James* the eldest son and heir; Sir *Charles*; Sir *William* [*E*]; Sir *Spencer*; and Sir *Francis*: and *Henry*, the sixth, and youngest, late Bishop of London, was no less conspicuous. At the battle of Hopton-heath, the three eldest, who were officers under their father, charged that day in the field, when Sir James, the eldest, received a shot in one of his legs (*o*). At the battle of Edge-hill he was absent; but Sir Charles, and Sir William, tho' neither of them was twenty, charged in the troop with their father; and Sir Spencer, though not able to grasp a pistol, yet in indignation cried, That he was not exposed to the same hazard as his brothers (*p*).

(*b*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150, 151.

(*i*) British Compendium, as above, p. 315.

(*k*) Lord Clarendon, ibid. Vicars's Chron. as above.

(*l*) Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 403.

(*m*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 151, 152.

(*n*) Dugdale; and British Compendium, as above.

(*o*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 151.

(*p*) British Compendium, as above, p. 315.

[*E*] *Sir William.*] This brave gentleman had the command of a regiment, wherewith he performed considerable service at the taking of Banbury, leading his men on to three attacks, and had two horses shot under him. Upon the surrender of the town and castle, he was made Lieutenant-Governor under his father; and on the 19th of July, 1644, when the Parliament's forces came before the town he returned answer to their summons; 'That he kept the castle for his Majesty, and as long as one man was left alive in it, 'willed them not to expect to have it delivered:' also on the 16th of September, they sending him another summons, he made answer, 'That he had formerly answered 'them, and wondered they should send again.' He was so vigilant in his station, that he countermined the enemy eleven times, and during the siege, which held thirteen weeks never went into bed, but by his example so animated the garrison, that tho' they had but two horses left uneaten, they would never suffer a summons to be sent to them, after the answer beforementioned was delivered. At length, his brother the Earl of Northampton raised the siege on the 26th of October, the very day of the month, on which both town and castle had been surrendered to the King two years before. Sir William continued Governor of Banbury, and performed many signal services for the King, 'till his Majesty left Oxford, and the whole kingdom was submitting to the Parliament: and then on the 8th of May, 1646, surrendered upon honourable terms. In 1648, he was Major-General of the King's forces at Colchester, where he was so much taken notice of for his admirable behaviour, that Oliver Cromwell called him the sober young man, and the godly Cavalier. At the Restoration of King Charles II. he was made one of the Privy-Council, and the master-General of the Ordnance; and died October 19, 1663, in the 39th year of his age, having married Elizabeth, widow of Lord Allington of Horsheath in Cambridge, with whom he lived twelve years, but left no issue (7). There is an epitaph erected to his memory in the church of Compton-Winyate (8).

(7) British Compendium, as above, p. 316; and Collins's Peerage, as above, p. 113; and Lord Clarendon, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 542, 545.

(8) Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickshi. as above, p. 551.

C

COMPTON (JAMES) the eldest of the six sons last mentioned, and third Earl of Northampton, taking arms with his father for King Charles I, was distinguished for his bravery and conduct, and performed many gallant acts in those times of confusion. He was at the battle of Edge-hill, the taking of Banbury, &c (*a*). and waiting upon the King at Oxford, had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred on him by that university, November 1, 1642 (*b*). The 19th of March following, he was in the engagement at Hopton-heath, where receiving a shot in one of his legs, he was obliged to quit the field (*c*). However, he was in a short time so well recovered of that wound, that on the 8th of April 1643, he was with Prince Rupert at the taking of Lichfield, and the surrender of the Close there, the 21st of the same month. Also May 6, the same year, he routed a party of the enemies horse and foot (*d*) at Middleton-cheney in Northamptonshire, which thought themselves strong enough to attempt the taking of Banbury; and he defeated their horse, killed above two-hundred of their foot, and took as many more prisoners (*e*). He afterwards commanded the horse at the first battle of Newbury, September 20, 1643, and charged and put to flight the enemy's horse under Sir William Waller. On the 29th of June 1644, he was one of the Commanders at Cropredy-bridge fight, wherein Sir William Walter was routed again (*f*). Soon after he marched with the King into Cornwal; and at his return raised the siege of Banbury October 26, 1644, routing the Parliament forces, tho' their horse were much superior in number (*g*). Then joining the King, he relieved Donnington-castle; whereupon battle was offered to the enemy, who declined it, tho'

(*a*) Ibid. p. 319.

(*b*) Wood, Fast. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 22.

(*c*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 151.

(*d*) Consisting of about 700 foot, and five troops of horse. Memorable Occurrences, at the end of *Mercurius Rustic.*

(*e*) Ibid. Lord Clarendon, Vol. II. P. i. p. 245.

(*f*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 497, &c. The Commons War of England, &c. as above, p. 47.

(*g*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 544. Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 105.

tho' they had just before obtained advantages in the second fight at Newbury, the Earl being absent in raising the siege of Banbury (*b*). On the 18th of March 1644-5, he and his three brothers, routed a great body of the Parliamentarians horse of Northampton near Althorp, killed about thirty, and hurt many more, taking twenty-six prisoners (*i*). But in April 1645, he was defeated by Lieutenant-General Cromwell near Oxford, and several of his men were taken prisoners (*k*). After which, finding that his Majesty was over-powered by the Parliament, he resolved to go beyond sea, and obtained a pass from the House of Commons for that purpose (*l*). But, however, he seems to have compounded for his estates, and to have staid in the kingdom (*m*). Afterwards, the powers in being growing jealous of him, he was imprisoned; but discharged again, the 2d of November 1659, upon security given to live peaceable (*n*). On the 29th of May 1660, at the Restoration of King Charles II, he led a troop of two hundred Gentlemen, clothed in grey and blue: and, in the reign of that King, was of the Privy-Council, Constable of the Tower of London, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Warwick, and city of Coventry, Recorder of the same, and also of the towns of Northampton and Tamworth. He died at his seat of Castle-Ashby in Northamptonshire, December 15, 1681, and was interred among his ancestors at Compton in the county of Warwick; which church being demolished in the civil wars, was rebuilt at his Lordship's sole expence, in 1665. He was married twice [*A*]. By his second Lady he had three sons, GEORGE, who succeeded him in his honours [*B*]; *James*, that died young; and *Spencer*, created January 11, 1727-8, Baron of Wilmington in Sussex, and May 12, 1730, Viscount Pevensey in the same county, and Earl of Wilmington (*o*).

(*b*) Lord Clarendon, ibid. p. 551. See also British Compendium, as above, p. 319.

(*i*) Memorable Occurrences at the end of *Mercurius Rusticus*.

(*k*) Whitelock, as above, p. 144.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 197, 200, 201, 202.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 202, 246.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 686.

(*o*) British Compendium, as above, p. 319, 320, 356.

[*A*] *He was married twice.*] His first Lady was, *Isabella*, one of the two daughters and coheirs to Richard Earl of Dorset; by whom he had issue two sons, William, and James, who both died in their childhood; and three daughters, Anne, and Isabella, which also died young, and Alethea married to Edward Hungerford, Esq; this first Lady died Octob. 14, 1661. His second Lady, was Mary, eldest daughter of Baptist Noel Viscount Camden, by whom he had three sons as mentioned above; and two daughters, Juliana who died young; and Mary married to Charles Sackville Earl of Dorset, mother of Lionel the present Duke of Dorset (1).

(1) Dugdale, as above, p. 403; and British Compend. p. 319, 320.

[*B*] GEORGE, *who succeeded him in his honours.*] His Lordship was of Christ-Church in Oxford, where he was created Master of Arts, February 18, 1681-2 (2). Tho' he was under age at the time of his father's death, he was notwithstanding, made Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Warwickshire. On Queen Anne's accession, he was sworn of her Privy-Council; and in 1712, appointed Constable of the Tower of London. His Lordship died April 15, 1727, and was buried at Compton with his ancestors. By his first Lady, *Jane*, youngest daughter of Sir Stephen Fox Knt. which he married in 1686 (3), he had issue four sons; JAMES, the present Earl of Northampton; George, Member in this Parliament for Northampton, and one of the Lords of the Treasury: Stephen, who died young; and Charles, who on the 10th of May 1727 was appointed Consul at Lisbon, and Consul-general in the dominions of Portugal. He had also by her six daughters; Elizabeth, Mary, Jane, Anne, Penelope, and Margaret; of whom the second was married in April, 1709, to william Gore of Tring in Hertfordshire, Esq; and the fourth, on the 16th of October, 1729, to Sir John Rousbout of Northwick, in Worcestershire, Bart. His second Lady, was Elizabeth, daugbter of Sir James Rushout of Northwick, Bart. relict of Sir George Thorold Bart. who in 1719, was Lord Mayor of London; but by her he had no issue (4).

(2) Wood, Fasti. Vol. II. col. 218.

(3) She died July 20, 1721.

(4) Dugdale, as above. British Compend. p. 320, 321; and Collins's Peerage, as above, p. 116, 117.

C

COMPTON (HENRY) Bishop of London in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth Century, and one of the most eminent Prelates that ever sat in that See, was the sixth [*A*] and youngest son of Spencer the second Earl of Northampton, mentioned in the foregoing article. He was born at Compton (*a*) in the year 1632 (*b*). His father being unhappily slain in 1642-3, when this his youngest son was but ten years old, he was thereby deprived of that paternal care which is so necessary in that tender age. However, (notwithstanding that misfortune) he received an education suitable to his quality. When he had gone through the Grammar-schools, he was entered a Nobleman of Queen's College in Oxford, in the year 1649, and having continued there 'till about 1652, went and lived with his mother at Gryndon in Northamptonshire. Afterwards he travelled beyond sea (*c*), where he remained a considerable time; and examined the civil and ecclesiastical polities abroad, but the more he observed them, the more he liked the English constitution: He saw their manners, and was too wise to imitate them. However, what he thought valuable amongst them he brought home, and in particular retained their languages perfectly (*d*) [*B*]. After the Restoration of King Charles II, he returned to England; and a regiment of horse being raised about that time for the King's guard, of which the command was given to Aubrey Earl of Oxford, Mr Compton accepted of a Cornet's commission therein, either by his own choice, or the persuasion of friends. But, soon after, discovering a greater inclination to his studies than to a military life, he quitted that post,

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 968.

(*b*) This appears from his age at the time of his death, as mention'd below.

(*c*) Wood, ibid. and Sermon preached at the cathedral of St Paul's, July 26, 1713, by Tho. Gooch, D.D. now Bishop of Ely.

(*d*) Dr Gooch, ibid.

(1) Annual List of the Death of Eminent Persons, p. 61, at the end of The Hist. of Queen Anne, edit. 1735, fol.

(2) Life of Dr Henry Compton, Bishop of London, in The Lives of the English Bishops from the Restoration to the Revolution, by N. Salmon, LL.B. edit. 1731, 8vo, p. 300.

(3) Sermon, as above.

[*A*] *Was the sixth.*] See above, in the article SPENCER COMPTON. Mr Boyer says by mistake, that he was *the fourth* son (1). We are told that he was 'in the field at Edgehill *in his cradle*; by which 'is understood, that he was carried to the camp for 'security when very young (2).' But certainly he could not be their in his cradle: for he was then ten years old.

[*B*] *And in particular retained their languages perfectly.*] Dr Gooch informs us (3), that, 'The better 'to prepare him for that figure he was afterwards to 'make, he spent some years in travelling; not to suck 'in the maxims of foreign states, or to try the vices of 'foreign Courts; not before he knew our constitution 'in Church and State, and was able to defend it, and 'sure to stick to it. He observed and examined the Civil and Ecclesiastical Polities abroad; he made them 'his study, but not his rule. The more he staid in 'France and Italy, &c. the more Englishman he was; 'he came home the better Statesman and the better 'Churchman; he was proof against all their arts, to 'debauch either his principles or his practices.' Whilst he was abroad, he is said to have trailed a pike in Flanders, under the Duke of York (4).

(4) Salmon, ib.

poſt, and dedicated himſelf to the ſervice of the Church (*e*). Accordingly he went to Cambridge, where he was created Maſter of Arts (*f*). Afterwards entring into Orders [*C*], and obtaining a grant of the next vacant Canonry of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, he was admitted Canon-Commoner of that college, in the beginning of the year 1666, by the advice of Dr John Fell then Dean of the ſame (*g*). The 7th of April next enſuing, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, as he ſtood at Cambridge (*h*): about which time, he was poſſeſſed of the Rectory of Cottenham in Cambridgeſhire, worth above five hundred pounds a year. Before that, he had a leſſer benefice. In both he ſhowed his great concern for the ſouls of men. He was conſtituted in 1667, Maſter of St Croſſe's Hoſpital near Wincheſter, upon the death of Dr William Lewis [*D*]. On the 24th of May 1669, he was inſtalled Canon of Chriſt-Church [*E*], in the room of Dr Richard Heylin deceaſed (*i*). Two days after (*k*), he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*l*); and that of Doctor, the 28th of June following (*m*). Advancing daily in the King's favour and eſteem, and in the opinion of all good men, he was, upon the tranſlation of Dr Nathanael Crew from the Biſhoprick of Oxford to that of Durham, nominated to ſucceed him in the See of Oxford: to which he was elected November 10, confirmed December 2, and conſecrated at Lambeth December 6, 1674 (*n*). About July 1675, he was made Dean of the Royal Chapel, on the death of Dr Blandford Biſhop of Worceſter; and being the ſame year tranſlated to the See of London [*F*], in the room of Dr Henchman deceaſed, was confirmed therein the 18th of December (*o*). On the 22d of January 1675-6, King Charles, who entertained a juſt opinion of his capacity and fidelity, cauſed him to be ſworn one of his Privy-Council; which ſtation his Majeſty thought fit to continue him in, upon his conſtituting a new Privy-Council in April 1679 (*p*). The educating, and well-grounding, of the King's two nieces, the Princeſſes Mary and Anne (*q*), in the doctrine and communion of the Church of England, was committed to his care; and that important truſt he diſcharged, to the nation's univerſal ſatisfaction [*G*]. On the 4th of November 1677, he had the honour of performing the ceremony of the marriage of the eldeſt, Mary, with William Prince of Orange: and on the 28th of July 1683, that of Anne, the youngeſt, with George Prince of Denmark (*r*). The firmneſs of theſe two Princeſſes in the Proteſtant Religion, was owing in a great meaſure to their learned tutor Biſhop Compton; which afterwards, when Popery came to prevail at the Court of England, was imputed to him as an unpardonable crime. During the mutual heats and animoſities in the latter part of King Charles IId's reign, ſome of the moſt learned and exemplary Clergy endeavoured, both in private and publick, to bring the Diſſenters to a ſenſe of the neceſſity of union among Proteſtants. To promote that good deſign, our worthy Biſhop held, in 1679 three conferences with his Clergy upon the two Sacraments, and upon catechiſing youth in the true principles of religion. In 1680, he purſued the ſame deſign in three other conferences; namely, on the half communion; prayers in an unknown tongue; and prayers to Saints: the ſubſtance of which he publiſhed in a letter to the Clergy of his dioceſe, dated July 6, 1680. He further hoped, that it might tend to pacify and reconcile the Diſſenters, by bringing in the judgment of foreign Divines againſt their needleſs ſeparation. For that purpoſe, he wrote to Monſieur Le Moyne, Profeſſor in Divinity at Leyden; to Mr de l'Angle, one of the

(*e*) Ibid. and Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Wood, ibid.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 166.

(*i*) J. Le Neve's Faſti, edit. 1716, p. 237.

(*k*) Or the next day. For, in the Catalogue of Graduats it is placed on May 25.

(*l*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 175.

(*m*) Ibid. col. 176.

(*n*) Survey of the Cathedral of Oxford, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; edit. 1730. p. 434.

(*o*) Willis, ibid. and Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Boyer, as above.

(*q*) The late glorious Queens, Mary and Anne.

(*r*) The Genealogical Hiſtory of the Kings and Queens of England, &c by Fr. Sandford, and Fr. Stebbing, fol. edit. 1707, p. 679, 758.

[*C*] *Afterwards entering into Orders.*] When he did ſo, he was not a novice in age, or knowledge; being above a Biſhop's neceſſary years (i. e. thirty years of age), when he was ordained a Deacon: but he did not aſpire to, or deſire the Epiſcopal Office, before he was qualified for the good work.—And tho' he might have made high demands upon the Court, and raiſed himſelf at once to the greateſt dignities, yet he choſe to make gradual and regular advances (5).

(5) Gooch, ibid.

[*D*] *He was conſtituted in* 1667, *Maſter of St Croſſe's Hoſpital, &c.*] A fit preferment, as Dr Gooch rightly obſerves (6), for him, whoſe houſe was always a conſtant hoſpital! by this his income was conſiderably increaſed, (it being above 500 a year) and he had greater opportunities of doing good; the only motive to him to wiſh for it's increaſe; this was his greateſt pleaſure; and *here* he lived, and enjoyed it: *here* he would gladly have reſted; but Providence had deſigned him for greater things.

(6) Ibid.

[*E*] *On the 24th of May* 1669, *he was inſtalled Canon of* Chriſt Church.] And when he was Sub-Dean in that church he moderated in the Divinity-Diſputations, with ſuch gravity and wiſdom, as made thoſe exerciſes both reputable and inſtructive (7).

(7) Dr Gooch, ib.

[*F*] *Being the ſame year, tranſlated to the See of London.*] Anth. Wood tells us (8), that, 'This tranſlation was much promoted by ſome of the politic Clergy, becauſe they knew him to be a bold man, an enemy to the Papiſts, and one that would act, and ſpeak what they would put him upon, which they themſelves would not be ſeen in, as many prime Papiſts uſed to ſay.' We are alſo informed (9), that this tranſlation was effected through the Earl of Danby's intereſt; to whom the Biſhop was a property, and was turned by him as he pleaſed. The Duke of York hated him; but Lord Danby perſwaded both the King and him, that, as his heat did no great hurt to any perſon, ſo the giving way to it helped to lay the jealouſies of the Church-Party. About a year after that, Sheldon dying, Biſhop Compton was perſwaded that Lord Danby had tried with all his ſtrength to promote him to Canterbury; tho' that was never once intended. He was a great patron of the Converts from Popery, and of thoſe Proteſtants whom the bad uſage they were beginning to meet with in France drove over to us: And by theſe means he came to have a great reputation. He was making many complaints to the King, and often in Council, of the inſolence of the Papiſts, and of Coleman's in particular. So that the King ordered the Duke to diſmiſs Coleman out of his ſervice: yet he continued ſtill in his confidence.

(8) Athen. ubi ſupra.

(9) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. Vol. I. p. 392.

[*G*] *And that important truſt he diſcharged to the nation's univerſal ſatisfaction.*] How well he executed it, as Dr Gooch obſerves (10), let thoſe confeſs, who value the memory of the late moſt renowned Queen (Mary), or have not laid aſide all duty to our preſent moſt gracious Sovereign (11). They never forgot their obligations to him, but he was always in the eſteem of the former, and received marks of favour from the latter. He had the particular honour which no one Biſhop ever had, of marrying two Regent Queens to Proteſtant Princes. They were both confirmed by him January 23, 1675-6 (12).

(10) Sermon, as above.

(11) *i. e.* Queen Anne, in whoſe reign this was publiſhed.

(12) See Continuation of Rog. Coke's Detection, Vol. III. 1718. p. 117.

[*H*] *Who*

the Preachers of the Proteſtant Church at Charenton near Paris; and to Mr Claude, another eminent French Divine; who, in their ſeveral Anſwers [*H*], agreed in vindicating the Church of England from any errors in it's doctrine, or any unlawful impoſitions in it's ſervice and diſcipline; and therefore did condemn a ſeparation from it, as needleſs and uncharitable (*s*). But, Popery was what the Biſhop moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed. For, when it was gaining ground in theſe kingdoms, under the favour and influence of the heir-apparent to the Crown, James Duke of York; our worthy Prelate, at the head of his Clergy, made a noble ſtand: and, by his encouragement, their pulpits and their pens more ſtrenuouſly defended the Reformed Religion, than it had ever been; to the ſhame and ſilence of their Romiſh adverſaries [*I*]. The great diſſervice thereby done to theſe, and their cauſe, was remembered, and reſented, when King James II. aſcended the throne. To our Biſhop's immortal honour, this was his unpardonable crime: and, accordingly, he was marked out, as the firſt ſacrifice to Popiſh fury (*t*). The firſt inſtance of it, was, his being diſmiſſed from the Council-table ſoon after King James's acceſſion: and, on the 16th of December 1685, he was put out from being Dean of the Royal Chapel (*u*). Further occaſions were ſought, and ſoon found, of moleſting, or entirely ruining him, if poſſible. For Dr John Sharp Rector of St Giles's in the fields, London, having, in ſome of his ſermons, vindicated the doctrine of the Church of England in oppoſition to Popery [*K*]; the King ſent a letter, dated June 14, 1686, to Biſhop Compton, wherein his Majeſty 'required and commanded him, immediately 'upon receipt thereof, forthwith to ſuſpend Dr Sharp from further preaching in any pariſh 'church or chapel in his dioceſe, until he had given the King ſatisfaction.' Upon the receipt of it, the Biſhop ſent an anſwer, June the 18th, to the Earl of Sunderland, Principal Secretary of State, wherein he ſaid, That 'he ſhould always count it his duty to obey 'the King in whatever commands he laid upon him, that he could perform with a ſafe 'conſcience: but in this, he conceived, he was obliged to proceed according to Law; 'and therefore it was impoſſible for him to comply: becauſe, tho' his Majeſty commanded him only to execute his pleaſure, yet in the capacity he was, to do it, he muſt act 'as a Judge, and no Judge condemns any man before he has knowledge of the cauſe, 'and has cited the party.' But the Court being reſolved to be revenged on the Biſhop, for his exemplary zeal for the Proteſtant intereſt; and intending thereby to terrify all perſons (the Clergy in particular) from oppoſing their arbitrary deſigns, they cauſed his Lordſhip to be cited, on the 3d of Auguſt, to appear the 9th of the ſame month before the new Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion. At his appearance, he was charged with 'not having 'obſerved his Majeſty's commands in the caſe of Dr Sharp, whom he was ordered to 'ſuſpend.' The Biſhop ſeemed to be ſurprized at this; and humbly begged a copy of the commiſſion, and a copy of his charge: but was anſwered by Chancellor Jefferys, 'That he ſhould neither have a copy of, nor ſee, the commiſſion; neither would they . . . 'give

(*s*) Compl. Hiſt of England, &c. by Biſhop Kennet, edit. 1719, Vol. III. p. 382.

(*t*) Dr Gooch, as above. He alſo argued againſt giving up the Teſt, which incens'd the Court againſt him. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, p. 665.

(*u*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

[*H*] *Who in their ſeveral Anſwers.*] Their Anſwers are publiſhed at the end of Biſhop Stillingfleet's *Unreaſonableneſs of Separation*, 1681, 4*to*. That of Mr Le Moyne, bears date, September 3, 1680. That of Mr De L'Angle is dated from Paris, Octob. 31; and that of Mr Claude from the ſame place, Novemb. 29, 1680.

[*I*] *By his encouragement, their pulpits and their pens more ſtrenuouſly defended the Reformed Religion, than it had ever been.*] This we learn from a Gentleman, who had been his Lordſhip's Chaplain (13). 'From 'whatever quarter, ſays he, or at what time ſo ever 'any aſſault was made upon our Doctrine or Diſcipline, 'his vigilance and Chriſtian courage were upon the guard 'to defend them; of which I ſhall give only ſome few 'inſtances within the narrow compaſs of my own knowledge. 1. From hence proceeded that volume of 'uſeful *Tracts againſt the Diſſenters*, to convince them 'by Reaſon, Scripture, and Antiquity, of the unreaſonableneſs of their ſeparation, and ill-grounded ſcruples: never yet replyed to, or to be anſwered. 2. 'From hence likewiſe (before, and even under his 'ſuſpenſion) came forth the diſtinct *Reply to all the pretences of the Church of Rome*, in their day of exaltation and tryal; moſt of them written by the beſt learned Divines of this City. Join both theſe together, 'and you will find enough ſaid to confirm you in the 'faith and worſhip of this Church, againſt the adverſaries on either hand; not to ſeparate from our 'holy Apoſtolical Communion, out of needleſs ſcruple, 'and the ſo often baffled pretences of ſeeking after 'greater purity, and better edification; nor yet to be 'perverted to Idolatry, in order to find out the true 'Church. 3. The danger of *Socinianiſm*, and the other 'Hereſies, did not eſcape his care or remedy, as 'far as his power and perſwaſion could reach; to 'this end, many learned and rational treatiſes have 'been publiſhed by his Clergy on this ſubject. And 'when the diſpute about the holy undivided Trinity 'was managed by ſome, in new and unuſual terms, a 'Royal Letter was procured to forbid the bringing in 'ſuch terms into that controverſy, as were unknown to 'Antiquity or to Scripture.——By theſe like means, 'our pious Biſhop, as the good ſhepherd of ſouls, 'uſed his ſtrenuous endeavours to hold up the weak, 'heal the ſick, bind up the broken, ſeek the loſt, and 'bring back the out caſt, not by ſeverity even againſt 'the irreclaimable, or proſecutions againſt the deceived, but firſt and chiefly by argument and conviction: 'yet not ſo merciful, as to be remiſs againſt impious 'Hereticks, and notorious immorality.'

(13) See A Sermon on the Death of the late Lord Biſhop of London, preach'd, Auguſt 11, 1713, at St Martin's Ludgate, by Will. Whitfeld, Lond. 1713, 8*vo*, p. 14, &c.

[*K*] *Dr* John Sharp—— *having, in ſome of his ſermons vindicated the Doctrine of the Church of* England *in oppoſition to Popery.*] He received one day, as he was coming out of the pulpit, a paper ſent him, as he believed, by a Prieſt, containing a ſort of challenge upon ſome points of controverſy, touched by him in ſome of his ſermons. Upon this, he not knowing to whom he ſhould ſend an anſwer, preached a Sermon in anſwer to it: and after he had confuted it, he concluded ſhewing how unreaſonable it was for Proteſtants to change their religion on ſuch grounds. This was carried to Court, and repreſented there, as a reflection on the King for changing on thoſe grounds (14). But in order to underſtand how this could be imputed as a crime to Dr Sharp, 'tis to be obſerved, that King James had cauſed the *Directions concerning Preachers*, publiſhed in 1662, to be now reprinted, and reinforced them by a letter directed to the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, given at Whitehall, 5 March, 1685-6, *to prohibit the preaching upon controverſial points* (15), which was, upon the matter, forbidding them to defend their religion in the pulpit; when it was at the ſame time attacked by the Popiſh Prieſts with all the vigour they were capable of, both in their Sermons and books. This order was taken from a precedent in Queen Mary I.'s time; who ſoon after her acceſſion to the throne, iſſued out a proclamation, forbidding the preaching upon controverted points of religion; for fear, it was ſaid, of raiſing animoſities among the people (16).

(14) Burnet, as above, p. 674.

(15) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 452; and Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. fol, Lond. 1728, p. 794, 795.

(16) Memoirs &c. by J. Welwood, M. D. edit. 1718, p. 173, 174.

[*L*] *Then*

'give him a copy of the charge.' Thereupon his Lordſhip deſired time to adviſe with counſel; and there was given him 'till the 16th, and afterwards 'till the 31ſt of Auguſt abovementioned. In the mean time, he ſent his Proctor for a copy of what orders and minutes they had ſet down concerning his buſineſs; but it was refuſed, tho' never denied in any Court. On the 31ſt of Auguſt, when his Lordſhip appeared for the ſecond time, he declared, That the whole world could bear him witneſs, he had been that whole ſummer endeavouring with all the power and ſkill he had, to enforce the King's letter to the ſtrict obſervation of his Clergy. Then he offered his plea to their juriſdiction [*L*]: which being over-ruled, he proteſted to his right, in that or any other plea, that might be for his advantage: And obſerved, that, as a Biſhop, he had right by the moſt authentick and univerſal Eccleſiaſtical Laws, to be tried firſt before his Metropolitan, precedent to any other Court whatſoever. But the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners would not, upon any account ſuffer their juriſdiction to be called in queſtion; and therefore did not pay the leaſt regard to whatever his Lordſhip could alledge, even, tho' he further inſiſted upon That in the capacity he was, they were warranted by their commiſſion, to try him only for offences *after the date* of the commiſſion. But this plea likewiſe was over-ruled by the Chancellor, who affirmed, 'There were general words which gave authority ſufficient to 'look back.' Whereupon the Biſhop gave in his anſwer in writing [*M*]. And, after it was read, he obſerved, That the word *ſuſpend* was liable to two conſtructions. In the firſt, which is the legal and ſtrict ſenſe of the word, he underſtood the King's letter; and was adviſed by his counſel, That it was a judicial act, and by conſequence could not be complied with, unleſs he had firſt cited the party, and heard the cauſe. In the other ſenſe of the word *ſuſpend*, that is, at large for *ſilencing*; he apprehended, he had in effect obeyed the King's letter. For he ſent for Dr Sharp, ſhewed him that letter, adviſed him not to preach 'till he had endeavoured to know his Majeſty's further pleaſure; and he had not preached to that day, ſo that his Majeſty's command was fulfilled. But, notwithſtanding all that his Lordſhip or his counſel could alledge, he was ſuſpended, on the 6th of September following [*N*], for his diſobedience, from the function and execution of his epiſcopal office, and from all epiſcopal and other eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, during his Majeſty's pleaſure (*w*). Immediately after, the Biſhops of Durham, Rocheſter, and Peterborough, were appointed Commiſſioners to exerciſe all manner of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within the dioceſe of London, during the ſuſpenſion of the Biſhop (*x*). He acquieſced in this hard ſentence [*O*]: but being ſuſpended only as a Biſhop, and remaining ſtill whole in his other capacities, he made a noble ſtand as one of the Governors of the Charter-Houſe [*P*]. However, as according to the form of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, a perſon under ſuſpenſion muſt make a ſubmiſſion within ſix months, otherwiſe he may be proceeded againſt as obſtinate: ſo, ſix months after ſentence, the Biſhop ſent a petition to the

(*w*) Account of the Proceedings againſt Henry Lord Biſhop of London; 4*to*, Lond. 1688; and Compleat Hiſt. as above, p. 480, *&c.*

(*x*) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 483.

[*L*] *Then he offered his plea to their juriſdiction.*] This plea was chiefly a recital of the ſtatute made in the 16th of K. Charles I. entitled 'A Repeal of the 'branch of a ſtatute *primo Elizabethæ*, concerning 'Commiſſioners for cauſes Eccleſiaſtical:' in which ſtatute of Charles I. it was, among other things, enacted, ——'That no new Court ſhould be erected, ordain-'ed, or appointed, within this realm of England, or 'dominion of Wales, which ſhould, or might have the 'like power, juriſdiction, or authority as the ſaid 'High-Commiſſion Court then had, or pretended to 'have; but that all and every ſuch Letters-Patents, 'Commiſſions and Grants made or to be made by his 'Majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors, and all powers and 'authorities granted thereby; and all Acts, Sentences, 'and Decrees, to be made virtue or colour thereof, 'ſhould be utterly void and of none effect (17).'

(17) See Proceedings againſt Henry Lord Biſhop of London, as above, p. 16, *&c.* and Compl. Hiſt. p. 481.

[*M*] *Whereupon the Biſhop gave in his anſwer in writing.*] The Commiſſioners queſtion to him was, Why 'did you not obey the King's command, in his letter 'concerning the ſuſpending Doctor Sharp?' In anſwer to which, his Lordſhip, after reciting the King's letter of June 14, abovementioned, ſays, 'I took the 'beſt advice I could get, concerning Doctor Sharp, 'and was informed, that the letter being directed to me, 'as Biſhop of London, to ſuſpend a perſon under my 'juriſdiction, I was therein to act as a Judge, it being 'a judical act; and that no perſon could by Law be 'puniſhed by ſuſpenſion, before he was called, or with-'out being admitted to make his defence.' And then goes on to ſay, That he repreſented ſo much to the Earl of Sunderland, in the letter mentioned above. Nevertheleſs, that he might obey his Majeſty's commands as far as by Law he could, he had ſhewed the King's letter to Dr Sharp, who had not preached ſince that time with in the Dioceſe of London (18).

(18) Ibid. p. 21; and 482.

[*N*] *He was ſuſpended, on the 6th of September following.*] The Court did not think fit to meddle with his revenues. For the Lawyers had ſettled that point, that Benefices were of the nature of Freeholds. So if the ſentence had gone to the Temporalities, the Biſhop would have had the matter tried over again in the King's Bench, where he was likely to find good juſtice, Herbert not being ſatisfied with the legality and juſtice of the ſentence. While this matter was in dependance the Princeſs of Orange thought it became her to interpoſe a little in the Biſhop's favour. So ſhe wrote to the King, earneſtly begging him to be gentle to the Biſhop, who ſhe could not think would offend willingly. She alſo wrote to the Biſhop, expreſſing the great ſhare ſhe took in the trouble he was fallen into. The Prince wrote to him to the ſame purpoſe. The King wrote an anſwer to the Princeſs, reflecting ſeverely on the Biſhop, not without ſome ſharpneſs on her for meddling in ſuch matters (19).

(19) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 677.

[*O*] *He acquieſced in this hard ſentence.*] The Court ſeemed uneaſy, when they ſaw they had gained ſo poor a victory: for now the Biſhop was more conſidered than ever. His Clergy, for all the ſuſpenſion, were really more governed by the ſecret intimations of his pleaſure, than they had been by his authority before. So they reſolved to come off as well as they could (20).

(20) Burnet, as above, p. 677.

[*P*] *He made a noble ſtand as one of the Governors of the Charter-Houſe.*] For King James having, on the 17th of December 1686, ſent a letter to the Governors of the Charter-Houſe; requiring them to admit one Andrew Popham into the firſt Penſioner's place in that Hoſpital, which ſhould become void, and be in his Majeſty's diſpoſal; without tendering any oaths to him, or require of him any ſubſcriptions, or other acts in conformity to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of England: the Biſhop of London, jointly with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Duke of Ormond, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Craven, Danby, and Nottingham, all Governors of that Hoſpital, and Dr Thomas Burnet, Maſter of the ſame, agreed, not to comply with the King's illegal and unreaſonable command (21).

(21) See Hiſt. of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, edit. 1711, 8*vo*, p. 22, *&c.*

[*Q*] *That*

the King, desiring to be restored to the exercise of his episcopal function: but he made no acknowledgment of any fault. So this had no other effect, but that it stopt all further proceedings; only the suspension lay still on him (*y*). Whilst he was thus sequestered from his espiscopal function, he applied himself to the improvement of his garden at Fulham; and, having a great genius for Botany, enriched it with a new variety of domestick and exotick plants (*z*). His suspension was so flagrant a piece of injustice, that the Prince of Orange, in his Declaration, could not omit taking notice of it [*Q*]; and, upon the dread of his Highness's coming over, the Court was willing to make the Bishop reparation, by restoring him, on the 23d of September 1688 (*a*), to his episcopal function. But he made no haste to resume his charge, and to thank the King for his Restoration; which made some people believe, he had no mind to be restored after such a manner, or that he knew well enough what passed in Holland (*b*). And, indeed, he was one of the noble persons who often met at the Earl of Shrewsbury's, and concerted measures for the Prince of Orange's coming over; whose interest he heartily endeavoured to promote (*c*). On the 3d of October 1688, he waited upon King James, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and seven other Bishops; when they suggested to his Majesty such advices as they thought proper at that season, and conducing to his service (*d*). Upon the Prince of Orange's landing, the first share our Bishop had in the ensuing Revolution, was, together with the Earl of Dorset, the conveying safe from London to Nottingham the Princess Anne of Denmark [*R*]; lest she, in the present confusion of affairs, might have been sent away into France, or put under restraint, because the Prince, her consort, had left King James, and was gone over to the Prince of Orange. Bishop Compton, at his return to London, set his hand to the Association begun at Exeter (*e*). Nor was he only one of the most instrumental in the Revolution, but also the most zealous in promoting the settlement of it: for, upon the 21st of December, he waited on the Prince of Orange, at the head of his Clergy, and even attended with some of the Dissenting Ministers; and in his own and their name, thanked his Highness, 'For his very great and most hazardous undertaking, for their deliverance, and the preservation of the Protestant Religion, 'with the ancient laws and liberties of this nation (*f*).' On the 30th of December, he administered the holy Communion to his Highness, in the Royal Chapel at St James's, according to the rites of the Church of England (*g*). The 29th of January 1688-9, when the House of Lords, in a grand Committee, debated the important question, Whether, the throne being vacant, ought to be filled up by a Regent, or a King? Dr Compton was one of the two Bishops, (Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bishop of Bristol, being the other) who made the majority for filling up the throne by a King: for there were upon that occasion only fifty-one votes to forty-nine (*h*). On the 14th of February he was appointed one of the Privy-Council (*i*): and made Dean of the Royal Chapel (*k*). And afterwards pitched upon, by King William, to perform the ceremony of his and Queen Mary's Coronation, April 11, 1689 (*l*). The same year, he was constituted one of the Commissioners for reviewing the Liturgy; in the execution of which commission he laboured with great zeal and earnestness to reconcile the Dissenters to the Church: and also in the Convocation that met November 21, 1689, of which he was President. But the intended Comprehension met with insuperable difficulties [*S*], the majority of the Lower House being resolved not to enter

(*y*) Bishop Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, fol. edit. 1724. p. 677, 678. Bishop Sprat informs us, That he had once obtained to have his suspension taken off, if he would but have made an ordinary submission. First Letter to the Earl of Dorset, edit. 1711, p. 6.

(*z*) Boyer, as above.

(*a*) Wood, Ath. ut supra.

(*b*) Boyer, ubi supra.

(*c*) Burnet, as above, p. 712, 764.

(*d*) Compl. Hist. as above, p. 520. &c.

(*e*) Boyer, as above.

(*f*) Compl. Hist. &c. p. 557.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 540.

(*h*) Boyer, as above.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(*k*) The Peerage of England by Ar. Collins, edit. 1735, Vol. II. P. i. p. 114.

(*l*) Compl. Hist. &c. as above, p. 560. He baptiz'd William Duke of Glouceſter, July 24, 1689. Collins, ubi supra, p. 115.

[*Q*] *That the Prince of* Orange, *in his Declaration, could not omit taking notice of it.*] In the following words. 'The said Commissioners have suspended the 'Bishop of London, only because he refused to obey 'an order that was sent him to suspend a worthy Divine, 'without so much as citing him before him to make 'his own defence, or observing the common forms of 'process.'

[*R*] *The conveying safe from* London *to* Nottingham, *the Princess* Anne *of* Denmark.] We have a particular account of this transaction in the following words. 'When the news came to London, of Prince George 'of Denmark's having joined the Prince of Orange, the 'Princess Anne was so struck with the apprehensions of 'the King's displeasure, and of the ill effects it might 'have, that she said to the Lady Churchill, that she 'could not bear the thoughts of it; and would leap 'out at window rather than venture on it. The Bishop 'of London was then lodged very secretly in Suffolk-'street. So the Lady Churchill, who knew where he 'was, went to him and concerted with him the method 'of the Princess's withdrawing from the Court. The 'Princess went sooner to bed than ordinary. And about 'midnight, she went down a back stairs from her 'closer, attended only by the Lady Churchill, in 'such haste, that they carried nothing with them. 'They were waited for by the Bishop of London, who 'carried them to the Earl of Dorset's, whose Lady 'furnished them with every thing. And so they went 'northward, as far as Northampton; where that Earl 'attended on them with all respect, and quickly 'brought a body of Horse to serve for a guard to the 'Princess. And in a little while a small army was formed about her, who chose to be commanded by the 'Bishop of London; of which he too easily accepted '(22).' So that, as Dr Gooch observes (23), the Bishop thought it then a proper time to resume his care and charge, and to guard the Princess against any attempts on her Religion or her Liberty. This is that so much talked of part he acted at the Revolution. He rescued the Princess Anne; he hid her (as it were) 'till Popish Tyranny was overpast. During that nice and difficult juncture, he was called peculiarly *the Protestant Bishop*; and, indeed, he was the ornament and security of the Protestant cause.

(22) Burnet, as above. p. 792.

(23) Ubi supra.

[*S*] *But the intended Comprehension met with insuperable difficulties.*] For, tho' many arguments were used to bring the more stiff of the inferior Clergy to a charitable condescension, and the much desired union; yet there prevailed amongst them a jealousy and a distrust not to be conquered. This appeared in the choice of a Prolocutor for the Lower-house? Dr Tillotson was the person proposed, and desired by our Bishop, and most of his Brethren, and yet Dr Jane had the majority of votes. And when he was presented to the Bishop of London, as President, for his approbation, he made a customary speech in Latin, wherein he extolled the excellency of the Church of England as established by Law, above all communities; implyed that it wanted no amendments; and then ended with the application of this sentence, by way of triumph, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*. But the Bishop of London, to whom Dr Jane had been chaplain, made a speech in the same language, wherein he told the Clergy; 'That 'they ought to endeavour a temper in those things, 'that are not essential in religion, thereby to open the 'door

(m) Ibid. and Boyer, ubi supra.

enter into any terms of accommodation with the Diſſenters (*m*). King William having, ſoon after, named Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations, his Lordſhip was made one of them: and the Biſhop of London, for the time being, is always to be one, by reaſon of his ſuperintendency of all the churches in the Plantations [*T*]. In the beginning of the year 1690-1, at his own charge he attended King William to the famous Congreſs at the Hague, where the Grand Alliance againſt France was concluded. But, notwithſtanding the great part he acted in the Revolution, and his ſubſequent ſervices, no ſooner was the ſtorm over, but jealouſies were infuſed, and calumnies diſperſed, to ſupplant and undermine him: inſomuch, that tho' the Metropolitan See of Canterbury was twice vacant in that reign, yet he ſtill continued Biſhop of London [*V*]. However, he went on conſiſtently and like himſelf, deſpiſing all other rewards, but the quiet and the applauſe of his own conſcience, and the high eſteem and intimacy of Queen Mary, which he preſerved to her dying day (*n*). At the acceſſion of Queen Anne to the throne, he ſeemed to ſtand faireſt for the Royal favour. And tho' many things were ſaid to diſparage him at Court [*W*], yet nothing could diſcourage him from paying his duty and attendance there. About the beginning of May 1702, he was ſworn of her majeſty's Privy-Council. The ſame year, he was put in the commiſſion for the Union of England and Scotland, but was left out in the new commiſſion iſſued out in April 1706. Two years before, he very much promoted the 'Act for making effectual her Majeſty's intention for the augmentation of 'the maintenance of the poor Clergy, by enabling her Majeſty to grant the revenues of 'the Firſt-Fruits and Tenths.' He maintained all along a brotherly correſpondence with the foreign Proteſtant Churches, and endeavoured to promote in them a good opinion concerning the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of England, and her moderate ſentiments of them, as appears, both by his application to Meſſieurs Le Moyne, Claude, and de l' Angle beforementioned (*o*); and the Letters that paſſed between his Lordſhip and the Univerſity of Geneva in 1706 [*X*]. Towards the end of Queen Anne's reign, his acceſs became eaſier

(n) Gooch, and Boyer, as above.

(o) Boyer, as above.

'door of Salvation to a multitude of ſtraying Chriſtians: that it muſt needs be their duty, to ſhew the 'ſame indulgence and charity to the Diſſenters under 'King William, which ſome of the Biſhops and Clergy had promiſed to them in their addreſſes to King 'James;' and concluded with a pathetical exhortation to unanimity and concord (24). But tho' he made ſuch great advances towards a Comprehenſion, yet when he obſerved the perverſe and obſtinate diſpoſition of the Diſſenters; when he found, that not a ſenſe of true and undiſſembled religion, but intereſt and humour were at the bottom; and that there was no Comprehenſion to be propoſed, or ſatisfaction given, but by the expenſive ſacrifice of truth and order, then he thought it neceſſary to ſtop. He wiſhed as well as any body to the Proteſtant intereſt, and would gladly have ſeen it more united: but he was not well-bred enough to betray the rights of the Church in favour of a ſchiſm. He had ſeen ſo much the effects of popular frowardneſs and contention, mens aukward diſlike to what is ſettled, and deſire to change, that he dreaded the thoughts of innovations (25). His not complying ſo far as the Diſſenters liked, is undoubtedly what made an author who is very favourable to them (26) ſay, 'that Biſhop 'Compton was a weak man, wilful, and ſtrangely 'wedded a party:' that is, he was not of the ſame party in that reſpect as Biſhop Burnet.

(24) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 591.

(25) Dr Gooch, ubi ſupra.

(26) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 392.

[*T*] *By reaſon of his ſuperintendency of all the churches in the Plantations.*] Biſhop Compton often declared his reſolution of going over himſelf, to ſettle the Chriſtian Church in thoſe American Plantations; but by his perſecution in King James's reign, and the miſchiefs of a long war ever ſince, he could never bring it to effect. Greater then was his care in ſending over good paſtors; more conſtant his attention to their lives, manners, and doctrine; by every conveyance, letters ſent of inſtruction, commendation, or reproof; a perpetual correſpondence, in anſwer to volumes of complaints, wants, and requeſts. And all this carried on by himſelf, againſt the perverſeneſs of the inhabitants, the wiles of the Church of Rome, and the ſubtilties of their ſocieties *de Propaganda Fide*, 'till the Society for propagating Chriſtian Knowledge was erected.

It was no ſmall trouble or expence, to find out fit Paſtors for that refractory and unbelieving part of mankind: men of integrity; for they could not be under his inſpection as to their manners and doctrine, in thoſe remote territories; and men of prudence and conſtancy, to reclaim the inhabitants from their old imbittered leaven of Independency, Antinomianiſm, and Quakeriſm: and to reduce the natives from being worſhippers of evil dæmons (25).

(25) Whitfeld, as above, p. 17. See alſo Dr Gooch, ubi ſupra.

[*V*] *Tho' the metropolitan See of* Canterbury *was twice vacant in that reign, yet he ſtill continued Biſhop of* London.] The firſt time indeed, 'tis no great wonder he ſhould miſs of it, ſince he had for competitor Dr Tillotſon the glory of the Engliſh nation. But why he ſhould not be promoted to it at the ſecond vacancy is entirely unaccountable, all circumſtances conſidered. And no truer reaſon of it can be aſſigned than this, that it was thought, Dr Tennifon would be more ſubſervient to all the Court Deſigns, than Biſhop Compton could ever be expected to be.

[*W*] *And tho' many things were ſaid to diſparage him at Court.*] For then, as Dr Gooch obſerves (26), was the time for the moſt artful management. Honeſty and integrity will always ſtand in ſome mens way. The Biſhop of London could neither be corrupted nor removed. But whatever attempts were made againſt him they moved him not; neither counted he his life dear, while he was doing God and his Church good ſervice.

(26) Ubi ſupra.

[*X*] *The Letters that paſſed between his Lordſhip, and the univerſity of* Geneva *in* 1706.] What the ſubſtance of them was, we learn from the following paſſage in a letter from that Univerſity, to the Univerſity of Oxford, dated Feb. 5, 1706-7. *Summo gaudio nos perfudit quod de veſtra in nos charitate ſcribere dignatus eſt illuſtriſſimus Præſul Henricus Londinenſis Epiſcopus. Cum enim accepiſſemus, nos male audire, & Genevæ famam apud vos deteri; nomine veſtro nos docuit, præjudicatas eſſe & veteres opiniones nondum penitus depoſitas; & quæ in medium a quibuſdam allata erant nos non ſpectare, verum nonnullos qui eccleſiæ Anglicanæ diſciplinam & liturgiam detrectantes, nomen noſtrum præ ſe ferebant: illud vero a ſententia noſtra omnino diſſitum eſſe moverat vir illuſtriſſimus.* &c. i. e. 'The aſſurances we have received from the moſt illuſtrious Biſhop of London of your affection towards us, 'hath filled us with the utmoſt joy. For hearing that 'we were ill ſpoken of, and that *Geneva* was odious 'amongſt you, he hath aſſured us in your name, that 'thoſe were old prejudices, and wrong notions not yet 'laid aſide; and that what had been ſaid by ſome, did 'not concern us, but certain perſons, who diſſenting 'from, and railing at, the diſcipline and liturgy of the 'Church of England, made uſe of our name: but he 'knew us to be quite of another mind.'—The compliment paid to his Lordſhip by the Univerſity of Oxford, in their anſwer to this letter, is both very juſt and handſome.—*Quo nemo aut Eccleſiam Anglicanam paterno magis affectu fovet ac tuetur, aut exteres omnes, utcunque locorum intervallis diſſitas, arctiſſimo tamen purioris Fidei vinculo conjunctas charitate magis fraterna proſequitur.* i. e. 'Than whom, none hath a more paternal affection 'for the Church of England, nor a greater brotherly 'love for the foreign Churches, united by one cloſe 'bond

eaſier at Court, and he had greater power and intereſt there. But, whether the times were good or bad, he looked upon all that power and intereſt only as accidental circumſtances that attended the office of a Biſhop; and not as an eſſential part of it (*p*). In 1709-10, he was one of the Lords who oppoſed the proſecution then carried on againſt Dr Sacheverel, and declared him Not Guilty; and likewiſe proteſted againſt ſeveral ſteps taken in that affair (*q*). His Lordſhip having for ſome time been afflicted with the Gout and Stone [*Y*], it turned at laſt to a complication of diſtempers, which put an end to his moſt valuable life at Fulham, on the 7th of July 1713, in the eighty-firſt year of his age. His body was interred, the 15th of the ſame month, in the church-yard of Fulham [*Z*], according to his particular direction (*r*). What few things he publiſhed, are mentioned in the note [*AA*]. As to his *perſonal* qualifications: he was in all reſpects one of the beſt-bred men in his time; courteous and affable; not full of words, but very converſable; and, as in his miniſterial offices, ſo in converſation too, willing and apt to teach. He was always eaſy of acceſs, and ready to do good offices. In his friendſhips he was conſtant, or rather inflexible. He was a man of the largeſt and moſt publick ſpirit; and liked nothing that looked narrow or ſtingy. He had no little, artful, ſelfiſh deſigns. He was never ſeen to be afraid or concerned at danger. In the midſt of ſtorms he himſelf was calm. With regard to his *moral* character: he was a perſon of ſingular modeſty, and humility; of great temperance and abſtinence; of exemplary piety [*BB*], and every virtue. Never did ſuch tender and ſuch manly paſſions meet before in the ſame breaſt! never ſuch firmneſs and fortitude, mixed with ſo much meekneſs and condeſcenſion! But he was moſt particularly eminent for his unbounded charity and beneficence: being generous and charitable beyond example. He diſpoſed of money to every one who could make out (and it was very eaſy to make that out to him) that he was a proper object of charity. He anſwered literally the Apoſtle's character, poor enough himſelf, yet making many rich (*s*). He had divers ancient people, men and women, whom he ſupported by conſtant annual penſions; and ſeveral children at ſchool, at his own coſt and charge; beſide thoſe educated from children, and brought up to the Univerſities, to the ſea, or to trades, &c (*t*). The poor of his pariſh were always attending his gate for their dole, and for the remains of his conſtant hoſpitable table; which was always furniſhed, and free to thoſe whom reſpect or buſineſs drew to him. His hall was frequented in the morning with petitioners of all ſorts (*u*). More particularly, he ſpared no coſt nor pains to ſerve the Church and Clergy. He bought many Advowſons out of Lay-hands [*CC*]. He gave great ſums for the rebuilding of churches (*w*), and greater ſtill for the buying in Impropriations

(*p*) Dr Gooch, ubi ſupra.

(*q*) Hiſtory of Queen Anne, by A. Boyer, edit. 1735, p. 428, 429, 444, 445.

(*r*) Boyer's Annual Liſt, as above.

(*s*) 2 Cor. vi. 10.

(*t*) Dr Gooch, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Whitfeld, ubi ſupra, p. 19.

(*w*) As St Mary's Colcheſter, Pleſhey, and others in his dioceſe.

(27) Theſe Letters were printed at Oxford, 1707, fol.

'bond of the true Faith, tho' never ſo far diſtant from 'each other (27).'

[*Y*] *His Lordſhip having for ſome time been afflicted with the Gout and Stone.*] 'The Gout and Stone will 'make the ſtouteſt heart to ſhrink; yet (ſays Dr Gooch) in 'the midſt of theſe tormenting pains, we never heard 'the voice of murmur; thoſe ſhocks that would make 'a beholder tremble, did not make him repine. He 'never complained againſt God, nor grew touchy and 'peeviſh to his domeſticks; (almoſt every body's caſe 'in pain and ſickneſs.) He was firm and conſtant, 'quiet and good-natured to the end. When his laſt ill-'neſs came upon him, he foreſaw and foretold what 'would be the event on't, with the ſame compoſedneſs 'as if he had been ſure of his recovery. He knew his 'ſummons could never be ſudden, becauſe he was never 'unprepared to receive it. He had long ago ſettled his 'worldly affairs: indeed he had little worldly affairs to 'ſettle; for he had remitted his treaſure to the other 'world and ſecured an eternal reverſion there. He talk-'ed of dying with the ſame unconcernedneſs, (or with the 'ſame pleaſure) as if he was only taking a journey; and 'wiſhed for nothing but an eaſy paſſage:——which 'he obtained; being taken out of this world in the 'ſame eaſy and quiet manner as he had endeavoured to 'live, and wiſhed to die (28).'

(28) Gooch, ubi ſupra.

[*Z*] *His body was interred——in the churchyard of* Fulham.] According to his particular direction: for he uſed to ſay, 'that the church is for the living, and 'the churchyard for the dead.' So that his humility of life, and greatneſs of mind, above worldly pomp, followed him to his grave (29). Over it there is erected a handſome tomb, (ſurrounded with iron rails,) having only this ſhort inſcription. H. London. FI MH ΕΝ ΤΩ ΣΤΑΥΡΩ. M. DCC. XIII. The Greek words (Engl. *Save in the croſs*) are part of Galatians VI. 14. God forbid that I ſhould glory *ſave in the croſs* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

(29) Boyer, and Whitfeld, as above.

[*AA*] *What few things he publiſhed, are mentioned in the note.*] They are as follow. I. A Tranſlation from Italian, of 'The Life of Donna Olympia Maldachini, who 'governed the Church during the time of Innocent X. 'which was from the year 1644 to 1655.' Lond. 1667, written originally by Abbot Gualdi, and printed privately at Paris, II. A Tranſlation from French into Engliſh, of, 'The Jeſuits intrigues; with the pri-'vate inſtructions of that Society to their Emiſſaries.' Lond. 1669. nine ſheets in 4*to*. This was found in manuſcript in a Jeſuit's cloſet after his death: and both were ſent in a letter from a gentleman at Paris, to his friend in London. III. 'A Treatiſe of the Holy Com-'munion.' Lond. 1677, 8*vo*. his name is not ſet to it. IV. 'A Letter to the Clergy of the Dioceſe of London, 'concerning Baptiſm, the Lord's Supper, Catechiſing. 'Dated April 25, 1679,' and printed on one ſide of a ſheet. V. Second Letter, concerning 1. The half Communion. 2. Prayers in an unknown tongue. 3. Prayers to Saints. Dated from Fulham, July 6, 1680. and printed alſo on one Side of a ſheet of paper. VI. A third Letter, on Confirmation, and Viſitation of the Sick. From Fulham 1682. VII. A fourth Leter; upon Canon 54. Dated from Fulham, April 6, 1683. VIII. A fifth Letter, upon Canon 118. From Fulham, March 19. 1684. IX. A ſixth Letter, upon Canon 13. Fulham April 18, 1685. They were all reprinted together in 1686, 12*mo*, under this title *Epiſcopalia*: or, Letters of the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry Lord Biſhop of London, to the Clergy of his Dioceſe (30). We are informed, that they were part of them printed without his knowledge; but not without a deſign of bringing more trouble upon his head from King James II, for his oppoſing Popery, as he doth in ſome of them (31). X. There is alſo, 'A Letter of his to a 'Clergyman in his Dioceſe, concerning Non-Reſiſtance;' written ſoon after the Revolution, and inſerted in the Memoirs of the Life of Mr John Kettlewell (32).

(30) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 969.

(31) Whitfeld, ubi ſupra, p. 11.

(32) Edit. Lond. 1718, 8*vo*, p. 208, &c.

[*BB*] *Of exemplary piety*] No one was ſo ſtrict and regular in his private devotions; no one ſo conſtant and frequent in the ſervice of the Church. For, beſide the publick offices morning and evening, his whole family began the day with the Litany, and ended it with ſelect prayers from the Liturgy: and at all theſe times he himſelf, when he was able, was a conſtant attendant (33).

(33) Dr Gooch. ubi ſupra.

[*CC*] *He bought many Advowſons out of Lay hands.*] As the Rectories of St James, and All-Saints; and the Vicarage of St Peter's, all in Colcheſter: the Rectories of Abberton Tendring in Eſſex, &c.

[*DD*] *For*

priations, and settling them on the poor Vicars [*DD*]. There was no poor honest Clergyman, or his widow, in want, but had his benevolence, when applied for. Nor any in the Reformed Churches abroad, to whom he was not a liberal Patron, Steward, and perpetual Solicitor for. The French Refugees drank deep of his bounty for many years; so did the Irish in their day of affliction; and likewise the Scotch Episcopal party [*EE*]. in their grievous persecution (*x*). He was indeed upon some occasions imposed upon, and bestowed his charity sometimes upon forward and impudent persons; who did not want or deserve it: but that is frequently the case of generous well-meaning persons; and must be owned to be a weakness rather than a fault [*FF*]. If we consider him *as a Bishop:* he was not only blameless, but a pattern of good behaviour in every respect. He applied himself more to his function, than Bishops had commonly done. He went much about his diocese, and preached [*GG*] and confirmed in many places (*y*). In order not to burden his Clergy with frequent visitations, he was wont to hire houses, and spend every summer in some new part of his diocese, where he rid out, and visited in person the several churches, and parsonage, and vicarage-houses. His method also was, in stated meetings with his Clergy, to propose some topick in Divinity; on which they discoursed together in a serious, familiar, and judicious manner; which afterwards was summed up, and formed into a regular treatise. Many of these discourses are published, under the title of, *The Bishop of* London*'s Conferences.* At those times, and indeed upon all other occasions, he was extremely civil, affable, and courteous, full of candor and patience [*HH*]. In a word, by his death the Church lost a most excellent Bishop; the kingdom a brave and able Statesman; the Protestant Religion, at home and abroad, it's ornament and refuge; and the whole Christian world an eminent example of virtue and piety (*z*). His Lordship was never married.

(x) Whitfeld, ubi supra.

(y) Burnet, ubi supra. p. 392.

(z) Dr Gooch.

[*DD*] *For the buying in Impropriations, and settling them upon the poor vicars.*] Particularly the Impropriation of Marks-Tay in Essex, for which he is said to have given no less then seven hundred pounds; whereby he raised a very mean Curacy to a competent subsistance.

[*EE*] *And likewise the Scotch Episcopal party.*] He provided in particular, for numbers of the Scotch Episcopal Clergy, who fled into England at the Revolution. To Mr Robert Falconer, for instance, he gave the Living of Dunmow; to Mr Tho. Dunbar, that of Keldon; both in Essex, and the like in many other instances.

[*FF*] *And must be owned to be a weakness rather than a fault.*] We shall conclude this article of his charities, with these words of Dr Whitfeld (34): 'To his Honour be it spoken! he died poor; having made the needy and miserable his heirs all his life long. His contempt of gathering or leaving riches out of the patrimony of the Church, was worthy of his great mind and station. And he died with that honour, with which he had always lived.'—We must not forget to observe, that he left the third part of his large and well chosen library to the the corporation of Colchester. But, that noble gift was slighted; so that his Lordship's heir was forced to dispose of it otherwise. The two other parts of his library he left to St Paul's Cathedral, aud to Sion College.

(34) Sermon, as above, p. 23.

[*GG*] *And preached.*] One author tells us (35), that 'his preaching was without much life or learning: for he had not gone thro' his studies with the exactness that was fitting.' But another who knew him better gives the following account. 'He spake with the affection and authority of a spiritual father; always above the affectation of popular eloquence, but in the power of the Spirit, and primitive simplicity, with the majesty of plainness, in the utmost sedateness and good judgement. His weighty reason needed not to be set off with trappings. The love with which his people met his Doctrine, made it superfluous to speak to their passions so easily raised and so soon sinking: he spake to convince their understanding. His deliberate way of utterance, gave them leisure to receive and fix his notions, and brought forth nothing but with maturity of thought, and exactness of judgment.——His knowledge and learning had been well cultivated in his privater station in the Church, and particularly assisted by his friendship with Dr Rich. Allestry Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. His books had always attended him in his most youthful years; nor were they neglected to the last in his fulness of business. His library was an evidence of his knowledge in divine things especially, and also in human learning, and in the modern languages (36).'

(35) Burnet, as above, p. 392.

[*HH*] *Full of candor and patience.*] 'None of his Clergy ever felt his displeasure, but for faults which carried their own mark and evidence. Not any difference of opinion in State-matters, did ever estrange him from a deserving man: that which was good and virtuous in the son, he laid hold on, and cherished with a fatherly tenderness, and passed by his mistaken judgment in that which was amiss. But in those that were bad, no interest, no being attached to the same cause with himself, could ever make him overlook their faults. This was true moderation! candor and charity to good men of all opinions, and firmness to his own just principles (37).'

(36) Whitfeld, as above, p. 11, 12.

(37) Ibid. p. 20.

C

The End of the SECOND VOLUME.

For the uſe of this School, he drew up ſome rudiments of grammar, with an abridgment of the Principles of Religion; of which we ſhall give an account below among the reſt of his works (*o*). Beſides his dignities and preferments already mentioned, he was Rector of the Fraternity or Gild of Jeſus in St Paul's Church (*p*), for which he procured new Statutes; and alſo Chaplain, and Preacher in Ordinary to King Henry VIII, and (if Eraſmus is not miſtaken) one of his Privy-Council (*q*). When he came to about the fiftieth year of his age, he grew ſo weary of the world, that he fully purpoſed to throw himſelf into ſome monaſtery, and there end his days in quiet and ſolitude (*r*). In purſuance of this reſolution, he built a convenient and handſome houſe within the precinct of the Charter-houſe near Richmond-palace in Surry, where he intended to retire in his old age, when broken with infirmities, and unable to diſcharge the duties of his function (*s*). But death prevented him: for having been ſeized by the ſweating ſickneſs at two ſeveral times before; and relapſing into it a third time, he fell into a conſumption that carried him off on the 16th of September 1519, in the fifty-third year of his age (*t*). He was buried on the ſouth ſide of the choir of St Paul's, with an humble monument prepared by him ſeveral years before, and having no other inſcription but his bare name (*u*). But afterwards a handſomer monument was ſet up for him [*I*], by the company of Mercers (*w*). He writ ſeveral things, of which there is an account in the note [*K*]. As to his perſon

(*o*) Knight, ubi ſupra, p. 123, 124.

(*p*) Idem, p. 83.

(*q*) Eraſmi Epiſt. Dat. Baſil. 7 Cal. Aug. 1518, and Lovanii 1519. Knight, p. 211.

(*r*) Knight, p. 222.

(*s*) Idem, p. 224, 254, ex Eraſmo, & Elogiis Virorum aliquot in Britannia, per Geo. Lilium, 1559, 8*vo*.

(*t*) Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ. — & Virorum aliquot in Britannia Elegia, per Geo. Lillium, 1559, 8*vo*.

(*u*) Eraſmi Epiſt. J. Jonæ.

(*w*) Knight, p. 225, 260. Dugdale's Hiſt. of St Paul's.

(23) Wood, Ath Vol. I. col. 12.

1512 (23). The worthy founder dedicated it to the honour *of Chriſt Jeſus in his childhood*: and ordained, That there ſhould be in it, an High Maſter; a Surmaſter; and a Chaplain; who ſhould teach gratis one hundred and fifty three children, divided into eight claſſes. He endowed it with one meſſuage, and two ſhops in Sopers lain; ſix tenements in St George's pariſh in Pudding-lain; two meſſuages in Bridge-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St Magnus; four ſhops; ſome tenements without Aldgate, and all their appurtenances: manors, lands, and tenements in Buckinghamſhire; the manor of Vach in Barton, and that of Berwicke; lands in Colcheſter; ſeveral fields and tenements, the places where they lie not expreſſed, only the occupiers names; a barn; four acres of land the backſide of White-hart-ſtreet; eight acres in London-field; nine acres, and gardens, near it, with ſeveral tenements, amounting then in all to 122*l*.—4*s*—7*d*. $\frac{1}{2}$ a year, but now much improved. The Company of Mercers were appointed Truſtees (24). The High Maſters of this School, from the firſt to this time, have been theſe: (1.) William Lilly, appointed by the founder in 1512. (2.) John Rightwyſe, choſen in 1522. (3) Richard Jones—in 1532. (4) Thomas Freeman—in 1549. (5.) John Cook, *M. A.*—in 1559. (6.) William Malin, or Malim—in 1573. (7.) John Harriſon, *M. A.*—in 1581. (8.) Richard Mulcaſter—in 1596. (9) Alexander Gill, ſenior—in 1608. (10.) Alexander Gill, jun—in 1635. (11) John Langley—in 1640. (12.) Samuel Cromleholme—in 1657. (13.) Thomas Gale, *D. D.*—in 1672. (14.) John Poſtlethwayte, *M. A.*—in 1697. (15.) Philip Aſcough, *M. A.*—in 1713. (16.) Benjamin Morland, *F. R. S.*—in 1721. (17.) Timothy Crumpe, *M. A.*—in 1733. (18.) Mr Charles—in 1736-7 (25).

(24) Knight, Appendix to Dr Colet's Life, p. 335, &c. 367, &c.

(25) Ib. p. 370—388. Stowe's Surveyof London, edit. 1720, Vol. I. B. i. p. 167, &c.

[*I*] *But afterwards a handſomer monument was ſet up for him.*] By the Company of Mercers. It was deſtroyed, with St Paul's cathedral, in the general conflagation in 1666. But the reprefentation of it is preſerved in Mr William [afterwards Sir William] Dugdale's Hiſtory of St Paul's; and in Dr S. Knight's Life of Dr John Colet (26). On the two ſides of the built was this inſcription. 'John Colet, Doctor of 'Divinity, Dean of Pauls, and the only founder 'of Pauls-ſchool, departed this life *anno* 1519, the 'ſon of Sir Henry Colet, Knt. twiſe Lord Mayor of 'the cyty of London, and free of the Company and 'Miſtery of Mercers.' Lower, there were other inſcriptions in Latin. About the year 1680, when the church was taking down, in order to be rebuilt, his leaden coffin was found incloſed in the wall, about two foot and a half above the floor. At the top of it was a leaden plate faſtened, whereon was ingraved the Dean's name, his dignity, benefactions, &c (27).

(26) Page 261.

(27) Wood. Ath. Vol. I. col 13.

[*K*] *He writ ſeveral things*, &c.] Thoſe which he publiſhed himſelf, or that have been put out ſince his deceaſe, are as follow. I. *Oratio habita a Doctore Joanne Colet, Decano Sancti Pauli, ad Clerum in Convocatione*, anno 1511. Printed the ſame year by Richard Pynſon, in three ſheets, 4*to*. This is very ſcarce, being hardly to be met with, except in the Bodleian library, Oxon, among Archbiſhop Laud's MSS. It is reprinted by Dr S. Knight, in his Appendix to the Life of Dr John Colet (28). In the ſame book is alſo printed, an old Engliſh tranſlation of it, intituled, 'The Sermon of Doctor Colete, made to the 'Convocation at Paulis.' Printed firſt by Thomas Berthelet, and ſuppoſed by Dr Knight (29) to be done by the author himſelf. It was reprinted in 1661, 12*mo*. by Thomas Smith of Chriſt's-College, with notes: under this title, 'A Sermon of Conforming 'and Reforming made to the Convocation at St Paul's 'Church in London, by John Colet, &c.' Reprinted again, in the Phoenix, Vol. I. 8*vo*. and lately in a collection of 'Select Sermons, fol.' II. *Rudimenta Grammatices a Johanne Coleto, Decano Eccleſiæ ſancti Pauli London in uſum Scholæ ab ipſo inſtitutæ* (30); commonly called *Paul's Accidence*. Lond. 1539 8*vo*. III. The conſtruction of the eight parts of ſpeech, intituled, *Abſolutiſſimus de octo Orationis partium conſtructione Libellus*; which, with ſome alterations, and great additions, makes up the ſyntax in Lilly's grammar. *Antverp*. 1530, 8*vo*. IV. 'Daily Devotions: or the 'Chriſtian's Morning and Evening Sacrifice, &c.' Printed at London ſeveral times in 12*mo* and 16*mo*. This is ſaid not to be *all* of his compoſition (31). V. 'Monition to a godly Life.' Lond. 1534, 1563, &c. This Mr Wood ſuppoſes (32) to be the ſame with, 'A right fruitful Admonition concerning the 'Order of a good Chriſtian's Man's Life, &c.' Lond. 1577, 8*vo*. VI. *Epiſtolæ ad Eraſmum*. Many of them are printed among *Eraſmi Epiſtolæ*; and ſome at the end of Dr S. Knight's Life of Dean Colet.—— The following pieces remain in manuſcript. VII. *Commentarii in Epiſtolas D. Pauli ad Romanos & Corinthios*: i. e. Commentaries on St Paul's Epiſtles to the Romans and Corinthians. Given to the publick library at Cambridge by Archbiſhop Parker. In the ſame volume are ſeveral pieces of Dean Colet *viz*. VIII. *De Angelis cæleſtique hierarchia*, being a commentary *in Eccleſiaſticam D. Dionyſii Hierarchiam*. And IX. *Epiſtola Abbati Winchincombenſi*, printed by Dr Knight, at the end of the Dean's Life. The Commentaries upon the Epiſtles to the Corinthians, are alſo in manuſcript in Emmanuel-College library, given thereto by Dr Anthony Tuckeny. And in that of Bennet-College; the gift of Archbiſhop Parker. At the end of this laſt, there is *the Beginning of a Commentary on Geneſis*, no where elſe to be met with. X. One of the Dean's own manuſcripts, being *an Analytical Commentary on the Apoſtolical Epiſtles*, and a Summary of his larger Comments, is in the poſſeſſion of Roger Gale, Eſq; it is the faireſt, and indeed the only one manuſcript of Dr Colet's, of that kind, extant (33). Bale and Pits mention alſo theſe books of his. 1. *Commentaria in Proverbia Salomonis*. 2. *In Evengelium S. Matthæ*. 3. *In Precationem Dominicam*; tranſlated, as Mr Wood tells us (34), into Engliſh. 4. *In Symbolum fidei*. 5. *Breviloquium dictorum Chriſti*. 6. *Reſponſio ad argumenta Eraſmiana de tædio & pavore Chriſti* (35); called by Bale and Pits, *Ad argumenta Eraſmi*; And, *De reformidatione Chriſti*; and made two different books. 7. *Conciones ordinariæ, & extraordinariæ*. Among which were two ſermons on war, preached before King Henry VIII. 8. *Vita hominis Chriſtiani*. 9. *Exceptiones*

(28) This is falſly called by Mr Wood *Orationes duæ ad Clerum in Convocatione*, ann. 1511, &c. Lond. 8*vo*. Ath. Vol. I. col. 11.

(29) Life, p. 197. Dr Knight ſuppoſes, that Dean Colet was Prolocutor of this Convocation, p. 199.

(30) MS. in the Publick Library at Cambr. inter MS. reg.

(31) Knight, p. 197, note (*t*).

(32) Ath. Vol. I. col. 13.

(33) Dr Knight, Life of Dr J. Colet, p. 197; and Introduction to it, p. vii. viii. ix.

(34) Ath. Vol. I. col. 13.

(35) See Dr Knight's Life of Colet, p. 41, &c.

perſon and character, they are thus deſcribed. He was tall, comely, and very graceful: there was ſomething in his mien and carriage extremely becoming; as was every thing he ſaid or did (*x*). His learning and piety were above the pitch of the times he lived in; but what made him moſt renowned, was his publick ſpirit (*y*). In his writings, his ſtyle was plain and unaffected, but it had always ſomething weighty and pungent. And this, which ſome might call careleſſneſs, did not proceed from a want of what goes under the name of Rhetorick; but from a profeſſed contempt of it, as an art only of amuſing (*z*). He could not bear, that the ſtandard of a good ſtyle ſhould be taken from the exact rules of grammar: which, he often ſaid, did rather obſtruct the purity of the language; not to be obtained but by reading the beſt and pureſt authors. This contempt of grammar-rules made him ſometimes fall under the cenſure of the Criticks (*a*). He was, however, a great maſter of ſtyle and languge; ſo that tho' his preaching was popular, and adapted to vulgar capacities, yet withal it was agreeable to the better judgment of men of wit and learning, and was much admired by the great Sir Thomas More (*b*). Likewiſe, he was a great lover and encourager of the Greek tongue. With regard to *ſome of his notions*, he was a very eminent fore-runner of the Reformation. And he, and Eraſmus, jointly promoted it; not only, by pulling down thoſe ſtrong holds of ignorance and corruption the Scholaſtical Divinity, and routing entirely both the Scotiſts and Thomiſts, who had divided the Chriſtian world between them (*c*); but alſo by diſcovering the ſhameful abuſes of Monaſteries, and the dangers of impoſing celibacy on the Clergy: to which places, Colet gave little or nothing while he lived, and left not a farthing when he died; not ſo much out of hatred to their ſeveral orders, as becauſe he found, few or none of them lived up to their vows and profeſſions (*d*). He thought ſimple fornication in a Prieſt more excuſable, than pride and avarice. And was with no ſort of men more angry, than with thoſe Biſhops, who, inſtead of Shepherds, acted the part of ſo many wolves: he thought none more execrable than they, becauſe under the pretence of devotions, ceremonies, benedictions, and indulgences, they recommended themſelves to the veneration of the people, while in their own hearts they were ſlaves to the world, that is, to glory and gain (*e*). He condemned Auricular Confeſſion: and was content to ſay maſs only upon Sundays and great Feſtivals, or at leaſt upon a very few days beſides. He had gathered up ſeveral authorities from the ancient Fathers againſt the current tenets and cuſtoms of the Church: and tho' he did not care to fly in the face of the Governors, yet he could not but favour thoſe who diſliked the way of worſhipping images (*f*). As to his other qualifications; he was a man of exemplary temperance, and all other virtues. The Dean's table, which, under the name of hoſpitality, had before ſerved to luxery, he contracted to a more frugal way of entertaining. And it having been his cuſtom, for many years, to eat but one meal, that of dinner, he had always the evening to himſelf. As he dined late, he had but few gueſts; and the fewer, becauſe his proviſion was frugal, tho' neat. The ſittings were ſhort, and the diſcourſes ſuch as pleaſed only the learned and the good. As ſoon as grace before meat was ſaid, a boy read, with a loud voice, and diſtinctly, a chapter out of one of St Paul's Epiſtles, or the Proverbs of Solomon. When it was finiſhed, the Dean raiſed, from ſome particular part of it, a ſubject matter of diſcourſe. He was ſo impatient of whatſoever was foul or undecent, that he could not bear with an improper way of ſpeaking. He loved to be neat and clean in his goods, furniture, entertainments, apparel, and books, and whatever belonged to him; but he deſpiſed all ſtate and magnificence (*g*), there being in his demeanour the moſt unaffected ſimplicity imaginable (*h*).

(*x*) Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ, et Geor. Lilus, ubi ſupra.

(*y*) Knight, p. 264, 265.

(*z*) Idem, p. 179.

(*a*) Idem, p. 198. Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ.

(*b*) Knight, as above, p. 180, 156, &c.

(*c*) Scotiſtas, ſtupidos omnino, ac ſine ingenio homines judicabat: Thomiſtas, lymphatico ſpiritu arrogantes, *i. e. He counted the Scotiſts ſtupid ſenſleſs fellows; and the Thomiſts, mad.* Baleï Script. Brytanniæ Centuria VIII. n. 63. p. 648. Heabhorred the Scotiſts becauſe they would be Divines without ſo much as reading the Scriptures: Eraſmus J. Jonæ.

(*d*) Knight, as above, p. 60, 61, 72.

(*e*) Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Eraſmus, ib.

(*h*) Knight, p. 266.

(36) Baleus, ubi ſupra, p. 648, 649. Pits, de Illuſtr. Angliæ Scriptor. Ætas xvi. ann. 1510, n. 916.

(37) Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ.

(38) Bale, ubi ſup.

ceptiones doctorum. 10. *Epiſtolæ ad Taylerum.* 11. *Colotanus.* 12. *De moribus componendis.* 13. *De puerili inſtitutione.* Theſe two laſt ſeem to be the ſame, as his *Rudimenta Grammatices* (36). As the Dean had an inaccuracy and uncorrectneſs in his way of writing (37), that was like to expoſe him to the cenſures of the Criticks; and beſides was no perfect maſter of the Greek tongue, without which he thought a man was nothing, that is, no ſcholar (38); it is therefore probable he had no intention of publiſhing any thing. The pieces mentioned above, were found, after his death, in a private corner of his ſtudy; as if he had deſigned they ſhould lie buried in oblivion (39). Beſides they were written in ſuch a manner, as if he intended no body ſhould underſtand them but himſelf (40). With regard to ſermons, he wrote but few; for he generally preached without notes (41).

(39) Ibid.

(40) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 12.

(41) Knight, p. 181, note (*i*).

C

COLLIER (JEREMY) ſon of Jeremy Collier, was born at Stow Qui, or Quire, in Cambridgſhire, September 23, 1650. His father was a Divine and conſiderable Linguiſt, and ſome time Maſter of the free-ſchool at Ipſwick in the county of Suffolk. His grandfather likewiſe was a Clergyman, ſettled at Bradford in Yorkſhire, where he lived in eſteem for his function. He was born at Yeadon near Bradford, and deſcended from a gentleman's family of that name, ſeated at Thruſk in the ſame county, in the reign of Henry VIII. His mother was Elizabeth Smith of Qui in Cambridgeſhire, where her family were poſſeſſed of a conſiderable intereſt, and related to the Sternes of that town, being by her mother deſcended from the Keys or Cays of Yorkſhire and Lincolnſhire. He was educated under his father at Ipſwick, from whence he was ſent to Cambridge, and admitted a poor Scholar of Caius-college, under the tuition of Mr John Ellys. His admiſſion bears date April 10, 1669, in the eighteenth year of his age. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the year 1672-3, and that of Maſter of Arts in 1676, being ordained Deacon on the twenty-fourth of September the ſame year, by Dr Peter Gunning Biſhop of Ely, and Prieſt Feb. 24, 1677, by Dr Henry Compton Biſhop of London.

Having

Having entered into Priests orders, he officiated some time at the Countess Dowager of Dorset's, at Knowle in Kent, from whence he removed to a small rectory at Ampton, near St Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, to which he was presented by James Calthorpe, Esq; and instituted by Dr Anthony Sparrow, Bishop of Norwich, September 25, 1679. After he had held this benefice six years, he resigned it, and came to reside in London in 1685, and was some little time after made Lecturer at Gray's-Inn. But the Revolution coming on, the publick exercise of his function became impracticable (*a*). He did not however think it compatible with his principles, at that critical conjuncture, to sit down contentedly and say nothing, but finding, in that confusion which arose upon King James's going to France, that the Convention was in a great measure influenced by the papers written by a Clergyman who came over with the Prince of Orange, he thought the same liberty might be taken by a Clergyman who conceived differently from him, and accordingly broke the ice, and published the first pamphlet that appeared in defence of the cause which he espoused (*b*), and a very sharp piece it was [*A*]. When the government was settled, by placing King William and Queen Mary upon the throne, Mr Collier remained firm to the principles he had embraced, and continued not only to abstain from taking the oaths which the new legislature had imposed, but laboured all that in him lay to prevent others, more especially such as were zealous members of the Church of England, from owning, or so much as complying with them. It was to this end that he wrote several warm and bitter pieces, which in those days had their effect, and consequently procured their author, in the opinion at least of those who were of his own party, the character both of a solid and shining writer [*B*]. There is no doubt but this conduct of his occasioned an eye to be kept over his proceedings, nor could it be supposed that any government would forbear the first opportunity that occurred of giving some check, to so active, so industrious, and so dangerous a man. It was not long before such an occasion offered itself: information was given to the Earl of Nottingham, at that time Secretary of State, that Mr Collier, with

(*a*) Thus far this article was (except some dates) drawn up by Mr Collier himself.

(*b*) From the information of a gentleman, who was intimately acquainted with Mr Collier.

[*A*] *And a very sharp piece it was.*] As this article cannot be rendered perspicuous, indeed hardly intelligible, without explaining the political, and literary controversies, in which this writer was engaged, we shall endeavour to give as clear and concise an account of them as possible. In the month of December 1688, the famous Dr Gilbert Burnet afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, sent abroad a very succinct, and well written pamphlet, under the title of *An Enquiry into the present state of affairs, and in particular whether we owe Allegiance to the* King *in these circumstances, and whether we are bound to treat with him, and call him* back again, *or not? Published by authority* (1). In this piece, the Doctor gives his sentiments very freely, as to the behaviour of King James, and the conduct that was to be observed towards him, as the reader will see from the following short quotation. 'In all that I have said concerning his desertion, I limit my reflections to his first 'leaving of Whitehall, for the accident at Feversham, 'and what followed after that, cannot be called a return 'to his people; and since the seals never appeared, and 'the King never spake of a parliament, nor altered his 'measures in any thing, but still prosecuted his first design by his seccond escape, his deserting is still to be 'dated from his first going from Whiteball; and he having given that just advantage against himself, which 'came after all that series of injustice and violence, that 'had gone before it, no man can think; that it was not 'very fitting to carry it as far as it would go; and not 'to treat with him any more upon the foot of acknowledging him King (2).' It was in answer to this treatise, and particularly to the argument insisted upon in this passage, that Mr Collier wrote the piece mentioned in the text, and which was intituled,

(1) See the Collection of Tracts written by Dr Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

(2) Enquiry into the present State of Affairs, p. 9.

I *The* Desertion discussed *in a letter to a country Gentleman. Lond.* 1688, 4*to*. He labours in this short pamphlet to shew, that the King, before his withdrawing had sufficient grounds to be apprehensive of danger; that his leaving any representative behind him was impracticable at that juncture, and that there were no grounds, either from the laws of the realm, or of nature, to pronounce the throne void from such a retreat. To this pamphlet of Mr Collier's, an answer was written by Edmund Bohun, Esq; in which, he gives him the following character (3). 'The author of it is my acquaintance, and a 'person for whom I have a great esteem, both on the 'account of his profession, and of his personal worth, 'learning, and sobriety; so that I cannot believe he 'had any ill design, either in the writing, or the publishing of it; his zeal for the Church of England's 'loyalty, and the difficulty, and the unusualness of the 'present case, having been the occasions, if not the 'causes, of his mistake; and therefore I will endeavour 'to shew him, and the world, his error, with as much 'candour and sweetness, as he himself can wish; because 'I have the same design for the main, that he had; 'viz. the honour of the Church of England, and the 'safety of government, and especially our Monarchy:' But this was not the only answer Mr Collier received, for his performance gave such offence, that after the government was settled, he was seized and committed to Newgate, where he continued a close prisoner for some months, but was at length discharged without being brought to a tryal. He afterwards wrote the following pieces, *viz.*

(3) State Tracts in the Reign of King William, Vol. I. p. 116.

II. *A Translation of the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th books of* Sleidan's *Commentaries, Lond.* 1689, 4*to*.

III. Vindiciæ Juris Regii, *or Remarks upon a paper intituled,* An Enquiry into the measures of submission to the supream authority, *Lond.* 1689, 4*to*. The author of this *Enquiry*, was also Dr Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

IV. Animadversions *upon the modern explanation of* 11 *Hen.* VII. *cap* 1. *or a King* de Facto, 1689, 4*to*.

[*B*] *The character both of a solid, and shining writer.*] As Mr Collier was now embarked in an avowed opposition to the government, he laboured as much as in him lay to enlarge the strength of the party which he had joined; and with this view he continued to write, as the reader will see in the following catalogue of his works, during the space of less then two years.

V. *A Caution against* Inconsistency, *or the connection between* praying *and* swearing *in relation to the* civil powers, 1690, 4*to*. This Discourse is a dissuasive from joining in publick assemblies.

VI. A Dialogue *concerning the* Times, *between* Philobelgus *and* Sempronius, 1690, 4*to*. There was another dialogue with much the same title, printed in 1692, and called *a second part*, but it was not Mr Collier's, being a narrative of the *Revolution*, whereas Mr Collier's relates chiefly to the authority of the *Convention*.

VII. *To the Right Honourable the* Lords *and to the* Gentlemen *convened at Westminster*, October 1690, half sheet; it is a petition for an enquiry into the birth of the Prince of Wales.

VIII. *Dr* Sherlock's *Case of* Allegiance *considered with some remarks upon his* Vindication, *Lond.* 1691, 4*to*.

IX. *A Brief* Essay *concerning* the Independency *of* Church Power, 1692, 4*to*. The design of this essay is to prove the publick assemblies guilty of schism, upon account of their being held under such Bishops, as had assumed, or owned such, as had assumed the sees of those, that were deprived for not complying with the government, &c.

with one Mr Newton, another Nonjuring Clergyman, was gone down to Romney-Marsh, which was enough to fix a suspicion, that they were either endeavouring to send intelligence to, or were labouring to receive it from, the other side of the water. Upon this, about the latter end of the year 1692, Messengers were sent down into Kent to apprehend them, which they accordingly did, and brought them to London, where, after a short examination before the Earl of Nottingham, who charged them with being in a design against the government, they were committed to the Gate-House (*c*). But, as no evidence of their being in any such design could be found, they were admitted to bail. So strict, however, were Mr Collier's principles, that he had not been long at liberty, before he began to question the consistency of his own conduct in giving bail, upon which he went before the Lord Chief Justice Holt, surrendered in their discharge, and was committed to the King's Bench prison; but upon the application of some of his friends to that most upright and impartial Judge, he was discharged in a week or ten days (*d*). Yet even this did not content him, as appears by several pieces of his written upon this subject [*C*]. In the space of some years following, there happened nothing that so far engaged this gentleman's attention, as to induce him to write against the transactions of the State, which was, generally speaking, the subject that employed his pen. But upon the breaking out of that which was called the Assassination Plot, and the conviction of Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins, an incident happened which made a very great noise, and deeply affected Mr Collier his whole life after. The fact was this: Mr Collier, with Mr Cook and Mr Snatt, both Clergymen of his own opinion, atttended those unhappy persons at the place of execution, where Mr Collier solemnly absolved the former, as Mr Cook did the latter, and all three joined in the imposition of hands upon them both (*e*). This, as might be very well expected, made a very great noise, and was looked upon as a very high insult on the Civil and Ecclesiastical government, for which reason they fell under a severe prosecution on one side, in consequence of which Mr Cook and Mr Snatt were sent to Newgate, but afterwards were released without being brought to a trial, and Mr Collier having still his old scruple about putting in bail, absconded, and was outlawed, under which incapacity he remained as long as he lived (*f*). On the other hand, both the Archbishops, and ten of their suffragans, *viz.* the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Coventry and Lichfield, Rochester, Hereford, Norwich, Peterborough, Gloucester, Chichester, and St Asaph, published a very strong Declaration of their sense of this scandalous and irregular proceeding (*g*). To this our author wrote an answer with his usual vigour, and after that several other pieces, in support of his own and his brethren's conduct in this affair [*D*]. After this storm was a little over, Mr Collier employed himself in reviewing and

(*c*) As appears from the Contents of the Papers afterwards mentioned.

(*d*) As may be collected from the dates of several papers mentioned in the note.

(*e*) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 719. Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 143.

(*f*) From the information before mentioned.

(*g*) This Declaration is to be found at large in the Appendix to the third Vol. of the State Tracts in the time of King William.

[*C*] *As appears by several pieces of his written upon this subject*] It seems that Mr Collier had occasionaly read Law, and this it was that induced him to make a scruple of remaining upon bail, because he apprehended that the very recognizance, by which bail was taken, carried in it an acknowledgment of the jurisdiction of the Court, in which the bail was taken, and by consequence of the power from whence the authority of that court was derived. In support of these principles, and in justification of his own conduct, he wrote the following pieces, of which it is said, there were only five copies printed.

X. *The case of* giving bail *to a pretended* authority *examined, dated from the* King's Bench. *November* 23 1692, *with a* preface *dated December* 1692, *and a letter to Sir* John Holt, *dated November* 30 1692. *And also a reply to some* remarks *upon the* case *of* giving bail, *&c. dated* April 1693. He wrote, soon after this,

XI *A* Perswasive *to Consideration tendered to the Royalists, particularly those of the Church of England.* Lond. 1693, 4*to*. It was afterwards reprinted in 8*vo*. together with his vindication of it, against a piece entituled *The Layman's Apology*, &c. written in confutation of that part of the Perswasive, which relates to the controversy about the frequenting the publick assemblies.

XII. *Remarks upon the* London Gazette, *relating to the Straits Fleet, and to the battle of* Landen *in Flanders* 1693, 4*to*.

[*D*] *In support of his own and his brethren's conduct in this affair.*] In order to form some notion of this transaction, it will be requisite to see that part of the Prelates Declaration which relates to the conduct of these Clergymen, and in which they shew, that their proceeding was not ro be justified by the doctrines or practice of the Church of England. There words are these (4):

(4) State Tracts in the Reign of King William, Vol. III. in the Appendix.

'For those Clergymen that took upon them to absolve these criminals at the place of execution, by laying all three together their hands upon their heads, and publickly pronouncing a form of absolution; as their manner of doing this was extremely insolent, and without precedent either in our Church, or any other that we know of; so the thing itself was altogether irregular.—The rubrick in our Office of the Visitation of the Sick, from whence they took the words they then used, and upon which, if upon any thing in our Liturgy, they must ground this their procceding, gave them no authority nor pretence for the absolving these persons; nay, as they managed the affair, they acted, in this absolution, far otherwise than is there directed. That rubrick is concerning sick perfons, and it is there required, First, *That the sick person shall be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter, and then, after such confession, the Priest shall absolve him, if he humbly and heartly desire it.* But here they absolved, and that publickly, perfons condemned by law for execrable crimes, without so much as once moving them, at that time, to make a special confession of their sins, at least of those sins for which they were condemned. And on the other side, here were persons absolved that did not humbly desire absolution, as feeling any such weighty matter to trouble their conscience, but on the contrary, in Sir John Friend's paper it is declared, that he had a great deal of *satisfaction in suffering* for that cause, which he firmly believed to be *the cause of God and true religion.* If these Ministers knew not the state of these mens souls before they gave them absolution, as it is manifest two of them, Mr Snatt and Mr Cook, did not as to Sir William Perkins, (they having since declared that they had not spoke with Sir William, 'till they were at the place of execution) how could they, without manifest transgression of the Church's order, as well as the profane abuse of the power Christ hath left with his Ministers, absolve them from all their sins? If they were acquainted with these mens sentiments declared in their papers, then they must look upon them either as hardened impenitents or as martyrs. We are so charitable to believe, that they would not absolve them under the former notion, for that had been in effect sealing them to damnation; but if they held these men to be martyrs, then their absolving them

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and retouching ſeveral miſcellaneous pieces of his, to which he added ſome others and publiſhed them in a volume, and theſe were ſo well received, that about ſeven years afterwards he publiſhed another, and ſeveral years after that a third. Theſe pieces of his were written upon religious, moral, and entertaining ſubjects, with ſuch a mixture of learning and wit, and in a ſtile ſo eaſy and flowing, that notwithſtanding the prejudice of party which could not but be ſtrong againſt him, they were generally well received, and have run through many editions ſince. One muſt indeed allow, that very few books bid fairer for univerſal approbation, in an age, which, if not ſtrictly virtuous, was at leaſt highly decent, and when every body affected a concern for promoting, whatever had a tendency to make men wiſer, better, or more polite, all which ends were proſecuted with great effect in this collection of Eſſays *(h)* [*E*]. The very next year after the publication of the firſt volume

(b) See the particular ſubjects upon which they were written in the note.

'in that manner was a juſtification of thoſe grievous 'crimes for which theſe men ſuffered, and an open 'affront to the laws both of Church and State. Upon 'the conſideration of theſe things, and for the doing 'of right to our Church, which may otherwiſe ſuffer 'amongſt ſuch as are ſtrangers to our conſtitution, by 'the evil principles and practices, both of the aforeſaid 'criminals, and the three Clergymen that aſſiſted them, 'who all pretended to be members of the Church of 'England: we do declare, that we diſown and deteſt 'all ſuch principles and practices, looking upon them 'as highly ſchiſmatical and ſeditious, dangerous both 'to the Church and State, and contrary to the true 'doctrine and ſpirit of the Chriſtian religion. And 'we alſo take this occaſion to warn and exhort all the 'people committed to our charge, to beware of ſuch 'ſeducers, and to avoid them, leſt, as the Apoſtle 'St Peter ſpeaks, *They be led away with the error of 'the wicked*, and fall from their ſtedfaſt adherence to 'the principles of the true Church of England, as it 'was eſtabliſhed at the bleſſed Reformation of religion, 'and as, by God's eſpecial Providence, it continues to 'this day.' What was farther done in this matter, will beſt appear from Biſhop Kennet's account, which runs thus (5): 'On April the 27th, the Lord Chief 'Juſtice (Holt) of the King's Bench, did likewiſe re'preſent to the grand Jury, the ſhameful and perni'cious practice of thoſe three abſolving Prieſts. Where'upon the Jury made a preſentment to the Court, that 'Collier, Cook, and Snatt, Clerks, did take upon 'them to pronounce and give abſolution to Sir Wil'liam Perkins, and Sir John Friend, at the time of 'their execution at Tyburn, immediately before they 'had ſeverally delivered a paper to the Sheriff of Mid'dleſex, wherein they had ſeverally endeavoured to 'juſtify the treaſons for which they were juſtly con'demned and executed. And that they, the ſaid 'Collier, Cook, and Snatt, had thereby countenanced 'the ſame treaſons, to the great encouragement of 'other perſons to commit the like treaſons, and to the 'ſcandal of the Church of England eſtabliſhed by Law,' 'and to the diſturbance of the peace of the kingdom.' 'Upon which the court ordered an indictment to be 'preferred againſt them, and on May the 8th, Mr 'Cook and Mr Snatt were committed to Newgate, for 'ſuſpicion of high-treaſon and treaſonable practices. 'But ſuch was the lenity of the government, that no 'manner of puniſhment was inflicted on them, and 'Mr Collier, with great aſſurance, publiſhed ſeveral 'papers to juſtify his practice.' The writings to which this Prelate referred were theſe:

(5) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 719. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 174.

XIII. *A Defence of the* Abſolution *given to Sir* William Perkins *at the place of execution, April 3d, with a farther Vindication thereof, occaſioned by a paper entitled*, A Declaration of the Senſe of the Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, *&c. The firſt dated April the* 9th, 1696, *the other* April the 21ſt, 1696. *To which is added a Poſtſcript in relation to a paper called an* Anſwer to his Defence, *&c.* dated April 25. *Alſo a Reply to the* Abſolution of a Penitent, according to the Directions of the Church of England, *&c. dated* May 20, 1696; and *An Anſwer to the Animadverſions on two Pamphlets lately publiſhed by Mr Collier*, &c. *dated* July 1, 1696, 4*to*.

[*E*] *All which ends were proſecuted with great effect, in this collection of Eſſays.*] We have in the text, ſpoken in general of the ſeveral volumes of this collection, as if it had been compoſed in the ſame manner with other books of that kind, whereas, inſtead of being made up of detached diſcourſes, it is rather compoſed of a variety of ſmall pieces on different topics which fell from the author's pen at a great diſtance of time, and after wandering moſt of them ſingly through the world, were at laſt drawn thus into a body to prevent their being loſt. The title given them in their laſt edition is,

XIV. *ESSAYS upon ſeveral Moral Subjects, by* Jeremy Collier, M. A. *in three volumes*, 8*vo*. In order to give the reader a clear account of the contents of theſe volumes, which are not commonly underſtood to comprehend ſo large a part of their author's works as they really do, it is neceſſary to enter a little into particulars. The firſt volume is divided into *two* parts, which were publiſhed ſeparately. The *firſt* part conſiſts of ſix Eſſays, *viz.* upon Pride, Cloaths, Duelling, General Kindneſs, the Office of a Chaplain, and the Weakneſs of Human Reaſon. The four firſt are written in the way of dialogue, and with great ſpirit and vivacity; the two laſt are continued diſcourſes. That on the Office of a Chaplain is particularly laboured, and has been looked upon as the author's maſter-piece, the reaſon being more cloſe, the language more exact, and the thread of the argument better preſerved, than in many of the reſt. His Eſſay on the Weakneſs of Human Underſtanding is in ſome meaſure a declamation, but it ends with a moral reflection of great importance, and which perhaps this gentleman did not keep always in his mind (6). 'We may plainly perceive, ſays he, 'that the prejudices, of education have a great ſtroke 'in many of our reaſonings, and that the ſentiments of 'men diſcover the colour of their original tinctures. 'And as there are ſome inbred principles impregnable 'againſt cuſtom, ſo there are ſome cuſtoms which 'nature finds very difficult to deal with.'

(6) Collier's Miſcellanies, Vol. I. p. 240.

The *ſecond* part contains ſeventeen diſcourſes upon Fame, Muſick, The Value of Life, The Spleen, Eagerneſs of Deſire, Friendſhip, Popularity, The Immateriality of the Soul, The Entertainment of books, Confidence, Envy, The Aſpects of Men, Deſpair, Covetouſneſs, Liberty, Old Age, and Pleaſure; ſeveral of theſe are written in dialogue, but moſt of them are ſet diſcourſes; and are all of them calculated to inform the underſtanding, reform the manners, and to give a right turn to the thoughts of the reader.

The ſecond volume contains the *third* part, in which the author diſcourſes of Pain, Revenge, Authors, Infancy and Youth, Riches and Poverty, Debauchery, Drunkneſs, Uſury, The Character of an Apoſtle, and of Solitude. Then follows a Tranſlation of St Gregory's Oration, in commendation of the Maccabees, Of the Unreaſonableneſs of ill-timed Diverſions, St Cyprian's Diſcourſe upon the Plague, his Deſcription of the manners of the Age, in which he lived, and his Diſcourſe on Patience: it is cloſed by the author's Eſſay upon Diſcontent, written in dialogue: there is uſually annext to this volume, (tho' it was printed ſeparately) An Eſſay upon Gaming, in a dialogue, which is at once an uſeful, entertaining, and moſt inſtructive performance. The third volume, and the fourth part conſiſts moſtly of religious ſubjects, and was written after he had publiſhed the firſt volume of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory: in this he treats of Goodneſs, Honeſty, Religious Temper, Lying, Fortitude, Flattery, Theft, Peace, and the Reſurrection; all theſe topicks are treated with very great plainneſs and freedom; many of the thoughts are new and ſingular, ſuch as are written in dialogue, are well ſuſtained, and if we abate the flowerineſs of the language, which was the faſhion, I will not ſay the fault of that time, it will be difficult to find any eſſays more capable of affording a rational pleaſure, than thoſe of our author.

volume of these Miscellaneous Discourses, Mr Collier made an attempt to reform the Stage, which involved him in a very brisk controversy with several of the greatest wits, and ablest writers of the age, in which he acquitted himself with so much force and vivacity, that the most considerable of his antagonists were obliged, not only to quit the field of battle, but confess that they were vanquished; and though some of them did not do this with the best grace, yet as their failing in point of manners ought to be attributed to the smart of their wounds, it is very far from reflecting upon the merit of our author, whose animadversions actually produced both repentance and amendment (*i*), and was the original cause of that decorum, which has been, for the most part, observed by the modern writers of dramatick poetry. The titles of his pieces upon this occasion will be found in the notes [*F*]. His abilities and industry were next exercised in a much larger work than any he had hitherto undertaken, which was that of making Moreri's performance useful

(*i*) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 190.

[*F*] *Will be found in the notes.*] It was certainly a very bold thing in Mr Collier, to attack at once the Wits and the Witlings of those times; among the first, were Mr Dryden, Mr Congreve, and Mr Vanbrugh; amongst the latter, was Tom. Durfey and many more; but he is certainly to be commended for forming so good a design, as that of reducing the stage to order, and thereby preventing the morals of mankind from being corrupted, where they ought to be amended: the first he published with this design, had the following title.

XV. *A short view of the* immorality *and* profaneness *of the* English Stage *together with the sense of* Antiquity *upon this argument*, Lond. 1698, 8*vo*. It is a very methodical and learned work: he begins with shewing the immodesty and indecency of the stage, and the ill consequences that attend it; he proves next, that the Roman and Greek theatres were much more inoffensive than the English, and then produces the authorities of Ben Johnson, Beaumount and Fletcher, and the French Poet Corneile, against the modern Stage. He proceeds to open the indictment by a charge of profaneness, which he supports by instances from several pieces of Mr Dryden, Mr Otway, Mr Congreve, and Vanbrugh. His second charge is the abuse of the Clergy; his third relates to immorality encouraged by the Stage; he then descends to some remarks upon Amphitrion, exposes the horrid profaneness of the comical History of Don Quixote; then criticizes the Relapse, or Virtue in Danger; he concludes with producing the opinions of the Heathen Philosophers, Orators, and Historians, the restraints imposed upon the Stage by the laws in several countries, and the sentiments of the Fathers of the Church.

In answer to this, Mr Congreve published a little piece, intitled, *Amendments of Mr Collier's false and imperfect citations from the old Batchelor, the Double Dealer*, &c. It must be allowed, that in this piece, the ingenious author is very hard put to it, and struggles with infinite difficulty to give a fair gloss to passages, that, in the natural sense of the words, convey a very different meaning; and besides this, there is an air of anger and resentment runs through the whole piece, which plainly shews how much the author felt the weight of that censure he endeavours to ridicule, and would be thought to despise. Mr Vanbrugh, afterwards Sir John Vanbrugh, likewise published a small piece in support of his own performances, under the title of, *A short Vindication of the Relapse, and the Provok'd Wife*; but this was very far from dejecting, or silencing our author, he thought he had a good cause, and that he was able to manage it with as much sense and spirit as any of his adversaries; and he found by experience too, that he was as well heard as they by the publick; all which encouraged him to return to the charge, and to defend what he had written, not only against these, but against several other authors, who thought fit to enter the lists on the side of the Poets, against the Priest. These pieces of his were,

XVI. *A* Defence *of the* Short View *&c. being a Reply to Mr Congreve's Amendments*, &c. *And to the Vindication of the author of the Relapse*, Lond. 1699, 8*vo*.

XVII. *A* Second Defence *of the Short View*, &c. *Being a Reply to a Book intitled*, The Ancient and Modern Stages surveyed, *&c. Lond* 1700, 8*vo*. The Book here replyed to, was written by Dr Drake.

XVIII *Mr* Collier's *Dissuasive from the Play House; in a letter to a Person of Quality, occasioned by the late calamity of the* Tempest, *Lond.* 1703, 8*vo*.

XIX. *A* farther Vindication *of the Short View*, &c, *in which the Objections of a late Book, intitled*, A Defence of Plays, *are considered, Lond.* 1708, 8*vo*.

The Defence of Plays, has Dr Filmer for it's author.

We have shewn in the text, what the event was of this long dispute, in support of which, I shall produce what Mr Dryden says upon this subject (7). 'I shall say 'the less of Mr Collier, because in many things he has 'taxed me justly, and I have pleaded guilty to all 'thoughts and expressions of mine, which can be truly 'arraigned of obscenity, profaneness, or immorality, and 'retract them. If he be my enemy, let him triumph: 'if he be my friend, as I have given him no personal 'occasion to be otherwise, he will be glad of my repentance. It becomes me not to draw my pen in the defence of a bad cause, when I have so often drawn it 'for a good one: yet it were not difficult to prove, 'that in many places he has perverted my meaning by 'his glosses, and interpreted my words into blasphemy 'and bawdry, of which they were not guilty; besides 'that, he is too much given to horse-play in his raillery 'and comes to battle like a Dictator from the plough: 'I will not say the zeal of God's house has eaten him 'up; but I am sure, it has devoured some part of his 'good manners and civility; it might also be doubted, 'whether it were altogether zeal, which prompted him 'to this rough manner of proceeding, perhaps it became not one of his function, to rake into the rubbish 'of ancient and modern plays; a Divine might have 'employed his pains to better purpose, than in the 'nastiness of Plautus and Aristophanes, whose examples, as they excuse not me, so it might possibly be 'supposed, that he read them not without some pleasure. They, who have written commentaries on 'those poets, or on Horace, Juvenal, and Martial, 'have explained some vices, which, without their interpretation, had been unknown to modern times; 'neither has he judged impartially between the former 'age and us. There is more bawdry in one Play of 'Fletcher's, called, The Custom of the Country, than 'in all ours together, yet this has been often acted on the 'stage in my remembrance: are the times so much 'more reformed now, than they were five and twenty 'years ago? if they are, I congratulate the amendment 'of our morals; but I am not to prejudice the cause 'of my Fellow-Poets, tho' I abandon my own defence. 'They have some of them answered for themselves, and 'neither they nor I can think Mr Collier so formidable 'an enemy, that we would shun him. He has lost 'ground at the latter end of the day, by pursuing his 'point too far, like the Prince of Condé at the battle of 'Seneff. From immoral plays to no plays; *ab abusu 'ad usum non valet consequentia*. But being a party I 'am not to erect myself into a judge.'

(7) Preface to his Fables.

The first part of Mr Dryden's apology is so very decent, and withal so very just, that one cannot help being sorry he did not rest it there; but as to what follows, it is mighty little to the purpose, he has owned, that Mr Collier has shewn him his faults, and yet he is out of humour that they were shewn. Was it in his power to prove his charge against the stage any other way than he has done? did not the quibbling and prevarications of his antagonists, compel him to explain things so broadly? and might not any criminal at the bar charge the Attorney-General, with being a traytor in his heart, for setting forth, and insisting upon his own treasons with the same force of argument, that is used in retorting upon Mr Collier? The truth is, that men offend with gaiety of heart, but repent with bitterness of soul; which is the reason, that tho' they cannot help owning the physick has done them good, yet they cannot avoid bearing ill will to the doctor.

useful to the English nation, in which he laboured for many years with great success, taking all the precautions possible to be well informed as to the new articles he published; and so well were his endeavours in this kind received by the publick, notwithstanding some exceptions that were taken to them, that few books have met with a better fate, or longer maintained their credit [G]. After the accession of Queen Anne to the throne, great endeavours were used to recover Mr Collier to the Church, by inducing him to comply with the terms prescribed by the State. All efforts of this kind, though supported not only with general promises of preferment, but with more particular assurances, were ineffectual, and Mr Collier remained among the Nonjuring Clergy, as seeing no reason to alter his sentiments from any change that had happened, and being incapable of dissembling an alteration for the sake of temporal views (*k*). About the same time that he published the first volume of his Dictionary, he likewise obliged the world with a very elegant translation from the Greek, of that famous book of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, which has done more credit to his memory than even his excellent administration of publick affairs during a reign which does honour to the Roman History (*l*). This translation was universally well received on it's first appearance, and continues to be read with all the applause, that so well written, and so useful a treatise of Moral Philosophy deserves [H]. The situation of those times, and the many worthy and generous patrons of whatever regarded the honour of this kingdom who then flourished, encouraged Mr Collier to hope, that an Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, which, in the extent he intended it, had never been attempted by any Protestant writer before, might meet with general acceptation. Accordingly, proposals were published for sending abroad such a work, and the offer very well received, and such encouragements given, as induced him to prosecute with diligence the great design he had formed, and at length finished a copious History of Church Affairs, from the first entrance of Christianity into this Island, to the close of the reign of Henry VII. This all parties allowed to be a work of great labour and learning, methodically and elegantly written; but in other respects they differed, as might well be supposed, in their judgments concerning it's merit [I]. After the pains this book had cost him,

(*k*) From the information beforementioned.

(*l*) See the Life of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, translated from the French of M. Dacier, prefixed to that work.

[G] *Or longer maintained their credit.*] We shall in this note give an account of the different times, in which the several parts of this Dictionary were published, and other circumstances relating to them, that may be worth the reader's knowing.

XX. *The Great Historical, Geographical, Geneological, and Poetical Dictionary*, &c. four volumes Fol.

The two first volumes were printed in the year 1701, and the author gave notice in his preface, that such of the Articles as were of a later date than the year 1688, were composed by another hand. The third volume was published, under the title of *A Supplement*, &c. in 1705, and was reprinted in 1727. It is in the preface to this, that he answers the objections made to his conduct; and to prevent those articles being taken for his, which in this volume also, were written by another hand, they are placed under another alphabet. The fourth and last volume, which in the title page is called *An Appendix*, as in reality it is to the other three, was printed in 1721. The whole is certainly a great treasure of Historical, Geographical, and Poetical Learning; and is not only very useful and entertaining to young scholars, who may by the help of it acquire much knowledge, and enter thoroughly into the meaning of the books they read in any of these kinds of learning; but even to persons of the greatest abilities, and most comprehensive science, who have but small libraries, and live at a distance from London, and the two Universities; yet this work is certainly capable of great improvements, and these might be made without enlarging the bulk, for it might be reduced under one alphabet; whereas at present there are four or five, and as by this means a multitude of repetions, alterations, and corrections, might be thrown out, so this would make room for new articles, which might be easily found in the last edition of Moreri's Dictionary, now enlarged to seven volumes. The learned reader will easily discern, that this is no reflection either upon Mr Collier's memory or his performance, since he did all that was possible to be done at the time he wrote, and the inconveniences beforementioned were unavoidable from his manner of publication, as that too, with respect to him, was a matter not of choice but of necessity.

[H] *That so well written, and so useful a treatise of Moral Philosophy deserves.*] This work of Mr Collier's has since borne three impressions, all of them under the following title:

XXI. *The Emperor* Marcus Antoninus *his conversation with himself. Together with the preliminary Discourse of the learned* Gataker, *&c. to which is added the Mythological Picture of* Cebes *the* Theban, *&c. Translated into English from the respective originals*, Lond. 1701, 8*vo*.

This is one of the best collections we have in the English tongue of the Morals of the Antients; and, in conjunction with the works of Plutarch, Epictetus, and Seneca, will make an admirable library of that kind. The pieces of which it is composed are very well chosen, illustrate each other perfectly, so as to render all the passages in them clear and intelligible; and yet it is of a very moderate size, and has nothing in it redundant, or foreign to the purpose.

[I] *Concerning it's merit.*] As this great work was published in two volumes at different times, it is requisite to speak of them separately. The first bore the following title:

XXII. *An* Ecclesiastical History *of* Great Britain, *chiefly of* England, *from the first planting of* Christianity, *to the end of the Reign of King Charles* II. *With a brief Account of the Affairs of Religion in* Ireland. *Collected from the best antient Historians, Councils, and Records*, fol. 1702, Vol. I. *which comes down to the Reign of Henry* VII.

As the scheme of this work was in itself of large extent, it required a great knowledge in Divinity, History and Antiquity, and a very assiduous application to the perusal of Records and manuscripts, as well as a vast variety of antient and modern authors; so the performance itself demonstrates very great care to have been taken in all these respects. The method in which this History is written is very clear and exact, his authorities are constantly cited by the author, his remarks are short and pertinent, and, with respect to the dissertations that are occasionly inserted, they are such as tend to illustrate and explain those perplexed points of which they treat, and contribute thereby to the clearer understanding of the narration. The stile is very uniform and grave, which is the more remarkable, because the author, in other writings, has shewn as lively a fancy, and as much quickness of wit, as any writer of his own time; but he knew this would be improper here; and therefore it is with great judgment avoided. He speaks modestly and respectfully of most of the Historians who went before him, and if he is any where severe, he takes care that his reason shall go along with his censure. His own peculiar sentiments with respect to religion and government may be in some places discerned, but taking the whole together, it will be found as judicious and impartial a work, as the world, in doing justice to his talents, could have expected it:

yet

him, our author thought a ſeaſon of repoſe neceſſary, or, as himſelf expreſſes it, judged it convenient *to breathe a little after a folio* (*m*); yet without dropping, or ſo much as diſcontinuing his former deſign, but knowing that it required not only aſſiduity and vigilance, but the utmoſt prudence and circumſpection likewiſe, he choſe to act cautiouſly and rather to apologize to the publick for his delay, than to precipitate matters in order to hurry his work through the preſs. In the year 1713 he was conſecrated a Biſhop by Dr George Hickes, who was himſelf conſecrated Suffragan of Thetford by the deprived Biſhops of Norwich, Ely, and Peterborough (*n*), Feb. 23, 1694. In the ſucceeding year came abroad the ſecond volume of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which met with a different reception from perſons of different ſentiments, applauded by ſome and cenſured by others. Of the latter there were thoſe who made a conſiderable figure in the learned world, againſt whoſe objections the author thought it incumbent upon him to write [*K*]. As he grew in years, that great ſhare of health which he had enjoyed was interrupted by frequent attacks of the ſtone, to which there is no doubt that his ſedentary life might much contribute, ſo that from this time we hear of nothing that he publiſhed farther, except a collection of Sermons, of which, together with ſome ſmaller pieces prefixed to other mens works, an account will be given at the bottom of the page [*L*]. He lived however ſeveral years in an indifferent ſtate of health, ſometimes tolerably free, and at others grievouſly afflicted by his old diſtemper, which brought him to his grave April 26, 1726, and three days after his body was interred in the church-yard of St Pancras. He was in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, and preſerved the free uſe of his ſenſes to the very laſt. As to his character, we have already given it in the impartial hiſtory of his works, and ſhall therefore only add, that his morals were unexceptionable, and that, as his conduct had in it all the regularity becoming a Clergyman, ſo his behaviour had nothing ſtiff or pedantick, but all that life, ſpirit, and innocent freedom, which conſtitutes the good breeding of a gentleman. His reputation as a man of letters extended beyond the bounds of his own country, for the learned and ingenious Father Courbeville, who tranſlated into French the Hero of Balthazar Gracian, in the Preface of that work, ſpeaks in the higheſt terms of praiſe of our author's Miſcellaneous Works which he ſays ſet him on a level with Montaigne, St Evremond, La Bruyere, *&c.* The ſame reverend and learned perſon tranſlated into French Mr Collier's *Short View of the Engliſh Stage*, and from thence takes occaſion to ſpeak of him again, with all the marks of admiration and eſteem poſſible.

(*m*) See the Preface to the third Vol. of his Miſcellanies.

(*n*) From the information before-mentioned.

yet, as we have hinted in the text, it was far enough from eſcaping the cenſure of the Criticks, but was ſtill much happier in that reſpect than the ſecond volume, in ſpeaking of which we ſhall ſhew who theſe Criticks were, as well as the titles of the pieces written by our author in his own defence, and in juſtification of his Hiſtory.

[*K*] *Thought it incumbent upon him to write.*] As the ſecond volume of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory took in the entire account of the Reformation, and the ſtruggles with the Puritans from their firſt appearance, to the overturning of our conſtitution in Church and State; ſo it muſt be naturally ſuppoſed, that a man of Mr Collier's principles could never treat theſe delicate ſubjects, without affording ſome room, for ſuch as were deſirous of criticizing him to take offence. Dr Nicholſon, Biſhop of Derry, has treated him with great ſeverity, not to ſay more, in the character he has given of his works. Biſhop Burnet and Biſhop Kennet, who were infinitely better judges as well as writers, have corrected him with great decency. Mr Collier defended himſelf againſt them all, in the pieces of which we ſhall preſently ſpeak, but before we come to them, it may not be amiſs to remark a ſingle, and a ſhining, inſtance of his impartiality, and that is, in diſculpating the Preſbyterians from the falſe and ſcandalous imputations that had been thrown upon them, as if they conſented to, or at leaſt temporized in, the murder of King Charles I. from which he has vindicated them with equal perſpicuity and juſtice, and has fully ſhewn, that as they only had it in their power to oppoſe, ſo to the utmoſt extent of that power they did oppoſe, and proteſt againſt that bloody fact, both before and after it was committed (8). The pieces written by him in defence of his Hiſtory are theſe:

(8) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 859, 860.

XXIII. *An Anſwer to ſome exceptions in Biſhop* Burnet's *third part of the* Hiſtory *of the* Reformation, *&c. againſt Mr* Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; *together with a* Reply *to ſome* Remarks *in Biſhop* Nicholſon's *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, &c. upon the ſame ſubject*, fol. Lond. 1715.

XXIV. *Some Remarks on Dr* Kennet's *ſecond and third Letters, wherein his miſrepreſentations of Mr Collier's* Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory *are laid open, and his calumnies diſproved*, Lond. 1717, fol. and 8*vo*. But in the octavo it is called *Some Conſiderations*, &c.

[*L*] *Will be given at the bottom of the page.*] The collection of Sermons mentioned in the text, came abroad under this title.

XXV. *Several* Diſcourſes *upon Practical Subjects*, Lond. 1725, 8*vo*. The laſt diſcourſe of this collection had been printed ſeparately, in 1723, with the following title. *The compariſon between giving and receiving, with the reaſons for preference; ſtated in a Sermon preached at Whitehall*, April 19th, 1687, 4to.

XXVI. *God not the Origin of* Evil, *being an additional Sermon to a collection of Mr* Collier's *Diſcourſes*, &c. Lond. 1726, 8*vo*.

He publiſhed alſo *An Advertiſement againſt Biſhop* Burnet's Hiſtory of his own time, which was printed on a ſlip of paper, and diſperſed in all the Coffee-houſes in 1724, and is to be ſeen in the Evening Poſt, No. 2254. Beſides this, he wrote ſeveral Prefaces, &c. As (1.) *An Advertiſement concerning the Author, and the tranſlation of* Maxims and Reflections upon Plays, in anſwer to a Diſcourſe of *the lawfulneſs and unlawfulneſs of Plays*, printed before a late Play intitled, *Beauty in Diſtreſs, written in* French, *by the Biſhop of* Meaux, Lond. 1669. (2.) *A Recommendatory Preface to* Tully's *five Books* de Finibus, *&c. Done into Engliſh by S. P.* (Sam. Parker) *Gent. Together with an Apology for the philoſophical writings of* Cicero, *in a letter to the Tranſlator; by* Mr Henry Dodwell, Lond. 1702. (3.) *A Recommendatory Preface to* human Souls naturally immortal, *tranſlated from a Latin MS. by S E.* Lond. 1707. Of this Preface Mr Norris makes honourable mention in his letter to Mr Dodwell, concerning the immortality of the Soul of Man, and ſays that Mr Collier's ſingle remark againſt Mr Locke, is, in his opinion, worth all the book beſides (9). It is alſo upon good grounds believed, that he was concerned, amongſt others, in collecting the paſſages referred to by Dr Henry Sacheverell, in his anſwer to the articles of his impeachment.

(9) Mr Norris's Letter to Mr Dodwell, p. 107.

E

COLLINS (ANTHONY); an eminent Writer of the present Century, was son of Henry Collins, Esq; a gentleman of a considerable estate; and was born at Heston near Hounslow in Middlesex, June 21, 1676 (*a*). He was educated in grammar learning at Eaton-College near Windsor, and from thence was removed to King's College in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr Francis Hare (*b*). Upon his leaving college, he was entered a Student in the Temple: but disrelishing the study of the Law, he soon abandoned it. In 1698, he married Martha, the daughter of Sir Francis Child, Alderman of London (*c*), and by her had two sons, Henry and Anthony [*A*], and two daughters, Elizabeth and Martha (*d*). In 1700, our author published a tract, intituled, *Several of the London Cases considered* (*e*). In 1703, and 1704, he held an epistolary correspondence with the great Mr Locke, who expressed an high regard and friendship for our author [*B*]. In 1707, he published his *Essay concerning the Use of Reason* (*f*) [*C*]. The same year, our author engaged in the controversy, then on foot between Mr Dodwell and Dr Samuel Clarke, concerning the *Natural Immortality of the Soul* [*D*]. In December 1709, came out a pamphlet (*g*), intituled, *Priestcraft in Perfection* [*E*]; and, in February the year following, another intituled, *Reflexions on a late Pamphlet, intituled,* Priestcraft in Perfection; both written by our author. The same year, he published his *Vindication of the Divine Attributes, in some Remarks on the Archbishop of Dublin's Sermon* (*h*). In March 1711, Mr Collins went over to Holland, where he became acquainted with Mr Le Clerc, and other learned men, and returned to London in November following. In 1713, he published his *Discourse of Free-Thinking* [*F*]; and soon after made a second trip to Holland,

(*a*) See his epitaph in remark [*P*].

(*b*) Afterwards Bishop of Chichester, and since dead.

(*c*) Sir Francis was Lord Mayor the year following.

(*d*) See epitaph.

(*e*) Catalogue of Mr Collins's Library, written with his own hand.

(*f*) A second edition of it was published in 1709.

(*g*) See History of the Works of the Learned, for Dec. 1709, p. 753.

(*h*) Intituled, Divine Predestination and Foreknowledge consisting with the Freedom of Man's Will, Lond. 1710.

[*A*] *He had—two sons, Henry and Anthony.*] Henry, the elder, died in his infancy. Anthony the younger, a youth of great hopes, and educated at Bennet-College in Cambridge, died in the 22d year of his age, lamented by all that knew him (1).

(1) See the epitaph in the remark [*P*].

[*B*] *Mr Locke expressed an high regard and friendship for our author.*] This appears from Mr Locke's letters to Mr Collins (2). In that dated from Oates in Essex, October 29, 1703, he writes as follows. 'If I 'were now setting out in the world, I should think it my 'great happiness to have such a companion as you, who 'had a true relish of truth, would in earnest seek it with 'me, from whom I might receive it undisguised, and 'to whom I might communicate what I thought true, 'freely. Believe it, my good friend, to love truth for 'truth's sake, is the principal part of human per-'fection in this world, and the seed-plot of all other 'virtues; and, if I mistake not, you have as much of 'it, as ever I met with in any body. What then is 'there wanting to make you equal to the best, a friend 'for any one to be proud of?' In another, dated from Oates, September 11th, 1704, he writes thus: *He that has any thing to do with you, must own that friendship is the natural product of your constitution; and your soul, a noble soil, is enriched with the two most valuable qualities of human nature, truth and friendship. What a treasure have I then in such a friend, with whom I can converse, and be enlightened about the highest speculations?* These extracts evince, that, at that time, Mr Collins appeared to Mr Locke in the light of an impartial, disinterested, enquirer after truth. How far that great man, who was undoubtedly a friend to Revelation, would, probably, have altered his opinion of our author, had he lived (3) to see his works (of which he had published none but his *London Cases considered*) the readers of Mr Collins's works will judge.

(2) Published by M. Des Maizeaux in his Collection of several pieces of Mr John Locke, &c. Lond. 1720. See Page 271, &c.

(3) M. Locke died the 28th of October, 1704.

[*C*] *His Essay concerning the use of Reason.*] The title at length is: *An Essay concerning the use of Reason in Proposition, the evidence whereof depends upon human testimony.* Dr Francis Gastrell, afterwards Bishop of Chester, being animadverted upon in this essay, with relation to some passages in his *Considerations concerning the Trinity, and the way of managing that controversy*, printed at London in 1702, he subjoined to the third edition of it, in 1707, a *Vindication* of it in answer to Mr Collins's Essay.

[*D*] *He engaged in the Controversy—concerning the natural Immortality of the Soul.*] Upon this subject Mr Collins published the following pieces. I. *A Letter to Mr Dodwell, containing some remarks on a (pretended) Demonstration of the immateriality and natural immortality of the soul, in* Mr Clarke's *Answer to a late* Epistolary Discourse. London, 1707 and 1709, in 8vo. II. *A Defence of the Argument made use of in a Letter to* Mr Dodwell. London, 1707 in 8*vo*. III. *A Reply to* Mr Clarke's Defence *of his* letter to Mr Dodwell: *with a postscript to Mr* Milles's Answer to Mr Dodwell's Epistolary Discourse. London, 1707, in 8*vo*. A second edition of this piece, corrected, was published in 1709, in 8*vo*. IV. *Reflections on Mr* Clarke's second Defence *of his* Letter to Mr Dodwell. London, 1707, in 8*vo*. There was a second edition in 1711, in 8*vo*. V. *An answer to Mr* Clarke's third Defence *of his* Letter to Mr Dodwell. London, 1708, in 8vo. There was a second edition, corrected, London, 1711, in 8vo.

[*E*] *A pamphlet intituled* Priestcraft in Perfection.] The title at length is: *Priestcraft in perfection, or, a Detection of the fraud of inserting, and continuing that clause* [The church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and authority in Controversies of Faith] *in the twentieth article of the Articles of the Church of England.* The authority of this clause had been called in question, in a book intituled; *The Peril of being zealously affected, but not well; or Reflections on Dr Sacheverell's Sermon preached at St Paul's* Nov. 5, 1709 (4). And it being now again professedly attacked by Mr Collins, several Pamphlets, Sermons, and Books were published upon the subject. Among which the most remarkable were the two following. I. *A Vindication of the Church of England from the aspersions of a late libel intituled,* Priestcraft in Perfection: *wherein the controverted clause of the Church's power in the 20th Article is shewn to be of equal authority with all the rest of the Articles, and the fraud and forgery, charged upon the Clergy, upon the account of that clause, is retorted upon the accusers. With a Preface containing some Remarks upon the Reflections on that Pamphlet. By a Priest of the Church of England,* London, 1710, in 8*vo*. II. *An Essay on the* XXXIX *Articles of Religion, agreed on in* 1562, *and revised in* 1571, &c. *By Thomas Bennet,* D. D. In answer to these two Books, Mr Collins published his *Historical and Critical Essay on the* XXXIX *Articles* &c. (5). The second and third editions of his *Priestcraft in Perfection* were printed, with corrections, at London, in 1710, in 8vo; and at the end of the third is subjoined the following advertisement. 'Whereas in 'the two former impressions of *Priestcraft*, &c. A 'letter from *Oxford* is cited, giving an account of an 'English edition of the Articles being cut out from a 'volume of Miscellanies in the *Bodleian* Library; I 'have omitted that passage in this edition, upon the 'sight of a letter from *Oxford*, which assures the gen-'tleman, to whom it was wrote, that my friend was 'mistaken. I do not know at present in what part of 'England he is, and therefore I cannot as yet give 'the reader or myself that satisfaction in the matter, 'which I hope to do when I hear of his return to 'Oxford.'

(4) See Page 20, 21.

(5) See the remark [*K*].

[*F*] *His* Discourse of Free-thinking.] The title at length is: *A Discourse of Free-Thinking, occasioned by the rise and growth of a Sect called Free-Thinkers.* It was reprinted at the Hague, with some additions and corrections, in 1713, in 12*mo*; tho', in the title page, it is said to be printed at London. In this edition, the translations in several places are corrected from

Holland [G], and from thence to Flanders; where he received great civilities from the Priests, Jesuits, and others. He intended to have visited Paris; but the death of a near relation (i) obliged him to return to London, where he arrived the 18th of October 1713. In 1715, he retired into the county of Essex, and acted as a Justice of the Peace, and Deputy Lieutenant of that county, as he had done before in the county of Middlesex, and liberty of Westminster. The same year, he published, at London, *A Philosophical Enquiry concerning human Liberty* (k) [H]. In 1718, he was chosen Treasurer for the county of Essex [I]. In 1724, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Walter Wrottesly, Bart (l); by whom he had no children. The same year, he published his *Historical and Critical Essay on the* XXXIX *Articles of the Church of England* [K]; also his *Discourse of the Grounds*

(i) Mr Trolope.

(k) Reprinted with corections in 1717.

(l) See epitaph.

Dr Bentley's *Remarks*, and some references are made to those *Remarks*, and to Dr Hare's *Clergyman's Thanks*. And whereas, in the former edition, the Discourse ended with these words; 'For I think it 'virtue enough to endeavour to do good, only within 'the bounds of doing your self no harm;' in the Hague edition, after the words *virtue enough*, is inserted this parenthesis; *in a country so ignorant, stupid, superstitious, and destitute of all private and publick virtue as ours*. The *Discourse* was attacked in several pieces, particularly the following, I. *Reflections on an Anonymous Phamphlet, intituled*, A Discourse of Free-Thinking. *By* William Whiston, A. M. Lond, 1713. There have been three editions of this pamphlet. Mr Whiston observes (6), that, 'tho' the *Discourse* is 'commonly so worded, as to seem rather meant against 'the Heathen Idolatry, Popish Superstition, Real 'Priestcraft, and Tyranny over conscience, than a-'gainst Christianity itself, with it's sacred books,' yet that the author's real design must appear from 'the ill characters given of the Clergy or Christian 'Priesthood in general; the oblique reproaches cast 'upon Revealed Religion; the visible slight put upon 'the whole Jewish nation and the Mosaick law; the 'plain disregard of the great foundation of religion, 'the immortality of the soul; and the many insinua-'tions visibly tending to render the sacred books, both 'Jewish and Christian, contemptible and uncertain.' II. An anonymous pamphlet, intituled, *Free Thoughts upon the* Discourse of Free-thinking, London, 1713, in 8*vo*. III. *Queries recommended to the authors of the late* Discourse of Free-Thinking. *By* Mr Benjamin Hoadly, now (*) Bishop of Wincheſter (7). This ingenious writer declares (8), 'that, tho' some of the 'particulars, mentioned in his *Queries*, as designed 'plainly against the belief of Christianity, are produced 'in the *Treatise of Free-thinking* under the specious 'pretence of their being good reasons and occasions 'for a *free and impartial examination*, and not ex-'pressly declared to be intended against the Gospel, in 'the same passages, in which the authors of that trea-'tise produce them; yet he verily believes, that these 'authors themselves would inwardly laugh at any, 'who should suppose them to have had any other view 'in that performance.' And having placed several particulars from the *Discourse of Free-Thinking* in one view, he concludes with these words (9): *After this let any one doubt, if he can, what sort of Free-thinking all that is produced in the first part of this treatise is designed to promote; or suppose it possible, that the chief view of these authors could be any other than the promoting that Free-Thinking, which they themselves contend to be* Atheism *and* Infidelity. IV. *Remarks upon a late* Discourse of Free-Thinking; *in a Letter to* F. H. D. D. *By* Phileleutherus Lipsiensis. Lond. 1713, in 8*vo*. The author of this ingenious performance was the truly learned Dr Richard Bentley; and the person to whom it is addressed, Dr Francis Hare, afterwards Bishop of Chicheſter. It exposes the weakness and fallacy of the *Discourse*, with great strength of argument and sprightliness of wit. A *Second* part, and a sheet or two of a *Third*, were printed the same year at Cambridge: but the learned author proceeded no farther. The first part of these *Remarks* gave birth to a pamphlet, said to be written by Dr Hare, intituled, *The Clergyman's Thanks to Phileleutherus, for his* Remarks *on the late* Discourse of Free Thinking. *In a Letter to Dr Bentley*. Lond. 1713, in 8*vo*. The author concludes this piece with remarking, that 'If we 'have gained by Dr Bentley's *Remarks* in one respect, 'we are, on the other hand, in danger of losing no 'less than an edition of all *Tully*, and, what is of more 'consequence, a *New Gospel*; with both which, for 'the advancement of learning and religion (*their* learning and *their* religion) The Free-Thinking Club were 'preparing to oblige the world. And the last of these '(says he) was, I am told, quite finished, and ready 'to be published, when your *Remarks* unluckily came 'out to shew, that they are neither *Christians* nor 'Scholars. And this has suppressed at least for some 'time, if not totally sunk, both these undertakings.'

(6) Page 3, 4.

(*) 1748.

(7) It is extant in his Collection of Tracts, in 8*vo*, Lond. 1715.

(8) Page 28.

(9) Page 31.

(10) Clergyman's Thanks, p. 18.

[G] *He made a second trip to Holland.*] This was ascribed to the general alarm caused by the *Discourse of Free-Thinking*, and the author's being discovered by his Printer Mr John Darby. Whereupon Dr Hare having observed, that *the least appearence of danger is able in a moment to damp all the zeal of the Free-Thinkers*, tells us (10), 'that a bare enquiry after the Printer of 'their wicked book has frightened them, and obliged 'the reputed author to take a *second* trip to Holland; 'so great is his courage to defend, upon the least ap-'pearance of an opposition. And are not these (*adds 'the Doctor*) rare champions for *Free-Thinking?* And 'is not their book a demonstration, that we are in 'possession of the liberty they pretend to plead for, 'which otherwise they durst never have writ? and 'that they would have been as mute as fishes, had 'they not thought they could have opened with im-'punity?'

[H] *His* Philosophical Enquiry concerning Human Liberty.] Dr Samuel Clarke wrote *Remarks* upon this *Enquiry* (11). But Mr Collins did not publish any Reply to Dr Clarke upon this subject; because, we are told (12), though he did not think the Doctor had the advantage over him in the dispute, yet, as he had represented Mr Collins's opinions as dangerous in their consequences, and improper to be insisted upon, our author, after such an insinuation, found he could not proceed in the dispute upon equal terms. The *Enquiry* was translated into French by the Reverend Mr. D****, and printed in the first volume of *Recueil de diverses Pieces sur la Philosophie, la Religion Naturelle, l'Historie, les Mathematiques, &c. par Messieurs Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, et autres auteurs celebres*; published by M. Des Maizeaux at Amsterdam, 1720, in two volumes, 12*mo*.

(11) They are extant in the Collection of papers between Mr Leibnitz and Dr Clarke, &c. Lond. 1717, in 8*vo*.

(12) Des Maizeaux's Preface to the *Recueil de diverses Pieces*, &c. p. 10.

[I] *He was chosen Treasurer for the county of Essex.*] In the discharge of this office Mr Collins highly merited the thanks of several tradesmen and others, who had large sums of money due to them from the said county, but could not get it paid them, it having been spent and embezzled by their former Treasurer. The poorest of them, we are informed, he supported with his own private cash, and others he promised interest for their money 'till it could be raised to pay them. In 1722, the debts were all discharged, and by his care and management the county's debts were, from that time, discharged every three months, and with little more than half the money, which had been annually raised for upwards of twenty years before.

[K] *His* Historical and Critical Essay upon the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England.] The title at length is: *An Historical and Critical Essay on the* XXXIX *Articles of the Church of England; wherein it is demonstrated, that this clause*, The Church has power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith, *inserted in the Twentieth Article, is not a part of the Articles, as they were established by Act of Parliament in the 13th of Eliz. or agreed on by the Convocations of* 1562 *and* 1571. This we have already said (13), was designed as an Answer to the *Vindication of the Church of England*, &c. and Dr Bennet's *Essay on the* XXXIX *Articles*, both published against his *Priestcraft in perfection*. In the Preface he tells us, 'he was engaged in writing this

(13) In the remark [E].

Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion [*L*], which was immediately attacked by a great *number of writers* [*M*]. The same year likewise appeared his *Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered* [*N*], which had several Answerers [*O*]. It is remarkable of Mr Collins,

work by a *worthy Minister of the Gospel*, who knew that he had made some enquiries into the *modern Ecclesiastical History of England*; and that he was preparing *An History of the variations of the Church of England and it's Clergy from the Reformation down to this time, with an Answer to the Cavils of the Papists made on occasion of the said Variations.* But nothing of this kind from our author's hand was ever printed. As to the *Essay* in question, he concludes it with drawing up in brief the Demonstration, promised in the title page, and given in the book; and which is as follows. *The* Articles of the Church of England *are supposed to have their* Convocational Authority *from the Convocation of* 1562, *which first agreed on them; and from the Convocation of* 1571, *which, after having revised, and made alterations in, and additions to, them, agreed on them again. The way of passing* Acts *of* Convocation *is by the Subscription of the majority of the members of each house by themselves. The MS. Articles, which passed the Convocation in* 1562, *and were subscribed by the majority of both Houses, are extant; as are the MS. Articles of* 1571, *with the subscription of the Upper House. And both these Manuscripts are without the clause. The Parliament in* 1571 *did, by a statute, intitled,* An Act for the Ministers of the Church to be of found Religion, *confirm Articles of Religion, comprized in an imprinted English book intitled,* Articles *&c.* put forth by the Queen's authority. *All the English printed books of the* Articles *extant before* 1571, *and while the Parliament were making this Statute, bore the title recited in the Statute, and were without the clause. Wherefore it follows, that the clause has neither the authority of the Convocation nor Parliament.* The reader may see the whole state of this Controversy, and a full vindication of the Church of England from the charge of forgery in respect to the above-mentioned clause, in Mr Collier's *Ecclesiastical History* (14), where particular notice is taken of our author.

(14) Part ii. B. v. p. 486—491.

[*L*] *His Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion.*] The title at length is: *A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion, in two parts: The first containing some Considerations on the Quotations made from the Old in the New Testament, and particularly on the Prophecies, cited from the former, and said to be fulfilled in the latter: The second containing an Examination of the scheme advanced by Mr Whiston in his* Essay towards restoring the true text of the Old Testament, and for vindicating the citations thence made in the New Testament. *To which is prefixed, An Apology for free Debate and Liberty of writing.* The drift of this Discourse is to shew, that *Christianity* is founded on *Judaism*, or the *New Testament* on the *Old*: that the *Apostles* prove Christianity from the Old Testament: that if the proofs fetched from thence are valid, Christianity is firmly established on it's *true foundation*; but if invalid, Christianity is false; and that those proofs are *typical* or *allegorical.*

[*M*] *It was attacked by a great number of writers.*] I shall mention only the most remarkable. I. *A List of Suppositions or Assertions in the late* Discourse of the Grounds *&c. which are not therein supported by any real or authentick Evidence; for which some such evidence is expected to be produced.* By William Whiston, A. M. *8vo.* 1724. This piece is subjoined to the author's *Proposals for printing by subscription, Authentick Records concerning the Jewish and Christian Religion*, dated Jan. 17, 1724, and given away to all the Members of Parliament. In this piece, Mr Whiston treats Mr Collins, together with Mr Toland, in very severe terms, as guilty of impious *frauds* and *lay-craft.* II. *The Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies, being a full answer to a late* Discourse of the Grounds, *&c.* By William Whiston, A. M. *8vo.* 1724. III. *A Defence of Christianity, from the Prophecies of the Old Testament, wherein are considered all the Objections against this kind of proof, advanced in a late* Discourse of the Grounds, *&c. By the Right Reverend Father in God* Edward (Chandler), *Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry* (15) *8vo.* 1725. This is a very learned and elaborate performance, and has passed thro' several editions. IV. *A Discourse of the Connection of the Prophecies in the Old Testament, and Application of them to Christ.* By Samuel Clarke, D. D. *Rector of St James's Westminster, 8vo.* 1725. This was not intended for a direct answer to Mr Collins's book, but as a Supplement (occasioned thereby) to a proposition in Dr Clake's *Demonstration of the Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion*; with which it has since been constantly printed. V. *The Reasoning of Christ and his Apostles, in their defence of Christianity, considered, in Seven Sermons preached at Hackney in Middlesex,* 1724. *To which is prefixed a Preface, taking notice of the false representations of Christianity, and of the Apostles reasonings in defence of it, in a Book, intitled,* The Grounds, &c. *By* Thomas Bullock, *A. M. published at the request of the gentlemen of Hackney, 8vo.* 1725. VI. *An Essay upon the truth of the Christian Religion, wherein it's real foundation upon the old Testament is shewn, occasioned by the* Discourse of the Grounds, &c. *By* Arthur Ashley Sykes, A. M. *Rector of Rayleigh in Essex, 8vo,* 1725. Mr Collins gives it as his opinion, that, 'of 'all the writers against the *Grounds, &c.* Mr Sykes 'alone has advanced a consistent scheme of things, 'which he has proposed with great clearness, politeness, and moderation (16).' VII. *The Use and Intent of Prophecy, in the several Ages of the Church. In six Discourses delivered at the Temple Church,* 1724, *published at the desire of the Masters of the Bench of the two Honourable Societies. By* Thomas Sherlock, D. D. Dean of Chichester, and Master of the Temple (17), *8vo.* 1725: This was not designed as an answer to the *Grounds*, &c. but only to throw in light upon the argument from Prophecy, attacked by our author. VIII. *A Vindication of the Christian Religion, in two parts. The first, a Discourse of the nature and Use of Miracles. The second, An answer to a late book intitled,* A Discourse of the Grounds, *&c. By* Samuel Chandler, *8vo,* 1725. IX. *A Supplement to the* Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies, *containing Observations on* Dr Clarke's, *and* Bishop Chandler's *late Discourses of the prophesies of the Old Testament; by* William Whiston, A. M. *8vo.* 1725. X. *Letters to the author of the* Discourse of the Grounds, *&c. shewing that Christianity is supported by facts well attested: that the words of Isaiah, chap.* vii. 14. Behold a Virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son, *in their literal and only sense, are a prophecy of the Conception and Birth of the Messias, fulfilled in Jesus; and that the Gospel application of several other passages in the Old Testament is just; By* John Greene, *8vo.* 1726. XI. *A Brief Defence of the Christian Religion: or, the Testimony of God to the truth of the Christian Religion; By* Theophilus Lobb, M. D. *8vo.* 1726. The reader will find an entire catalogue of all the pieces, written against the *Discourse of the Grounds*, &c. amounting in number to *thirty-five*, among which are *Sermons, London Journals*, Woolston's Moderator, *&c.* at the end of the *Preface* to the *Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered.*

(16) Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered, p. 12.

(17) Now (1748) Bishop of Salisbury.

[*N*] *His* Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered.] The title at length is; *The Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered; in a view of the Controversy occasioned by a late book, intitled,* A Discourse of the Grounds, *&c.* It was printed at the Hague by Thomas Johnson, in 1726, in two volumes. 12mo, and reprinted at London with corrections; in 1727, in *8vo.* It is dated at London November 13, 1725, and addressed to the Right Honourable * * * * *. In this piece (18) Mr Collins mentions a *Dissertation* he had written, but never published, against Mr Whiston's *Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles*; in which he endeavours to shew, that those oracles were forged by the Primitive Christians, who were thence called Sibyllists by the Pagans. He also mentions a manuscript *Discourse* of his *upon the miracles recorded in the Old and New Testament.*

(18) Ch. ii. p. 61, edit. 1726.

[*O*] *It had several Answerers.*] The principal are: I. *The Necessity of Divine Revelation, and the Truth of the Christian Religion asserted, in eight Sermons, to which is prefixed a Preface, with some Remarks on a late book intitled,* The Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered, *&c. By* John Rogers, D. D. London, 1727. *8vo.* in answer to which, Mr Collins wrote *A Letter to the Reverend Dr Rogers, on occasion of his eight sermons concerning the necessity of Divine Revelation, and the Preface prefixed to them. To which is added,* A Letter

(14) Now (1748) Bishop of Durham.

Collins, that his pieces were all anonymous. His health declined some years before his death, which fell out, December 13, 1729, occasioned by a violent fit of the stone. He was interred in Oxford-Chapel, where is a monument, with a Latin inscription on it [*P*], erected to his memory by his widow. We shall say something of this remarkable gentleman's character below [*Q*].

A letter *printed in the* London Journal, *April* 1, 1727, *with an answer to the same.* London 1727, 8*vo*. II. *A Letter to the author of the* London Journal, Saturday April 1, 1727; it was written by Dr Sykes, Dean of Burien, and is that answered by Mr Collins, at the end of his *Letter to Dr* Rogers. Dr Sykes wrote a *second letter* in defence of his former, dated June 24, 1727, and printed in a pamphlet intitled, *The true Grounds of the expectation of the Messiah, in two letters. The one printed in the London Journal, April* 1, 1727. *The other in vindication of it; being a reply to the* Answer *published at the end of* A Letter *to* Dr Rogers; *By* Philalethes, London, 1727, 8vo. III. *A Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies, and their application to Jesus Christ, in answer to the Objections of the author of the Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered: By* Samuel Chandler, London, 1727, 8*vo*. IV. *A Vindication of the* Defence of Christianity, from the Prophecies of the Old Testament, *In Answer to the* Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered; *By the Right Rev. rend Father in God,* Edward, *Lord Bishop of* Coventry *and* Lichfield: *in two volumes. With a* Letter *from the Reverend Mr* Masson, *concerning the Religion of* Macrobius, *and his testimony touching the slaughter of the Infants at Bethlem, with a Postcript upon Virgil's 4th Eclogue.* London 1728, 8*vo*. V. *The Reasoning of Christ and his Apostles vindicated: in two parts, The first being a Defence of the* Augument from Miracles, *proving the* Argument from Prophecy, *not necessary to a rational defence of our Religion. The second being a Defence of the* Argument from Prophecy *proving the Christian Scheme to have a rational foundation upon the* Prophecies *of the* Old Testament; *By* Thomas Bullock, A. M. *Rector of North-Creak in Norfolk,* London, 1728, 8*vo*.

[*P*] *His epitaph.*] It is as follows:

H. S. E.
ANTONIUS COLLINS, Armiger;
Egregiis animi dotibus ornatus,
Præstanti Ingenio,
Acri Judicio,
Tenaci Memoria:
A Puero usque mirifica virtutis indole præditus:
Spectatissimum semper vitæ morumque exemplar:
Veritatis Amicus et Indagator Sedulus;
Quam neque ex sententiis hominum pendere,
Neque Magistratus gladio vindicandam esse existimavit:
In libris (quorum opulenta ei copia) evolvendis
Assiduus et Indefessus,
Quantum inde profecerit,
Ex Scriptis ipsius editis judicet Lector idoneus.
Erga Reges optimos, utrumque Georgium,
Libertatis utpote Civilis et Ecclesiasticæ
Tutores et Patronos,
Fide (si quis alius) constans.
Gratam sui
Erga Conjuges Amoris,
Erga Liberos Charitatis,
Erga Servos Lenitatis,
Erga omnes Benevolentiæ,
Memoriam reliquit.
Calculorum valetudine diu conflictatus,
Demum fractus, obiit XIII Dec. M.DCCXXIX.
Amicorum nuper Deliciæ, nunc, eheu! Desiderium.

Natus est XXI Junii M.DCLXXVI.
HENRICO Patre Armigero.
In Matrimonio habuit
MARTHAM FRANCISCI CHILD Equitis filiam;
Atque, ea defuncta,
ELIZABETHAM, GUALTERI WROTTESLY Baronetti.
Ex altera quatuor liberos suscepit;
Quorum
Duos filios, HENRICUM infantem,
ANTONIUM vero ad virilem ætatem jam provectum,
Extulerat:
Duas itidem filias, ELIZABETHAM et MARTHAM,
Innuptas reliquit.
Altera charissimo viro,
Quocum conjunctissime vixerat,
Monumentum hoc mœrens posuit.

[*Q*] *Something of his character.*] We are told (19), that 'the corruption among Christians, and the persecuting spirit of the Clergy, had given him a prejudice against the Christian religion, and at last induced him to think, that upon it's present footing it is pernicious to mankind: and that, as he had a great fund of humanity, sweetness of temper, and moderation, he saw with grief, that these virtues were banished from society, and that religion was made use of as a cloak to authorize all kinds of violence and injustice.' Mr Whiston, in his *List of Suppositions and Assertions*, &c (20), treating our author, together with Mr Toland, as guilty of *impious frauds* and *Lay-craft*, expresses himself, with regard to the former, in these terms: 'A second instance must be Mr Anthony Collins, a gentleman, who has many years taken superabundant care not to be suspected of believing so much as the Apostles Creed, or the books of the Old or New Testament, or indeed any Divine Providence at all. Yet does he claim a right to be admitted to take an oath upon the Bible, and to receive the Holy Communion itself; and he is at this day admitted to do both, and in virtue thereof is in the commission of the peace, as a good Church-man: i. e. notwithstanding his open and professed infidelity, he ventures, in the most publick and solemn manner, to declare his unfeigned acknowledgment of the Divine Providence, of the truth of the Christian religion, and of the books of the Holy Scripture, that is possible to be done among men. It is with great regret I add this example of an old friend, and one whom I still love better than he loves himself; but it is too flagrant to be omitted. This I call *gross immorality, impious fraud,* and *Lay-craft*.' Mr Armand de la Chapelle, having translated this passage into French (21), observes, that the expressions are *a little too cholerick*, and that Mr Collins would have reason to triumph upon this instance of passion in his antagonist. This occasioned the sending a letter to Mr de la Chapelle (22), in which the writer observes, that 'Mr Whiston having accused Mr Collins of irreligion, but being sensible that this accusation, being destitute of proof, was ridiculous, he has artfully pretended, that the latter had been his friend, insinuating thereby that Mr Collins had discloséd to him his most secret sentiments. And yet (*adds the writer*) I have been assured by persons who are very well informed, that Mr Collins never had any intercourse of friendship with him; that he never spoke to him above eight or ten times in his life, in a coffee-house or elsewhere, and always in other company, and that he has not seen him for above five years. Is this sufficient for Mr Whiston to claim the character of a friend?' Mr Whiston, in another place (23), speaks thus of Mr Collins. *The reputed author of* Freethinking *is, for all I have ever heard, a* sober man; *thanks to his natural aversion to intemperance; and that is more than can be said of some others of the club: but as for any other virtue, he has told us* (*) *it is such as he intends* shall never hurt him. *And it can't be thought uncharitable, if I say it rises from no higher origin than fear; for he has himself disclaimed all nobler principles.* But, of all writers, the author of the *Guardian* (24) has treated our author's character with the greatest severity in the following passages: 'He that should burn a house, and justify the action by asserting he is a free agent, would be far more excusable than this author in uttering what he has from the right of a Free-Thinker.'

Again:

(19) Bibliotheque Raisonnée, &c. T. IV. Par. i. p. 235.

(20) Page 15. See remark [*M*] init.

(21) In his *Bibl. Angloise*, T. II. P. i. p. 282, &c.

(22) Ibid. T. XII. P. i. p. 244, &c.

(23) Reflections on an Anonymous Pamphlet, &c. p. 28.

(*) In his Discourse of Freethinking, p. 178, edit. 1713.

(24) Vol. I. No. 3.

Again; *This gentleman may be aſſured he has not a taſte for what he pretends to decry, and the poor man is certainly more a blockhead than an Atheiſt.* Again; 'When ſuch writers as this, who have no ſpirit but 'that of malice, pretend to inform the age, Mohocks 'and Cut-throats may well ſet up for wits and men of 'pleaſure.' Laſtly; *If ever any man deſerved to be denied the common benefits of air and water, it is the author of a* Diſcourſe of Free-thinking. But, notwithſtanding the reproaches caſt upon Mr Collins as an enemy to ALL religion, impartiality obliges us to remark, what is ſaid, and generally believed to be true, that upon his death bed, he declared, 'That, as he 'had always endeavoured, to the beſt of his abilities, 'to ſerve his God, his King, and his country, ſo he 'was perſuaded he was going to that place, which 'God had deſigned for them that love him:' to which he added, that *The Catholick religion is to love God and to love man*; and he adviſed ſuch as were about him to have a conſtant regard to theſe principles. His library, which was a very large and curious one, was open to all men of letters, to whom he readily communicated all the lights and aſſiſtance in his power, and (we are told) even furniſhed his antagoniſts with books to confute himſelf, and directed them how to give their arguments all the force of which they were capable. We ſhall only add, that he carefully avoided all the indecencies of converſation, and diſcouraged every the leaſt tendency towards obſcenity of diſcourſe.

T

COLSTON) (EDWARD) a perſon ever memorable for his great and extenſive charities, in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth Century, was the eldeſt ſon of William Colſton, Eſq [*A*]; by Sarah his wife, and born in Temple pariſh in the city of Briſtol, November 2, 1636 (*a*). He was brought up to trade, probably under his father (who was a moſt eminent Spaniſh Merchant); and reſided ſome time in Spain: as did alſo his brothers, two of whom were inhumanly murdered there by aſſaſſins [*B*]. Through a very laudable induſtry, and in the courſe of a long and happy life, he acquired very great riches [*C*]; of which he expended a conſiderable part in works of beneficence and charity. In the year 1691, he built upon his own ground, at his own charge, St Michael's-hill Alms-houſe, in Briſtol [*D*]. The ſame year, he gave houſes and lands, without Temple-gate in that city, to the Society of Merchants for ever, towards the maintenance of ſix poor old decayed Sailors, to the yearly value of twenty-four pounds. In 1696, he purchaſed a piece of ground in Temple-ſtreet in the ſame city, and built at his own charge a ſchool and dwelling-houſe for a Maſter, to inſtruct forty boys, in Writing, Arithmetick, and the Church-Catechiſm [*E*]. In 1702, he gave five hundred pounds, towards rebuilding Queen Elizabeth's Hoſpital on the College-Green in Briſtol; and for the maintenance, cloathing, and education of ſix boys there, and putting them out apprentices, he appropriated an eſtate, out of which is paid to the Maſter the yearly ſum of ſixty pounds excluſive of all taxes and charges, beſides ten pounds for placing out the boys apprentices. In the year 1708, he ſettled his great benefaction, of the Hoſpital in St Auguſtine's back, in the city aforeſaid, conſiſting of a Maſter, two Uſhers, and one hundred

(*a*) From Mr Colſton's monument, in All-Saints church in Briſtol; and from an account ſent by the Rev. Mr Tucker.

[*A*] *Was the eldeſt ſon of* William Colſton, *Eſq*;] Who was a very eminent Spaniſh Merchant, as is ſaid above. He was uſually ſtiled *Deputy* Colſton, becauſe generally *deputed* by the corporation of the city to officiate for the Mayor elect, when he went to London to take the oaths; which the Mayors of Briſtol always did before the new charter granted to that city by Queen Anne. This circumſtance is a ſtrong proof, both of his ſtation in life, and of his character for integrity and virtue. Sarah, his wife, was a Counſellor's daughter (1). Their ſon, Mr Edward Colſton, erected a monument to their memory, in the church of All-Saints in Briſtol; the inſcription on which is as follows: 'To the dear memory of his father William 'Colſton, Eſq; and of his mother Sarah Colſton, in'terred near this place in the ſepulchre of his ance'ſtors; as alſo their four ſons, William, Thomas, 'Robert, and William, and their two daughters, 'Martha and Martha, who were all natives and inha'bitants of this city. William his father died 21ſt 'Nov. 1681, aged 73 years; and Sarah his mother 'the 23. Dec: 1701. aged 93 years.

'Edward Colſton, their eldeſt ſon, born likwiſe in 'this city, but an inhabitant of London, had dedicated 'this monument.'

(1) From the ſame account as above.

[*B*] *Two of whom were inhumanly murdered by aſſaſſins.*] There is a tradition, that when Mr Colſton and his two brothers were in Spain, in their diſputes with the Papiſts it was often objected to them, 'That 'Reformed religion, produced no examples of great 'and charitable benefactions;' to which they were wont to reply, That if it pleaſed God to bring them ſafe home, they would wipe off that aſperſion. Upon which, two of them were poiſoned, to prevent their return: but their elder brother, Mr Edward Colſton, eſcaped. Such is the tradition, but it is more certain, that one or both of them, were aſſaſſinated by banditti's or bravoes; very common in Spain and Portugal.

[*C*] *He acquired very great riches.*] The viſible means whereby he acquired his riches, were as follow: 1. Being the eldeſt ſon, he received a handſome fortune from his parents. 2. Surviving all, if not moſt of, his brothers and ſiſters, he received theirs likewiſe: and the brothers had made very great additions to theirs by trade. 3. The Colſton family had at that time the two moſt valuable branches of trade, in that part of the kingdom, almoſt entirely to themſelves, *viz.* the fruit, and the oil, trade; Mr Colſton having two ſhips always employed in that buſineſs: and oil was much more in uſe formerly than at preſent. Mr Colſton not only ſupplied all, but purchaſed it abroad at a very great advantage, by advancing money to thoſe neceſſitous people, the Spaniards and Portugueſe, before their vintage, and being allowed a diſcount. 4. He never inſured a ſhip, ſaving that expence, and yet he never loſt one (2).

(2) From the account as above.

[*D*] *In the year* 1691, *he built upon his own ground, at his own charge, St Michael's-hill alms houſe in Briſtol.*] The front and two ſides are faced with free-ſtone. It contains a chapel neatly adorned; twenty-four apartments; and other conveniences, for twelve men and twelve women. The elder brother receives ſix ſhillings; and each of the others three ſhillings, weekly; beſides an allowance for coal, *&c.* To a Clergyman is paid the ſum of ten pounds yearly. He is to read the Common-Prayer, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, twice every day, except when prayers are read in St Michael's church; at which every member of this alms-houſe is to attend. The endowment, or eſtate given for this charity, ariſes chiefly from fee-farm rents, and amounts yearly to two hundred and eighty-two ponnds, three ſhillings, and four pence. The over-plus of this eſtate is paid towards the maintenance of the ſix Sailors in the merchants alms-houſe in King-ſtreet. The charge of building and finiſhing this houſe amounted to about two thouſand five hundred pounds.

[*E*] *To inſtruct forty boys, in Writing, Arithmetick, and the Church-Catechiſm.*] The boys are likewiſe to be cloathed. The eſtate given for this charity is an annuity of fourſcore pounds yearly, clear of all charges.

hundred boys [*F*]. He alſo gave ſix pounds *per Ann.* to the Miniſter of All Saints in Briſtol, for reading prayers every Monday and Tueſday morning throughout the year; and one pound a year to the Clerk and Sexton. Likewiſe, ſix pounds yearly for ever, for a monthly ſermon and prayers to the priſoners in Newgate there: and twenty pounds to be paid yearly for ever to the Clergy beneficed in that city, for preaching fourteen ſermons in the time of Lent [*G*]. Beſides many occaſional charities, and benefactions, to ſeveral Churches and Charity-Schools, in the ſame city of Briſtol [*H*].—Moreover, he built an Alms-houſe for ſix poor people at Shene in Surrey. He gave ſix thouſand pounds, for the augmentation of ſixty ſmall livings [*I*]. To St Bartholomew's Hoſpital London, he gave two thouſand pounds; wherewith was purchaſed an eſtate of one hundred pounds a year, which is ſettled on that Hoſpital: and he left to the ſame, by Will, five hundred pounds more. To Chriſt's Hoſpital, at ſeveral times, he gave a thouſand pounds; and bequeathed thereto the like ſum afterwards. As alſo to St Thomas's Hoſpital, and to Bethlem, five hundred pounds a piece. To the Work-houſe without Biſhopſgate, two hundred pounds. To the Society for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts, three hundred pounds. He left, moreover, very handſome legacies to Mortlake in Surrey, where he died [*K*]. And gave the ſum of one hundred pounds *per Ann.* to be continued for twelve years after his death, and to be diſtributed by the direction of his Executors; either to place out every year ten boys apprentices, or to be given towards the ſetting up ten young tradeſmen, to each ten pounds: in the whole twelve hundred pounds. He gave likewiſe to eighteen Charity-Schools in ſeveral parts of England, and to be continued to them for twelve years after his deceaſe, to each ſchool yearly five pounds; or in all, each year, ninety pounds [*L*]. Finally, he gave towards building a church at Mancheſter in Lancaſhire, twenty pounds: and towards the building of a church at Tiverton in Devonſhire, fifty pounds. Beſides theſe known and publick benefactions, he gave away every year large ſums in private charities, which was his practice for the courſe of many years: and there is reaſon to believe, that theſe were not much ſhort of his publick charities (*b*). His uſual method was, never to give any thing to common beggars; but he always ordered,

(*b*) From Mr Colſton's Funeral Sermon by Dr Harcourt, preached in the church of All-Saints in Briſtol, Oct. 29, 1721, and printed at London, the ſame year.

[*F*] *In*—1708, *he ſettled his great benefactions, of the hoſpital in St Auguſtine's Back, in the city aforeſaid, &c.*] For the maintenance, cloathing, and education of theſe boys, and for placing them apprentices, he gave an eſtate, moſtly ariſing by fee-farm rents, to the yearly value of thirteen hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen ſhillings, and ſix-pence farthing. And the charge of firſt fitting up the hoſpital, and making it convenient for the purpoſe, amounted to about eleven thouſand pounds. Out of that eſtate is to be paid yearly, ten pounds to a clergyman of the Church of England, for explaining and inſtructing the children in the Church Catechiſm: and in caſe the eſtate given for this charity, be not ſufficient to anſwer the charges upon it, the executors are impowered to ſupply any deficiencies which have been, and to prevent them for the future.

[*G*] *And twenty pounds to be paid yearly for ever to the Clergy beneficed in that city, for preaching fourteen ſermons in the time of Lent.*] The ſubjects on which he himſelf appointed they ſhould be preached, are theſe: The Lent-faſt; againſt Atheiſm and Infidelity; the Catholick Church; the Excellence of the Church of England; the Powers of the Church; Baptiſm; Confirmation; Confeſſion and Abſolution; the Errors of the Church of Rome; Enthuſiaſm or Superſtition; Reſtitution; Frequentiug the Divine Service; Frequent Communion; the Paſſion of our Bleſſed Saviour.

[*H*] *Beſides many occaſional charities and benefactions to ſeveral churches and charity-ſchools in Briſtol.*] Particularly——to the cathedral, towards beautifying the choir, the marble about the communion-table, and organ, *&c.* at ſeveral times, two hundred and ſixty pounds.——Towards rebuilding the Tower, and the repair and beautifying the chancel of All-Saints church, at three ſeveral times, two hundred and fifty pounds.—Towards the building of a new iſle in Clifton-church, near Briſtol, fifty pounds.——Towards the building of a gallery, and erecting an organ in St James's church, fifty pounds.——Towards an organ to be erected in St Mary Redcliff, a hundred pounds.——Towards the repair of St Michael's church, fifty pounds.——Towards the repair of St Stephen's church fifty pounds.——Towards the altar piece, cieling, and portal, in the Temple-church, one hundred and ſixty pounds.——Towards the repair of St Thomas's church, fifty pounds.——For an altar piece, in the church of St Werburgh, one hunded and ſixty pounds. In 1702, he gave to the Mint work-houſe, for employing the poor, two hundred pounds. And for placing out poor boys and girls apprentices, two hundred pounds more. He gave yearly ſixty pounds, to the charity-ſchools in the pariſhes of St Philip and St Jacob, St Thomas and Redcliff, St James's and to ſeveral erected in other places. And left by will, to the charity-ſchools erected in the pariſhes of St Philip and Jacob, ten pounds; of St Thomas and Redcliff, ten pounds; of St Auguſtine and St Michael, ten pounds; of St James, ten pounds. And to each of theſe ten pounds yealy, to be continued for twelve years after his death. All this in Briſtol.

[*I*] *He gave ſix thouſand pounds, for the augmentation of ſixty ſmall livings.*] This gift at firſt was four thouſand pounds, to which he afterwards added the other two thouſand pounds. No more than a hundred pounds was to be given to one living. The diſtribution was to be after this manner: any living that was intitled to Queen Anne's bounty might have this too, on condition, that every pariſh, which did receive this, ſhould be obliged to raiſe one hundred pounds, to be added to the hundred pounds allowed by Mr Colſton. Many livings have had the grant of this bounty from Mr Colſton (3).

(3) See Ecton's *Liber Valorum*, &c. edit. 1728, in the beginning.

[*K*] *He left moreover very handſome legacies to Mortlake in Surrey, where he died.*] He bequeathed for the educatiou and cloathing of twelve boys and twelve girls, in that place; to be continued for twelve years after his death, yearly forty-five pounds; amounting in the whole to five hundred and forty pounds. Moreover, he gave eighty-five pounds (as many as he was years old) to be diſtributed to eighty-five poor men and women there, to each twenty ſhillings, at the time of his deceaſe.

[*L*] *He gave likewiſe to eighteen charity-ſchools in ſeveral parts of England, and to be continued to them for twelve years after his deceaſe, to each ſchool yearly, five pounds, &c.*] Thoſe eighteen charity-ſchools were:——In Berkſhire; at Longcottin, in the pariſh of Shrevenham: at Shrevenham: at Farrington: and at Stanford.——In Devonſhire; at Plymouth: and at Barnſtable——In Dorſetſhire; to one at Dorcheſter ſet up by Madam Strangeways.——In Hamſhire; to one at Alton.——In Kent, at Stroud near Rocheſter: and at Chiſlehurſt near Bromley.——In Middleſex; at Highgate: and at Brentford.——In Northamptonſhire; to one at Kettering.——In Oxfordſhire; to one at Bradwell, if the inhabitants thereof can maintain twenty-five boys.——In Someſetſhire; at Chewſtoke: at Froom: at Farmborough.——In Wiltſhire; to one at Box near Bath (4).

(4) See Dr Harcourt's Sermon, as above.

[*M*] *Where*

ordered, that poor houſe-keepers, ſick, and decayed perſons, ſhould be ſought out as the fitteſt objects for his charity. In building his hoſpitals and alms-houſes, he ſhowed, that his judgment could not be impoſed upon by the workmen, as to the goodneſs of the materials, or the value of their work. For, as he underſtood thoſe things very well, he drove what they would call a hard bargain; and paid all the workmen, himſelf, if preſent, or elſe ordered them to be paid, every Saturday night. If they worked longer than their cuſtomary hours, he paid them proportionably; if otherwiſe, he deducted; but never allowed any thing for drink. It is obſervable, that all the Colſton-family were animated with a ſpirit of charity and piety. Several of Mr Edward Colſton's publick benefactions were deſigned, and ſome actually begun, by his brothers; which he afterwards confirmed and enlarged (c). Some years before his deceaſe he retired from buſineſs, and came and lived at London, and at Mortlake where he had a country-ſeat. At this laſt place he died October 11, 1721, aged eighty-four years, eleven months, and nine days: and was buried the 29th of the ſame month, in the church of All Saints in Briſtol, where there is a monument erected to his memory [M]. His charity was his moſt ſhining virtue [N], as is abundantly manifeſt from thoſe many inſtances of it mentioned above. As for the reſt of his character; he was a conſtant communicant with the Church of England, a moſt zealous advocate for her doctrines, worſhip, and diſcipline, in oppoſition to Popery as well as Fanaticiſm, and a moſt lively and exemplary ſon of it (d). He was, likewiſe, a perſon of great temperance, meekneſs, evenneſs of temper, patience, and mortification. He always looked chearful and pleaſant, ſcarce ever in the leaſt diſcompoſed: and was naturally of a very peaceable and quiet diſpoſition. He was remarkably circumſpect in all his actions; always obſerved the ſame regularity in keeping his accounts, as when he began the world, and was a very good maſter of book-keeping (e). His ſtrength continued vigorous, his underſtanding clear, his apprehenſion quick, and his judgment ſound, long beyond the age of man, even to reach almoſt to the end of his eighty-fifth year, without decay in his underſtanding, without labour or ſorrow (f).

(c) From the information, as above.

(d) Dr Harcourt, ubi ſupra.

(e) From the information as above.

(f) Dr Harcourt, ubi ſupra.

[M] *Where there is a monument erected to his memory.*] The inſcription theron, contains an enumeration of his publick charities, already mentioned in this article. Then on the pedeſtal, or baſe, is added as follows:

'Edward, the ſon of William Colſton, Eſq; and 'Sarah his wife, was born in this city Nov. 2, 1636, 'died at Mortlake in Surrey Octob. 11, 1721, and 'lies buried near this monument.'

[N] *His charity was his moſt ſhining virtue.*] And ſo extenſive was it, that, as Dr Harcourt obſerves (5), 'To do juſtice to his character, would oblige one to 'enumerate almoſt every kind of charity, whereby we 'can promote the glory of God, or relieve the neceſſities of our fellow-creatures. Scarcely any ſort of 'temporal calamity eſcaped his charitable aſſiſtance; 'nor is there ſcarcely one ſpiritual want, towards the 'removing of which he did not piouſly and freely afford his contribution. In ſhort, the charities which 'have taken either their foundation or improvement 'from his open hand, are ſo numerous, that the variety 'will appear ſo great as to ſurprize; and the immenſeneſs of the ſums expended in them will be judged extreamly large, when it ſhall be conſidered, that they 'are the charity of one private perſon. From his 'bountiful benefactions, the ignorance of the young, 'the miſeries of the infirm, and the helpleſs neceſſities 'of the old, are removed, eaſed, and relieved.' C

(5) Sermon, as above.

COMBER, or CUMBER (Thomas) a conſiderable Divine in the XVIIth Century [A], was born in Weſtram in Kent, in the year 1645 (a), being the ſon of James Cumber of that pariſh. He was educated in grammar learning in his native place, by Thomas Walter, and William Holland Vicars of Weſtram. At fourteen years of age, on the 18th of April 1659, he was admitted into Sidney-Suſſex-College in Cambridge, under the tuition of Edmund Matthews, *B. D.* The 16th of January 1662-3, he was elected Scholar of that houſe; and the next day had his grace in college for the degree of Bachelor of Arts (b): which he accordingly took and compleated in the univerſity (c). On the 26th of May 1666, he had likewiſe his grace for the degree of Maſter of Arts (d). It moreover appears, that he was created Doctor in Divinity between the years 1676 and 1679; but as his name doth not occur in any of our univerſity-regiſters, it is therefore probable, that he had that degree conferred upon him at Lambeth. On the 5th of July 1677, he was collated by Archbiſhop Sterne to the Prebend of Holme in the cathedral church of York (e); which he quitted, the 19th of July 1681, for the Prebend of Fenton in the ſame church (f). The 19th of January 1683-4, he was alſo collated to the Præcentorſhip (g). Upon the deprivation of Dr Dennis Granville, he was nominated April 23, 1691, to ſucceed him in the Deanery of Durham; whereupon he reſigned his Præcentorſhip of York (h). He was Chaplain to Anne Princeſs of Denmark, and to King William and Queen Mary. He died November 25, 1699, in the fifty-fifth year of

(a) This appears from his age at the time of his death. See his epitaph below.

(b) All this is taken from a Memorandum entered into Sydney-college books.

(c) From the Univerſity Regiſter, communicated by Dr W. Richardſon.

(d) Dr W. Richardſon could not find that he ſubſcribed; and therefore queſtions whether he compleated this degree in the univerſity.

(e) Survey of the cathedral of York, &c. by Brown Willis, Eſq; Lond. 1727, 4to, p. 143.

(f) Ibid. p. 134.

(g) Ibid. p. 77.

(h) Ibid. p. 256. 77; and J. Le Neve's Faſti, &c. p. 352.

[A] *A conſiderable Divine in the* XVIIth *century.*] His ſurname, as printed in his works, is *Comber*; but it is written *Cumber*, in the admiſſion-book of Sidney-college. He muſt not be confounded with another Dr Thomas Comber, who lived in the ſame century, and was of Trinity-college in Cambridge. This laſt was born in Suſſex, Jan. 1, 1575; admitted Scholar of Trinity-college, May 11, 1593; Fellow of the ſame, October 2, 1597; Junior Dean, Octob. 2, 1608; Preacher, Octob. 16, 1609; Greek Examiner, Octob. 2, 1611; Chief Reader, Octob. 2, 1612; Senior Dean, Octob. 2, 1618, 1619, and 1625; Senior Treaſurer, Dec. 13, 1620, and Dec. 20, 1621; appointed Dean of Carliſle, Aug. 28, 1630; and ſworn in Maſter of Trinity-college, Octob. 12, 1631 (1). He writ 'An Hiſtorical Vindication of the Di-'vine Rights of Tithes, &c.' againſt Mr Selden's Hiſtory of Tithes, 4to. In 1642, he was impriſoned, plundered, and deprived of all his preferments. He died Feb. 28, 1653, at Cambridge, and was buried March 3, in St Botolph's church in that town (2).

(1) From the College Regiſtry.

(2) Br. Willis. as above, amongſt the Deans of Carliſle. For a fuller account of him, ſee D. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 447. and Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 9.

[B] *There*

of his age (*i*); and was buried at Stonegrave in Yorkſhire, of which it ſeems he was Rector. There is a tombſtone on his grave, with an inſcription [*B*]. He was author of ſeveral works, chiefly on the Common-Prayer; in which he ſhows great piety, and very extenſive learning: being well read in ſacred and prophane authors, both antient and modern. Thoſe works of his, are, I. 'A Scholaſtical Hiſtory of the Primitive and 'general Uſe of Liturgies in the Chriſtian Church; together with an Anſwer to Mr 'David Clarkſon's late Diſcourſe concerning Liturgies.' Lond. 1690; dedicated to King William and Queen Mary. II. 'A Companion to the Temple: or, a Help to Devo-'tion in the Uſe of the Common-Prayer.' Part I. On Morning and Evening Prayer, Part II. On the Litany, with the occaſional Prayers and Thankſgivings [*C*]. III. 'A 'Companion to the Altar, or, an Help to the worthy Receiving of the Lord's Supper; 'by Diſcourſes and Meditations upon the whole Communion-Office [*D*].' IV. 'A brief 'Diſcourſe upon the Offices of Baptiſm, Catechiſm, and Confirmation [*E*].' Printed at the end of the Companion to the Altar. V. 'A Diſcourſe on the occaſional Offices in 'the Common-Prayer, *viz.* Matrimony, Viſitation of the Sick, Burial of the Dead, 'Churching of Women, and the Commination [*F*].' VI. 'A Diſcourſe upon the Man-'ner and Form of making Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons.' Lond. 1699, 8*vo.* dedicated to Archbiſhop Tenniſon. VII. 'Short Diſcourſes upon the whole Common-Prayer, 'deſigned to inform the Judgment and excite the Devotion of ſuch as daily uſe the ſame.' Chiefly by way of paraphraſe [*G*]. Lond. 1684, 8*vo.* dedicated to Anne Princeſs of Denmark, to whom the author was Chaplain. VIII. 'Roman Forgeries in the Councils 'during the firſt Four Centuries. Together with an Appendix concerning the Forgeries 'and Errors in the Annals of Baronius [*H*].' Lond. 1689, 4*to.* He is ſaid, in his epitaph

(*i*) From his epitaph.

[*B*] *There is a tomb-ſtone on his grave, with an inſcription.*] Which is as follows: *M. S. Siſte, viator, gradum, mora non erit diſpendium ſcire, quanti Viri venerandos premis Cineres, Exuvias mortales (perenni Felicitati naturas) heic de poni voluit* Thomas Comber, S. T. P. *grande Nomen, pluribus haud opus. Vir Pietate, Eruditione, Ingenio, Judicio, ceteriſq; Animi dotibus clarus; majore vero (fingentem non audis panegyrin ob Sanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ cauſam) quoad Doctrinam, Cultum, Diſciplinam, contra Novatores omnes Scriptis feliciter defenſor, dignus haud Simplici Marmore. Gulielmo & Mariæ Principibus illuſtriſſimis à Sacris, Eccleſiæ Dunelmenſis per decennium, breve nimis, Decanus; ad maxima quæque capeſſenda idoneus, adque altiora munera promovendus, niſi publicis votis obſtitiſſet Mors invida. ——— Plura, licet meritis debita, non capiet Marmor: probis omnibus Luctum & ſui deſiderium relinquens, deceſſit 25 die Novembris,* 1699 *Ann. Salutis, Ætatis* 55. *Provectiore Senio, modo viſum Deo, dignus* (3).

(3) Br. Willis. among the Deans of Durham, p. 256, 257.

[*C*] *With the occaſioned Prayers and Thankſgiving.*] Printed in two volumes 8*vo.* 1679. His general method in this work, is, to give, *firſt*, an analyſis of each part: *ſecondly*, an explanation of it: *thirdly*, a paraphraſe; and, *laſtly*, a meditation upon it.

[*D*] *A Companion to the Altar*, &c.] It is dedicated by the author to his patron Richard Archbiſhop of York———To whom, as he obſerves, he was obliged to make this tender by his condition and his duty, by gratitude and affection; ——having firſt received the Holy Order of Prieſthood, and the power of diſpenſing the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from his Grace's hands.——He obſerves, in the ſame place, that 'There is nothing more uſeful to the friends of 'this Church, nor more convincing to the diſſenters 'from it, than to prefent her pure and primitive order 'of worſhip in it's natural and lovely ſplendor.'——— The *Imprimatur* bears date January 21, 1673-4. It was ſo well received, that a fourth edition came out in 1685, within the ſpace of eleven years. The whole is divided into four parts, containing learned obſervations, and then paraphraſes, and meditations upon each branch of the Communion-Office.

[*E*] *A Diſcourſe upon the Offices of Baptiſm, Catechiſm, and Confirmation.*] The author dedicates it to Dr Tillotſon, then Dean of Canterbury: and ſays, 'it will contribute to the reputation of theſe tracts, to 'be uſhered in with ſo worthy a name, and add to 'their author's character, to be reckoned among the 'number of your friends.'

[*F*] *A Diſcourſe on the occaſional Offices*, &c.] Firſt printed in 1676, 8*vo.* Theſe four laſt pieces, were re-printed together in one volume, fol. 1701, divided into four parts. They are dedicated to King William.

[*G*] *Short Diſcourſes upon the whole Common-Prayer*, &c.] He tells us in his Dedication, that the importunity of his friends had engaged him to write theſe ſhorter Diſcourſes, for the uſe of thoſe who wanted time to conſider the larger work, *i. e.* his Companion to the Temple and Altar. As for the method and deſign of it, Firſt, the Original and Antiquity of every part of Common-Prayer is therein declared. Secondly, the method of each feveral piece is cleared. Thirdly, the ſenſe of all is opened by divers plain and natural obſervations on the matter of theſe offices, to help all to perform them with a devotion ſuitable to their great worth. And it is deſigned, 1. To inſtruct thoſe who did not underſtand, or rather not obſerve, theſe excellencies to be in the Common-Prayer. 2. To furniſh the devout ſons of the Church with profitable meditations, to enlarge upon in their minds in the uſe of theſe prayers, and to put them into a right frame for ſaying them affectionately, and with a holy importunity. 3. It is deſigned to convince the miſtaken Diſſenters if they will hear reaſon; if not, to diſcover to others the injuſtice and malice of their clamours againſt it (4).

(4) This is the account given of it by the author, in the Preface.

[*H*] *Roman forgeries in the Councils*, &c.] In the introduction he obſerves, that in the allowed Romiſh editions of the Councils (thoſe of Binius, *Colon.* 1618, and of Labbé and Coſſart, *Paris*, 1671) 'there is 'ſuch adding and expunging, ſuch altering and diſ-'guiſing things in the body of the Councils, and ſuch 'excuſing, falſifying, and ſhuffling in the notes, that 'a judicious reader will ſoon perceive, thoſe vencrable 'records truly ſet down and explained, do not favour 'them. But theſe corruptions are carried on with ſuch 'confidence and cunning, that an *unexperienced and* 'unwary *ſtudent*, may be impoſed on by this ſpecious 'ſhew of venerable antiquity: for their ſakes therefore 'he thought it neceſſary to take a ſhort view of that 'fraud and policy which is ſo commonly made uſe of 'in thoſe editions of the Councils which paſs through 'the Roman mint.'——Then he ſays he hopes 'this 'undertaking will be many ways uſeful: Firſt, It will tend 'to the eaſe of thoſe who intend to read over the tomes 'of the *Councils*, or the Annals of Baronius, and ſave 'them much time and pains by preſenting the principal 'errors of thoſe great volumes at one view, which they 'would ſpend a long time in ſearching after, if they 'were to gather them up as they lie diſperſed. Se-'condly, It may be very uſeful to thoſe who deſire 'to be rightly informed in the controverſies between us 'and the Roman Church, becauſe it will give them a 'clear proſpect of what Councils and other antiquities 'are authentick, and may be allowed for evidence in 'this diſpute; wherein our adverſaries have ſo little 'regard to their own honour, that generally one half 'of their evidence is ſuch as they have either forged or 'corrupted. Thirdly, It will be neceſſary (by way of 'antidote) to prepare thoſe, who by reading books ſo 'full of infection, may by theſe plauſible falſifications 'be

epitaph, to have been a perſon eminent for piety, learning, ingenuity, judgment, and other excellent qualities: and a ſtrenuous defender of the doctrine, worſhip, and diſcipline of the Church of England.

' be in danger to be ſeduced into a great eſteem of the ' opinions and practices of the Roman Church; when ' they find ſo many ſeemingly ancient tracts and Coun- ' cils brought in to juſtify her in all things, and ſee (by ' this falſe light) all Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory and Records ' ſo modelled, as to perſuade their readers, that in the ' pureſt Chriſtian times, all things were believed and ' done in the Catholick Church juſt as they are now at ' Rome. But when it ſhall appear, that all this is a ' continued ſeries and train of impoſtures, it will ren- ' der their notions and practices, not only ſuſpected, ' but odious, as needing ſuch vile and baſe artifices, ' to make them ſeem agreeable to true Antiquity.

C

COMPTON (WILLIAM) anceſtor of the preſent noble Earls of Northampton and Wilmington, was the ſon of Edmund de Compton [*A*], and born in the year 1481 (*a*). The firſt foundation of his ſucceeding honours and riches, was, his being made, in the eleventh year of his age (*b*), one of the Pages to Henry Duke of York, afterwards King by the title of Henry VIII: who, as ſoon as he came to the Crown, made him Groom of his Bed-chamber (*c*); and, before the expiration of that year, chief Gentleman of his Bed-chamber (*d*). He grew ſo much in favour with that King, that he was appointed by him, in the ſecond year of his reign 1510, Groom of the Stole (*e*); and, ſoon after, Conſtable of Sudley-caſtle in Glouceſterſhire (*f*); as he was alſo of Glouceſter-caſtle, in 1511 (*g*). In conſideration of his good and faithful ſervices, he obtained, in 1512, November the 7th, a ſpecial grant, to himſelf and his heirs, of an honourable augmentation to his Arms (*h*), out of the King's own royal enſigns and devices [*B*]: and, on the 4th of February next enſuing, the King conferred on him the office of Uſher of the Black Rod, with an allowance of twelve pence a day for that ſervice (*i*). He had likewiſe, the ſame year, by his Majeſty's favour, a large grant, to himſelf and the heirs of his body lawfully begotton (*k*), of ſeveral Lands and Manors [*C*]. In 1513, being a Knight, he had a commiſſion, to retain men in any of thoſe Lordſhips belonging to the Monaſteries whereof he was then Steward, for the ſervice of the King in his wars (*l*): and, in the expedition to Terouenne and Tournay the ſame year, led the rere-guard of the King's army (*m*). Shortly after, he was made one of the Knights for the King's body (*n*); as alſo Chancellor of Ireland, with liberty to execute that office by a ſufficient Deputy (*o*). But he did not hold it long; for, two years after, namely, in 1515, it was given to the Archbiſhop of Dublin (*p*). In 1514, and 1517, he had a grant to himſelf and his wife, and to the heirs of their two bodies lawfully begotten (*q*), of ſeveral manors and eſtates [*D*]. The ſame year, namely, 1517, he was appointed Conſtable of Hanley-caſtle in Worceſterſhire (*r*): And in 1518, was ordered to provide fifty archers for the King's ſervice in his wars (*s*). In 1519, he obtained licence to make a park at his manor of Compton Vineyatys, or Vineyard, in Warwickſhire; and, for an addition to the ſame, to incloſe two thouſand acres more, thereto adjoining (*t*). Upon the attainder of Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham, in 1521, he obtained a grant of the manor, caſtle, and park of Maxſtoke in Warwickſhire, as alſo of the manors of Scotton and Brereton in Yorkſhire, in reverſion, after the death, or ſurrender, of Simon Coniers (*u*). In 1523, he was employed with the Earl

(*a*) Dugda'e's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 401. That he was born in 1481, is evident from hence, becauſe he was eleven years old in 1492, ibid.

(*b*) Eſch. 9 Hen. VII. in Warr.

(*c*) Pat. 1 Hen. VIII. p. 2. m. 13.

(*d*) Life of King Henry VIII. by Lord Herbert, in Complete Hiſt. of Engl. edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 4.

(*e*) Pat. 2 Hen. VIII. p. 3.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 2, m. 10.

(*g*) Pat. 3 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*h*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Pat 4 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Pat. 5 Hen. VIII. p. 1. in dorſo.

(*m*) Life of King Henry VIII. by Lord Herbert, as above, p. 16.

(*n*) Pat. 5 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*o*) Ibid. m. 29. Ar. Collins ſays, that office was given him for life; Peerage of Engl. edit. 1735, 8vo, Vol. II. P. i. p. 109— But what follows ſhews the contrary.

(*p*) Pat. 7 Hen. VIII. p. 3.

(*q*) Pat. 6 Hen. VIII. p. 2; and 9 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(*r*) Pat. 9 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*s*) Cotton. Libr. Otho E. 11.

(*t*) Pat. 11. Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(*u*) Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 3, b.

[*A*] *Was the ſon of* Edmund *de* Compton.] This noble family derive their deſcent from *Turchill* the ſon of Alwin; who, in the time of Edward the Confeſſor, reſided at Warwick, of which county he was Earl. At the time of the Norman conqueſt, not joining with Harold, he continued in the poſſeſſion of his own lands, among which was the Lordſhip of Compton, and forty ſeven manors in divers counties. By Leverunia his ſecond wife he had Oſbert, who wrote himſelf *of Compton*, and was anceſtor of the preſent noble family. His ſecond ſon was *Philip*; to whom ſucceeded his ſon and heir *Thomas*, that lived in the reign of Henry the third; and whoſe eldeſt ſon was *Philip*; father of *Robert* de Compton, who was knighted before the 31ſt of Edward the ſecond; and was ſucceeded by *Robert*, father of *Thomas* de Compton. He was one of the Coroners for Warwickſhire, in the 23d of Edward the third, an office of great account in thoſe days. It was enjoyed after him by his ſon and heir *Edmund*, who died in the reign of Henry IV. He had iſſue ſix ſons, whereof *William* the eldeſt, dying about the year 1431, left iſſue *Robert* his ſon and heir, who died in 1480. His ſon, and ſucceſſor was *Edmund*, who dying in 1492, left iſſue by Joan his wife, daughter and heir of Walter Aylworth, Eſq; *William*, who is the ſubject of this article (1).

(1) See The Antiquities of Warwickſhire illuſtrated by Sir Will. Dugdale, ſecond edit. 1730, Vol. I. p. 547, &c. and Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, Vol. II. P. i. edit. 1735, p. 107, &c.

[*B*] *Out of the King's own royal enſigns and devices.*] Namely, ' a Lyon paſſant gardant, or.' And for the creſt, ' a demi-dragon crazed, gules, within a coronet ' of gold, upon a toſe argent and vert:' as by a ſpecial inſtrument under the King's own ſign manual, bearing date Novem. 7, 1512, appeareth (2).

(2) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *Of ſeveral Lands and Manors.*] Of which theſe are the names. The manor of Wyke in Middleſex, formerly belonging to George Duke of Clarence: Lovel's Inn in Pater-Noſter Row, London; with divers tenements pertaining therto: The manor of Aldwike, or Holand's, with Baro-Shanke wood, in Northamptonſhire; twenty four acres of meadow in Brantſy; twenty four in Swillingholm; all in Aldwincle, (or Aldwike) in the ſame county: alſo the manor of Deyncourt in Buckinghamſhire, part of the poſſeſſions of Francis Lord Lovel; with the manors of Rocholds, Cobham, and Riſhams, part of the lands of Sir Richard Charlton, Knt (3).

(3) Ibid.

[*D*] *In* 1514, *and* 1517, *he had a grant—of ſeveral manors and eſtates.*] Namely, in 1514, the manors of Elcombe, and Uſcote, in Wiltſhire; and the manor of Pole-place in Berkſhire, part of the poſſeſſions of Francis Viſcount Lovel. In 1517, the manors of Salthrope, Chilton, and Blagrave, in Wiltſhire: two hundred acres of paſture, called Blagrove, with their appurtenances in Blagrove and Wroughton, in the ſame county. Likewiſe the manor of Wythynden, or Myhunden in the pariſhes of Wroughton, and Lidiard-Tregoze, in the ſame county; the manor of Elcomb, with the park; the manors of Watleſcote, and Weſtcote; one hundred acres of land, and ſixty acres of paſture, in Wigleſte, and Wroughton: The manor of Uffecote, two meſſuages, a thouſand acres of land, a thouſand acres of paſture, three hundered acres of meadow, and three hundered acres of wood in Broad-Hinton, all in the ſame county. And eight pounds yearly rent iſſuing out of the manor of Denford, in Berkſhire, late Francis Viſcount Lovel's attainted (4).

(4) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 402.

Earl of Surrey, and the Marquis of Dorſet, &c. to make incurſions into Scotland. This ungrateful office was put upon him by the contrivance of Cardinal Wolſey; who obſerving, how much Sir William was in the King's favour, and fearing he ſhould diminiſh his authority, procured him to be thus ſent into the wars againſt the Scots. For, Sir William could not bear the Cardinal's preſumption, in taking ſo much upon him to the derogation of the King's prerogative; therefore the Cardinal thought, in his abſence, to have work'd him out of favour. But he could not, for the King recalled him ſoon after to Court (*w*): and, in 1525, conſtituted him Keeper of his money and jewels (*x*), which is the ſame we now call the Privy Purſe (*y*). Sir William built a very noble houſe at his manor of Compton [*E*]: and, in the chapel, erected a beautiful window towards the eaſt; in the painted glaſs of which, moſt curiouſly done, was repreſented the paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt. And in the lower part, Sir William himſelf and his Lady, kneeling, in their ſurcoats of Arms (*z*). He died of the ſweating ſickneſs, in the year 1528, May 31, aged forty-ſeven (*a*); being at that time of the Privy-Chamber to the King, who was then alſo in great danger (*b*). His body was buried at Compton; as he had deſired in his Will, bearing date March 8, 1522; in which he alſo deſired, that his Lady ſhould be interred in the ſame place: and, that a tomb of alabaſter ſhould be made, by the direction of his Executors, for his father, and ſet over his grave, with his Arms cut thereon. Likewiſe, that his mother's body ſhould be taken up from the place where ſhe lay burried, and depoſited by his father. Moreover, he appointed that his Executors ſhould found in his name two chantries at Compton; and that every Prieſt therein ſhould have a yearly ſalary of ten marks (*c*) [*F*]. He married Werburge, daughter and heir of Sir John Brereton, Knt, and widow of Sir Francis Cheney, Knt. by whom he had iſſue

(*x*) Polydore Vergil. in Hen. VIII. Holinſhed's Chr. edit. 1587, Vol. III. p. 878,

(*x*) Pat. 17 Hen. VIII. p. 1. m. 2.

(*y*) In Latin *Burcifar Regis.*

(*z*) Leland. Itin. Vol. IV. fol. 166, MS. Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 402.

(*a*) Peerage of England, &c. by Ar. Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 109. Hollinſhed, as above, p. 906.

(*b*) Hollinſhed, ibid. and Lord Herbert, p. 99.

(*c*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

PETER; who being under age at the time of his father's deceaſe, was put under the Wardſhip of Cardinal Wolſey (*d*). He married Anne daughter of George Earl of Shrewſbury; but dying before he came of age, on the 30th of January 1543, he left only one ſon, forty-nine weeks and five days old (*e*); named

(*d*) Pat. 20 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(*e*) Eſch. 37 Hen. VIII.

HENRY, who was knighted February 10, 1566, by the Earl of Leiceſter; and, on the 8th of May 1572, *ſummoned by writ to the Houſe of Lords*, by the title of Baron Compton of Compton. In 1586, he was one of the Peers for the trial of Mary Queen of Scots (*f*). He is ſuppoſed to have died in the year 1589 (*g*). By his firſt Lady, Frances daughter to Francis Haſtings Earl of Huntingdon, he had, among other children [*G*]

(*f*) See Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1586, and the Life of Mary Queen of Scots, edit. 1725, 8vo, p. 295.

(*g*) See Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 403.

WILLIAM, his eldeſt ſon and heir, who was ſummoned to Parliament in the thirty-fifth of Queen Elizabeth, and was one of the Privy-Council to that Queen. On the 5th of January 1604, he was made Knight of the Bath at the creation of Charles Duke of York, afterwards King by the title of Charles I (*h*); and was conſtituted, ſome years after, Preſident of the Council for the Marches of Wales (*i*), and Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Worceſter, Hereford, Salop, and Warwick (*k*). On the 2d of Auguſt 1618, he was advanced to the title of Earl of Northampton (*l*); and on the 21ſt of April 1629, inſtalled a Knight of the Garter. He died June 24, 1630: leaving iſſue, by Elizabeth his Lady, ſole daughter and heir of Sir John Spencer Alderman of London, Spencer, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the next article.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*i*) Pat. 15 Jac. p. 3.

(*k*) Collins's Peerage, as above, p. 110.

(*l*) Pat. 16 Jac. p. 11.

[*E*] *Sir* William *built a very noble houſe at his manor of Compton.*] The greateſt part of the brick uſed in the building of it, was brought from Fulbrook in the ſame county (of Warwick) where there ſtood a ruinous caſtle, of which the King had granted him the cuſtody. This caſtle he pulled down, making uſe of the materials for that building (5).

(5) Leland, and Dugdale, ubi ſup.

[*F*] *And that every prieſt therein ſhould have a yearly ſalary of ten marks.*] For the proving of this Will, Cardinal Wolſey (who, under the colour of his Legantine authority, had wreſted the probate of wills from the Prerogative court of Canterbury,) exacted no leſs than a thouſand marks; as was publickly declared by Sir Henry Guilford, one of the executors. And this extortion was the cauſe of making the ſtatute 21 Hen. VIII. ch. v. wherein the fees to be taken for the Probate of teſtaments, were ſettled and limited (6).

(6) Lord Herbert, as above, p. 138.

[*G*] *Among other children.*] His children by the Lady *Frances Haſtings* beſides William here mentioned, were, *Margaret*, married to Henry Lord Mordaunt; and *Thomas*, who on the 4th of March, 1606-7, was knighted; he married Mary, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, ſecond ſon of William Beaumont of Cole-Overton in Leiceſterſhire; which Mary was by King James I. created Counteſs of Buckingham, July 1, 1618, being the mother of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the great favourite of King James, and King Charles I. ——The ſecond wife of Henry Lord Compton, was *Anne* daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe in Northamptonſhire, Knt. by whom he had, Sir *Henry* Compton of Bramble-Teigh in Suſſex Knight of the Bath; Cecily; Mary; and Margaret (7).

(7) The Britiſh Compendium, edit. 1731, Vol. I. P. i. p. 312.

C

COMPTON (SPENCER) only ſon of the former [*A*], and ſecond Earl of Northampton, deſerves to be particularly remembred. He was made Knight of the Bath, on the 3d of November 1616, at the time when Charles Duke of York (afterwards King Charles I.) was created Prince of Wales; with whom he became a great favourite. In 1622, he accompanied him into Spain, waiting on him in quality of Maſter of his Robes and Wardrobe, and had the honour to deliver all his preſents, amounting, as was computed, to ſixty-four thouſand pounds. At the Coronation of that Prince, he attended as

[*A*] SPENCER *only ſon of the former.*] Beſides him, William Lord Compton had two daughters: *Elizabeth*, married to Robert Maxwell Earl of Nithiſdale in Scotland; and *Anne* to Ulick Bourk, Lord Dunkellin, ſon and heir to Richard Earl of Clanrickard in Ireland, and Earl of St Albans in England (1).

(1) Ibid. p. 313.

[*B*] *Though*

as Master of the Robes; and, in 1639, waited on his Majesty in his expedition against the Scots. He was likewise among those Noblemen, who, on the 4th of May 1641, took the Protestation to defend the true Protestant Religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England, and his Majesty's Royal person, honour, and estate; as also the power and privilege of Parliaments, and the lawful rights and liberties of the subject (*a*). In 1642, he waited upon his Majesty at York; and was one of the Lords who subscribed, the 15th of June the same year, a Declaration at that place, wherein they professed before God, and testified to all the world, that they were fully persuaded, that his Majesty had no intention to make war upon his Parliament: but that all his endeavours tended to the firm and constant settlement of the true Protestant Religion; the just privileges of Parliament, the liberty of the subject, and the law, peace, and prosperity of the kingdom (*b*). Having, after that, often endeavoured to compose the unhappy jealousies in the nation; but finding his endeavours ineffectual, and that the Parliament were raising forces to distress such as came not into it's measures, he thought it more for his Majesty's service to retire to his native country: where he soon got together such a number of Gentlemen and Soldiers, as awed the country into the King's allegiance, drove the Lord Brook out of Warwickshire, who endeavoured to secure that county for the Parliament; and in twelve skirmishes put a great stop to the Earl of Essex's rendezvous at Northampton (*c*). After King Charles I. had set up his standard at Nottingham, he raised, one of the first, at his own charge, a troop of horse, and a regiment of foot (*d*): and, at the battle between Keinton and Edge-hill, brought two thousand of the best disciplined men in the whole army. When that battle (which happened on the 23d of October 1642) was over, the King's army having taken Banbury, a garrison was placed therein under the command of the Earl of Northampton (*e*): who, by his vigilance and conduct, performed many successful services, and was the life of his Majesty's cause in those parts. He secured most of the arms, ammunition, and garrisons in Warwickshire, Staffordshire, and Northamptonshire; and settling an Association, made the country from garrison to garrison one line of communication (*f*). Afterwards, with a strong party of horse, and dragoons, from his garrison at Banbury, he relieved the town of Stafford, that was besieged by Sir John Gell; and putting himself into that town, beat up a quarter of the enemies, in which he took and killed above an hundred of their horse. But Sir John Gell having joined Sir William Brereton, and they being near three thousand foot and horse, with a good train of artillery, moved back towards Stafford; imagining the Earl of Northampton would meet them without the walls. And it happened according to their expectation: for, on Sunday the 19th of March 1642-3, as soon as he heard they were advancing towards the town, he marched out with his party, consisting in all of near one thousand horse, dragoons, and foot, to encounter them. He found the enemy in very good order, expecting him, on a plain called Cranock-green, Salt-heath, or Hopton-heath (*g*), about two or three miles from Stafford. Though their number was more than double that of his Lordship's [*B*], yet the Heath seeming very fair, the breadth of it being more than musquet-shot from the enclosure on each side, and the number of his horse at least equal to theirs, he resolved to charge them: and accordingly did, with so good success, that he totally routed one part of their horse. Rallying again his men, he charged the other part of their horse, which stood more in shelter of their foot, and so totally dispersed them, that the enemy had scarce a horse left upon the field. He took likewise from them eight pieces of cannon [*C*]. In this second charge, his Lordship being engaged in the execution, very near, or among, their foot, had his horse killed under him [*D*]: so that his own body of horse, pursuing the chase with too much fury, he was left encompassed by the enemy. After he was on his feet, he killed with his own hand the Colonel of foot, who first came near him; And, after his head-piece was struck off with the but-end of a musquet, they offered him quarter; which he refused, answering, 'That he scorned to take

(*a*) British Compendium, by Fr. Nicholls; ubi supra.

(*b*) Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, &c. edit. 1731. 8*vo*, Vol. I. Part. ii. p. 656.

(*c*) British Compendium, as above.

(*d*) Lord Clarendon, as above, Vol. II. Part i. p. 152.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 58.

(*f*) British Compendium, as above, p. 314.

(*g*) It is called by all those names in our Historians. See Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. V. p. 152. Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150; and J. Vicars's Parliamentary Chron. edit. 1644, 4*to*, p. 287.

[*B*] *Though their number was more than double that of his Lordship's.*] We are assured, that the number of their men, was 'near three thousand foot and horse, 'with a good train of artillery (2).' Some of the Parliament-Historians (3) affirm indeed, that Sir John Gell's army consisted but of about fifteen hundred, horse and foot; and the Earl's of about twelve hundred: tho' they mention afterwards the coming of Sir William Brereton to Gell's assistance, before the fight was ended. But they do not express the *number* of the forces he brought; in which point, their silence seems to be culpable, as being designed to mislead the reader. Such instances are very frequent in Vicars's Chronicle; which indeed is only a heap of falsehood and misrepresentations, as well as of most shocking hypocrisy, and canting nonsense. Honest Mr Whitelock tells us plainly, and without disguise (4), that Sir John Gell and Sir William Brereton came with three thousand horse and foot.

(2) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150. The Hist. of the Commons War of England, Lond. 1662, 8*vo*, p. 29.

(3) Vicars's Parliamentary Chronicle, as above, p. 287; and The History of the Parliament of England, by Tho. May, Lond. 1647, fol. B. iii. p. 86. He copies Vicars in this and many other facts.

(4) Memorials of the English Affairs, &c. edit. 1732, p. 69.

[*C*] *And so totally dispersed them, that the enemy had scarce a horse left upon the field, &c.*] This is the Lord Clarendon's account. And Dr Ryves more particularly informs us (*) that in this fight above three hundred of the rebels were taken and killed; at the least, two hundred more wounded; above three hundred of their horse taken, with four pieces of cannon, and a case of Drakes. And on the King's side, some few slain. On the other hand Vicars affirms (5), that the Parliament-forces repulsed the Earl's horse, ——and at least an hundred and forty Cavaliers were slain with him; with the loss of eight or ten only of the Parliamentarians. And 'by the timely coming in of Sir Willi-'am Brereton, before the fight was ended, Sir John Gell 'obtained a glorious victory, and drove his enemies 'quite out of the field.' Such are the frequent contradictions between Historians of different parties. But, on which side the victory inclined, we may judge by the consequence. And that it was in the King, is evident by the Earl of Northampton's forces recovering Lichfield soon after; which the others would never have permitted them to do, had they been victorious.

(*) Memorable Occurrences in 1642, at the end of *Mercurius Rustic.* edit. 1646, 8*vo*.

(5) Ubi supra, p. 287, 288.

[*D*] *Had his horse killed under him.*] One Historian tells us that, 'being unhappily fallen from his horse 'among coney-burrows, he was barbarously murthe-'red (6).'

(6) A Short View of the Troubles in England, &c. by Sir Will. Dugdale, Oxf. 1681, fol. p. 118.

[*E*] *Sir*

'take quarter from such base rogues and rebels, as they were.' Upon which, he was slain by a blow with a halbert on the hinder part of his head, receiving, at the same time, another deep wound in his face (*b*). He was then in the forty-second year of his age (*i*). The enemy refused to deliver the body to the young Earl of Northampton, and would not even permit his Surgeons to come and embalm it, unless he would deliver, in exchange for it, all the ammunition, prisoners, and cannon he had taken in the late battle (*k*). However, it was delivered up at last, and buried in All-hallows Church in Derby, in the same vault with his relation the old Countess of Shrewsbury (*l*). As to this noble Lord's character, ; we are informed, that he was a person of great courage, honour, and fidelity, and not well known 'till his evening; having, in the ease, plenty, and luxury, antecedent to our unhappy dissensions, indulged himself in that licence which was then thought necessary to great fortunes. But, from the beginning of the civil wars, as if he had been awakened out of a lethargy, he never proceeded with a lukewarm temper. From the time he submitted himself to the profession of a soldier, no man was more punctual upon command, no man more active and vigilant in duty. All distresses he bore like a common man, and all wants and hardships, as if he had never known plenty or ease; most prodigal of his person to danger; and would often say, That if he out-lived these wars, he was certain never to have so noble a death (*m*). His Lordship married Mary daughter of Sir Francis Beaumont, Knt. by whom he had two daughters, and six sons. The daughters were, *Anne* married to Sir Hugh Cholmondely of Whitby in Yorkshire, Bart. and *Penelope* to Sir John Nicholas, Knight of the Bath, eldest son of Sir Edward Nicholas, one of the Secretaries of State to King Charles I, and King Charles II (*n*). Of the sons, who were all highly esteemed for their eminent abilities, and all inherited their father's courage, loyalty, and virtue; five of them received the honour of Knighthood, namely, *James* the eldest son and heir; Sir *Charles*; Sir *William* [*E*]; Sir *Spencer*; and Sir *Francis*: and *Henry*, the sixth, and youngest, late Bishop of London, was no less conspicuous. At the battle of Hopton-heath, the three eldest, who were officers under their father, charged that day in the field, when Sir James, the eldest, received a shot in one of his legs (*o*). At the battle of Edge-hill he was absent; but Sir Charles, and Sir William, tho' neither of them was twenty, charged in the troop with their father; and Sir Spencer, though not able to grasp a pistol, yet in indignation cried, That he was not exposed to the same hazard as his brothers (*p*).

(*i*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150, 151.

(*k*) British Compendium, as above, p. 315.

(*l*) Lord Clarendon, ibid. Vicars's Chron. as above.

(*l*) Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 403.

(*m*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 151, 152.

(*n*) Dugdale; and British Compendium, as above.

(*o*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 151.

(*p*) British Compendium, as above, p. 315.

[*E*] *Sir William.*] This brave gentleman had the command of a regiment, wherewith he performed considerable service at the taking of Banbury, leading his men on to three attacks, and had two horses shot under him. Upon the surrender of the town and castle, he was made Lieutenant-Governor under his father; and on the 19th of July, 1644, when the Parliament's forces came before the town he returned answer to their summons; 'That he kept the castle for his Majesty, and as long as one man was left alive in it, 'willed them not to expect to have it delivered:' also on the 16th of September, they sending him another summons, he made answer, 'That he had formerly answered 'them, and wondered they should send again.' He was so vigilant in his station, that he countermined the enemy eleven times, and during the siege, which held thirteen weeks never went into bed, but by his example so animated the garrison, that tho' they had but two horses left uneaten, they would never suffer a summons to be sent to them, after the answer beforementioned was delivered. At length, his brother the Earl of Northamton raised the siege on the 26th of October, the very day of the month, on which both town and castle had been surrendered to the King two years before. Sir William continued Governor of Banbury, and performed many signal services for the King, 'till his Majesty left Oxford, and the whole kingdom was submitting to the Parliament: and then on the 8th of May, 1646, surrendered upon honourable terms. In 1648, he was Major-General of the King's forces at Colchester, where he was so much taken notice of for his admirable behaviour, that Oliver Cromwell called him the sober young man, and the godly Cavalier. At the Restoration of King Charles II. he was made one of the Privy-Council, and the master-General of the Ordnance; and died October 19, 1663, in the 39th year of his age, having married Elizabeth, widow of Lord Allington of Horsheath in Cambridge, with whom he lived twelve years, but left no issue (7). There is an epitaph erected to his memory in the church of Compton-Winyates (8).

(7) British Compendium, as above, p. 316; and Collins's Peerage, as above, p. 113; and Lord Clarendon, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 542, 545.

(8) Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickſh. as above, p. 551.

C

COMPTON (JAMES) the eldest of the six sons last mentioned, and third Earl of Northampton, taking arms with his father for King Charles I, was distinguished for his bravery and conduct, and performed many gallant acts in those times of confusion. He was at the battle of Edge-hill, the taking of Banbury, &c (*a*). and waiting upon the King at Oxford, had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred on him by that university, November 1, 1642 (*b*). The 19th of March following, he was in the engagement at Hopton-heath, where receiving a shot in one of his legs, he was obliged to quit the field (*c*). However, he was in a short time so well recovered of that wound, that on the 8th of April 1643, he was with Prince Rupert at the taking of Lichfield, and the surrender of the Close there, the 21st of the same month. Also May 6, the same year, he routed a party of the enemies horse and foot (*d*) at Middleton-cheney in Northamptonshire, which thought themselves strong enough to attempt the taking of Banbury; and he defeated their horse, killed above two-hundred of their foot, and took as many more prisoners (*e*). He afterwards commanded the horse at the first battle of Newbury, September 20, 1643, and charged and put to flight the enemy's horse under Sir William Waller. On the 29th of June 1644, he was one of the Commanders at Cropredry-bridge fight, wherein Sir William Walter was routed again (*f*). Soon after he marched with the King into Cornwal; and at his return raised the siege of Banbury October 26, 1644, routing the Parliament forces, tho' their horse were much superior in number (*g*). Then joining the King, he relieved Donnington-castle; whereupon battle was offered to the enemy, who declined it, tho'

(*a*) Ibid. p. 319.

(*b*) Wood, Fast. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 22.

(*c*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 151.

(*d*) Consisting of about 700 foot, and five troops of horse. Memorable Occurrences, at the end of *Mercurius Rustic.*

(*e*) Ibid. Lord Clarendon, Vol. II. P. i. p. 245.

(*f*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 497, &c. The Commons War of England, &c. as above, p. 47.

(*g*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 544. Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 108.

tho' they had just before obtained advantages in the second fight at Newbury, the Earl being absent in raising the siege of Banbury (*b*). On the 18th of March 1644-5, he and his three brothers, routed a great body of the Parliamentarians horse of Northampton near Althorp, killed about thirty, and hurt many more, taking twenty-six prisoners (*i*). But in April 1645, he was defeated by Lieutenant-General Cromwell near Oxford, and several of his men were taken prisoners (*k*). After which, finding that his Majesty was over-powered by the Parliament, he resolved to go beyond sea, and obtained a pass from the House of Commons for that purpose (*l*). But, however, he seems to have compounded for his estates, and to have staid in the kingdom (*m*). Afterwards, the powers in being growing jealous of him, he was imprisoned; but discharged again, the 2d of November 1659, upon security given to live peaceable (*n*). On the 29th of May 1660, at the Restoration of King Charles II, he led a troop of too hundred Gentlemen, clothed in grey and blue: and, in the reign of that King, was of the Privy-Council, Constable of the Tower of London, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Warwick, and city of Coventry, Recorder of the same, and also of the towns of Northampton and Tamworth. He died at his seat of Castle-Ashby in Northamptonshire, December 15, 1681, and was interred among his ancestors at Compton in the county of Warwick; which church being demolished in the civil wars, was rebuilt at his Lordship's sole expence, in 1665. He was married twice [*A*]. By his second Lady he had three sons, GEORGE, who succeeded him in his honours [*B*]; *James*, that died young; and *Spencer*, created January 11, 1727-8, Baron of Wilmington in Sussex, and May 12, 1730, Viscount Pevensey in the same county, and Earl of Wilmington (*o*).

(*b*) Lord Clarendon, ibid. p. 551. See also British Compendium, as above, p. 319.

(*i*) Memorable Occurrences at the end of *Mercurius Rusticus*.

(*k*) Whitelock, as above, p. 144.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 197, 200, 201, 202.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 202, 246.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 686.

(*o*) British Compendium, as above, p. 319, 320, 356.

[*A*] *He was married twice.*] His first Lady was, *Isabella*, one of the two daughters and coheirs to Richard Earl of Dorset; by whom he had issue two sons, William, and James, who both died in their childhood; and three daughters, Anne, and Isabella, which also died young, and Alethea married to Edward Hungerford, Esq; this first Lady died Octob. 14, 1661. His second Lady, was Mary, eldest daughter of Baptist Noel Viscount Camden, by whom he had three sons as mentioned above; and two daughters, Juliana who died young; and Mary married to Charles Sackville Earl of Dorset, mother of Lionel the present Duke of Dorset (1).

(1) Dugdale, as above, p. 403; and British Compend. p. 319, 320.

[*B*] GEORGE, *who succeeded him in his honours.*] His Lordship was of Christ-Church in Oxford, where he was created Master of Arts, February 18, 1681-2 (2). Tho' he was under age at the time of his father's death, he was notwithstanding, made Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Warwickshire. On Queen Anne's accession, he was sworn of her Privy-Council; and in 1712, appointed Constable of the Tower of London. His Lordship died April 15, 1727, and was buried at Compton with his ancestors. By his first Lady, *Jane*, youngest daughter of Sir Stephen Fox Knt. which he married in 1686 (3), he had issue four sons; JAMES, the present Earl of Northampton; George, Member in this Parliament for Northampton, and one of the Lords of the Treasury: Stephen, who died young; and Charles, who on the 10th of May 1727 was appointed Consul at Lisbon, and Consul-general in the dominions of Portugal. He had also by her six daughters; Elizabeth, Mary, Jane, Anne, Penelope, and Margaret; of whom the second was married in April, 1709, to william Gore of Tring in Hertfordshire, Esq; and the fourth, on the 16th of October, 1729, to Sir John Rousbout of Northwick, in Worcestershire, Bart. His second Lady, was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Rushout of Northwick, Bart. relict of Sir George Thorold Bart. who in 1719, was Lord Mayor of London; but by her he had no issue (4).

(2) Wood, Fasti. Vol. II. col. 218.

(3) She died July 20, 1721.

(4) Dugdale, as above. British Compend. p. 320, 321; and Collins's Peerage, as above, p. 116, 117.

C

COMPTON (HENRY) Bishop of London in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth Century, and one of the most eminent Prelates that ever sat in that See, was the sixth [*A*] and youngest son of Spencer the second Earl of Northampton, mentioned in the foregoing article. He was born at Compton (*a*) in the year 1632 (*b*). His father being unhappily slain in 1642-3, when this his youngest son was but ten years old, he was thereby deprived of that paternal care which is so necessary in that tender age. However, (notwithstanding that misfortune) he received an education suitable to his quality. When he had gone through the Grammar-schools, he was entered a Nobleman of Queen's College in Oxford, in the year 1649, and having continued there 'till about 1652, went and lived with his mother at Gryndon in Northamptonshire. Afterwards he travelled beyond sea (*c*), where he remained a considerable time; and examined the civil and ecclesiastical polities abroad, but the more he observed them, the more he liked the English constitution: He saw their manners, and was too wise to imitate them. However, what he thought valuable amongst them he brought home, and in particular retained their languages perfectly (*d*) [*B*]. After the Restoration of King Charles II, he returned to England; and a regiment of horse being raised about that time for the King's guard, of which the command was given to Aubrey Earl of Oxford, Mr Compton accepted of a Cornet's commission therein, either by his own choice, or the persuasion of friends. But, soon after, discovering a greater inclination to his studies than to a military life, he quitted that post,

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 968.

(*b*) This appears from his age at the time of his death, as mention'd below.

(*c*) Wood, ibid. and Sermon preached at the cathedral of St Paul's, July 26, 1713, by Tho. Gooch, D.D. now Bishop of Ely.

(*d*) Dr Gooch, ibid.

(1) Annual List of the Death of Eminent Persons, p. 61, at the end of The Hist. of Queen Anne, edit. 1735, fol.

(2) Life of Dr Henry Compton, Bishop of London, in The Lives of the English Bishops from the Restoration to the Revolution, by N. Salmon, LL.B. edit. 1731, 8vo, p. 300.

(3) Sermon, as above.

[*A*] *Was the sixth.*] See above, in the article SPENCER COMPTON. Mr Boyer says by mistake, that he was *the fourth* son (1). We are told that he was 'in the field at Edgehill *in his cradle*; by which 'is understood, that he was carried to the camp for security when very young (2).' But certainly he could not be their in his cradle: for he was then ten years old.

[*B*] *And in particular retained their languages perfectly.*] Dr Gooch informs us (3), that, 'The better 'to prepare him for that figure he was afterwards to 'make, he spent some years in travelling; not to suck 'in the maxims of foreign states, or to try the vices of 'foreign Courts; not before he knew our constitution 'in Church and State, and was able to defend it, and 'sure to stick to it. He observed and examined the Civil and Ecclesiastical Polities abroad; he made them 'his study, but not his rule. The more he staid in 'France and Italy, &c. the more Englishman he was; 'he came home the better Statsman and the better 'Churchman; he was proof against all their arts, to 'debauch either his principles or his practices.' Whilst he was abroad, he is said to have trailed a pike in Flanders, under the Duke of York (4).

(4) Salmon, ib.

post, and dedicated himself to the service of the Church (e). Accordingly he went to Cambridge, where he was created Master of Arts (f). Afterwards entring into Orders [C], and obtaining a grant of the next vacant Canonry of Christ-Church in Oxford, he was admitted Canon-Commoner of that college, in the beginning of the year 1666, by the advice of Dr John Fell then Dean of the same (g). The 7th of April next ensuing, he was incorporated Master of Arts at Oxford, as he stood at Cambridge (h): about which time, he was possessed of the Rectory of Cottenham in Cambridgeshire, worth above five hundred pounds a year. Before that, he had a lesser benefice. In both he showed his great concern for the souls of men. He was constituted in 1667, Master of St Cross's Hospital near Winchester, upon the death of Dr William Lewis [D]. On the 24th of May 1669, he was installed Canon of Christ-Church [E], in the room of Dr Richard Heylin deceased (i). Two days after (k), he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (l); and that of Doctor, the 28th of June following (m). Advancing daily in the King's favour and esteem, and in the opinion of all good men, he was, upon the translation of Dr Nathanael Crew from the Bishoprick of Oxford to that of Durham, nominated to succeed him in the See of Oxford: to which he was elected November 10, confirmed December 2, and consecrated at Lambeth December 6, 1674 (n). About July 1675, he was made Dean of the Royal Chapel, on the death of Dr Blandford Bishop of Worcester; and being the same year translated to the See of London [F], in the room of Dr Henchman deceased, was confirmed therein the 18th of December (o). On the 22d of January 1675-6, King Charles, who entertained a just opinion of his capacity and fidelity, caused him to be sworn one of his Privy-Council; which station his Majesty thought fit to continue him in, upon his constituting a new Privy-Council in April 1679 (p). The educating, and well-grounding, of the King's two nieces, the Princesses Mary and Anne (q), in the doctrine and communion of the Church of England, was committed to his care; and that important trust he discharged, to the nation's universal satisfaction [G]. On the 4th of November 1677, he had the honour of performing the ceremony of the marriage of the eldest, Mary, with William Prince of Orange: and on the 28th of July 1683, that of Anne, the youngest, with George Prince of Denmark (r). The firmness of these two Princesses in the Protestant Religion, was owing in a great measure to their learned tutor Bishop Compton; which afterwards, when Popery came to prevail at the Court of England, was imputed to him as an unpardonable crime. During the mutual heats and animosities in the latter part of King Charles IId's reign, some of the most learned and exemplary Clergy endeavoured, both in private and publick, to bring the Dissenters to a sense of the necessity of union among Protestants. To promote that good design, our worthy Bishop held, in 1679 three conferences with his Clergy upon the two Sacraments, and upon catechising youth in the true principles of religion. In 1680, he pursued the same design in three other conferences; namely, on the half communion; prayers in an unknown tongue; and prayers to Saints: the substance of which he published in a letter to the Clergy of his diocese, dated July 6, 1680. He further hoped, that it might tend to pacify and reconcile the Dissenters, by bringing in the judgment of foreign Divines against their needless separation. For that purpose, he wrote to Monsieur Le Moyne, Professor in Divinity at Leyden; to Mr de l'Angle, one of the

(e) Ibid. and Wood, ubi supra.

(f) Wood, ibid.

(g) Ibid.

(h) Idem, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 166.

(i) J. Le Neve's Fasti, edit. 1716, p. 237.

(k) Or the next day. For, in the Catalogue of Graduats it is placed on May 25.

(l) Wood, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 175.

(m) Ibid. col. 176.

(n) Survey of the Cathedral of Oxford, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; edit. 1730. p. 434.

(o) Willis, ibid. and Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(p) Boyer, as above.

(q) The late glorious Queens, Mary and Anne.

(r) The Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England, &c by Fr. Sandford, and Fr. Stebbing, fol. edit. 1707, p. 679, 758.

[C] *Afterwards entering into Orders.*] When he did so, he was not a novice in age, or knowledge; being above a Bishop's necessary years (i. e. thirty years of age), when he was ordained a Deacon: but he did not aspire to, or desire the Episcopal Office, before he was qualified for the good work.—And tho' he might have made high demands upon the Court, and raised himself at once to the greatest dignities, yet he chose to make gradual and regular advances (5).

(5) Gooch, ibid.

[D] *He was constituted in* 1667, *Master of St Cross's Hospital, &c.*] 'A fit preferment, as Dr Gooch rightly observes (6), for him, whose house was always a constant hospital! by this his income was considerably increased, (it being above 500 a year) and he had greater opportunities of doing good; the only motive to him to wish for it's increase; this was his greatest pleasure; and *here* he lived, and enjoyed it: *here* he would gladly have rested; but Providence had designed him for greater things.

(6) Ibid.

[E] *On the 24th of May* 1669, *he was installed Canon of* Christ Church.] And when he was Sub-Dean in that church he moderated in the Divinity-Disputations, with such gravity and wisdom, as made those exercises both reputable and instructive (7).

(7) Dr Gooch, ib.

[F] *Being the same year, translated to the See of London.*] Anth. Wood tells us (8), that, 'This translation was much promoted by some of the politic 'Clergy, because they knew him to be a bold man, an 'enemy to the Papists, and one that would act, and 'speak what they would put him upon, which they 'themselves would not be seen in, as many prime Papists used to say.' We are also informed (9), that this translation was effected through the Earl of Danby's interest; to whom the Bishop was a property, and was turned by him as he pleased. The Duke of York hated him; but Lord Danby perswaded both the King and him, that, as his heat did no great hurt to any person, so the giving way to it helped to lay the jealousies of the Church-Party. About a year after that, Sheldon dying, Bishop Compton was perswaded that Lord Danby had tried with all his strength to promote him to Canterbury; tho' that was never once intended. He was a great patron of the Converts from Popery, and of those Protestants whom the bad usage they were beginning to meet with in France drove over to us: And by these means he came to have a great reputation. He was making many complaints to the King, and often in Council, of the insolence of the Papists, and of Coleman's in particular. So that the King ordered the Duke to dismiss Coleman out of his service: yet he continued still in his confidence.

(8) Athen. ubi supra.

(9) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. Vol. I. p. 392.

[G] *And that important trust he discharged to the nation's universal satisfaction.*] How well he executed it, as Dr Gooch observes (10), let those confess, who value the memory of the late most renowned Queen (Mary), or have not laid aside all duty to our present most gracious Sovereign (11). They never forgot their obligations to him, but he was always in the esteem of the former, and received marks of favour from the latter. He had the particular honour which no one Bishop ever had, of marrying two Regent Queens to Protestant Princes. They were both confirmed by him January 23, 1675-6 (12).

(10) Sermon, as above.

(11) *i. e.* Queen Anne, in whose reign this was published.

(12) See Continuation of Rog. Coke's Detection, Vol. III. 1718. p. 117.

[H] *Who*

the Preachers of the Proteſtant Church at Charenton near Paris; and to Mr Claude, another eminent French Divine; who, in their ſeveral Anſwers [*H*], agreed in vindicating the Church of England from any errors in it's doctrine, or any unlawful impoſitions in it's ſervice and diſcipline; and therefore did condemn a ſeparation from it, as needleſs and uncharitable (*s*). But, Popery was what the Biſhop moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed. For, when it was gaining ground in theſe kingdoms, under the favour and influence of the heir-apparent to the Crown, James Duke of York; our worthy Prelate, at the head of his Clergy, made a noble ſtand: and, by his encouragement, their pulpits and their pens more ſtrenuouſly defended the Reformed Religion, than it had ever been; to the ſhame and ſilence of their Romiſh adverſaries [*I*]. The great diſſervice thereby done to theſe, and their cauſe, was remembered, and reſented, when King James II. aſcended the throne. To our Biſhop's immortal honour, this was his unpardonable crime: and, accordingly, he was marked out, as the firſt ſacrifice to Popiſh fury (*t*). The firſt inſtance of it, was, his being diſmiſſed from the Council-table ſoon after King James's acceſſion: and, on the 16th of December 1685, he was put out from being Dean of the Royal Chapel (*u*). Further occaſions were ſought, and ſoon found, of moleſting, or entirely ruining him, if poſſible. For Dr John Sharp Rector of St Giles's in the fields, London, having, in ſome of his ſermons, vindicated the doctrine of the Church of England in oppoſition to Popery [*K*]; the King ſent a letter, dated June 14, 1686, to Biſhop Compton, wherein his Majeſty 'required and commanded him, immediately 'upon receipt thereof, forthwith to ſuſpend Dr Sharp from further preaching in any pariſh 'church or chapel in his dioceſe, until he had given the King ſatisfaction.' Upon the receipt of it, the Biſhop ſent an anſwer, June the 18th, to the Earl of Sunderland, Principal Secretary of State, wherein he ſaid, That 'he ſhould always count it his duty to obey 'the King in whatever commands he laid upon him, that he could perform with a ſafe 'conſcience: but in this, he conceived, he was obliged to proceed according to Law; 'and therefore it was impoſſible for him to comply: becauſe, tho' his Majeſty command-'ed him only to execute his pleaſure, yet in the capacity he was, to do it, he muſt act 'as a Judge, and no Judge condemns any man before he has knowledge of the cauſe, 'and has cited the party.' But the Court being reſolved to be revenged on the Biſhop, for his exemplary zeal for the Proteſtant intereſt; and intending thereby to terrify all perſons (the Clergy in particular) from oppoſing their arbitrary deſigns, they cauſed his Lordſhip to be cited, on the 3d of Auguſt, to appear the 9th of the ſame month before the new Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion. At his appearance, he was charged with 'not having 'obſerved his Majeſty's commands in the caſe of Dr Sharp, whom he was ordered to 'ſuſpend.' The Biſhop ſeemed to be ſurprized at this; and humbly begged a copy of the commiſſion, and a copy of his charge: but was anſwered by Chancellor Jefferys, 'That he ſhould neither have a copy of, nor ſee, the commiſſion; neither would they '. give

(*s*) Compl. Hiſt of England, &c. by Biſhop Kennet, edit. 1719, Vol. III. p. 382.

(*t*) Dr Gooch, as above. He alſo argued againſt giving up the Teſt, which incens'd the Court againſt him. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, p. 665.

(*u*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

[*H*] *Who in their ſeveral Anſwers.*] Their Anſwers are publiſhed at the end of Biſhop Stillingfleet's *Unreaſonableneſs of Separation*, 1681, 4*to*. That of Mr Le Moyne, bears date, September 3, 1680. That of Mr De L'Angle is dated from Paris, Octob. 31; and that of Mr Claude from the ſame place, Novemb. 29, 1680.

[*I*] *By his encouragement, their pulpits and their pen more ſtrenuouſly defended the Reformed Religion, than it had ever been.*] This we learn from a Gentleman, who had been his Lordſhip's Chaplain (13). 'From 'whatever quarter, ſays he, or at what time ſo ever 'any aſſault was made upon our Doctrine or Diſcipline, 'his vigilance and Chriſtian courage were upon the guard 'to defend them; of which I ſhall give only ſome few 'inſtances within the narrow compaſs of my own know-'ledge. 1. From hence proceeded that volume of 'uſeful *Tracts againſt the Diſſenters*, to convince them 'by Reaſon, Scripture, and Antiquity, of the unreaſo-'nableneſs of their ſeparation, and ill-grounded ſcru-'ples: never yet replyed to, or to be anſwered. 2. 'From hence likewiſe (before, and even under his 'ſuſpenſion) came forth the diſtinct *Reply to all the pre-'tences of the Church of Rome*, in their day of exaltati-'on and tryal; moſt of them written by the beſt learn-'ed Divines of this City. Join both theſe together, 'and you will find enough ſaid to confirm you in the 'faith and worſhip of this Church, againſt the adverſa-'ries on either hand; not to ſeparate from our 'holy Apoſtolical Communion, out of needleſs ſcruple, 'and the ſo often baffled pretences of ſeeking after 'greater purity, and better edification; nor yet to be 'perverted to Idolatry, in order to find out the true 'Church. 3. The danger of *Socinianiſm*, and the other 'Hereſies, did not eſcape his care or remedy, as 'far as his power and perſwaſion could reach; to 'this end, many learned and rational treatiſes have 'been publiſhed by his Clergy on this ſubject. And 'when the diſpute about the holy undivided Trinity 'was managed by ſome, in new and unuſual terms, a 'Royal Letter was procured to forbid the bringing in 'ſuch terms into that controverſy, as were unknown to 'Antiquity or to Scripture.——By theſe-like means, 'our pious Biſhop, as the good ſhepherd of ſouls, 'uſed his ſtrenuous endeavours to hold up the weak, 'heal the ſick, bind up the broken, ſeek the loſt, and 'bring back the out caſt, not by ſeverity even againſt 'the irreclaimable, or proſecutions againſt the deceiv-'ed, but firſt and chiefly by argument and conviction: 'yet not ſo merciful, as to be remiſs againſt impious 'Hereticks, and notorious immorality.'

(13) See A Sermon on the Death of the late Lord Biſhop of London, preach'd, Auguſt 11, 1713, at St Martin's Ludgate, by Will. Whitfeld, Lond. 1713, 8*vo*, p. 14, &c.

[*K*] *Dr* John Sharp —— *having, in ſome of his ſermons vindicated the Doctrine of the Church of* England *in oppoſition to Popery.*] He received one day, as he was coming out of the pulpit, a paper ſent him, as he believed, by a Prieſt, containing a ſort of challenge upon ſome points of controverſy, touched by him in ſome of his ſermons. Upon this, he not knowing to whom he ſhould ſend an anſwer, preached a Sermon in anſwer to it: and after he had confuted it, he concluded ſhewing how unreaſonable it was for Proteſtants to change their religion on ſuch grounds. This was carried to Court, and repreſented there, as a reflection on the King for changing on thoſe grounds (14). But in order to underſtand how this could be imputed as a crime to Dr Sharp, 'tis to be obſerved, that King James had canſed the *Directions concerning Preachers*, publiſhed in 1662, to be now reprinted, and reinforced them by a letter directed to the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, given at Whitehall, 5 March, 1685-6, *to prohibit the preaching upon controverſial points* (15), which was, upon the matter, forbidding them to defend their religion in the pulpit; when it was at the ſame time attacked by the Popiſh Prieſts with all the vigour they were capable of, both in their Sermons and books. This order was taken from a precedent in Queen Mary Iſt's time; who ſoon after her acceſſion to the throne, iſſued out a proclamation, forbidding the preaching upon controverted points of religion; for fear, it was ſaid, of raiſing animoſities among the people (16).

(14) Burnet, as above, p. 674.

(15) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 452; and Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. fol, Lond. 1728, p. 794, 795.

(16) Memoirs &c. by J. Welwood, M. D. edit. 1718, p. 173, 174.

[*L*] *Then*

'give him a copy of the charge.' Thereupon his Lordſhip deſired time to adviſe with counſel; and there was given him 'till the 16th, and afterwards 'till the 31ſt of Auguſt abovementioned. In the mean time, he ſent his Proctor for a copy of what orders and minutes they had ſet down concerning his buſineſs; but it was refuſed, tho' never denied in any Court. On the 31ſt of Auguſt, when his Lordſhip appeared for the ſecond time, he declared, That the whole world could bear him witneſs, he had been that whole ſummer endeavouring with all the power and ſkill he had, to enforce the King's letter to the ſtrict obſervation of his Clergy. Then he offered his plea to their juriſdiction [*L*]: which being over-ruled, he proteſted to his right, in that or any other plea, that might be for his advantage: And obſerved, that, as a Biſhop, he had right by the moſt authentick and univerſal Eccleſiaſtical Laws, to be tried firſt before his Metropolitan, precedent to any other Court whatſoever. But the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners would not, upon any account ſuffer their juriſdiction to be called in queſtion; and therefore did not pay the leaſt regard to whatever his Lordſhip could alledge, even, tho' he further inſiſted upon That in the capacity he was, they were warranted by their commiſſion, to try him only for offences *after the date* of the commiſſion. But this plea likewiſe was over-ruled by the Chancellor, who affirmed, 'There were general words which gave authority ſufficient to 'look back.' Whereupon the Biſhop gave in his anſwer in writing [*M*]. And, after it was read, he obſerved, That the word *ſuſpend* was liable to two conſtructions. In the firſt, which is the legal and ſtrict ſenſe of the word, he underſtood the King's letter; and was adviſed by his counſel, That it was a judicial act, and by conſequence could not be complied with, unleſs he had firſt cited the party, and heard the cauſe. In the other ſenſe of the word *ſuſpend*, that is, at large for *ſilencing*; he apprehended, he had in effect obeyed the King's letter. For he ſent for Dr Sharp, ſhewed him that letter, adviſed him not to preach 'till he had endeavoured to know his Majeſty's further pleaſure; and he had not preached to that day, ſo that his Majeſty's command was fulfilled. But, notwithſtanding all that his Lordſhip or his counſel could alledge, he was ſuſpended, on the 6th of September following [*N*], for his diſobedience, from the function and execution of his epiſcopal office, and from all epiſcopal and other eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, during his Majeſty's pleaſure (*w*). Immediately after, the Biſhops of Durham, Rocheſter, and Peterborough, were appointed Commiſſioners to exerciſe all manner of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within the dioceſe of London, during the ſuſpenſion of the Biſhop (*x*). He acquieſced in this hard ſentence [*O*]: but being ſuſpended only as a Biſhop, and remaining ſtill whole in his other capacities, he made a noble ſtand as one of the Governors of the Charter-Houſe [*P*]. However, as according to the form of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, a perſon under ſuſpenſion muſt make a ſubmiſſion within ſix months, otherwiſe he may be proceeded againſt as obſtinate: ſo, ſix months after ſentence, the Biſhop ſent a petition to the

(*w*) Account of the Proceedings againſt Henry Lord Biſhop of London; 4to, Lond. 1688; and Complete Hiſt. as above, p. 480, &c.

(*x*) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 483.

[*L*] *Then he offered his plea to their juriſdiction.*] This plea was chiefly a recital of the ſtatute made in the 16th of K. Charles I. entitled. 'A Repeal of the 'branch of a ſtatute *primo Elizabethæ*, concerning 'Commiſſioners for cauſes Eccleſiaſtical:' in which ſtatute of Charles I. it was, among other things, enacted, ——'That no new Court ſhould be erected, ordain-'ed, or appointed, within this realm of England, or 'dominion of Wales, which ſhould, or might have the 'like power, juriſdiction, or authority as the ſaid 'High-Commiſſion Court then had, or pretended to 'have; but that all and every ſuch Letters-Patents, 'Commiſſions and Grants made or to be made by his 'Majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors, and all powers and 'authorities granted thereby; and all Acts, Sentences, 'and Decrees, to be made virtue or colour thereof, 'ſhould be utterly void and of none effect (17).'

(17) See Proceedings againſt Henry Lord Biſhop of London, as above, p. 16, &c. and Compl. Hiſt. p. 481.

[*M*] *Whereupon the Biſhop gave in his anſwer in writing.*] The Commiſſioners queſtion to him was, Why 'did you not obey the King's command, in his letter 'concerning the ſuſpending Doctor Sharp?' In anſwer to which, his Lordſhip, after reciting the King's letter of June 14, abovementioned, ſays, 'I took the 'beſt advice I could get, concerning Doctor Sharp, 'and was informed, that the letter being directed to me, 'as Biſhop of London, to ſuſpend a perſon under my 'juriſdiction, I was therein to act as a Judge, it being 'a judical act; and that no perſon could by Law be 'puniſhed by ſuſpenſion, before he was called, or with-'out being admitted to make his defence.' And then goes on to ſay, That he repreſented ſo much to the Earl of Sunderland, in the letter mentioned above. Nevertheleſs, that he might obey his Majeſty's commands as far as by Law he could, he had ſhewed the King's letter to Dr Sharp, who had not preached ſince that time with in the Dioceſe of London (18).

(18) Ibid. p. 21; and 482.

[*N*] *He was ſuſpended, on the 6th of September following.*] The Court did not think fit to meddle with his revenues. For the Lawyers had ſettled that point, that Benefices were of the nature of Freeholds. So if the ſentence had gone to the Temporalities, the Biſhop would have had the matter tried over again in the King's Bench, where he was likely to find good juſtice, Herbert not being ſatisfied with the legality and juſtice of the ſentence. While this matter was in dependance the Princeſs of Orange thought it became her to interpoſe a little in the Biſhop's favour. So ſhe wrote to the King, earneſtly begging him to be gentle to the Biſhop, who ſhe could not think would offend willingly. She alſo wrote to the Biſhop, expreſſing the great ſhare ſhe took in the trouble he was fallen into. The Prince wrote to him to the ſame purpoſe. The King wrote an anſwer to the Princeſs, reflecting ſeverely on the Biſhop, not without ſome ſharpneſs on her for meddling in ſuch matters (19).

(19) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 677.

[*O*] *He acquieſced in this hard ſentence.*] The Court ſeemed uneaſy, when they ſaw they had gained ſo poor a victory: for now the Biſhop was more conſidered than ever. His Clergy, for all the ſuſpenſion, were really more governed by the ſecret intimations of his pleaſure, than they had been by his authority before. So they reſolved to come off as well as they could (20).

(20) Burnet, as above, p. 677.

[*P*] *He made a noble ſtand as one of the Governors of the Charter-Houſe.*] For King James having, on the 17th of December 1686, ſent a letter to the Governors of the Charter-Houſe; requiring them to admit one Andrew Popham into the firſt Penſioner's place in that Hoſpital, which ſhould become void, and be in his Majeſty's diſpoſal; without tendering any oaths to him, or require of him any ſubſcriptions, or other acts in conformity to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of England: the Biſhop of London, jointly with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Duke of Ormond, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Craven, Danby, and Nottingham, all Governors of that Hoſpital, and Dr Thomas Burnet, Maſter of the ſame, agreed, not to comply with the King's illegal and unreaſonable command (21).

(21) See Hiſt. of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, edit. 1711, 8vo, p. 22, &c.

[2] *That*

the King, desiring to be restored to the exercise of his episcopal function: but he made no acknowledgment of any fault. So this had no other effect, but that it stopt all further proceedings; only the suspension lay still on him (*y*). Whilst he was thus sequestered from his espiscopal function, he applied himself to the improvement of his garden at Fulham; and, having a great genius for Botany, enriched it with a new variety of domestick and exotick plants (*z*). His suspension was so flagrant a piece of injustice, that the Prince of Orange, in his Declaration, could not omit taking notice of it [*Q*]; and, upon the dread of his Highness's coming over, the Court was willing to make the Bishop reparation, by restoring him, on the 23d of September 1688 (*a*), to his episcopal function. But he made no haste to resume his charge, and to thank the King for his Restoration; which made some people believe, he had no mind to be restored after such a manner, or that he knew well enough what passed in Holland (*b*). And, indeed, he was one of the noble persons who often met at the Earl of Shrewsbury's, and concerted measures for the Prince of Orange's coming over; whose interest he heartily endeavoured to promote (*c*). On the 3d of October 1688, he waited upon King James, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and seven other Bishops; when they suggested to his Majesty such advices as they thought proper at that season, and conducing to his service (*d*). Upon the Prince of Orange's landing, the first share our Bishop had in the ensuing Revolution, was, together with the Earl of Dorset, the conveying safe from London to Nottingham the Princess Anne of Denmark [*R*]; lest she, in the present confusion of affairs, might have been sent away into France, or put under restraint, because the Prince, her consort, had left King James, and was gone over to the Prince of Orange. Bishop Compton, at his return to London, set his hand to the Association begun at Exeter (*e*). Nor was he only one of the most instrumental in the Revolution, but also the most zealous in promoting the settlement of it: for, upon the 21st of December, he waited on the Prince of Orange, at the head of his Clergy, and even attended with some of the Dissenting Ministers; and in his own and their name, thanked his Highness, 'For his very great and most hazardous undertaking, for their deliverance, and the preservation of the Protestant Religion, with the ancient laws and liberties of this nation (*f*).' On the 30th of December, he administered the holy Communion to his Highness, in the Royal Chapel at St James's, according to the rites of the Church of England (*g*). The 29th of January 1688-9, when the House of Lords, in a grand Committee, debated the important question, Whether, the throne being vacant, ought to be filled up by a Regent, or a King? Dr Compton was one of the two Bishops, (Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bishop of Bristol, being the other) who made the majority for filling up the throne by a King: for there were upon that occasion only fifty-one votes to forty-nine (*h*). On the 14th of February he was appointed one of the Privy-Council (*i*): and made Dean of the Royal Chapel (*k*). And afterwards pitched upon, by King William, to perform the ceremony of his and Queen Mary's Coronation, April 11, 1689 (*l*). The same year, he was constituted one of the Commissioners for reviewing the Liturgy; in the execution of which commission he laboured with great zeal and earnestness to reconcile the Dissenters to the Church: and also in the Convocation that met November 21, 1689, of which he was President. But the intended Comprehension met with insuperable difficulties [*S*], the majority of the Lower House being resolved not to enter

(*y*) Bishop Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, fol. edit. 1724. p. 677, 678. Bishop Sprat informs us, That he had once obtained to have his suspension taken off, if he would but have made an ordinary submission. First Letter to the Earl of Dorset, edit. 1711, p. 6.

(*z*) Boyer, as above.

(*a*) Wood, Ath. ut supra.

(*b*) Boyer, ubi supra.

(*c*) Burnet, as above, p. 712, 764.

(*d*) Compl. Hist. as above, p. 520. &c.

(*e*) Boyer, as above.

(*f*) Compl. Hist. &c. p. 557.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 540.

(*h*) Boyer, as above.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(*k*) The Peerage of England by Ar. Collins, edit. 1735, Vol. II. P. I. p. 114.

(*l*) Compl. Hist. &c. as above, p. 560. He baptiz'd William Duke of Glocester, July 24, 1689. Collins, ubi supra, p. 115.

[*Q*] *That the Prince of* Orange, *in his Declaration, could not omit taking notice of it.*] In the following words. 'The said Commissioners have suspended the 'Bishop of London, only because he refused to obey 'an order that was sent him to suspend a worthy Divine, 'without so much as citing him before him to make 'his own defence, or observing the common forms of 'process.'

[*R*] *The conveying safe from* London *to* Nottingham, *the Princess* Anne *of* Denmark.] We have a particular account of this transaction in the following words. 'When the news came to London, of Prince George 'of Denmark's having joined the Prince of Orange, the 'Princess Anne was so struck with the apprehensions of 'the King's displeasure, and of the ill effects it might 'have, that she said to the Lady Churchill, that she 'could not bear the thoughts of it; and would leap 'out at window rather than venture on it. The Bishop 'of London was then lodged very secretly in Suffolk-'street. So the Lady Churchill, who knew where he 'was, went to him and concerted with him the method 'of the Princess's withdrawing from the Court. The 'Princess went sooner to bed than ordinary. And about 'midnight, she went down a back stairs from her 'closet, attended only by the Lady Churchill, in 'such haste, that they carried nothing with them. 'They were waited for by the Bishop of London, who 'carried them to the Earl of Dorset's, whose Lady 'furnished them with every thing. And so they went 'northward, as far as Northampton; where that Earl 'attended on them with all respect, and quickly 'brought a body of Horse to serve for a guard to the 'Princess. And in a little while a small army was formed about her, who chose to be commanded by the 'Bishop of London; of which he too easily accepted '(22).' So that, as Dr Gooch observes (23), the Bishop thought it then a proper time to resume his care and charge, and to guard the Princess against any attempts on her Religion or her Liberty. This is that so much talked of part he acted at the Revolution. He rescued the Princess Anne; he hid her (as it were) 'till Popish Tyranny was overpast. During that nice and difficult juncture, he was called peculiarly *the Protestant Bishop*; and, indeed, he was the ornament and security of the Protestant cause.

(22) Burnet, as above. p. 792.

(23) Ubi supra.

[*S*] *But the intended Comprehension met with insuperable difficulties.*] For, tho' many arguments were used to bring the more stiff of the inferior Clergy to a charitable condescension, and the much desired union; yet there prevailed amongst them a jealousy and a distrust not to be conquered. This appeared in the choice of a Prolocutor for the Lower house? Dr Tillotson was the person proposed, and desired by our Bishop, and most of his Brethren, and yet Dr Jane had the majority of votes. And when he was presented to the Bishop of London, as President, for his approbation, he made a customary speech in Latin, wherein he extolled the excellency of the Church of England as established by Law, above all communities; implyed that it wanted no amendments; and then ended with the application of this sentence, by way of triumph, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.* But the Bishop of London, to whom Dr Jane had been chaplain, made a speech in the same language, wherein he told the Clergy; 'That 'they ought to endeavour a temper in those things, 'that are not essential in religion, thereby to open the 'door

enter into any terms of accommodation with the Diſſenters (*m*). King William having, ſoon after, named Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations, his Lordſhip was made one of them: and the Biſhop of London, for the time being, is always to be one, by reaſon of his ſuperintendency of all the churches in the Plantations [*T*]. In the beginning of the year 1690-1, at his own charge he attended King William to the famous Congreſs at the Hague, where the Grand Alliance againſt France was concluded. But, notwithſtanding the great part he acted in the Revolution, and his ſubſequent ſervices, no ſooner was the ſtorm over, but jealouſies were infuſed, and calumnies diſperſed, to ſupplant and undermine him: inſomuch, that tho' the Metropolitan See of Canterbury was twice vacant in that reign, yet he ſtill continued Biſhop of London [*V*]. However, he went on conſiſtently and like himſelf, deſpiſing all other rewards, but the quiet and the applauſe of his own conſcience, and the high eſteem and intimacy of Queen Mary, which he preſerved to her dying day (*n*). At the acceſſion of Queen Anne to the throne, he ſeemed to ſtand faireſt for the Royal favour. And tho' many things were ſaid to diſparage him at Court [*W*], yet nothing could diſcourage him from paying his duty and attendance there. About the beginning of May 1702, he was ſworn of her majeſty's Privy-Council. The ſame year, he was put in the commiſſion for the Union of England and Scotland, but was left out in the new commiſſion iſſued out in April 1706. Two years before, he very much promoted the 'Act for making effectual her Majeſty's intention for the augmentation of 'the maintenance of the poor Clergy, by enabling her Majeſty to grant the revenues of 'the Firſt-Fruits and Tenths.' He maintained all along a brotherly correſpondence with the foreign Proteſtant Churches, and endeavoured to promote in them a good opinion concerning the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of England, and her moderate ſentiments of them, as appears, both by his application to Meſſieurs Le Moyne, Claude, and de l' Angle beforementioned (*o*); and the Letters that paſſed between his Lordſhip and the Univerſity of Geneva in 1706 [*X*]. Towards the end of Queen Anne's reign, his acceſs became eaſier

(*m*) Ibid. and Boyer, ubi ſupra.

(*n*) Gooch, and Boyer, as above.

(*o*) Boyer, as above.

'door of Salvation to a multitude of ſtraying Chriſtians: that it muſt needs be their duty, to ſhew the 'ſame indulgence and charity to the Diſſenters under 'King William, which ſome of the Biſhops and Clergy had promiſed to them in their addreſſes to King 'James;' and concluded with a pathetical exhortation to unanimity and concord (24). But tho' he made ſuch great advances towards a Comprehenſion, yet when he obſerved the perverſe and obſtinate diſpoſition of the Diſſenters; when he found, that not a ſenſe of true and undiſſembled religion, but intereſt and humour were at the bottom; and that there was no Comprehenſion to be propoſed, or ſatisfaction given, but by the expenſive ſacrifice of truth and order, then he thought it neceſſary to ſtop. He wiſhed as well as any body to the Proteſtant intereſt, and would gladly have ſeen it more united: but he was not well-bred enough to betray the rights of the Church in favour of a ſchiſm. He had ſeen ſo much the effects of popular frowardneſs and contention, mens aukward diſlike to what is ſettled, and deſire to change, that he dreaded the thoughts of innovations (25). His not complying ſo far as the Diſſenters liked, is undoubtedly what made an author who is very favourable to them (26) ſay, 'that Biſhop 'Compton was a weak man, wilful, and ſtrangely 'wedded a party:' that is, he was not of the ſame party in that reſpect as Biſhop Burnet.

(24) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 591.

(25) Dr Gooch, ubi ſupra.

(26) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 392.

[*T*] *By reaſon of his ſuperintendency of all the churches in the Plantations.*] Biſhop Compton often declared his reſolution of going over himſelf, to ſettle the Chriſtian Church in thoſe American Plantations; but by his perſecution in King James's reign, and the miſchiefs of a long war ever ſince, he could never bring it to effect. Greater then was his care in ſending over good paſtors; more conſtant his attention to their lives, manners, and doctrine; by every conveyance, letters ſent of inſtruction, commendation, or reproof; a perpetual correſpondence, in anſwer to volumes of complaints, wants, and requeſts. And all this carried on by himſelf, againſt the perverſeneſs of the inhabitants, the wiles of the Church of Rome, and the ſubtilties of their ſocieties *de Propaganda Fide*, 'till the Society for propagating Chriſtian Knowledge was erected.

It was no ſmall trouble or expence, to find out fit Paſtors for that refractory and unbelieving part of mankind: men of integrity; for they could not be under his inſpection as to their manners and doctrine, in thoſe remote territories; and men of prudence and conſtancy, to reclaim the inhabitants from their old imbittered leaven of Independency, Antinomianiſm, and Quakeriſm: and to reduce the natives from being worſhippers of evil dæmons (25).

(25) Whitfield, as above, p. 17. See alſo Dr Gooch, ubi ſupra.

[*V*] *Tho' the metropolitan See of* Canterbury *was twice vacant in that reign, yet he ſtill continued Biſhop of* London.] The firſt time indeed, 'tis no great wonder he ſhould miſs of it, ſince he had for competitor Dr Tillotſon the glory of the Engliſh nation. But why he ſhould not be promoted to it at the ſecond vacancy is entirely unaccountable, all circumſtances conſidered. And no truer reaſon of it can be aſſigned than this, that it was thought, Dr Tenniſon would be more ſubſervient to all the Court Deſigns, than Biſhop Compton could ever be expected to be.

[*W*] *And tho' many things were ſaid to diſparage him at Court.*] For then, as Dr Gooch obſerves (26), was the time for the moſt artful management. Honeſty and integrity will always ſtand in ſome mens way. The Biſhop of London could neither be corrupted nor removed. But whatever attempts were made againſt him they moved him not; neither counted he his life dear, while he was doing God and his Church good ſervice.

(26) Ubi ſupra.

[*X*] *The Letters that paſſed between his Lordſhip, and the univerſity of* Geneva *in* 1706.] What the ſubſtance of them was, we learn from the following paſſage in a letter from that Univerſity, to the Univerſity of Oxford, dated Feb. 5, 1706-7. *Summo gaudio nos perfudit quod de veſtra in nos charitate ſcribere dignatus eſt illuſtriſſimus Præſul Henricus Londinenſis Epiſcopus. Cum enim accepiſſemus, nos male audire, & Genevæ famam apud vos deteri; nomine veſtro nos docuit, præjudicatas eſſe & veteres opiniones nondum penitus depoſitas; & quæ in medium a quibuſdam allata erant nos non ſpectare, verum nonnullos qui eccleſiæ Anglicanæ diſciplinam & liturgiam detrectantes, nomen noſtrum præ ſe ferebant: illud vero a ſententia noſtra omnino diſſitum eſſe moverat vir illuſtriſſimus.* &c. i. e. 'The aſſurances we have received from the moſt illuſtrious Biſhop of London of your affection towards us, 'hath filled us with the utmoſt joy. For hearing that 'we were ill ſpoken of, and that *Geneva* was odious 'amongſt you, he hath aſſured us in your name, that 'thoſe were old prejudices, and wrong notions not yet 'laid aſide; and that what had been ſaid by ſome, did 'not concern us, but certain perſons, who diſſenting 'from, and railing at, the diſcipline and liturgy of the 'Church of England, made uſe of our name: but he 'knew us to be quite of another mind.'—The compliment paid to his Lordſhip by the Univerſity of Oxford, in their anſwer to this letter, is both very juſt and handſome.—*Quo nemo aut Eccleſiam Anglicanam paterno magis affectu fovet ac tuetur, aut exteres omnes, utcunque locorum intervallis diſſitas, arctiſſimo tamen purioris Fidei vinculo conjunctas charitate magis fraterna proſequitur.* i. e. 'Than whom, none hath a more paternal affection 'for the Church of England, nor a greater brotherly 'love for the foreign Churches, united by one cloſe 'bond

eaſier at Court, and he had greater power and intereſt there. But, whether the times were good or bad, he looked upon all that power and intereſt only as accidental circumſtances that attended the office of a Biſhop; and not as an eſſential part of it (*p*). In 1709-10, he was one of the Lords who oppoſed the proſecution then carried on againſt Dr Sacheverel, and declared him Not Guilty; and likewiſe proteſted againſt ſeveral ſteps taken in that affair (*q*). His Lordſhip having for ſome time been afflicted with the Gout and Stone [*Y*], it turned at laſt to a complication of diſtempers, which put an end to his moſt valuable life at Fulham, on the 7th of July 1713, in the eighty-firſt year of his age. His body was interred, the 15th of the ſame month, in the church-yard of Fulham [*Z*], according to his particular direction (*r*). What few things he publiſhed, are mentioned in the note [*AA*]. As to his *perſonal* qualifications: he was in all reſpects one of the beſt-bred men in his time; courteous and affable; not full of words, but very converſable; and, as in his miniſterial offices, ſo in converſation too, willing and apt to teach. He was always eaſy of acceſs, and ready to do good offices. In his friendſhips he was conſtant, or rather inflexible. He was a man of the largeſt and moſt publick ſpirit; and liked nothing that looked narrow or ſtingy. He had no little, artful, ſelfiſh deſigns. He was never ſeen to be afraid or concerned at danger. In the midſt of ſtorms he himſelf was calm. With regard to his *moral* character: he was a perſon of ſingular modeſty, and humility; of great temperance and abſtinence; of exemplary piety [*BB*], and every virtue. Never did ſuch tender and ſuch manly paſſions meet before in the ſame breaſt! never ſuch firmneſs and fortitude, mixed with ſo much meekneſs and condeſcenſion! But he was moſt particularly eminent for his unbounded charity and beneficence: being generous and charitable beyond example. He diſpoſed of money to every one who could make out (and it was very eaſy to make that out to him) that he was a proper object of charity. He anſwered literally the Apoſtle's character, poor enough himſelf, yet making many rich (*s*). He had divers ancient people, men and women, whom he ſupported by conſtant annual penſions; and ſeveral children at ſchool, at his own coſt and charge; beſide thoſe educated from children, and brought up to the Univerſities, to the ſea, or to trades, *&c* (*t*). The poor of his pariſh were always attending his gate for their dole, and for the remains of his conſtant hoſpitable table; which was always furniſhed, and free to thoſe whom reſpect or buſineſs drew to him. His hall was frequented in the morning with petitioners of all ſorts (*u*). More particularly, he ſpared no coſt nor pains to ſerve the Church and Clergy. He bought many Advowſons out of Lay-hands [*CC*]. He gave great ſums for the rebuilding of churches (*w*), and greater ſtill for the buying in Impropriations

(*p*) Dr Gooch, ubi ſupra.

(*q*) Hiſtory of Queen Anne, by A. Boyer, edit. 1735, p. 428, 429, 444, 445.

(*r*) Boyer's Annual Liſt, as above.

(*s*) 2 Cor. vi. 10.

(*t*) Dr Gooch, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Whitfeld, ubi ſupra, p. 19.

(*w*) As, St Mary's Colcheſter, Pleſhey, and others in his dioceſe.

' bond of the true Faith, tho' never ſo far diſtant from
(27) Theſe Letters were printed at Oxford, 1707, fol. ' each other (27).'

[*Y*] *His Lordſhip having for ſome time been afflicted with the Gout and Stone.*] ' The Gout and Stone will ' make the ſtouteſt heart to ſhrink; yet (ſays Dr Gooch) in ' the midſt of theſe tormenting pains, we never heard ' the voice of murmur; thoſe ſhocks that would make ' a beholder tremble, did not make him repine. He ' never complained againſt God, nor grew touchy and ' peeviſh to his domeſticks; (almoſt every body's caſe ' in pain and ſickneſs.) He was firm and conſtant, ' quiet and good-natured to the end. When his laſt ill-' neſs came upon him, he foreſaw and foretold what ' would be the event on't, with the ſame compoſedneſs ' as if he had been ſure of his recovery. He knew his ' ſummons could never be ſudden, becauſe he was never ' unprepared to receive it. He had long ago ſettled his ' worldly affairs: indeed he had little worldly affairs to ' ſettle; for he had remitted his treaſure to the other ' world and ſecured an eternal reverſion there. He talk-' ed of dying with the ſame unconcernedneſs, (or with the ' ſame pleaſure) as if he was only taking a journey; and ' wiſhed for nothing but an eaſy paſſage:——which ' he obtained; being taken out of this world in the ' ſame eaſy and quiet manner as he had endeavoured to
(28) Gooch, ubi ſupra. ' live, and wiſhed to die (28).'

[*Z*] *His body was interred——in the churchyard of* Fulham.] According to his particular direction: for he uſed to ſay, ' that the church is for the living, and ' the churchyard for the dead.' So that his humility of life, and greatneſs of mind, above worldly pomp, followed him to his grave (29). Over it there is erected a handſome tomb, (ſurrounded with iron rails,) having only this ſhort inſcription. H. London. EI MH EN TΩ ΣΤΑΥΡΩ. M. DCC. XIII. The Greek words (Engl. *Save in the croſs*) are part of Galatians VI. 14. God forbid that I ſhould glory *ſave in the croſs* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

(29) Boyer, and Whitfeld, as above.

[*AA*] *What few things he publiſhed, are mentioned in the note.*] They are as follow. I. A Tranſlation from Italian, of ' The Life of Donna Olympia Maldachini, who ' governed the Church during the time of Innocent X. ' which was from the year 1644 to 1655.' Lond. 1667, written originally by Abbot Gualdi, and printed privately at Paris, II. A Tranſlation from French into Engliſh, of, ' The Jeſuits intrigues; with the pri-' vate inſtructions of that Society to their Emiſſaries.' Lond. 1669. nine ſheets in *4to*. This was found in manuſcript in a Jeſuit's cloſet after his death: and both were ſent in a letter from a gentleman at Paris, to his friend in London. III. ' A Treatiſe of the Holy Com-' munion.' Lond. 1677, *8vo*. his name is not ſet to it. IV. ' A Letter to the Clergy of the Dioceſe of London, ' concerning Baptiſm, the Lord's Supper, Catechiſing. ' Dated April 25, 1679,' and printed on one ſide of a ſheet. V. Second Letter, concerning 1. The half Communion. 2. Prayers in an unknown tongue. 3. Prayers to Saints. Dated from Fulham, July 6, 1680. and printed alſo on one Side of a ſheet of paper. VI. A third Letter, on Confirmation, and Viſitation of the Sick. From Fulham 1682. VII. A fourth Leter; upon Canon 54. Dated from Fulham, April 6, 1683. VIII. A fifth Letter, upon Canon 118. From Fulham, March 19. 1684. IX. A ſixth Letter, upon Canon 13. Fulham April 18, 1685. They were all reprinted together in 1686, 12*mo*, under this title *Epiſcopalia*: or, Letters of the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry Lord Biſhop of London, to the Clergy of his Dioceſe (30). We are informed, that they were part of them printed without his knowledge; but not without a deſign of bringing more trouble upon his head from King James II, for his oppoſing Popery, as he doth in ſome of them (31). X. There is alſo, ' A Letter of his to a ' Clergyman in his Dioceſe, concerning Non-Reſiſtance:' written ſoon after the Revolution, and inſerted in the Memoirs of the Life of Mr John Kettlewell (32).

(30) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 969.

(31) Whitfeld, ubi ſupra, p. 11.

(32) Edit. Lond. 1718, 8*vo*, p. 208, *&c*.

[*BB*] *Of exemplary piety*] No one was ſo ſtrict and regular in his private devotions; no one ſo conſtant and frequent in the ſervice of the Church. For, beſide the publick offices morning and evening, his whole family began the day with the Litany, and ended it with ſelect prayers from the Liturgy: and at all theſe times he himſelf, when he was able, was a conſtant attendant (33).

(33) Dr Gooch. ubi ſupra.

[*CC*] *He bought many Advowſons out of Lay-hands.*] As the Rectories of St James, and All-Saints; and the Vicarage of St Peter's, all in Colcheſter: the Rectories of Abberton Tendring in Eſſex, *&c*.

[*DD*] *For*

priations, and ſettling them on the poor Vicars [*DD*]. There was no poor honeſt Clergyman, or his widow, in want, but had his benevolence, when applied for. Nor any in the Reformed Churches abroad, to whom he was not a liberal Patron, Steward, and perpetual Solicitor for. The French Refugees drank deep of his bounty for many years; ſo did the Iriſh in their day of affliction; and likewiſe the Scotch Epiſcopal party [*EE*]. in their grievous perſecution (*x*). He was indeed upon ſome occaſions impoſed upon, and beſtowed his charity ſometimes upon forward and impudent perſons; who did not want or deſerve it: but that is frequently the caſe of generous well-meaning perſons; and muſt be owned to be a weakneſs rather than a fault [*FF*]. If we conſider him *as a Biſhop:* he was not only blameleſs, but a pattern of good behaviour in every reſpect. He applied himſelf more to his function, than Biſhops had commonly done. He went much about his dioceſe, and preached [*GG*] and confirmed in many places (*y*). In order not to burden his Clergy with frequent viſitations, he was wont to hire houſes, and ſpend every ſummer in ſome new part of his dioceſe, where he rid out, and viſited in perſon the ſeveral churches, and parſonage, and vicarage-houſes. His method alſo was, in ſtated meetings with his Clergy, to propoſe ſome topick in Divinity; on which they diſcourſed together in a ſerious, familiar, and judicious manner; which afterwards was ſummed up, and formed into a regular treatiſe. Many of theſe diſcourſes are publiſhed, under the title of, *The Biſhop of* London's *Conferences*. At thoſe times, and indeed upon all other occaſions, he was extremely civil, affable, and courteous, full of candor and patience [*HH*]. In a word, by his death the Church loſt a moſt excellent Biſhop; the kingdom a brave and able Stateſman; the Proteſtant Religion, at home and abroad, it's ornament and refuge; and the whole Chriſtian world an eminent example of virtue and piety (*z*). His Lordſhip was never married.

(x) Whitfeld, ubi ſupra.

(y) Burnet, ubi ſupra. p. 392.

(z) Dr Gooch.

[*DD*] *For the buying in Impropriations, and ſettling them upon the poor vicars.*] Particularly the Impropriation of Marks-Tay in Eſſex, for which he is ſaid to have given no leſs then ſeven hundred pounds; whereby he raiſed a very mean Curacy to a competent ſubſiſtance.

[*EE*] *And likewiſe the Scotch Epiſcopal party.*] He provided in particular, for numbers of the Scotch Epiſcopal Clergy, who fled into England at the Revolution. To Mr Robert Falconer, for inſtance, he gave the Living of Dunmow; to Mr Tho. Dunbar, that of Keldon; both in Eſſex, and the like in many other inſtances.

[*FF*] *And muſt be owned to be a weakneſs rather than a fault.*] We ſhall conclude this article of his charities, with theſe words of Dr Whitfeld (34): 'To his Honour be it ſpoken! he died poor; having made the needy and miſerable his heirs all his life long. His contempt of gathering or leaving riches out of the patrimony of the Church, was worthy of his great mind and ſtation. And he died with that honour, with which he had always lived.'—We muſt not forget to obſerve, that he left the third part of his large and well choſen library to the the corporation of Colcheſter. But, that noble gift was ſlighted; ſo that his Lordſhip's heir was forced to diſpoſe of it otherwiſe. The two other parts of his library he left to St Paul's Cathedral, aud to Sion College.

(34) Sermon, as above, p. 23.

[*GG*] *And preached.*] One author tells us (35), that 'his preaching was without much life or learning: 'for he had not gone thro' his ſtudies with the exactneſs 'that was fitting.' But another who knew him better gives the following account. 'He ſpake with the 'affection and authority of a ſpiritual father; always 'above the affectation of popular eloquence, but in 'the power of the Spirit, and primitive ſimplicity, 'with the majeſty of plainneſs, in the utmoſt ſedateneſs and good judgement. His weighty reaſon needed not to be ſet off with trappings. The love with 'which his people met his Doctrine, made it ſuperfluous to ſpeak to their paſſions ſo eaſily raiſed and ſo 'ſoon ſinking: he ſpake to convince their underſtanding. His deliberate way of utterance, gave them 'leiſure to receive and fix his notions, and brought 'forth nothing but with maturity of thought, and exactneſs of judgment.——His knowledge and learning had been well cultivated in his privater ſtation in 'the Church, and particularly aſſiſted by his friendſhip 'with Dr Rich. Alleſtry Regius Profeſſor of Divinity 'at Oxford. His books had always attended him in 'his moſt youthful years; nor were they neglected to 'the laſt in his fulneſs of buſineſs. His library was an 'evidence of his knowledge in divine things eſpecially, 'and alſo in human learning, and in the modern languages (36).'

(35) Burnet, as above, p. 392.

(36) Whitfeld, as above, p. 11, 12.

[*HH*] *Full of candor and patience.*] 'None of his 'Clergy ever felt his diſpleaſure, but for faults which 'carried their own mark and evidence. Not any 'difference of opinion in State-matters, did ever 'eſtrange him from a deſerving man: that which was 'good and virtuous in the ſon, he laid hold on, and 'cheriſhed with a fatherly tenderneſs, and paſſed by 'his miſtaken judgment in that which was amiſs. 'But in thoſe that were bad, no intereſt, no being attached to the ſame cauſe with himſelf, could ever 'make him overlook their faults. This was true moderation! candor and charity to good men of all 'opinions, and firmneſs to his own juſt principles (37).'

(37) Ibid. p. 10.

The End of the SECOND VOLUME.